May/June 1989 \$1.50

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Eyewitness Israel Connie Hogarth

Poland's New Multiculturalism Sol Flapan

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Editorials

May Day Greetings

Jewish Affairs sends May Day greetings to its readers throughout our country and the world, from Argentina and Israel to Poland and the U.S.S.R. For embattled U.S. progressives "in the belly of the beast" of the leader of world imperialism, the international holiday of the working class inspires us with the knowledge that most of the world is anti-imperialist and much of it already socialist. We are proud of the fact that this holiday celebrated around the globe was "made in the U.S.A." and that the U.S. labor and progressive movements, of which Jewish Affairs is a part, continues to contribute to the achievement of May Day's goals of working class unity against exploitation and repression and for peace and freedom.

End U.S. Support Of Israeli Terrorism

In response to recent intensification of Israeli state terrorism, the International Red Cross and the United Nations have condemned and called for an end to Israeli military attacks upon unarmed Palestinian men, women and children. The killing of at least five and the wounding of two dozen Palestinians on April 13 in the West Bank town of Nahalin by uniformed Israeli border police under the command of the Israeli army led the International Red Cross, according to the N.Y. Times, to make "a rare public protest against 'violation of fundamental humanitararian law" and to charge that the border police had fired on the villagers "without restraint." On April 17 the Times reported "the second highest daily toll" of Palestinians shot dead since the beginning of the intifada. On April 20 the U.N. General Assembly voted 129 to 2 to condemn the killing and wounding of Palestinian civilians by Israeli military forces in the occupied territories and urged the Security Council to take measures to prevent this. The United States and Israel cast the only dissenting votes. Israel has continued and even increased its terrorism, shooting 53 Palestinians, including two 10 year-olds and a 4 year old, on April 24 and killing "at least" three and wounding "more than 138" (N.Y.Times) on May 6.

We call upon our readers to protest this barbaric policy of the Israeli government and its support by the U.S. government by writing or phoning the Israeli embassy and U.S. State Department — and to demand that our representatives in Congress vote to cut U.S. military aid funds for Israel until its murder and maiming of Palestinians ends.



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Unprecedented U.S. Jewish Peace Action

On April 16 an unprecedented coalition of over two dozen U.S. Jewish organizations sponsored a "Passover Rally for Israeli-Palestinian peace" at the U.N.'s Dag Hammerskjold Plaza calling for "negotiations between the Israeli government and the chosen representatives of the Palestinians - today undoubtedly the P.L.O. based on the principle of mutual recognition and self-determination for peace, security and an end to the occupation," While the sponsors included none of the "major" Jewish organizations, like the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith, they ranged from recently-formed groups like the Ad Hoc Committee of Jewish Labor Leaders, Rabbis and Activists and the Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation to well-established ones like the Jewish Peace Fellowship and New Jewish Agenda and a variety of new and old Jewish civil liberties, Labor Zionist, religious and Holocaust survivors' organizations along with those specifically directed towards settling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Despite certain differences with the rally's demands ("mutual recognition" implies that the P.L.O. does not already recognize Israel and "Support for an active American role in promoting the peace process" and a "A mutual end to violence" can be interpreted as not supporting an international peace conference and equating Israeli state terrorism with Palestinian resistance to it), Jewish Affairs co-sponsored the event and helped fund the newspaper ads publicizing it. We hope that the sponsoring coalition is the beginning of what Abba Eban has wittily and wisely suggested that U.S. Jews need to speak for them at this time: A Conference of Presidents of Minor American Jewish Organizations,

Actions Honor Our Martyrs

In addition to recalling their indomitable courage in the face of deadly state terrorism, we mark the 36th anniversary of the judicial murders of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by calling for support by our readers of the contining activities to vindicate them by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (see the article in this issue). We mark the 25th anniversary of the lynching of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, who symbolize the unity of progressive Jewish and African Americans, by calling for support by our readers of the Mississippi to New York Freedom Caravan that will culminate in a memorial meeting at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in Manhattan on June 24th. To truly honor these martyrs we should redouble our efforts on behalf of freedom and equality, the causes for which they died,

Letters From Readers

I'm enclosing a check for \$25 for one year's sub plus a contribution. *Jewish Affairs* is very important to me and all those seeking peace and justice.

Mike Wolfson Jamaica Plains, MA

Enclosed is my check for \$50 to help you in putting out your excellent publication. It is very useful in getting to understand the complicated state of world affairs.

Harriet Fahey Philadelphia, PA

Ever since Israel restricted the foreign press from the occupied territories, atrocities against Palestinians have gone largely unreported in U.S. media except by a few magazines like *Eyewitness Israel* published by the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, which sponsors visits to the West Bank and Gaza. Its latest issue reveals comments by six Congressional aides who spent 11 days in the area.

Bill Stiers wrote to his boss, Rep. William Dickinson, R-Ala. "Israeli troops invade hospitals, firing tear gas and ammunition inside, seizing injured patients for arrest, preventing medical attention" and "The IDF indiscriminately administer beatings designed to cripple (but not kill), resulting in internal damage and fractured limbs broken in so many places they do not heal."

Ruth Webb McCormack, aide to Rep. Howard Nielson, R-Utah, saw Israeli soldiers tear-gassing a group of girls walking to school, and later, a child blinded by a tear gas cannister.

Cynthia Harris, aide to Sen. Donald Riegle, D-Mich, and Gary Visscher, aide to Rep. Paul Henry, R-Mich., witnessed three little girls being dragged out of a house by their hair. One was then hit on the head with a rock by a soldier. They attempted to intervene but had a gun pointed and clicked at them by another soldier.

Bob Henshaw, aide to Rep. Charlie Rose, D-N.C., seemed to sum up the sentiment of all the congressional aides when he said, "I wasn't prepared for the extent of human rights violations."

Why should these horrors be covered up?

Edna Toney Katonah, NY

See the article "Eyewitness Israel" in the present issue.

Roots and Branches Jewish Americans Move Towards Independence

Jon Weisberger

In our last issue, we traced the development of a reevaluation by a consistently liberal and progressive Jewish community of its relationship to an increasingly reactionary Israeli leadership. The 1980s saw the emergence of a vocal minority which saw Israeli actions, especially vis-a-vis the Palestinians, as divergent from traditional Jewish values and norms. The developments of the last year and a half have reinforced the validity of this argument, and led to its acceptance by a growing number of Jews. Most significant in this advance, as it happens, has been the reaction of American Jews to the "Who Is A Jew" controversy that erupted following the last Israeli elections.

The election results were a deep disappointment to large numbers of Jewish-Americans. In the period immediately preceding the November 1 vote, a number of prominent Jewish leaders had made little effort to conceal their hopes that the elections would result in a strengthened Labor Party, with sufficient strength to form a government that would relegate Likud to the opposition. Even the US government seemed to tilt in the direction of Labor, by consistently placing as US policy a set of statements that echoed Labor's leader, then-Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. Labor was generally seen as the mainstream party whose positions were more "rational," more "reasonable" and closer to the outlines of a genuine peace settlement - endorsement of the "land for peace" formula, lukewarm support for ending the Occupation via the "Jordanian option" (even after Hussein bowed out!), and favoring an international conference, albeit one shorn of any real power and without the PLO.

The Israeli electorate failed, however, to live up to these hopes. Instead, the voting resulted in only minor changes from the previous line-up. Both Likud and Labor lost a few seats to the parties on their respective flanks, though this would prove to be more of a blow to Labor, since its ideological underpinnings forced it to rule out the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Progressive List for Peace (with five seats between them) as potential coalition partners. Likud, bound by no such "scruples", was able to quickly negotiate agreements with ultra-right parties such as Tchiyah, Moledet and Tsomet, all of which had campaigned on anti-

Palestinian, anti-democratic platforms.

The most serious factor for both parties, however. in the search for coalition partners, was the increased strength of the ultra-orthodox parties: the National Religious Party, Agudas Israel, Degel HaTorah and Shas, These four parties, with eighteen seats between them, held the balance of power in the Knesset required to form a governing coalition. Both Labor and Likud, therefore. immediately sought to win the ultras to their side, vying to outdo one another in extravagant promises (providing, I might add, no small amount of cynical amusement for the Israeli public, with reports of the financial and other blandishments offered to the ultras by their political suitors being issued twice or thrice daily). While it is difficult to believe, it now seems apparent that both parties forgot, in their haste to cut deals, the effect that the prospect of the ultra-orthodox in the government would have on American Jews. Thus the outcry began.

The root issue that triggered American Jewish opposition to the negotiations was the price being demanded by the religious parties — amendment of the Law of Return. For years, the ultra-orthodox have called for changing that section of the Law which defines (or rather doesn't define) "Who's a Jew." The original Law, passed in 1950, failed to define the term; according to the provisional government of 1948, a Jew was anyone who said he or she was a Jew. Through the 1950s and 1960s there was intermittent wrangling over this state of affairs, finally resolved in 1970 by an amendment which stated that a Jew is a person born of a Jewish mother or a convert to Judaism.

The revised definition, however, proved unsatisfactory to the ultra-orthodox. Every year since the amendment's passage, a new, more restrictive definition has been proposed, first by Agudas Israel, but subsequently with the support of the NRP and other religious parties, joined in the late 1970s by the Likud. The proposed language specifies that converts are eligible under the Law of Return only if the conversion was carried out "according to Halachah." This short, seemingly inoffensive phrase has created such controversy because it has been interpreted by the ultra-orthodox to mean that those converted by non-Orthodox rabbis would not be covered by the Law of Return.

While the "Halachah" amendment has always been seen as something of a red flag, since it implicitly delegitimizes the majority of American Jews, as long as its passage seemed impossible there was little reason for it to create ill will toward Israel. But in the post-election scramble by Likud and Labor, the very real prospect of support for the amendment from a governing coalition (and both Labor and Likud proposed observing party discipline in a vote on the amendment) resulted in a flare-up of protest from Jewish-Americans.

American Jews Find Their Voices

November and December 1988, then, saw a steady stream of Jewish-American leaders traveling to Israel to announce in clear and uncertain terms that the price of including the ultra-orthodox in a coalition government, whichever the leading party, would be Jewish-American support for Israel. Since the formation of the National Unity government, it has become fashionable in certain circles to dismiss Jewish-American statements made during that period as overwrought and not meant to be taken seriously. This interpretation, however, is usually used to argue that American Jews and their organizational leaders will never support a reduction in US aid to Israel; it is, in other words, an argument meant to grind an ax. Certainly, the coverage of the "Who Is A Jew" controversy in the Israeli press indicates that Jewish-American threats (for that is what they were) were taken very seriously; indeed, the ultimate outcome - the National Unity government — is perhaps the best indicator of the weight that Jewish-American opinion carried in Israeli 12521811political maneuvering.

"It is hard to imagine how the leaders of the 220 Jewish communal fund-raising campaigns will be able to convince their largely Reform and Conservative contributors that they are obligated to give money to support an Israel which they perceive as distorting their collective definitions of Judaism and of Jewish life." — Rabbi Stanley Ringer, *The Jerusalem Post*, 11/29/89.

"The amendment to the Law of Return would cause a psychological trauma throughout North America and world Jewry, with damaging consequences for Israel in ways which we cannot even anticipate. The diminution in giving to Israel would be the least of it." — Rabbi Daniel Syme (vice-President of the UAHC), *The Jerusalem Post*, 11/29/89

"Five powerful Jewish senators...have warned ambassador Moshe Arad that amending the Law of Return will have grave consequences on the relations between Israel and the Jewish people and on the political and economic support for Israel in the Congress and the administration." - The Jerusalem Post, 12/2/89

"We are receiving an alarming number of telephone calls daily from small and large donors and active lay people, who threaten to use the only weapon they have, namely to stop donations as an expression of their disassociation from Israel." — 17 Israeli emissaries in the western US, The Jerusalem Post, 12/2/89

"Israel's main concern should be the 'more than \$3 billion a year that Israel gets in U.S. aid.' If American Jews don't support the efforts of the pro-Israel lobby in Washington...it will be difficult to mobilize support for a large aid package for Israel..."—from an interview with "a prominent figure in U.S.-Israel relations," The Jerusalem Post, 12/6/89

These samples taken from one Israeli newspaper over a period of less than a week, demonstrate not only the vehemence of American Jewish opinion over the Law of Return, but the willingness of Jewish-American leaders to touch upon the heretofore-forbidden topic of US public and private aid to Israel. This step represents something new and important in the attitude of American-Jewish leaders (pushed, it must be added, by their constituents). Rabbi Stanley Ringer, cited previously, put his finger on what may turn out to be the most significant element in the controversy, when he followed the statement cited above with this:

"It is hard to imagine circumstances under which a pragmatic and principled American Jewish community is going to continue to feel itself motivated or even obligated to maintain its high-risk role in the political arena on behalf of an Israel that advocates annexation, 'transfer,' expropriation, and a policy of social and economic injustice."

Here, then, is the heart of the question; Ringer links Jewish-American support for Israel to both the "Who Is a Jew" controversy and the Israeli response to the intifada. A number of commentators have remarked upon the irony of American Jews responding more severely to what is, in many ways, a tempest in a teapot, than to the brutality and illegitimacy of the Occupation. As Knesset member Yossi Sarid put it last winter, what is more important than "Who is a Jew" is the question "What is a Jew?" Arthur Hertzberg, for example, pointed out that "the number of converts involved in the application of the "Who is a Jew" amendment is so small that the Holy War that is now being waged is vastly out of proportion to the mildness of past responses. There has to be another reason...." Present Tense, Jan. Feb. 1989). Hertzberg suggested that the response "masked a deep anger" at Prime Minister Shamir and the Likud Party's "political policies" - that is, at the Occupation, and there is little doubt that there is a serious anger over Israel-Diaspora relations among American Jews, expressed in several ways on different levels.

One of the most interesting expressions of reassessment comes from Leonard Fein, writing on "A New Zionism" in the April, 1989 Moment. Fein lays out new approaches to Israeli-Jewish-American relations and Jewish-American communal life that are attractive enough that Moment editor Hershel Shanks felt compelled to respond with a denunciation of Fein's article as "dangerous" in the same issue in which the original piece was printed.

Fein argues that "significant numbers of American Jews are experiencing considerable disappointment in Israel; others, in large number, have begun to distance themselves from the Jewish state; some have moved from distancing to estrangement; tomorrow, estrangement will collapse into alienation." This is not Israel's fault, he says; rather it springs from the transformation of Israel by American Jews into a "mysterium tremendum." Fein points to irreconcilable differences between Israeli Zionism and American Zionism, revolving around the unwillingness of American Jews to make aliyah and the continued adherence of Israelis to a viewpoint that denigrates Diaspora life, and suggests that the American Jewish community must now find its own raison d'etre based upon the experience and needs of Jews here in the US. "The new Zionism," Fein concludes, "will have to take account of the separate development of two Jewish communities that live in freedom and with a considerable measure of autonomy." And, most importantly, he follows this with the assertion that "though we owe Israel a great deal, we owe our children more....the first requirement of a new Zionism must be to call things by their right names...lest in our concern for Israel's safety we alienate a generation of young people who cannot bring themselves to take seriously a community that cannot or will not tell blood from paint."

This is a rather remarkable approach, and it comes not from the margins of Jewish communal life, but from a writer close to the heart of the organized Jewish community. One may argue that the new Zionism Fein proposes is no Zionism at all, but that is to miss the point. What is significant is the recognition that the past practice of focusing on Israel cannot continue as the basis of American Jewish life, and, perhaps more importantly, that the continuation of this approach will accelerate the withdrawal of new generations from the Jewish community.

Steven Cohen's annual National Survey of American Jews lends support to Fein's thesis, especially concerning the opinions of younger Jews. Cohen's "Israel Attachment Index," for example, shows a steady decline

NAACP at 80

Jewish Affairs congratulates the N.A.A.C.P. on its 80th anniversary. This organization has made an historic contribution to the advancement not only of African Americans but of all the citizens of our country whose rights and quality of life are interdependent.

It is intriguing to learn from the anniversary issue of the N.A.A.C.P.'s magazine, *The Crisis* (founded in 1910 under the editorship of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois), that the initiators of the effort that established the organization were three socialists, including the Jewish social worker, Henry Moskowitz, and that among the signers of the call to the February 12, 1909 conference that set up the N.A.A.C.P. were other socialists and Jews.

Continuing Jewish involvement in the N.A.A.C.P. is brought out by the facts that Joel Spingarn served as chairman of its board from 1914 until his death in 1938, Arthur Spingarn served as president about 1960 and Herbert Hill was its Labor Director until recently.

At last year's dedication of the Dorothy Parker Memorial Garden behind the organizations national head-quarters, N.A.A.C.P. executive director, Dr. Benjamin Hooks, stated concerning this strong supporter: "Ms. Parker was Jewish, and through the ceremonies we will be making a reaffirmation ... of the traditional bonds of friendship that have existed between the Black and Jewish communities..." As part of this tradition, Jewish Affairs wishes the N.A.A.C.P. many more years of successful progressive activities.

as age drops; it also shows that unaffiliated Jews are more "dovish" on Middle East issues than the affiliated. who in turn are more so than Jewish community leaders. The survey, then, points to a growing divergence between masses of Jewish-Americans and the leaders who claim to represent them. Under these circumstances, Fein's call is likely to find an increasingly sympathetic response in the Jewish community, as leaders find themselves forced to choose between maintaining old positions at the price of dwindling numbers of followers, or developing a new approach at the cost of the insults and hostility of Israeli leaders and their American supporters. In the long run, then, there seems little alternative to moving in a more independent, progressive direction one that will be, let us not forget, consonant with the continued liberalism of these same leaders on many non-Middle East issues.

The "Evewitness Israel" human rights mission, sponsored by the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, which I was lucky enough to be a part of during late November and early December, 1988, was a transforming experience for this longtimer in the peace and justice movement. Although I have been to Cuba, the Soviet Union, El Salvador and Nicaragua, this "Eyewitness" experience offered an intense personal awakening for me. To see the extreme of injustices and brutalities perpetrated in the name of fear of annihilation of Israel, was traumatic in its ugly reality. It was shocking to confront the tragic conversion of Israeli youth, whose tradition embodied compassion and high ethical principles and a history filled with centuries of victimization, to cruel and inhuman brutes, instruments just like their M16's to break the will, engender fear and terror and to stop the resistance of the Palestinian people and the Intifada.

It is an irony that the people who suffered the Holocaust in Western Europe and who memorialize its onset, Kristallnacht, when the Nazis terrorized the Jews by entering their homes and rampaging, breaking windows and their glasses, dishes and precious objects, should have perpetrated the same terrorism in the refugee camps of the occupied territories on Kristallnacht this year. Israeli soldiers broke in, broke glass, windows, terrorizing Palestinian families in yet another rampage of terror. I saw this for myself, several days after, in the Qalandia camp not far from East Jerusalem. Were it not for "Eyewitness", I would not have believed this possible, nor could I share my terrible observations and photos with other North Americans, particularly Jews, for whom like myself, this has become a personal anguish and shame.

Were it not for "Eyewitness", I would not now be carrying with me always, a rubber bullet, steel-cored and lethal at close range, the instrument by which many Palestinian children have lost their sight. I saw it, I have internalized this hideous reality and I must share it. The bullet now lodged in my change purse as it was lodged in the eye of a three year old, never fails to arouse feelings of horror in everyone who handles it and imagines its evil work.

Connie Hogarth, executive director of the Westchester People's Action Coalition, is on the national boards of SANE/FREEZE and the Rainbow Coalition Were it not for "Eyewitness", I would not have had the opportunity to understand with my heart just what the land of Palestine means to its people. They can not be shifted, "transferred", elsewhere like a herd of animals. Their devotion to the land, to their ancestry, to their olive trees, to the desert, to the mountains, to their lives as farmers and shepherds in Jericho, Bethlehem, Nablus, Beita, runs deep. The Israeli army, carrying out a policy of indiscriminate, collective punishment, demolishes by bulldozer or dynamite, great numbers of Palestinian dwellings as well as confiscating land belonging to Palestinians and their families for many generations. I have numerous pictures of these demolitions and their heartbroken, confused victims. They are now part of my life and my burden to share.

Were it not for "Eyewitness", I would never have understood fully what children mean to Palestinian families and what education means to them. Next to the land, I believe the family and learning are paramount for them. This observation flies in the face of the prevailing myths and false stereotypes which pervade the U.S. and particularly the Jewish Diaspora, that Palestinians are of a wild terrorist mentality and as was recently reported in OMNI magazine, they do not hug their children. I am outraged by this insult and these lies. I have never seen children so treasured and adored as in Palestinian families.

Palestinians are devoted, if not obsessed, with learning and with cerebral exercise and development. This has led to another part of Israeli punishment: the closing of schools and universities and the ban on gatherings of any kind, social, community, women, as well as political. Inhibit learning, the exchange of ideas and perhaps the Intifada, as well as the Palestinians, will go away.

There are near-endless experiences to recount and tears to shed, as a result of this unequalled human rights mission. The documentation these trips have already provided have had considerable effect in influencing U.S. elected officials and other people we touch, toward making major changes in U.S. policy in the Middle East.

One last set of observations I want to share. What is not generally understood here is the broadening base of resistance within Israel to the occupation, despite the intransigence of the Israeli government. We talked with a good number Israelis and met with members of many Israeli peace groups from Yesh Gvul, which is a group resisting military recruitment, to Peace Now, the largest

opposition group, to SHANI, Women Against the Occupation. SHANI meets every Friday from 1 to 2 pm in the center of West Jerusalem and they vigil. The women all dress in black and carry signs, in English and Hebrew, "STOP THE OCCUPATION." These are women and mothers who abhor the injustice of the occupation and who can no longer tolerate the brutalization of their sons who are asked to carry out the government's terrorist policies. And SHANI grows. I joined them one Friday. They reminded me of the early days of our resistance to the Vietnam War the women in Women Strike for Peace and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. I felt a great kinship with these Israeli sisters. It is clear why the Israeli government doesn't want this kind of activity and its growing strength known here in the states. This activity can create bonds which can help move American Jews to understand the moral and practical necessity of giving the Palestinians back their land and establishing a peaceful coexistence.

None of these observations could have happened without the ADC's "Eyewitness Israel". We know how successful this kind of witnessing and reporting has been in Nicaragua's Witness for Peace programs over the years. Similarly, this new opportunity for witnessing in Palestine, can have similar and profound results. Those of us who participate and then return to speak, write, visualize with our slides and photos, are becoming the core of a new resistance, in support of the Palestinians and those Israelis who fight for justice.

I might never have known the anguish, the pain, the hopes, the dreams of people on both sides of the green

line of occupation. I might never have made friends in the refugee camps of Jabalia, Qalandia, Dheisheh, people I can never forget, and about whom I worry as if they were my own family. I might never have heard a 17 year old girl in Jabalia camp, Gaza, say, "Aren't we entitled to live in freedom, peace and dignity on our own country's land? Isn't forty years of wandering as refugees enough? I am a girl who lives as a refugee and experiences the bitterness of the occupation, who sees sorrow and suffering in this camp in its most grotesque forms. They say that we shall kneel and our Intifada shall end. How? When the screams of mothers reverberate in our ears. How? When we learn resistance from our young men behind bars. We cry for everlasting and encompassing peace. We are a people who are in love with peace and who work for it." This girl, Munar, wants to become a doctor but her chances are slight now, despite her enormous abilities. Knowing her is reason enough for me. personally, to appreciate "Eyewitness".

I hope the project can grow and the funds can be provided to bring hundreds of people from every discipline there and they will become part of the cause of Palestinian independence, living side by side with their Israeli cousins. Each group that returns brings the plea that we influence our government in all the possible ways to work for that peace in which Palestinians and Israelis can share the benefits and beauty and rich history of the Holy Land. To contact "Eyewitness Israel" write or call: ADC, 4201 Connecticut Ave, NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20008, phone 202-244-2990.

The following is excerpted from a leaflet of the N.Y.City Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation. There are similar groups in Ann Arbor, Berkeley, Boston, San Francisco, Santa Cruz and Wash.,D.C.

We of the Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation support a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We believe it is now more important than ever for American Jews to join in furthering all peace efforts. We are committed to continuing the dialogue that has been opened within the American Jewish community, and we urge American Jewish leaders to work toward an end to the violence, to encourage negotiations between Israel and the PLO, and to support the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

We have been standing vigil since April 1988 in solidarity with Israeli women's peace groups, including Shani, (Israeli Women's Alliance Against the Occupation), Women's Organization for Women Political Prisoners, and Women in Black, which holds vigils every Friday in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and Haifa. We are also standing vigil in front of American Jewish organizations to encourage them to stimulate discussion amongst their membership on this issue. We want to make clear through our vigils that many American Jews oppose the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

PLEASE JOIN US FOR OUR VIGILS EVERY MONDAY FROM 5:30 - 6:30 PM UNITED JEWISH APPEAL — FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES 130 E. 59th STREET, BETWEEN PARK AND LEXINGTON AVENUES

Coordinating Committee: Rita Falbel, Irena Klepfisz, Donna Nevel, Grace Paley JWCEO: Suite 1178, 163 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201 (718) 855-2905

Poland's New Multiculturalism Benefits Its Jewish Citizens

Pre-1980's Poland prided herself on being a mono-national,-ethnic and-religious country in contrast to pre-World War II Poland.

Today's glasnost-aspiring Poland, however, dutifully acknowledges her ethnic cultural plurality, past and present. She willingly nurtures even the tiniest of sprouts of "other" cultures (and religions as reflections of history, customs, traditions and culture).

No less than 35 religious (cultural and/or ethnic) groupings are active among the million and a half inhabitants of Warsaw alone, capital of this 38 million-strong nation. The most numerous of these and one with the longest national/religious traditions here is that of the Vatican-oriented Roman Catholics followed up by a number of other Christian faiths. To cite but a few at random: there are the Russian Orthodox, the Lutherans of the Augsburg Confession, Reformed Calvinists, Polish Christian Baptists, Polish Catholics (not of the Roman Catholic faith), and Methodists; also those belonging to the United Evangelical Church, the Old Catholic Church of Mariavites, the Church of the Seventh-Day Adventists, among others.

Then there are a number of other miniscule though respected religious faiths. One of the small non-Christian groupings is the Religious Association of the Mosaic Faith — the followers of Moses, or simply put, Jews.

The religious needs of Warsaw Jews are served by the impressive midtown Twarda Street Synagogue, completely rebuilt and restored to its pre-war splendor by the government. In addition to Sabbath and other holiday services, this temple has in recent years become the venue for regular concerts of liturgical music attended by standing-room audiences of religious and secular Jews as well as non-Jews.

This religious-cum-cultural center nestles up close to the two-story creamstone complex which houses the headquarters of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland (TESKAZET in the Polish acronym) with its Warsaw branch club and library; also the editorial board of the Society's bilingual 12-page weekly newspaper Folk Shtimme. Last but not least, one wing of this facility is devoted to the State Jewish Theater, which is often on the road in Poland and abroad having performed in almost every nook and corner across the country as well as

Sol Flapan

in the U.S., West Germany, Israel and other countries.

The Association of the Mosaic Faith includes nearly a score of congregations with some 2,000 members and 20-odd synagogues and smaller prayer-houses across the nation. Actually there is no definite figure for the number of Jews in Poland. The Holocaust in the main and World War II generally, the post-war exodus of Jews seeking to escape from the scene of Nazi genocide and the late 1950's emigration triggered by official and unofficial antisemitism have almost completely depopulated Poland of her industrious and culture-rich Jews who numbered about 3 million in 1939.

On the other hand, in wake of the nine-year-long "open curtain" policy launched and consistently implemented by the Wojciech Jaruzelski administration (Poland's version of glasnost and perestroika) more and more Polish Jews and non-Jews are publicly proclaiming their affinity with and empathy for Jewish history, culture and the Jews' one thousand year presence in Poland.

The Polish government is now both committed to conservation of historic, cultural-religious monuments (churches, synagogues,etc.) and supports the development of ethnic educational programs.

State-Church relations are currently in a wide ranging and deep going process of rapprochement. Departing from the mutual antagonism and confrontation in the early post-war years, shedding their icy toleration of each other in later years, both sides are today striving to reach mutual understanding and even cooperation for the commonweal. "Amen" to that.

In memory of our brother JOE KAHN

Lillian Neumann and Esty Glassman

In memory of PEARL ROSEMAN Died April 7, 1989

Son, Grandchildren and Great Grandchildren

Sol Flapan is our Polish correspondent.

May Day and the Rosenbergs

Aaron Katz

Throughout the late 1940's many American workers treasured their May Day holiday as the one day in the year that symbolized the future, the international workers' holiday founded in these United States in 1886 in the struggle for basic workers' rights and the 8-hour day. As many as 500,000 workers and allies paraded through the streets of New York, heading for Union Square and the massive rallies to follow

No such joyous demonstrations were taking place on May 1, 1950, at the height of McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria. Prison gates were closing or about to close on many of America's leaders in all fields, Communist Party leaders convicted in unconstitutional Smith Act trials, Hollywood writers, directors, producers and actors who defied the House Un-American Activities Committee inquisition, teachers and professors who resisted their inquisitors, etc. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg had no way of knowing that about three months later, those prison gates would be closing around them.

By May Day 1951, they had already been convicted in Judge Irving R. Kaufman's McCarthyized courtroom — McCarthyized by use of Attorney General's and HUAC's lists to eliminate leftist, liberal and progressive jurors — on the fraudulent charge of "conspiring to commit espionage," and sentenced by Judge Kaufman on April 5 to unprecedented death sentences.

The judge's hysterical sentences were not founded on the jury's verdict, "guilty of conspiring to commit espionage." Misrepresenting the jury's verdict to the entire world, Kaufman said in his sentencing statement that the Rosenbergs had put "the A-bomb into the hands of the Russians," had cost "untold millions" of future lives and had "changed the course of history to the disadvantage of our country." That false claim was reported repeatedly, unchallenged, in every commercial daily newspaper in the country. (Dissent, during that period, caused serious consequences.) Despite the Rosenbergs' claims of innocence from beginning to end, no commercial paper pointed out that the jurors had not found the Rosenbergs guilty of a single act of espionage and that no witness testified that the Rosenbergs had ever passed any classified information to anyone!

Significant truths about the frameup began emerging from the time of the arrests and mounted after the

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

outrageous sentences and the Circuit Court finding of "wholly reprehensible" prosecution conduct and Supreme Court refusal to review the trial record. In the past decade alone there have been two major revelations that reduce Judge Kaufman's credibility to zero. In 1979, FOIA files released to the Rosenberg sons, Michael and Robert Meerepol, quoted General Leslie Groves, commander and chief security officer of the atom bomb project: "I consider the information passed in the Rosenberg case of minor value." That statement, originally made in 1954, only months after the electrocutions, was kept secret for the next 25 years. This admission demolishes the "justifications" of the death sentences by Kaufman and President Eisenhower.

The major exposure of Judge Kaufman came last year with the publication of *The Autobiography of Roy Cohn*. Virtually on his deathbed, the key assistant prosecutor in the Rosenberg case revealed his unlawful collusion with Judge Kaufman throughout the trial; how he importuned Cohn to use his influence to have him assigned as the judge; how Cohn succeeded and Kaufman assured him, *before the trial began*, that he would sentence Julius to death. Cohn admits that he lied repeatedly for 35 years in denying such collusion, so as not to embarrass Kaufman. Had the higher courts and public known about such judicial misbehavior, about which considerable earlier evidence existed but which had never been spelled out so definitely, the case would have been thrown out of court.

Jewish Affairs supports and calls upon readers in the New York area to attend the Annual Rosenberg Commemoration, Sunday, June 11, 3:15 pm at Marymount Manhattan College, 221 E. 71 St. It will feature Leonard Lehrman's Rosenberg Cantata, "We Are Innocent" with full orchestra and chorus and Charles Keller's painting, The Martyrdom of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The annual demonstration at the U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square, in Manhattan where Judge Kaufman still sits will take place on Monday, June 19, noon to 2:00 pm.

May Day 1890 and the Jewish Labor Movement

From Elias Tcherikower and Aaron Antonovsky, THE EARLY JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. New York: YIVO, 1961

This account of May Day 1890 is based on the reports in the Arbeiter Tsaytung (Workers' Journal). The participant Jewish organizations included the unions of the cloakmakers, typographers, buttonhole-makers, shirt-makers, pants-makers, kneepants-makers, clothing cleaners, purse makers, tailors, pressers, children's jacket makers, sodawater workers, suspender-makers, the Progressive Tailor's Union, the Arbeiter Tsaytung Association, and the Jewish section of the Socialist Labor Party.

On April 21,1890, representatives of the SLP (Socialist Labor Party) proposed that the Jewish unions participate in the May Day demonstration for the eight-hour day. The UHT (United Hebrew Trades Council) appointed six delegates to the committee making the arrangements. This was the first May Day parade to be held in America following the resolution of the Socialist International in 1889 establishing this an an international workers' holiday. It is estimated that on May 1,1890 only a year and a half after the UHT had been formed 9,000 organized Jewish workers participated in the demonstration.

The entire day was a festive occasion. About 3,000 cloakmakers gathered in the five large halls at 125 Rivington Street and in the neighborhood. Bands played the Marseillaise and other workers' and revolutionary songs. Speakers held forth. The same scenes, with the participation of other Jewish unions and socialists, took place on East Broadway, Hester, Clinton, and Delancey Streets. Everyone was in holiday attire for this gala demonstration, and the men wore eight-hour day buttons in their lapels.

About 6:30 in the evening the cloakmakers started the march, heading towards Rutgers Square, the rendezvous of the Jewish workers. The sixteen Jewish unions and socialist groups marched down Henry Street past the office of the *Arbayter Tsaytung* to the Bowery, up the Bowery to Broome Street, then over to Broadway to the Irish section, and up Broadway to Union Square. The marchers bore aloft signs with slogans like:

We toil 18 hours a day; We wish to work 8; Bread and Liberty; We clothe the entire land, and we ourselves go naked; Down with wage slavery.

Cahan (Abraham Cahan, editor of Forvarts "Forward") writes that red banners flew from the windows of

hundreds of houses, and thousands cheered as the marchers, accompanied by music, went by.

The previous week the Arbeiter Tsaytung had written that 6,000 Jewish workers were expected to participate in the demonstration together with 20,000 German and American workers. Three bandstands had been erected in Union Square: the main stand, in the center, for the American workers; on the east, for the German workers; and on the west for the Jewish workers. The rain, which had begun shortly after the march started, and continued to fall, did not deter the people from listening attentively to the speeches. Abraham Cahan was the first to address the Jewish workers. Beginning in English, he switched to Yiddish, saying:

There are no words which can adequately express our joy that we have lived to see almost ten thousand organized Jewish workers in Union Square. We were driven from Russia, Poland, Hungary and Rumania to America, only to become the victim of rapacious capital.... Now, however, we have shown our American and German brothers, and show at this very moment by our participation in this universal workers' demonstration in such overwhelming numbers, that we are united with all workers in the common struggle against capital....

This mass demonstration is the beginning of the great revolution which will overthrow the capitalist system and will create a new society built upon foundations of true liberty, equality and fraternity. Let us vow, brothers, as we stand here, among the mansions of the millionaires on Fifth Avenue and the wealthy shops of Broadway on one side of us, and the terrible squalor of the tenement districts on our other side, that we shall lay down our very lives in order to to wipe out the present injustice.

Cahan's addresss, the Arbeiter Tsaytung wrote, was received with thunderous applause. Among the others who addressed the Jewish workers that day were Kopenheim and Englebert-Brickman, speaking in German, and Louis Miller and Michael Zametkin, who spoke in Yiddish. The last said that Marx had prophetically envisaged the "necessity of such a day for the liberation of the workers, and that the voices of the masses of workers of the entire world must be heard on one day."

Continued on p. 13

"The Jews Have All The Money"

Richard Davidson

You're walking. It is nine at night. It is bitter cold.
The wind tugs against your coat. You shiver quietly.
"What am I going to do? Haven't got the rent this month.
Social Security just isn't enough. I'm hungry. God, I'm hungry. Walk faster.
Forget food. Haven't the strength to walk faster. Slow up. Slow up and live.
What have I heard all my life? Sure. The Jews have all the money!
I have to laugh at that. In this hard winter I have to laugh at that.
Where are my friends? Most of them dead or in the hospital. Charley Goldberg,
Ira and Rosy, Ned the guy who loved knishes and gingerale. All gone."

You walk slower now. The street is noisy even at nine o'clock. You look at the people in the street. Men hurrying home from work. Late for dinner. Office hours, Later than expected. Women doing last minute shopping. Kids out for a good time or out for no good. How many muggings this month?

For the last hour you've been walking. They say walking is good for you. But not when you're hungry and there's no money for supper. God, let me be young again. Let me have work again. My hands shake. Sixty-six years old and my hands shake. Need a warm stove to rest them by. A warm stove. Mama, where are you? I can remember you making dinner when I was a kid. Papa playing his violin. Hell I was a mentsch in those days. Going to school and dreaming, "Jews have all the money." Shut him up. Jews have all the money, huh? Ask them at the Social Security office. Ask them at the welfare office. Ask any of us. We know. Go to the synagogue and just sit. Rabbi Kantor gave a nice talk last week. Talked about the homeless. How about those with a home. A room. Alone. That's what I am. Alone. Mama far away and almost in her nineties. In that nursing home in Chicago. Papa dead these many years. God, let me be young. What'll I do when the landlord asks for the rent. I wish I was a bird. I could fly away. No jobs. No jobs when you're old and nobody cares.

You walk the street very slowly now. Your breath comes in slow, agonizing gasps. You suddenly feel weak. There's a bench, sit down. Rest. Suddenly you can't move. But you can after a minute. What was that all about, you wonder? You turn your head. There are tears in your eyes.

"The Jews have all the money." God, what a joke. Look at my bank book. See what you find, mister. Empty spaces. That's what you'll find. Blank pages for blank checks. God, I'm hungry. Maybe go up to Sammy's place. Sammy is always good for a meal. Wait a minute. I forgot. He's been taken off food stamps. A discrepancy they say. They wrote him a letter. A discrepancy. We all are. Maybe I should ask for money. Hey mister, Got a dollar on you? Pretty soon I'll get me a tin cup and go in the subways. I'll have to. Go in the subways. Maybe a nickel, maybe a dime, maybe even a dollar. Mama would die if she saw me in the subways with a cup. What am I going to do? Been looking for work. Can't find a job. I'll be sixty-seven in March. Happy birthday!

You get up slowly. Begin painfully walking. Only this time heading for home. The home you got—for how long?

How long the fist tightening? How long the hand at the neck squeezing,

Squeezing the life out of you? Go home and sleep.

Dream of picnics with mom and dad. Dream of my first girl.

Think of mama's potato pancakes on Sunday morning.

Think of papa practicing on his violin. Mendelsohn, Schubert.

Think of the past. It may chase away the present.

God, let me be young again. Let my hands work again.

The dreams all dying out. And now no work even.

After thirty-five years with the company. And now the rent is due.

Can't pay it. "The Jews have all the money." You fool.

You stupid, stupid fool.

Look around you. You see who has all the money. Look around.....

May Day, 1890 Continued from p. 11

The following resolutions were adopted by each of the three ethnic groups at this assemblage:

Whereas, a convention of the American Federation of Labor has fixed this day as the beginning of a new eight-hour day movement, which will only end with the victory of the workers;

and whereas, the International Workingmen's Congress in Paris has confirmed this decision, and has proposed that all the workers of the world conduct meetings and demonstrations in order to unanimously demand a working day of eight hours and to turn all our strength toward the realization of this demand;

and whereas, workers the world over are today conducting parades, in order to carry out this decision; and whereas, the actual struggle for the eighthour work day in America has already been begun by the carpenters and will proceed apace from trade to trade until it shall have been introduced universally;

and whereas, the eight-hour day will allow the workers greater opportunity to think and, in this way, will help in evaluating the wage system and rebuilding the society on a socialist basis

Therefore we, the working masses of New York, have decided to unite our voices with those of all wage workers of the world, once more to ratify the decision of the Paris Congress, to demand an eight-hour working day and to lend all our strength to those who are fighting for this cause.

We declare that in order for the eight-hour work day to be realized it must be embodied in law, and, therefore our economic struggle must be supported by a political struggle.

May Day - Day of Struggle

Henri Percikow

From the suffering and struggle of workers Who slaved from dawn to dusk

Across the industrial cities of America

May 1st, the day of struggle

Was born a century ago.
The McCormick strikers, who came

Onto Haymarket Square, marching

With their songs and demands

Paid with blood, tears and lives

For defying their exploiters

Who unleashed with gun and gallows

Their police terror.

May Day, international day of struggle

In the entire capitalist world

Where workers sing to their final liberation

And a day of rejoicing

In all the lands of socialism.

In America the corporate tycoons

Have tried to erase May Day

By keeping the people ignorant of its history and birth

By transforming the day of working class struggle To a day of submission to the Moloch

With their Loyalty and Law Day parades

To no avail.

For the American working people, white and Black

Makers of history

Have nurtured with love the roots of May Day

For one hundred years

And know that May Day will bloom

Into a festival of liberation

For labor and peace.

Herbert Aptheker

Arno Mayer, a professor at Princeton, is the author of several distinguished books in modern European history. This served as important preparation for the book being reviewed. In addition, this book deals centrally with Hitlerism and Judeocide and Mayer, himself Jewish, left Luxembourg as an adolescent, in company with members of his family fleeing the Nazi scourge. Some of his relatives were not so fortunate and were consumed. This deep involvement adds passion to his research and prose, but the scholarly scruples one expects from Mayer are present.

Mayer places Hitlerism within the new Thirty Years War marking European history from 1914 to Hitler's defeat. That thirty-year cauldron is shown to have deep roots reaching back to the Thirty Years War of the 17th century in which millions were slaughtered, and that in turn to the Inquisition period of the 15th century; and that to the Crusades from the 11th through the 13th century.

All were marked by relentless and fanatical ideologies and more or less mass killings with the latter especially aimed at "heretics" or those who rejected Christianity altogether, particularly Jews and Moslems. Given Mayer's subject, he develops with emphasis the idea of the demonology of the Jew. He shows the inculcation and use by ruling forces of this poison, and its intensity and persistence.

Mayer emphasized that the demonology was employed even during the Enlightenment and in periods of artistic, literary and scientific flowering, as the 16-17 centuries; it persisted because it was useful to the exploitative and oppressive purposes of those in power. In this connection, Mayer's work would have been strengthened if he had paid attention to the appearance of colonialism, the rise of the African slave trade and the great consequence of the institution of slavery for all major European powers from the the 15th through most of the 19th century. Its absence from Mayer's work weakens it, especially since the inhumanity of colonialism, the slave trade and slavery and its ideological bulwark, racism, were such fundamental components of the social torment he describes.

Mayer's book documents the indispensable support Hitlerism received from Big Business in Germany as well as from other components of the Establishmentthe churches, the aristocracy and the landed magnates. He tends, however, to place the industrial and financial tycoons as junior partners, in a kind of power-elite analysis (like C. Wright Mills). I think this is an error because the dominators of industry and finance wielded ultimately decisive power. Mayer does show the integral connection between capitalism and fascism; this will trouble the growing school of bourgeois historians in the United States and in Europe (especially West Germany) who are insisting upon the absence of such a relationship.

Mayer shows, also, that without acquiescence, at least — and frequently support — from the Western capitalist powers (including the United States, though this is not in Mayer's work), Hitlerism could not have persisted. Its ultimate aim — the destruction of the Left and of the USSR — assured Hitlerism its international as well as national support from the bourgeoisie.

The diplomacy of the Soviet Union gains the somewhat grudging admiration of Mayer; its remarkable military capacity (which surprised not only Berlin, as Mayer states, but also Washington, London and Paris, which he omits) is described well by the author. The reactionary character of the Soviet Union's neighbors—the Baltic states, Poland. Hungary, Rumania—is emphasized. Their anti-Semitic activities, including repeated pogroms, prepares the reader for the despicable actions of the leaders of these states when "liberated" by Hitler. Some of these leaders were President Bush's advisers in the 1988 campaign, and the whole "Captive Nations" charade represents a grouping of these pogromists, sadists and mass murderers.

Hitler's original victims were adherents of the Left, especially Communists, of whom tens of thousands were martyred. The first mass killings by the Hitlerites during the War were of Soviet war prisoners; in the end Hitler slaughtered about two million of them. His war was a war of extermination; he intended to eliminate Moscow and Leningrad and to dismember the USSR.

Out of Europe's history, out of the endemic anti-Semitism of centuries, out of the lust of Europe's ruling classes, stemmed the ultimate atrocity — the systematic, institutionalized effort to annihilate Europe's Jewry.

This effort forms a central theme of Mayer's book. One of its great strengths is its demonstration (albeit sometimes grudgingly) that the diplomacy, policy and activity of the USSR resulted in the saving of hundreds
of thousands, perhaps as many as two million Jews, in
the Baltic States, in Poland, in Rumania and within the
USSR itself

In connection with the concentration camps, Mayer depicts the close partnership of Germany's leading corporations. Some of their directors were SS officials; all of them knew that their corporations employed scores of thousands of camp slaves and that their profits reached abnormal heights because of this unprecedented exploitation of workers. The list of the corporate criminals includes Farben, Krupp, AGFA, Bayer, BMW, Siemens — all of them. In many cases they maintained factories on the grounds of the camps.

In connection with the military defeat of Hitler, Mayer brings forward — as few other Western historians have — the very important role of the Soviet partisans. He observes that these indomitable fighters consisted of Jews and non-Jews. They battled together and died together. They contributed significantly to the defeat of Nazism and the salvation of humanity.

Mayer's work would have been strengthened if he had paid more attention to the Resistance movements against Hitler. Of course, he observes this among the masses within the USSR; without this all would have been lost.

But there was notable resistance elsewhere (in France and Holland especially) and inside Germany. Mayer denies this largely by omission. His extensive bibliography tends to ignore the literature on this and even Yuri Suhl's work — let alone the literature on this coming out of the German Democratic Republic — is missing.

Anyone who visits the GDR will be struck by the numerous plaques and monuments to the martyrs that appear on almost every street corner, and a visit to Leipzig and the Dimitrov Museum would disclose the names of tens of thousands of those who perished in resisting Hitlerism. Mayer comments on an absence of resistance in the German universities, but this also is too sweeping. In the courtyard of Humboldt University in Berlin, for example, is engraved the names of twenty-seven faculty members who were executed by the Nazis — including thirteen women, one of whom was the American, Mildred Harnack. Additionally, the entire senior leadership of the GDR were in the Resistance; several are survivors of concentration camps.

There is no better account of the crucifixion of European Jewry than this book by Mayer. Its great strength is that it places this atrocity within the sweep of history and in doing so significantly illuminates that history.

Mayer's final words convey the gist of his book's

theme:

"Just as Hitler would have been inconceivable and ineffectual without his conservative underpinning and apologists, so his anti-Semitism prevailed only because it was part and parcel of a syncretistic ideology combining key tenets of conservatism, reaction and fascism."

It is sobering to observe the growth of the Right—and anti-Semitism and racism— in the "Free World" again. Especially to be noted is the electoral resurgence of neo-Nazi groups and parties in West Germany. The filth that attracts these vermin is described in Professor Mayer's notable book.

A Postscript

Since Dr. Aptheker completed the foregoing review there has been an outburst of unfounded criticism of Mayer's book by several historians and journalists. Proponents of the prevailing view, convincingly challenged by Mayer, that the Nazis principal target was the Jews. they center their fire on his conclusion that the genocide of the Jews was an unplanned outcome of Nazi Germany's war of annihilation against the Soviet Union. As Newsweek's Tamar Jacoby expresses it: "Unlike some historians who view the Jew's extermination as Hitler's primary, driving obsession, Mayer sees it as a . . . consequence of other Nazi thrusts, particularly the war against Russia. For Mayer, the wellspring of the war is the anti-Bolshevism of the German elite - industrialists and army officers as well as Nazi leaders. And in his view, the destruction of the Jews came about only as an indirect result of this anti-Communism."

Actually, Mayer holds that it was the direct result of anti-Communism, which for the Nazis was inseparable from anti-Semitism, since they believed, as Hitler stated in *Mein Kampf*, that the Jews were the "chief carriers" of the "virus of Marxist ideas." In Mayer's words:

The "Final Solution" may be said to have been forged and consummated in the crucible of the abortive crusading war against Soviet Russia and "Judeo-Bolshevism," which in eastern Europe created the context of extreme cruelty and destruction apart from which the Judeocide (Mayer's term for the Holocaust, A.J.K.) would have been unthinkable and impractical. . . . When its eastern campaign bogged down in the late fall of 1941, Nazi Germany radicalized the conduct of the war against the Soviets and the crusade within it, fixing on the Jews for slaughter as the most hated and accessible member of the "common enemy" —

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Dennis King, LYNDON LaROUCHE and the NEW AMERICAN FASCISM (New York: Doubleday, 1989) 415 pp., \$19.95

Gerald Horne

Though not without flaws, this is an extremely important work on an extremely important subject. The story of how this home-grown fascist grew in influence and power deserves to broadcast far and wide.

LaRouche began as a Trotskyite but, in a maneuver reminiscent of Benito Mussolini, he gradually moved to the ultra-right. While still on the "left," he adumbrated his swing to the right by launching "Operation Mop-Up" against the Communist Party in 1973-74: "...LaRouche had ordered the most physically agile...members to undergo training for street fighting... Members were organized into flying squads with metal pipes, clubs and numchukas (Korean martial arts devices consisting of two sticks attached by a chain)" (p.21). The result was bloody attacks on Communists and their allies. The FBI egged them on in this hooliganism; given LaRouche's earlier role as a FBI informant in the Socialist Workers Party, this should not be deemed overly surprising (pp.24.8).

LaRouche's organizations quickly developed all the earmarks of a cult: "Members were told what kind of music to listen to. Spouses informed on one another to the leadership. Wives who became pregnant were marched to the abortionist by the 'coat-hanger brigade.'" (p.299). But his U.S. Labor Party and related formations were not some freak to be laughed at but a deadly serious instrument of the ruling class.

It is clear that antisemitism is essential to the ideology and cosmology of fascist groupings in the U.S. This is no less true for LaRouche's outfit. He quickly developed ties with the Liberty Lobby, Populist Party and Posse Comitatus (p. 109). He had a working alliance with Roy Frankhouser, late of the KKK. Mitchell WerBell, long-time Liberty Lobby ally who maintained close ties with leading U.S. intelligence and military circles, was LaRouche's security adviser (p. 40).

These governmental ties were not an accident. During the Reagan Administration, LaRouche maintained close contact with both the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency. Moreover, he had ties with a number of local police departments, military figures, and Jack Cusack, former head of international operations for the the Drug Enforcement Administration. Yet, he was on both sides of the fence as he was also close to a number of gangs and racketeers who were not infrequent lawbreakers and drug dealers (p.33). LaRouche's ties to Bobbie Ray Inman, former head of the National Security Agency and leading CIA official are also worth noting (p.160). LaRouche main-

tained his own files on the left, which were apparently shared with U.S. intelligence and police agencies. His curious alliances also included the Teamsters under Jackie Presser, whom he assisted in bludgeoning Teamsters for a Democratic Union; similarly, when Richard Trumka was seeking to lead the United Mine Workers, LaRouche's forces were on the scene seeking to destabilize his effort (p.356).

Most shocking about the reach of LaRouche was his relative electoral success: "The LaRouche election machine contested almost 4,000 Democratic primaries and general elections in over 30 states between 1982 and 1988. Its fund raisers brought in tens of millions of dollars while its candidates attracted over 4 million votes, including voting percentages above 10% in hundreds of contests" (p.85). Their candidate for the U.S. Senate in Oklahoma in 1986 received 33% of the vote in a two-way race. Their victories in the Illinois Democratic primary in 1986 for lieutenant governor and secretary of state are well known. King argues convincingly that this was no fluke, as some have suggested; the fact is that LaRouche candidates recived amazingly high figures in a number of races from coast to coast (p.112).

Tactics of certain Democrats assisted their rise, For example, when Ed Koch was challenged by the progressive Frank Barbaro in 1981, the mayor of New York encouraged U.S. Labor Party participation and they went on to red-bait Barbaro furiously; the LaRouchte got 25,000 votes in sthe primary. A number of center-right and right-wing Democrats saw the LaRouche forces as a convenient pit bull to deploy against progressive challengers.

Where did he get the money from for these farflung operations? Unfortunately on this King is not as thorough as he should be. It is clear that he received federal matching funds for his presidential races; he was involved in various forms of credit card fraud; he had ties to Oklahoma oil-men and Detroit racketeers; he had ties to affluent South Africans and Thais; and a computer concern of his held lucrative contracts from Mobil Oil, Citibank, Colgate-Palmolive, Wang, and a number of Wall Street investment houses (pp. xi, 91, 296, 179, 301).

Despite the clear value of this stunning study, it is not without weaknesses. King is naive about the CIA (p.212) and the Jewish Defense League (p.247). As often happens when one begins to examine such a tricky phenomenon as LaRouche, King at times gets lost and suggests that some of LaRouche's writings had "genuine

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CIA Brainwashing in Canada

Shloime Perel

Reprinted from the progressive Canadian Jewish magazine Outlook (February, 1989), this article exposes the unethical and criminal behavior of members of the "free world's" psychiatric and political establishments in the U.S. and Canada collaborating with the C.I.A. in "combating communism and 'selling' democracy." Of particular interest is the Jewish identity of several of the eight victims-plaintiffs in this case, including the wife of a former member of Canada's parliament.

Readers of *Outlook* are undoubtedly aware that an out-of-court settlement was reached in early November between the CIA and eight victims of psychiatric brainwashing "experiments" at Montreal's Allan Memorial Institute. One of the plaintiffs was Velma Orlikow, former NDP MP David Orlikow's wife. Several months before the case was slated to open in court, I interviewed the attorney in the case, Jim Turner, for community radio.

In the 1950's and 60's, the CIA and Canada's Dept. of Health and Welfare funded mind-altering experiments at the Allan Memorial to which over 1,000 patients are estimated to have been subjected. The organizer was Dr. Ewen Cameron, at different times president of the American and the World Psychiatry Association, who exposed individuals to combinations of intense electroshock, psychiatric drugs and long periods of isolation and drug-induced sleep. This was the "depatterning" which was to have transformed or "blanked out" enough of a person's mind to allow the implantation of intended behavior-altering suggestions repeated thousands of times, this being the "psychic driving" technique.

Political and military motives related to the Korean and the Cold Wars impelled the CIA and Canadian government funding of Cameron's work. Consider the following excerpt from the minutes of a 1951 Montreal meeting between CIA personnel, Canadian psychologists and the research director the for the Defence Board: "Research (is needed) into the psychological factors causing the the human mind to accept certain political beliefs aimed at determining means for combatting communism and 'selling' democracy...(and) into the means whereby an individual may be brought temporarily or perhaps permanently under the control of another."

The CIA tried for eight years to keep the case from coming to court. But by the time a court date was set for November of this year, the plaintiffs felt that since the

court might have continued through various CIA appeals, many of them might not be around by the time of the final decision. The money, it was felt, would help the victimized to live more comfortable lives after all they have gone through.

Interview with Jim Turner

Shloime Perel: Could you elaborate on the history of the case?

Jim Turner: In spring 1987, I argued our opposition to the CIA's effort to get rid of the case. The CIA filed a motion to dismiss which relies upon a whole array of technical defences ranging from an argument that too much time has passed — the statute of limitations — to an argument that the CIA had broad discretion basically to do whatever it wanted anywhere in the United States and North America.

We fully answered the arguments and, in addition, filed with the court an encyclopedic set of affidavits from experts that set out just how the experiments at the Allan Memorial Institute violated the most basic canons of medical and legal ethics as codified in the Nuremberg code. I've always considered the argument of a statute of limitations to be rather a specious view to be advancing, as the CIA destroyed the records that reflected these experiments in the early 1970's when Richard Helms and Sidney Gottlieb left the Agency.

This is really a tragedy compounded by by the time that has passed since this suit was filed. There is no legitimate justification for this case to have dragged on for (eight) years with the ClA stonewalling every effort to negotiate a reasonable and fair resolution of these people's claims. We faced an unending series of obstacles, both technical and obstructionist, to the prosecution of this litigation.

In January 1986, Florence Langleben, one of the plaintiffs in the case, died. That was a tragedy, not simply her death which was tragic in its own right, but also that she passed away before seeing justice done out of these horrendous experiments.

Another plaintiff, Louis Weinstein, has marked his 81st birthday. Mr. Weinstein suffered horrendously from the the experiments that were done to him. His health is not good, but he's a tough man. Others of my clients are in their seventies, and one has to wonder whether the delaying tactics and the stonewalling weren't a calculated effort to slow things down until there were no

plaintiffs left.

Shloime Perel: Why all this resistance by the CIA? Do you think the CIA feels that it's waging a battle for the honour of the United States? And what about the Canadian government?

Jim Turner: I see it very difficult to justify a defence of horrendous brainwashing experiments as having anything to do with honour. I don't know diplomacy. I don't know what the stakes are between the United States and Canada, but I've been told by my Canadian friends that your (Canada's) government is just afraid to stand up to these guys.

The Canadian federal government has been a wimpish ally at best. Perhaps the most vicious blow to the case came in the form of what's called the Cooper Report. After many importunings by myself and Mr. Rauh, the Canadian government announced — actually it was Mr. MacEachen, the Minister of External Affairs at the time — that they would consider going to the International Court of Justice at the Hague if compensation were not forthcoming for the Canadian victims of the CIA experiments.

Apparently, the winds changed somewhat, and when Mr. Crosbie became justice minister he commissioned what is known as the Cooper Report (published in 1986) which in the history of governmental reports has to stand out as the biggest single whitewash and one-sided effort to absolve the (U.S.) government of any responsibility that has ever been written. It was a vicious stab in the back to the victims to have their own government subsidizing the CIA's effort to avoid liability. And that's precisely what that report did: it was in effect a brief for the CIA prepared by your government.

In effect, what it said was that the CIA did nothing wrong in coming to Canada and financing brainwashing experiments on unwitting Canadian citizens. You have to hope that governments, particularly in democratic societies, hear the wishes of the governed. I must in fairness note that the support we have received from the Canadian people, from the members of various Canadian press organizations, has been significant and has mobilized what assistance we have received from the Canadian government. And we hope that kind of public support continues.

Shloime Perel: So far as I know, no intelligence agency, U.S. of for that matter Canadian, ever admitted it made mistakes. Intelligence agencies are involved in the toppling of governments and justify what they do on the basis of the national interest.

Jim Turner: You're right on lots of fronts. However, there is one notable exception which I ought to tell you about. In 1953, in the same brainwashing/drugtesting

area, there was an unwitting test of LSD by the CIA on a civilian employee of the United States army, whose name is Frank Olson. The two key actors are gentlemen named Gottlieb and Lasbrook. They had a meeting where Dr. Olson was in attendance. In their after dinner cocktails, Dr. Lashbrook included some LSD. Mr. Olson became terribly, terribly depressed as a consequence of this unwitting drug test. To make a long story short, he jumped out of hotel window in New York City and killed himself as a consequence of this unwitting drug test.

Now the CIA managed to cover that up for over twenty years — they didn't even tell his widow. But it became public after the Watergate scandals here in Washington. At that time, Mrs. Olson tragically learned what had happened to her husband when reporters called her up. But there was an air of contrition then. The CIA director personally apologized to the Olsons, and they were compensated for the loss of their husband and father.

That's absolutely critical to understanding our view of this case, because these same two men that were responsible for the death of Dr. Olson — which was later compensated by the U.S. government — were the two key funders of Dr. Cameron in 1957. So some four years after they had demonstrated their callous insensitivity to the rights of individuals and to medical ethics, they were still in a position in the CIA where they could approve the experimentation that went on at the Allan Memorial Institute.

Now if the United States government can compensate the wife of a United States Army employee who was killed in a CIA experiment, it seems to us the United States government can surely compensate Canadians who were injured in subsequent CIA experiments.

Shloime Perel: What about the American Psychiatric Association itself, considering that Cameron was a dominant politician in the world of psychiatry? And what about the mainstream psychology organizations? If they have any humanististic inclinations, it would seem they would take positions, too. There must be organizations of former psychiatry patients in the U.S. And what about the ACLU, Christic Institute and other human rights organizations?

Jim Turner: We have of course received great support from the American Civil Liberties Union. The Washington office has aided us tremendously through making available their files on the CIA activities and providing limited research support in preparing the case. There has been a shocking, one might say deafening, silence from the American Psychiatric Association, and, indeed from the psychological organizations. One can't say that's an

embarassed silence or whether it's the silence of indifference. It is, to me, one of the crowning ironies that the son of one of the plaintiffs, Louis Weinstein, whom I spoke of before, in order to understand what had happened to his father, became a psychiatrist himself. And I know that Dr. Harvey Weinstein, who is now at Stanford Medical Center in Palo Alto, is doing everything in his power to evoke a responsible position by the American Psychiatric Association and affiliated entities. And one can only hope that Dr.. Weinstein will meet with more success than I have in trying to awaken a rational response from these professional organizations.

Shloime Perel: You mentioned the destruction of documents by the CIA. What kind of documentation remains? Jim Turner: I think one of the truisms of Washington is that you can shred documents and burn papers as much as you want, but it's very difficult to get (destroy) every document and every piece of paper that reflects something as big as this. And that's what happened — documents were discovered in the late 1970's that reflected this activity that the CIA financed at the Allan Memorial Institute. We obtained those.

There were a series of consultations at the time that this story first broke in the Canadian press between representatives of the Canadian government and of the United States government at our embassy in Ottawa. During these consultations — the Minister of External Affairs put it on the public record — there were expressions of deep regret made by the United States that the CIA has been involved at the Allan Memorial Institute and assurances that such activities would never be repeated in the future. This constitutes an admission culpability. In legal terms, this is a statement that you don't apologize unless you realize you've done something wrong.

We desperately tried to obtain written documentation from the Canadian government to support the former Minister of External Affair's statement that there had been these CIA apologies — some of it was provided to us. A few documents were provided to us, but the bulk of the documentation that was generated from the United States in the course of these apologies has not been turned over to us, and frankly, I don't see that we have much of a chance of getting them, because the Canadian government just backed down and let the CIA decide what would be provided to us.

Shloime Perel: Who specifically within the U.S. government apologized, then?

Jim Turner: That's a difficult question, because there were two CIA officers stationed at the U.S. embassy in Ottawa who participated in these discussions, Stacy B. Hulse, Jr. and John Kenneth Knaus, as well as an em-

bassy official, who I believe held the rank of number three in the embassy. The embassy official, a man named Dumling, denied that he made these apologies. We will never know the kind of testimony that the CIA officers gave, because the CIA succeeding in obtaining an order, a gag order if you will, to prevent the taking of their depositions after I had arranged for them to be taken. It's unfortunate that in 1979 the Canadian government would go so far as to have the Minister of External Affairs state on the floor of Parliament that apologies had been made and then be too craven to back it up with documents that were in their hands that reflected this.

Shloime Perel: What kind of coverage has the case gotten in the U.S. media?

Jim Turner: You know, things Canadian don't get much coverage under the best of circumstances in the U.S. There have been some editorial comments on the case, notably by the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post, endorsing a rapid resolution to the case. I think the case merits attention in the U.S. because what happens in Canada affects U.S. citizens. North Americans, together of course, share a common heritage of respect for individual rights and a faith in limited government. What the CIA did by financing these experiments in Montreal enjured not only Canadians, in my view, but also American citizens as well.

Lyndon LaRouche Continued from p. 16 insights" or that his paper was the "most literate paper on the far left." And King does have a tendency endemic among authors of inflating the importance of his subject.

among authors of inflating the importance of his subject, though the relative lack of attention to LaRouche previously helps to explain this (pp.51,17).

These flaws do not detract from the worthiness of this book, however. With his antisemitism, influence, funding and ruling class ties. LaRouche until his recent setbacks in court was well on his way to establishing a major foothold in the U.S. political scene. King blames the "major media" for ignoring this story and correctly notes that for the longest time only the left and alternative press paid attention to LaRouche (pp.373,375). But the left and alternative press often do not have the resources to investigate thoroughly a phenomenon of this character. King effectively cites the words of Adolf Hitler: "It was really a treat. . .to follow the perplexity and helplessness of our adversaries in their perpetually vacillating tactics. . . They called on their adherents to take no notice of us and to avoid our meetings. And on the whole this advice was followed" (p.83). LaRouche may be in legal difficulty now but the conditions that created him still exist. In this, the 50th anniversary of the opening of World War II in Europe, the necessity for broad antifascist unity still remains the watchword of the day.

Postscript Continued from p. 15

"Judeo-Bolshevism" --- which they constantly invoked.

Mayer describes in detail the Nazis' generally nonlethal persecution of Jews before this, but concludes that "although anti-Semitism was an essential tenet of the Nazi worldview, it was neither its foundation nor its principal or sole intention" and that "anti-Semitism did not play a decisive or even significant role in the growth of the Nazi movement and electorate..."

If this were not enough to upset those who believe that Nazism was based on anti-Semitism and the Holocaust was essentially a pogrom by non-Jews against Jews, Mayer also concludes that, despite certain unique features, the Nazis' killing of six million Jews was similar to their killing of 12 million non-Jewish civilians:

The torment of the Jews at Auschwitz — and throughout occupied Europe — was at one and the same time *sui generis* (unique,A.J.K.) and yet similar to that of other victims of the Nazis. It was fueled by the same conditions, served the same purposes, and was perpetrated by the same agencies.

These purposes, Mayer shows, were to eliminate actual and potential resistance to German ruling class rule and depopulate much of eastern Europe to provide *Lebensraum* for German colonizers.

Mayer's work was lauded in the front-page article of the New York Times Book Review (2/9/89), in which Brown University historian V. R. Berghahn characterized it as an "important book" and a "weighty and uncompromising study." The book has also been well received by other reputable historians ranging from Herbert Aptheker and H. Stuart Hughes of the University of California to Pierre Vidal-Naquet of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris and Saul Friedlaender of Tel Aviv University. However, it has been severely criticized by prominent Holocaust historians whose views - and reputations - it challenges, including Yehuda Bauer of Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Lucy Davidowicz of Yeshiva University, both of whose writings on the Holocaust assume its priority for the Nazis and stress its supposedly incomparable uniqueness. Bauer charges that Mayer "simply does not know the basic facts" and Davidowicz calls his work "a very dishonest book." Emboldened by these denunciations, magazines from Newsweek to Dissent have joined the attack. Most intemperate of all is the review in The New Republic (4/17/89) entitled "False Witness" - by a doctoral student! - which characterizes this work of meticulous scholarship as "an artful construction of halftruths in the service of an ideology . . . riddled with ex-

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traordinary factual errors which amount to a pattern of falsification and distortion." The reviewer goes so far as to associate Mayer with West German revisionist historians who have interpreted the Holocaust so as to absolve Nazi mass murderers.

What accounts for such unwarranted and unrestrained criticism of an objective scholarly work? The nationalist/Zionist ideology of some Jewish scholars and journalists who insist on the uniqueness and planfulness of the Nazi genocide of the Jews in order to prove the impossibility of a secure life for them outside of Israel is certainly a major reason. Another has been presciently stated in Dr. Aptheker's review when he notes that Mayer's demonstration of "the integral connection between capitalism and fascism . . . will trouble the growing school of bourgeois historians . . . who are insisting upon the absence of such a relationship." A.J.K.

די גרינע קוזינע" און שיין אויטאָגראַפירט פון דעם מחכר. עס איז ביי מיר געווען די גרעסטע און שענסטע מתנה.

איך האָב דאָן זיך געלערנט אין אָוונט־שול פון בראָנוווילער. פּאָבליק סקול 1.15 דער פרינציפּאָל איז געווען זייער אַ פּראָגרעסיווער מענטש און פלענט יעדן זורש דורכפירן אין אוידיטאָריום אַ ליטעראַרישן טייל וואר סטורשנטן פלענט פּאָרלייענען פון זייערע אייגענע שאַפּונגען. מיין לערער פון ליטעראַטור, מ. בערנשטיין, האָט געהערט פון מיינע אידישע לידער און דאָס דערציילט דעם פרינציפּאָל. ער האָט מיך אַריסגערופן און צו דעם פרינציפּאָל. ער האָט מיך אַריסגערופן און צו אַלעמענס איבערראַשט מיר געהייסן לייענען מיינע פיר לידער פון לידער. איך האָב פּאָרגעלייענט מיינע פיר לידער פון "אָמעריקאַנער".

נאָכן אָוונט איז צו מיר צוגעקומען אַ כחור אין כרילן אין געפרעגט צי האָב איך אַמאָל געלייענט די לידער פרן ווינטשעווסקי און עדעלשטארט און צי וואָלט איך וועלן הערן אַ לעקציע דעם כאַרימטן לעקטאָר קלמן מרמר. איך האָב כיי אים געקויפט אַ בילעט און אַזוי אָרום אין 1922 אַריינגעצויגן געוואָרן אין דער לינקער באַרצענג און אָנגעהיבן לייענען די נייע אידישע צייטונג. די "פרייהייט".

אונטער קלמן מרמר׳ס איינפלוס האָב איך אָנגעהויכן שרייכן אויף דער יוגנט־זייט פון דער "פרייהייט" און אַניינגעצויגן געוואָרן אין דער שרייכערישער משפחה. דער איינציקער וועלכע האָט געוואוסט וועגן מיינע קינקער־לידער אין "אַמעריקאַנער" איז געווען מיין חבר גרשון (כאַווער־פּאַווער).

מיט צען יאָר שפעטער, אין 1932, כין איך אַריינגעצויגן געוואָרן אין דער רעדאָקציע "פרייהייט" און שפּעטער באַשטימט געוואָרן אַלס נייעס־רעדאַקטאָר (סיטי־ עדיטאָר).

נייעס שרייבן איז דאָן געווען אַ סך שווערער ווי היינט. זונטאַגס, ווען מען האָט געמאַכט די מאָנטיקדיקע צייטונג זיינען אין רעראַקציע געווען בלויז דריי מענטשן, דער "סיטי־עדיטאָר" און צוויי נייעס־שרייבער. האָט אַפּגעגליקט אַז די צוויי זיינען געווען פון די "שיסער" איז געווען וואויל דעם רעראַקטאָר, טאָמער אָבער זיינען די צוויי געווען פון די "קריכער", און אַזעלכע זיינען געווען, איז דעם רעדאַקטאָר געווען ווונד־און־וויסט.

פּאָסירט, אַז איין זונטאָג איז געקומען כלויז איין שרייבער — י. בוכוואלד. דער צווייטער משה בלעכמאָן איז קראַנק געוואָרן און אָנגעקלונגען די לעצטע מינוט אַז ער ליגט אין בעט. ״כוטש״, בוכוואַלד, איז גראַדע געווען פון די בעסטע ״שיסער״. זיין קלאַפן אויף דער שרייב־מאַשין האָט געקאָנט פאַרפלייצן אַ צייטונג, אָבער ס׳איז שווער אין עטלעכע שעה אָנצופילן גאָנצע צוויי זייטן. דער ״טיקער״ ברענגט אָפט וויכטיקע פּאָליטישע נייעסן, אָחו׳ן צענדליקער קלענערע נייעסן פון איכער דער וועלט, לאַנד

און שטאַט וואָס מוזן "געדעקט" ווערן.

איך כין שיעור נישט צעריסן געוואָרן פון ערגערניש איך האָב פרובירט אָנקלינגען די הויפט־רעדאַקטאַרן און האָב פּאַרוואַלטער און קיינעם אין שטאָט נישט געטראָפּן.

בוכוואַלד האָט באַמערקט מיין נערוועזיטעט און אַ זאָג בעטאָן :

ווייסט איר נאָר וואָס, כאַפּט זיך אַריכער אין אוירווינג פלאַזאַ האָל, וואו עס גייט איצט אָן אַ קאָנפערענץ פון די אידישע אַרבעטער־קלוכן און כרענגט צוויי אינטעליגענטע חברים וואָס קאָנען האַלטן אַ פּען אין האַנט. איך בין אַהין אַוועק און עס האָט מיר אָפּגעגליקט. איך בין צוריקגעקומען מיט צוויי שרייבער — כאַוועק־פּאָווער בין צוריקגעקומען מיט צוויי שרייבער שכאַועצט און געגעכן און י. לייזעראַוויטש. מיר האָבען זיי באַזעצט און געגעכן איבערזעצן שטיקער פרישע נייעס פון "טיקער".

כאַווער־פּאַווער איז געוואָרן זייער אויפגעלעכט און שפּאָסנדיק מיך געהאַלטן אין איין רופן: אדוני רעדאַקטאָר. ביז מיטאַמאָל, האָט ער אַ זאָג געטאָן צו בוכוואַלר׳ן: נפּתלי, קומט נאָר אָהער, איר ווילט הערן אַ שיינע מעשה? בוכוואַלד איז צוגעקומען אַ נייגעהייגקער מיט דער ליולקע אין מויל און אָנגעשטעלט די אויערן. גרשון האָט אָנגעוויזן מיט זיין צייג־פינגער אויף לייזעראָוויטש׳ן און, שמייכלענדיק מיך געפרעגט:

אדוני רעדאַקטאָר, ווער איז דער איד, וואָס שרייבט — אייך שטיקער נייעס?

. וואָס הייסט ווער, י. לייזעראָוויטש.

. ניין, נישט געטראָפן —

ראַן האָט כאַווער־פּאַווער אַ פיר געטאָן דעם צייג־־ פינגער צו מיר און געפרעגט לייזעראָוויטש׳ן:

זאָג, נאָר, װער איז דער איד װאָס רעדאַקטירט דיינע —

נייעסן ? וואָס הייסט ווער, דער חבר סעלצער. —

ניין, אויך נישט געטראָפּן. —

און כאַווער־פּאַווער האָט זיך אַוועקגעשטעלט אין דער פּאַזע פון אַ דעקלאַמאַטאָר און טריאומפירנדיק זשעסטיקולירט מיט ביידע הענט און אויסגעצויגן די ווערטער:

רער וואָס רעדאָקטירט היינט די צייטונג איז דער 16 ריאָריקער רוד׳ל וועלכער האָט אין 1921 אַריינגעשיקט פיר לידער צום ״אַמעריקאַנער״ און דער וועלכער שרייכט פאַר אים די נייעם איז דער געוועזענער רעדאַקטאָר פון דער קינדער־אָפטיילונג פון דער ״אַמעריקאַנער״ און דער מחכר פו דעם ליד ״די גרינע קוזינע״ – דער זיידע הרב יעקב.

לייזעראַוויטש און איך האָכן זיך אַרומגענומען. מיר האָכן זיך צום ערשטן מאָל דערקענט און פאַרשטאַנען אונזער באַגעגעניש כיים שרייב־טיש פון אונזער "אַלמאָר מאַטערץ, די "מאָרגן־פרייהייט".

כוכוואַלר און כאַווער־פּאַווער האָבן זיך געפרייט מיט מונזער פרייד.

דעם ערשטן לעבעדיקן שרייבער און זשורנאַליסט האָב איך אָנגעטראָפן אויפן דעק פון דער שיף "ניו ראַשעל". וועלכע האָט אין נאוועמבער 1920 אונן אַריבערגעפירט דעם אַטלאַנטיק. פון לע־האַווער, פראַנקרייך, כיז האָבאָקען כיים צוזאַמעננוס פון טייך האָדסאָן מיטן אַטלאַנטיק כיי די ברעגן פון מאַנהעטן אינזל.

געשטאַנען איז ער אויף דער אויבערשטער דעק, כיים באַריער פון שיף, אַ דאַרער, לאַנגער איד אין ברילן, אין אַן אָפּגעבליאַקעוועטן גרינעם קאַפּעליוש און אַ צעטרענצלטן גרויען רעגן־מאַנטל און געלייענט אַ גרויסע אידישע צייטונג מיט קידוש־לבנה׳דיקע אותיות. אידישע פאַסאַזשירן האָכן אויף אים געוואונקען און געזאָגט אַז דאָס איז דער שרייכער צכי כהן.

איך כין דאָן לאָנג געשטאַנען און נאָכגעקוקט די כאַודעגונגען פון זיינע אומרואיקע אויגן ווי זיי היפן איבער בוויסע קעפ און לאַנגע אָרטיקלען פון דעם גרויסן כלאַט ברויסע קעפ און לאַנגע אָרטיקלען פון דעם גרויסן כלאַט "מאָרגן־זשורנאַל". ער האָט ווייזט אויס דערפילט מיינע הייטע כליקן און מיך בייז כאַטראַכט. איך כין דאָן אַלט געווען 16 יאָר און אויפגעציטערט פון זיין שטרעגן טאָן: בחור, ווילסט לייענען אַ איידש וואָרט? — יאָ.

און ער האָט אַרױסגעשלעפט פון זיין מאַנטל אַ צונױפגעלייגטע קלענערע שריפט מיטן קאָפּ ״דער אַמעריקאַנער״ און מיר דרלאַנגט: לייען די קינדער־זייט אַגעפירט פון דעם זיידן רב יעקב.

יענע גאַנצע וואָך, כיז אונזער אָנקומען קיין האָבאָקען.
האָב איך געבלעטערט דעם זשורנאַל "דער אַמעריקאַנער"
און געשלונגען יעדן אידישן וואָרט. דאָס איז געווען די
ערשטא מעריקאַנער שריפט וואָס איך האָב אָנגערואַפן.
דער שרייבער האָט אָנגעקוואָלן און מיך מקרב געווען. איך
פענג יעדן טאָג זיך מיט אים אַרומררייען אויף דער
פּאַלובע און ער פלעגט מיר דערציילן וועגן זשורנאַליזם
און אידישער געשיכטע.

ראָנערשטאַג כייטאָג. ווען מיר האָכן געהאַלטן כיים אַרונטערגיין פון שיף. האָכ איך זיך מיט אים געזעננט און אים דערלאַנגט צוריק דעם "אַמעריקאַנער". ער האָט אים מיר צוריקגעגעכן:

. נעם דאָס מיט אַלס אַ מתנה פון מיר.

אַ שײנעם דאַנק אײך. איך האָב רעם נומער "דער אַמעריקאַנער" געבראַכט

איך האָב דעם נומער ״דער אַמעריקאַנער״ געבראַכט אַהײם אין אונזער ערשטער וואוינונג אויפן אַמעריקאַנער־ באָדן. דאָס איז געווען דאָס ערשט געדרוקט וואָרט אויפן טיש לעבן מיין געלעגער.

אויף מאָרגן, פרייטאָג, כין איך גאַנץ פרי שוין געווען אין קענדי־סטאָד. אויפן ראָג, און געקויפט דעם נייעם נומער "אַמעריקאַנער". די קינדער־זייט אַנגעפירט פונעם

זיידן רב יעקב האָט מיך באַצויבערט. די מעשה׳לעך און לידער און די כריוועלך וואָס דער זיידע רב יעקב האָט געשריבן צו די קינדער האָבן מיך צוגעצויגן. איך האָב יעדן פריטאָג געקויפט אַ נייעם נומער און אין עטלעכע חדשים צייט האָב איך שוין געהאַט אַ גרויסן כוך, וי אַ גמרא, פון זשורנאַל, וואָס איך האָב אַליין איינגעבונדן אין צוויי לעדערנע טאַוולען.

פסח־צייט 1921, כין איך געלעגן אויפן טעפיך פון אונזער פאַדער־צימער און געכלעטערט דעם אינגעכונדענעם כאַנד און געלייענט לידער. די פרילינג לופט האָט צעשויכערט מיין טשופרינע און אויך מיינע געפילן. ווי עפעס אַ קוואַל האָט גענומען אין מיר זינגען און אויך האָכ פאַרשריבן אויף פאַפיר מיין ערשט ליד:

אַוועק אין דער ווינטער, די ביטערע קעלט. דערוואַכט האָט אַ נייע, אַ לוסטיקע וועלט.

פארשוואונדן די שנייען, פארשוואונדן די פרעסט. מיין שטיבל – עס האָט איצט נאָר בעסערע געסט.

איצט גרינען די פעלדער, דער פרילינג, ער בליט, עס זינגט די נאָטור אומעטום אַ שיין ליד.

די גערטנער, די לאָנקעס — מיט בלומען באַדעקט, די וועלדער, די לופט — אַלעם בליט, אַלעם שמעקט.

עס סווישטשען די פייגל אין וואלד אַן אַ שיעור, עס זינגט און עס טאַנצט אויך אין האַרצן ביי מיר. פאַרשוואונדן דער ווינטער, די קעלטן, דער שניי. איך טאַנץ מיר, איך שפרינג מיר, איך לאַך איצט פון זיי.

ווי אַ באַווירקטער פון עפעס אַ נייער קראַפט האָב איך אָנגעשריכן דעם רעדאַקטאָר פון קינדער־ווינקל. דעם זיידן רב יעקב, אַ כריוול און אַריינגעלייגט מיין ערשט ליד.

ווי איכערראַשט כין איך געוואָרן מיט צוויי וואָכן שפעטער. ווען אין קינדער־ווינקל איז געווען געדרוקט שואַרץ אויף ווייס מיין כריוול און דאָס ליד מיט מיין בוואַרץ אירף ווייס מיין כריוול און דאָס ליד מיט מיין גאָמען איכער דעם ווי אויך אַ כריוול פון זיידן צו מיר, וואָס האָט זיך פּאַרענדיקט מיט אָט די ווערטער:

ייקום דוד'ל אַרויף אין רעדאַקציע. איך וויל זיך מיט ... דיר דורכרעדן וועגן דיין שרייבן״.

אַ שרעק איז מיך באַפאַלן. ווי קען איך גיין זען עפּעס אַ שטרענגן גרויסן אידן מיט אַ כרייטער צעשויבערטער באַרד. איך בין נישט געגאַנגען אים זען נאָר אַריינגעשיקט נאָך דריי לידער, וועלכע זיינען אָפּגעדרוקט געוואָרן יעדע צווייטע וואָך.

נאָכן דריטן געדרוקטן ליד האָב איך דערהאַלטן פון זיידן רב יעקב אַ שיינעם כריוו און אַ מתנה אַ ספעציעל געדרוקטע קאָפּיע פון דעם דעמאָלט זייער פּאָפּולערן ליד

יידישע־נייעס פון איבער דער וועלט

די ערשטע הגדה אָפּגעדרוקט אין סאָוויעט רוסלאַנד

די ערשטע הגדה וואָס איז געדרוקט געוואָרן אין סאַוויעט־רוסלאַנד זינט דער רעוואַלוציע פון 1917 איז דעם היי־אַריקן פסח גענוצט געוואָרן כיי די סדרים פון די סאָוויעטישע אידן.

די נייע הגדה אין רוסיש און העברעאיש איז באַצייטנס אַפּגעדרוקט געוואָרן און זי איז גענוצט געוואָרן אין דער מאָסקווער כאָראַלער שול. די הגדה איז פאָרענטלעכט מאָסקווער כאָראַלער שול. די הגדה איז פאָרענטלעכט געוואָרן מיט דער הילף פון דער אָנדענק־פונדאַציע פאַר דער אידישער קולטור פון ניו־יאָרק.

10 טויזנט הגדות זענען דערשינען און פאַרטיילט געוואָרן צו די מיטגלידער פון דער מאָסקווער שול און צו אַנדערע שולן אין סאָוויעט רוסלאַנד. אַנדערע אידישע ביכער און כילדונגס מאַטעריאָלן וועלן נאָך געדרוקט ווערן. דעם היינטיקן חודש וועט אויך דערשיינען אַ פּרקי־

שלום עליכם אָוונט אין קיעווער קולטור־פּאַלאַץ

ווי עס מעלדט דער ״ביראָ־בידזשאַנער שטערן״ פון 3-טן אַפּריל ה.י. איז אין דעם קולטור־פּאַלאָץ פון קיעווער ״באַלשעוויק״ פאָרגעקומען אַן אָוונט געווידמעט דעם גרויסן אידישן שרייבער שלום עליכם צו זיין 130טן געבוירן־טאָג, וואָס פאַלט אויס היינטיקן יאָר.

דעם אוונט האָבן אָרגאַניוירט די קיעווער געזעלשאַפט פאַר אידישער קולטור און די היסטאָרישע געגנט־ קענטעניש פאַראייניקונג "קליאָ".

פאר די פארזאַמלטע זענען אַרויסגעטראָטן מיט פּפאר די פּאַרזאַמלטע זענען אַרויסגעטראָטן מיט פּפאַצעונגען וועגן שלום עליכמ׳ען ליטעראַטור פּאָרשער. פּאָעטן און נאָוועליסטן און טוער פון דער ״קליאָ״־געדעלשאַפט. ס׳איז אויך פאָרגעקומען אַ קאָנצערט. אין וועלכן עס האָכן אָנטייל גענומען אַרטיסטן פון דער קיעווער פילהאָרמאָניע און פון דעם אידישן פאָלקלאָר־טעאַטער ״שלום״.

אידישע ליטעראַדישע אַנטאָלאָגיע אין סאָוועטן־פּאַרבאַנד

ס׳דאַרף אינקורצן דערשיינען אין סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנר אַן אַנטאָלאָגיע פון אידישע ליטעראַרטור מיט די שאַפונגען פון אַ גרעסערע צאָל שרייבער און צווישן זיי פון שלום־עליכם, פרץ מאַרקיש, מאַקסים גאָרקי און אַנדערע די סאָוועטישע נייעם אַגענטור ״נאָוואָסטי״ גיט אויך איבער וועגן די פיבערהאָפטע צוגרייטונגען צום דערשיינען פון אידישע לערן־ביכער פאַר אַנהייבערס און פאַרגעשריטענע אין דערלערנען די אידישע שפּראַך.

בוך פון אַ נעאָ־נאַצי פירער אין מערכ־דייטשלאַנד

באָן. — דער הויפט פון דער אידישער געמיינדע אין מערכ־דייטשלאַנד, האַנינץ גאַלינסקי, האָט באַשולדיקט אַן אָנגעועענעם דייטשן פאַדלאָג אין אָפּנאַרעריי פאַר פאַרעטטלעכן אַ בוך פון אַ "ווייכע טאוולען" (פעיפערכעק) אויסגעַבע פון דעם פירער דערשינענעם אויטגַביאָגראַפישן בוך: "איך בין דערביי געווען" פון פראַגץ שענהובער.

אין דעם כוך שרייכט ער, אַז ס׳איז גאָרנישט געווען אוממאָראַליש, אָדער אומלעגאַל אין די אַקטיוויטעטן פון דער אומלעגאַל אין די אַקטיוויטעטן פון דער עס־עס בעת דער מלחמה. דער שרייבער פונעם כוך איז אַ פירער פון דער נעק־נאַצישער פאַרטיי. ער האָט אָפּירער פון דער נעק־נאַצישער פאַרטיי. ער האָט אָפּירעה אַלטן אַן אומדערוואַרטן זיג בעת די וואַלן אין מערכ־בערלין דעם לעצטן יאַנואָר. ער האט דאַן באַקומען פון די אָפּגעבענע שטימען.

ווען שענהובערס בוך איז מיט אַ צייט צוריק דערשינען אין האַרטע סאָוולען האָט עס אַרויסגערופן אַ גדויסן סקאַנדאַל און דער מחבר האָט צוליב דעם געמוזט רעזיגנירן פון אַ מלוכהשער טעלעוויזיע סטאַנציע, וואו ער האָט פאַרנומען אַ הויכן אַמט. דער פאַרלאַג האָט צוערשט דערקלערט, אַז דאָס בוך וועט נישט פאַרעפּנטלעכט ווערן. איצט וווייוט זיך אַרויס, אַז דאָס בוך וועט דערשינען אין אַ צווייטן פאַרלאַג.

אידישע קהילה אין האַוואַנאַ קריגט פסח־פּראָדוקטן

(איטאַ). די אידן אין קובאַ האָבן באַקומען די צוגעשיקטע פסח־פּראָדוקטן און זיי זענען שוין גרייט צו צייערן דעם יום־טוב, האָט דערקלערט דר. כאָזע מילער, דער הופט פון דער קובאַגער אידישער קהילה בעת אַ פרימאָרגן־פראָגראָם פון האַוואַנאַ פון דער סי־בי־עס טעלעוויזע־סאָנציע.

דער פּראָגראָם איז טראַנסמיטירט געוואָרן פון האַוואַנאַ אין שייכות מיט גאָרכאַטשאָווס וויזיט אין קובאָ. כאָזע מילער, וועלכער איז אַ כירורג, האָט דערקלערט, אַז ער האָט נישט קיין פּראַבלעמען מיטן קאַסטראַ־רעזשים און האָט נישט בדעה צו פאַרלאַזן קובאַ.

אויסטויש צווישן ״הבימה״, ״טאַגאַנקאַ״ טעאַטערס

תל־אביב (איטאַ). — ישראל׳ס נאַציאַנאַלער ״הבימה״־ טעאַטער און מאָסקווע׳ס באַרימטע ״טאַגאַנקאַ״ וועלן דורכפירן אַן אויסטויש פון פאָרשטעלונגען ביים סוף פון היינטיקן יאָר — לויט אַן אַרטיסטישן אָפּמאַך, וואָס איז אין מערץ אונטערגעשריבן געוואָרן אין ישראל.

יידישע ענינים



צוויי אידישע לידער וועגן ערשטן מאי

מאַסן – מיליאַסן

פון דויד סעלצער

מאַסן – מיליאַסן פאַנען – מיליאָנען, און עס דונערן גאַסן פון קוילעס וואָס מאָנען.

שטיי איך מיט טאָטן, מיט שוועסטער און ברודער, און עס פלאַטערט מיין האַרץ, אין גרויסן גערודער.

> הער איך די רופן פון אָרעם און נויט:

גיט אונז מער אַרבעט! — מיר פאָדערן ברויט! —

ווער איך פאַרציטערט און גיב אויך אַ הילך: ביט אונז מער שולן! און ביט אונז מער שולן!

מיר פאָדערן מילך! –

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מאַיאיקע פאַנען

פון בער גרין

מיר זיינען אַרויס אויף די ג<mark>אָסן –</mark> פון שאָפּ, זאַוואָד און פאַבריק, מיר שניידן־דורך די גאַסן מיט זון, מיט געזאַנג און מיט זיג.

פאָרויס פאָרויס אין פלאַטער אין פריידיקן די פאַנען. פאָרויס — עס שטראַלט דער מאָרגן אויף אונזער פאַנים.

טראָט־נאָך־טראָט, טראָט־נאָך־טראָט
 אונזערע איז היינט די שטאָט.

אונזערער – דער הימל, אונזערע – די ערד, אונזער ווילן – אַ פלאַמיקע שווערד.

העי, מאַרש פאָרויס, מיינע ברידער — שטיקער פרילינג אויף די סקווערן, זיג אין די טריט, לידער אין די גלידער, — עס פירט די פאַרטיי, עס פירט דער קאָמינטערן.