

November/December 1989
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JEWISH AFFAIRS

**On the 70th Anniversary
of the Communist Party USA**

Herbert Aptheker

**The Jewish Vote: Key to
Unity in New York City**

Jarvis Tyner

The Poles, the Jews and the Holocaust

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Some Notes on the Jewish Question

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The Situation of Argentinian Jews

Mina Fridman Reutter

The Situation in Israel

J. Lipski

A Holiday Remembrance

Florence J. Paul

Poetry

Edith Beck, Dan Queen

Review:

Lewis M. Moroze

Document:

*Agreement With U.S.
Holocaust Council Signed*

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

Alfred J. Kutzik, Associate Editor

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Editorials	2
Letters from Readers	3
On the 70th Anniversary of the Communist Party USA <i>Herbert Aptheker</i>	5
The Jewish Vote: Key to Unity in New York City <i>Jarvis Tyner</i>	7
The Poles, the Jews and the Holocaust <i>Alfred J. Kutzik</i>	9
Some Notes on the Jewish Question <i>Jon Weisberger</i>	12
The Situation of Argentinian Jews <i>Mina Fridman Reuter</i>	15
The Situation in Israel <i>J. Lipski</i>	16
"Two Mothers"— <i>poem</i> <i>Edith Beck</i>	17
"Palestine"— <i>poem</i> <i>Dan Queen</i>	18
A Holiday Remembrance <i>Florence J. Paul</i>	19
T.L. Friedman's <i>From Beirut to Jerusalem</i> <i>Lewis M. Moroze</i>	20
Agreement with U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council Signed — <i>document</i>	21

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Editorials

The U.M.W. and the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

The reaffiliation of the United Mine Workers with the AFL-CIO after four decades of going-it-alone is an expression of the new level of the labor solidarity and fightback that has developed in the course of the miners', airlines and telephone workers' strikes. *Jewish Affairs* welcomes this historic strengthening of organized labor which is bound to improve the lot of all working people in and out of unions as well as the rest of the population exclusive of big business. For we know from over a century of experience that, unlike General Motors, what's good for organized labor is good for the country.

Racism and Anti-Semitism

Rarely has it been clearer that racism encourages anti-Semitism than in the latest gang attack in New York City, which this time victimized Jews who were called "kikes" and "Jew bastards" while being beaten and kicked so brutally that they had to be hospitalized for injuries including skull fractures and a ruptured spleen. No one with knowledge of the recent gang attacks in New York City that resulted in the deaths of two African Americans following the judicial slap on the wrist of a white who shot four unarmed African American youths in the back in "self-defense" can doubt the connection of these incidents with the latest one.

For well over half a century the A.D.L., American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress have operated on the understanding that the civil and human rights of Jews are inseparable from those of non-Jews and as weak as the weakest link in the chain of legislative safeguards of such rights. This is something our generation must understand: that defending the rights of African Americans — and Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, women, homosexuals, radicals — defends the rights and well-being of Jews.

Among the best ways to bring this about is to campaign for passage by the New York State legislature of the Paterson Bill (S. 5831) that criminalizes racist, anti-Semitic and other bias-related acts. Throughout the country on the state and national levels, the Jewish community relations organizations listed above should lead a campaign for such legislation in the Jewish community based on its own self-interest.

Refugees, Immigrants, Money and Lies

The current squabble between the U.S. State Department and various Jewish organizations over whether Soviet Jews coming to live here should be considered refugees or immigrants is essentially a matter of money. For the federal government is required by law to provide

a substantial amount of financial assistance to help house and provide services to refugees for sometime after they arrive but has no such responsibility for ordinary immigrants. Since it appears that upwards of 50,000 Soviet Jews — the largest number in a decade if not since the early 1920's — will be entering our country this year, their legal categorization as immigrants rather than refugees would mean a considerable expenditure of private funds of Jewish organizations to take up the slack. *Jewish Affairs* does not support the use of tax funds to subsidize and incite emigration from the Soviet Union or any other country. But our focus here is on the unwitting exposure by the State Department of the falsity of the longstanding calumny against the Soviet Union that the Jews emigrating from that country are refugees with "a well-founded fear of persecution." Even if the Jewish establishment and their allies in Congress are able to prevent the proposed recategorization of these fake "refugees" to the immigrants they actually are, the truth is out — and the anti-Sovieters have lost one of their most potent propaganda ploys.

A Policy of Hutzpa

The *N.Y. Times* reported (October 2) that "Israel has asked the United States for \$400 million in loan guarantees to finance the construction of housing for Soviet Jewish emigres, and Israeli officials said some of the housing would probably be built in the West Bank." It is already *hutzpa* to ask for \$400 million more of U.S. taxpayers' money on top of the \$3 billion per year in U.S. foreign aid Israel gets, especially when our country's social programs have been curtailed for lack of federal funds. But this *hutzpa* is multiplied by the intention expressed by Israeli officials to use "some of the \$400 million to build housing in the West Bank in contravention of the U.S. government's position recently restated by Secretary of State Baker, that Israel should "stop settlement activity" in the occupied territories so as to facilitate a negotiated solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. What accounts for this *hutzpadik* request of the misrulers of Israel is their belief that what U.S. officials state is for public consumption and that the U.S. government actually supports — with \$1.8 billion annually in military aid — the repressive, expansionist policies of the Israeli government in the West Bank, Gaza and Lebanon. The proper response to this request is not only to turn it down but to cut at least \$400,000,000 from the regular foreign aid giveaway until Israel ends its almost 22 years of increasingly brutal occupation of Palestine.

40 Years of the G.D.R.

We warmly congratulate the German Democratic Republic on the 40th anniversary of its founding.

Letters From Readers

As a publication focussed on issues relating to Jews, *Jewish Affairs* recognizes and greatly appreciates the G.D.R.'s outstanding achievements in eradicating Nazism and anti-Semitism. The full equality of the Jewish citizens of the G.D.R. and the leading role members of its small Jewish community play in the government, arts and professions bear witness to the advanced democracy that prevails in this German state. The G.D.R.'s exemplary policy toward the Jews was demonstrated in another way this past year by the impressive series of government sponsored events commemorating the Nazis' November 1938 pogrom on the Jews of Germany. For the G.D.R.'s continuing concern with not permitting its people and the rest of the world ever to forget the Holocaust, see in this issue the document "Agreement with United States Memorial Council Signed."

The German Democratic Republic deserves the plaudits of all supporters of socialism and partisans of peace and solidarity for what it has accomplished in these spheres. But its incomparable record of achievement on issues affecting Jews is one which other countries, including West Germany and our own, should respectfully emulate.

Statement of the Jewish Commission, CPUSA

The death of Paul Novick in August, a little less than a year after the closing of the *Morning Freiheit*, which he edited for over half a century, marks the departure of a major voice in Yiddish journalism.

In the decades after the death of the founding editor, Moissaye Olgin, Paul Novick made significant contributions to progressive and left Yiddish journalism in the USA and the *Morning Freiheit* became a powerful and militant voice for labor's rights, against the rise of nazism and fascism and the growth of racism and anti-Semitism in the United States.

With the 1967 Israeli-Arab war sharp differences developed between us. We believe that there is a new situation in the world today with new opportunities which make it imperative to concentrate on what unites us with *Freiheit* supporters and others of the progressive Jewish left: the need for programs to put an end to the growing trend of racist and anti-Semitic violence; for ending the nuclear arms race; to bring a just and lasting peace to the Middle East; to wipe out hunger, homelessness and poverty at home and abroad and to promote a socialist USA.

Toward this end we urge the development of a dialogue with progressive Jewish organizations on how best to promote these common objectives. We are confident that such a dialogue will meet with support.

I had the good fortune to attend a course in Luetten Klein, Rostock, GDR at the end of July at the John Schehr SED (Socialist Unity Party) Party School. The course, which dealt with questions of peace and security, was organized by the Danish Communist Party.

One evening we received guests at the school from the Organization for Anti-Fascist Resistance. Among these guests was Dr. Ulrich Rabe. In the course of our discussion I mentioned *Jewish Affairs* which he didn't know about. Since Rabe was persecuted in Nazi Germany as a Jew and he opted to help build socialism instead of Zionism, he showed great interest in *Jewish Affairs*. Therefore I promised to order a subscription for him. . . .

By the way I used your review of Amo Mayer's book when I wrote an article about the rise of neo-Fascism in Western Europe for APK's *Norrskensflamman* in Sweden.

An excellent book has been published recently in Danish about the lives of two Danish Communists and Resistance fighters of Jewish descent called "*Slar bro fra kyst til kyst*" (makes a bridge from coast to coast) which is the last line in the refrain of the Internationale in Danish. Bruno and Regina Wechselman became Communists in Canada but settled before the Second World War in Denmark. Bruno Wechselman grew up in Denmark. Redgie was from Czarist Russia and fled due to pogroms.

I met Redgie who died in 1985. Bruno I know personally and he is still quite active, though he is now over 80 years of age. Bruno's daughter, Maj, is one of Sweden's best documentary film makers. She has made a number of films about different topics: the Danish resistance during the occupation, workers in India, the life story of Anton Nilsson, the Swedish revolutionary who flew for the Red Army over Riga and elsewhere, the phantom submarines in Swedish territorial waters and the Swedish military complex's desperate fight to get approval of the new jetfighter prototype which will cost between 10-20 billion dollars according to a conservative estimate (not including overruns).

Thank you for the invitation to the annual banquet. Unfortunately it is impossible to make it, however much I would love to come. Nonetheless I got a reader. The invitation, by the way, arrived within three days in Copenhagen after being posted in New York. It's almost the good old days (1970's). Give the post office a pat on the back.

Andre-Emile Brochu
Varnamo, SWEDEN

Jewish Affairs

On The 70th Anniversary of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Herbert Aptheker

This address was delivered by Dr. Aptheker at the September 24, 1989 annual dinner of Jewish Affairs.

Out of what is shaped the Communist Party USA? First, out of the Enlightenment with its partisanship toward science and reason. And out of the American, the French and the Great Russian Revolution. When Goebels entered a prostrate Paris he announced an "end to 1776, 1789 and 1917." He was wrong as are similar soothsayers today, but the relationship among the three events, which he understood, is valid. That which bound them together was a common thrusting toward full human emancipation — each within the limits, of course, of its time and place.

Here are the words of the constitution of the first Communist club, in New York City in 1857; it required its members to "recognize the complete equality of all — no matter what color or sex." Here is the Address to the American People sent in 1865 by the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), written by Karl Marx, who offered what was called a "word of counsel for the future" now that slavery had been abolished:

"An injustice to a section of your people has produced such direful results, let that cease. Let your citizens of today be declared free and equal, without reserve. If you fail to give them citizens' rights while you demand citizens' duties, there will yet remain a struggle for the future which may again stain your country with your people's blood. . . . We warn you then, as brothers in a common cause, to remove every shackle from freedom's limb, and your victory will be complete."

This fundamental concept is put succinctly by Marx in the first volume of *Capital* (1867): "Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."

The Party was forged from life and death struggles — from Sacco and some lost — from Sacco and Vanzetti to Angelo Herndon, from Scottsboro to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, from Angela Davis to Henry Winston's loss of his sight but not of his vision.

The Party was forged from the cotton fields of the South and the battles against peonage and lynching and the poll tax; from picket lines in Brooklyn and in Winston-Salem, from worker martyrs, like those hanged

in Chicago in 1886 and those burned to death in the Triangle Fire in New York City 1911 to the miners consumed by fire just the other day in West Virginia.

The Party was forged from workers' lives, from workers' needs, from working-class compassion, from working-class perception, from working-class hopes.

The Party was forged by men and women who knew and who know the wonder of comradeship, who experienced the passion of collective struggle, who refused and who refuse to surrender, who reject despair, who spit our cynicism.

The Party was forged by the cruelty and endless greed of the profit-makers, by the graft-takers, by the lie peddlers, by the arrogance of the "big shots," by the disdain of the rich.

I remember in Baltimore, in a Smith Act trial, the prosecutor asked one of our comrade-defendants: Who recruited you into the Party? DuPont, he replied.

I remember in Georgia a Black woman wanted to know if the organizer-visitor was a Communist? Yes, he said, I am a Communist. Oh, she said, that's good; the Communists are the best Christians.

What are the worthwhile struggles of the twentieth century? To end racism and anti-Semitism; to organize the working class; to end unemployment; to provide decent housing; to assure quality education for all; to provide good health care for all; to end colonialism; to end war; to Ban the Bomb; to turn swords into ploughshares; to open the glories of Beethoven and Shakespeare, of Douglass and DuBois, of Galileo and Einstein, to everyone.

For civil rights and civil liberties; for schools not prisons; for dignified and fruitful living, not the escape of drugs; for clean air and clean water; for a clean society.

That is what the twentieth century is about and that is what the Communist Party U.S.A. is about.

The deputy-director of the U.S. State Department policy-planning staff says humanity has reached "the end point of the ideological evolution" and that end point is — surprise! — "Western liberal democracy." That is the end point — and to the end persistence in demagogy: "democracy" indeed! "Democracy" — with corrosive corruption, rampant illiteracy, massive homelessness, millions unemployed, intensifying racism and chauvinism, addiction of epidemic proportions, unlimited arma-

ments, institutionalized world-wide subversion and counter-revolution, with billions for a handful and contempt for the vast majority of the world's population. This is the "democracy" of the deputy-director and of the class he serves.

The deputy-director thinks this is the apogee of civilization; so thought John C. Calhoun of slavery, so thought Louis XIV of feudalism, Nicholas II of czarism and Hitler of fascism. They were wrong and the State Department planner is wrong.

The Communist Party of the United States has consisted and now consists of men and women in a pressure-filled land and world. It has made its mistakes: sometimes rigid and narrow, sometimes opportunist and minimizing class reality; sometimes acting too late or even not at all as in the case of the internment of scores of thousands of Japanese-Americans during World War II; in its response to the ten percent of our people whose sexual orientation differs from most, to the special and continuing indignities and inequalities heaped upon women; in its failure to heed in time this or that criticism, to become in time aware of this or that blindness.

These have marred the past and some mar the present. But, as Lenin said many years ago, of other mistakes and even crimes of his Party, they are as nothing to the standing crime of capitalism and imperialism. Those systems in *themselves* are criminal. When Communist Parties are infected with some of the germs thrown off by capitalism and imperialism, the infection is foreign to its body, infringes upon its function and is therefore, sooner or later, disgorged by the Party itself.

We live not in the era of the demise of Marxism. The savant, Ronald Reagan, when he announced its obsolescence at Oxford University, was wrong. And when his lackies today, inside and outside the Bush Administration, hopefully repeat the master lie of the Great Prevaricator, they are as wrong as was that clown.

The *London Times* recalled on August 16, 1989, that in 1938 Sir Neville Henderson, the British ambassador to Berlin, suggested that newspaper promote Hitler as "the apostle of peace" who did not want war, because war, the ambassador went on, would only help "Jews, communists and doctrinaires."

The English professor, Norman Stone, quite properly pointed out in the same newspaper on August 19, 1989, that the U.S.S.R. finally signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany since it "had no alternative because the Western powers were not seriously interested in the alternative, an alliance with Russia" against the German-Italian-Japanese axis.

Of course, these liars falsify the meaning of the Pact, forget the struggles for collective security, forget

the rape of Ethiopia and the ravishment of Spain and the ultimate betrayal of Munich.

Yes, these liars falsify the Pact and manage to forget the siege of Leningrad and the battle of Stalingrad, when, as even MacArthur admitted, the "fate of all humanity rests on the worthy banners of the Red Army." These liars spit upon the Soviet Union and forget that it lost twenty-two millions of its men and women while it decisively defeated Hitlerism and saved civilization. Today the U.S.S.R., in pressing for disarmament and for an end to war, again is leading humanity towards salvation.

How can we carve the features of immortal comrades — of William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, William L. Patterson, W.E.B. DuBois, Ella Reeve Bloor, Israel Amter, Rose Wortis and thousands more who gave their last ounce of strength and devotion to the cause of Socialism? How shall we carve their features? The chisel shakes in our trembling hand. The rain of sorrow blinds our eyes.

But we know, we absolutely *know*, that no blow for human freedom is ever wholly lost.

We know, too, the monument these immortals want and expect of us: an egalitarian, peaceful, humane nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Not in classroom recitation, but in throbbing reality: liberty, justice, prosperity, equality for all our people. In one word, a Socialist United States — and that is the agenda we face as the twenty-first century looms before us.

A stylized graphic logo. At the top, there is a horizontal bar with stars and stripes, reminiscent of the American flag. Below this, the letters 'USA' are written in a large, bold, sans-serif font. The '70' is written in a very large, bold, sans-serif font, with the '7' and '0' having a horizontal line pattern. The entire logo is rendered in a dark, textured style.

The Jewish Vote: Key to Unity in New York City

Jarvis Tyner

Jarvis Tyner, Chair of the N.Y. State Communist Party, delivered this address at the 17th annual Jewish Affairs dinner on September 24, 1989.

It is indeed an honor to take part in the 17th annual *Jewish Affairs* dinner. I feel especially happy because this year's theme is the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party U.S.A., *my party*. For 70 years the Communist Party has been an active part of the political life of our nation. More than that, it has been in the forefront of the working class movement, advancing the demands and helping to build the movements that have brought about basic advances for our people. I am proud to be a member of the party that pioneered in the fight for social insurance, the party that understood that human rights embraced the right to a job or compensation and the right to defend that job through trade unions, the party that has always fought and fights racism and anti-Semitism, that builds Black-White unity.

This is my party. The party of Weydemeyer and Ruthenberg, Haywood, Reed, Flynn, Foster, Ford, Patterson, Weinstone, Wortis, Potash, Trachtenberg, Dennis, Amter, Lumer, Gannett, Davis, Jones, Aptheker, Jackson, DuBois, Winston, Hall and Angela Davis, just to name a few. This is my party.

Throughout the years, the Communist Party has maintained the faith — scientifically based, I might add — a faith, a confidence in the multi-racial U.S. working class. That if united and organized it could and would achieve its goals and take our nation in a progressive direction; towards peace, equality and socialism.

The founders of our party would be proud of this moment in history. Who says our working class isn't militant? The Pittston miners are showing the way. Dressed in their army camouflage uniforms, they are on the side of liberation because, as we speak, they are continuing their historic takeover of the gigantic Moss 3 Preparation Plant in Carbo, Virginia and to date they have stopped the coal 100% — and they say that they are acting in the tradition of the Flint sit-down strike against General Motors during the 1930s!

Yes, the founders of our party would be very proud. "Times they are a-changin'". And you should be proud and should be congratulated because for the first time in almost 12 years we can say that Ed Koch will no longer be the mayor of New York City. This is an his-

toric victory for the people of N.Y. And how was this victory achieved? *Unity, unity, organization and unity*. But since the victory in the primary, everything is being done to weaken this unity, to try to stop a big victory for Dinkins in November. They are trying to resuscitate Rudolph Giuliani's dying campaign by giving him money and building a right-wing coalition around him. All of the dirty tricks people from the Bush campaign are in town trying to help Giuliani. Remember the Willie Horton campaign.

They are looking for ways to split the Dinkins coalition. They are particularly looking at the Jewish vote. They did not like the fact that almost 30% of Jewish voters in the Democratic primary voted for Dinkins, despite the strong appeals to nationalism by Koch. "The times they are a-changin'".

Right now these forces of racism and division are spreading the false notion that the defeat for Koch is a defeat for the Jewish people and that a Black mayor means trouble for the Jewish people and for whites in general. That's what's being spread in the grapevine.

Why? They want to break up the peoples coalition of African-Americans, Labor, Latinos, Jews, etc. The fact is that, in general, Dinkins won every age group, except those over 60. In this regard we must note the special appeal to Jewish seniors by Koch. Progressive Jews have to help turn this around.

We must not be complacent. A strategic part of Black-White unity in NYC is Black-Jewish unity. Koch has played a special role over the years in spreading antagonisms and division between Black and Jewish people, and he has gotten plenty of help from the Farrakhans and Sharptons. I would like to strongly suggest that the best traditions and interest of our two peoples is not expressed by Farrakhan, Sharpton, Koch and Kahane but by Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner.

The most outstanding feature of the Dinkins coalition, unlike others, is its inclusion of all the people, every race and nationality and religion. This is why it won: because it's "bringing the city together." As Dinkins put it, people should "vote their hopes not their fears." And this especially applies to the crime issue. We must help people overcome their racist fears. Giuliani's performance as federal prosecutor has not distinguished him as some great crime fighter. In fact his record falls short. But one thing he has been saying is true; he said that 60%

of all street crime is drug-related. He also admits that he is a supporter of the policies of Bush and Reagan. We've got to remind him and the people of New York that during the Reagan-Bush administration the amount of cocaine entering the country went up more than 6 times what it was in the previous administration. Giuliani was federal prosecutor in this district when the number of cocaine abusers grew from 182,000 to 600,000. That was in a period of just 2 years. This is a crime fighter?

It is my view that the policies of Bush and Reagan, which meant drastic cutbacks in federal programs and the influx of drugs, were the main reason for the increase of crime in our city. But Bush is coming in to campaign for Giuliani. The question is how can Giuliani fight those policies when he is a Reagan appointee allied with the Bush administration.

We must help people see the issues clearly so that they will "do the right thing" on election day. A safer New York means a New York with a healthier economy, with less inequality and desperation, where working class families can make ends meet and where parents, after a hard day's work, have time for parenting. A New York where there's full employment with decent jobs with decent pay, a New York where racism and injustice is lessened and where the government stops trying to solve difficult social and economic problems by building more prisons.

What am I saying to you? I am saying that despite the polls which show Dinkins way ahead of Giuliani and Lauder, victory is not assured. This is no time to relax. Relax the day after November 7th. This must not be a narrow victory. This election must establish a mandate for a progressive-led, working class, anti-racist and united New York City. To move forward and weather the storms in the future, we must build a strong mandate for unity beyond what it takes to elect a mayor.

The Jewish vote is key. A big Jewish vote will heal a lot of wounds and bring a brighter day to all New Yorkers. The spirit of the times is expressed in the endorsement of David Dinkins by Rabbi Gilbert Klapperman, former president of the New York Board of Rabbis, when he said that he had looked over all of the candidates and concluded the only reason he was not supporting Dinkins was because he was Black and that was a "major sin."

Jewish Affairs has been fighting the "sin" of racism for nearly twenty years as has the Communist Party for seventy years. This is why progressives irrespective of race or nationality should join with us in celebrating their anniversaries today and wishing them many more years of contributions to our people's struggles for social justice, peace and socialism. □

Jewish Roots In Poland

Sol Flapan

In mid-town Warsaw, it's one flight up, room 117, first door from the staircase. That's the one-room (so far) headquarters of "Our Roots," the Jewish Information and Tourist Bureau.

Founded this summer as a private enterprise by Piotr Kowalski and Piotr Kadlcik, "Our Roots" is appropriately housed in the city's Jewish community center. This is the cream-stone, two story complex of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland and the editorial board of its weekly bilingual newspaper *Folks Shimme*. One wing of the building is taken up by the prestigious Jewish Theater, while a former elegant cafe has been transformed by popular demand into a clubroom.

The Piotr (Peter) management team takes pride in claiming to be the pioneer Jewish-oriented travel agency in Poland catering especially to Polish Jews of present and distant generations living abroad seeking their ethnic roots. With that in mind they worked out a four-point program of service for those interested.

Firstly, the team and their computer operator/secretary arrange hotel reservations and a choice of excursion routes with professional guides who speak in Yiddish, English and Hebrew. The agency also organizes lectures and meetings of the clients' choice of subjects on Polish-Jewish history as well as more scholarly seminars and conferences in this wide-ranging field.

Secondly, as an extension of the latter service, the agency is ready to offer assistance in arranging study tours around Poland concentrating on the nearly one thousand year presence of Jews in this country. Within this framework, it organizes relevant seminars and workshops.

Seeking one's roots also entails the discovery and study of family trees. So, for the non-Polish speaking descendants of Polish Jews, the agency offers a service in what it advertises as "individual orders in the realm of genealogy and family history in Poland."

And finally, as Poland is becoming receptive to the idea of a domestic market economy and foreign investments, the agency is prepared to smooth the path for business trips by executives with legal and economic advice on investment and other conditions here.

According to all indications, the Kowalski-Kadlcik "Our Roots" agency at Grzybowski Square 12/16, 00-104 Warsaw, Telephone/Telefax 20-05-56 is ready and able to help U.S. and other Jews of Polish-Jewish extraction find their ancestral roots.

Sol Flapan is our Polish correspondent.

The Poles, the Jews and the Holocaust

Alfred J. Kutzik

In the last issue it was noted that the controversy over the convent at Auschwitz had again raised the unfounded charge "that the Poles were co-responsible with the Nazis for the mass murder of millions of Jews in German-occupied Poland." While the most important aspects of the relationship of the Poles to Auschwitz were dealt with there, i.e., that non-Jewish Poles were the first imprisoned and accounted for a million of the four million who died there, another aspect relates more directly to this charge. Among the SS guards at Auschwitz, in addition to the majority of Germans, there were a substantial number of Ukrainians and Latvians and a few of other nationalities — but no Poles.

The fact that, outside of some *Volksdeutsche* (Poles of German origin), there were no Poles among the hundreds of guards at the dozens of concentration and death camps in Poland contradicts the most frequently cited "evidence" for the charge that the Poles — not some but *the* Poles — collaborated with the Nazis in their genocide of the Jews. This "evidence," massively presented in the pseudo-documentary *Shoah*, is that the death camps were located in Poland. They were located here, goes the concomitant rationale, because the Nazis knew that the anti-Semitic Poles would support the killing of Jews and inform on any who escaped from the camps. However, Nazi documents disclose their actual reasons for locating the death camps in Poland were that the majority of Europe's Jews lived there and it was further from unoccupied Western Europe than any other occupied territory so that the Third Reich's official cover story of Jews being sent east to labor camps could be maintained. These documents also disclose that Auschwitz was selected as the site of the largest concentration-death camp because it was a major railroad hub in an isolated area where there were a number of Polish military barracks already being used to house Polish prisoners. And, far from support by Poles of the genocide of the Jews, these documents disclose greater active opposition to this than occurred in any other country.

As in every country controlled by the Nazis, they found collaborators in Poland. It is well-known that

some of these turned fugitive Jews in to the Nazis or blackmailed them on threat of being turned in — although it is rarely noted that, in almost every case, the Jews in question had been given refuge by non-Jewish Poles. On the other hand, it is not well known that such informing and blackmailing practically ended after the *conservative* Polish underground Home Army decreed the death sentence for anyone collaborating with the Germans in capturing Jews. We also know that some units of the Home Army were composed of vicious anti-Semites who murdered Jews. These informers, blackmailers and murderers added to the collaborationist "blue police" who helped round up Jews (and Polish anti-Nazis) amounted to no more than several thousands of the wartime adult Polish population of about 14 million. It is therefore unwarranted to attribute the actions of these criminals and traitors to the Polish people, especially since a far greater number of Poles risked their lives to save the lives of Jews.

Press reports of Yad Vashem's annual awards ceremonies in Jerusalem honoring non-Jews who saved Jews during the Holocaust have informed the U.S. public that the largest proportion of these, over a third of the total of some 3,000, are Poles. However, according to Polish (including Polish-Jewish) and several U.S. scholars, this is a gross underestimate. They have concluded that the remarkable Polish role in rescuing Jews has not only been underestimated quantitatively but qualitatively, since Poland was the only country under Nazi rule where it was a capital offense to help Jews.

On October 15, 1941, Hans Frank, Nazi governor of Poland, issued an order establishing the death penalty for "persons who deliberately offer shelter" to Jews "as well as their instigators or co-conspirators," the latter including anyone who knew about and did not inform the German authorities of the crime. Similar orders were soon promulgated throughout the country by other German officials. An idea of how prevalent the practice of helping Jews was can be gotten from an April 11, 1942 article in the Nazi Polish language paper published in Lvov:

It is unfortunate that the rural population continue — nowadays furtively — to assist Jews, thus doing harm to the community, and hence to themselves, by this disloyal attitude. . . . The rural population must be cut off from and separated from Jews,

Dr. Kutzik's "The Slavic Holocaust: The Polish Dimension," Polish Heritage (Spring 1982) gives the sources of most of the data and citations referred to in the present article.

once and for all, must be weaned from the extremely anti-social habit of assisting the Jews.

Among the abundant evidence that Poles continued to assist Jews despite these orders and admonitions are Nazi documents that contain the names of hundreds of Poles executed for doing so (see the posted notice of executions on the opposite page).

Instead of abandoning the Jews to their deaths in the face of such grave risk, Poles continued to help them in a more systematic way after the organization of *Zegota* (acronym for the Council to Aid the Jews) in October 1942. The only organization of its kind in all of Europe, *Zegota* saved tens of thousands of Jews in the two and a half years of its existence. It is noteworthy that *Zegota* involved a cross-section of the Polish population, Catholics, liberals and conservatives as well as socialists and communists and received substantial financial support from the right-wing Polish government-in-exile.

Fine, say the accusers of the Polish people, there was a small minority of noble Poles, but what about the rest of the Polish population? The answer is that since approximately 100,000 Jews survived the Nazi occupation in Poland, their survival involved as many as 1,000,000 Poles. Where do I get this figure? In the first place, from Emanuel Ringelblum, the martyred historian of the Warsaw ghetto, who made the following calculation of the number of Poles involved in hiding the estimated 15,000 Jews living outside the ghetto in Warsaw in the fall of 1943:

Considering that those 2-3 thousand Polish families [in whose homes Jews were hidden] were acting with the knowledge and consent of their closest relatives, we will arrive at the conclusion that at least 10-15 thousand Polish families in Warsaw are helping the Jews to hide; assuming that an average family is composed of four persons, this represents 40-60 thousand people.

But even the 450,000-600,000 Poles helping 100,000 Jews nationwide that this extrapolates to is an underestimate.

To begin with, some big city Jewish survivors reported that they were helped by as many as twenty Poles. Also, hundreds of Jewish children were given refuge in convents, orphanages, hospitals and other institutions thereby involving their entire staffs. And in small towns and villages where Jews were sheltered for years this inevitably involved many people. Particularly when large numbers of Jews were hidden, like the 372 Jews in Milanowek, the 358 Jews in Otwock, the 350 Jews in Deblin, the 282 Jews in Pruszkow, etc. the town's entire population had to have been involved since one informer would

have given the open secret away.

Generalizing from these and other cases, Polish scholars and U.S. historians like Gordon Craig and Richard Lukas have concluded that about 1,000,000 Poles participated in saving the 100,000 Polish Jews who survived and in attempting to save the thousands of others who did not, a conclusion which the present writer independently arrived at. How can this be reconciled with the fact that virulent anti-Semitism had been prevalent in pre-war Poland? To begin with, many Poles were not anti-Semitic. Then, the Nazis' bestial treatment of Polish Jews, including women, children, aged and disabled, overcame the prejudice of many who were anti-Semitic. And, as evidenced by the above-cited order of the Home Army, opposition to the German occupation authorities' persecution of the Jews became part of the opposition to the occupation of Poland. However one may explain them, these are the documented facts attested to by unimpeachable students of the subject.

While he did not have many of the facts that have since been uncovered, soon after the war Adolph Ber- man, a leader of the Jewish underground of Nazi-occupied Warsaw, wrote:

When describing the martyrdom of the Jews of Poland, emphasis is often placed on the sufferings inflicted on the hiding Jews by Polish blackmailers and informers, by "blue policemen, fascist hoodlums and other scum. Less is written, however, about the thousands of Poles who brought help to the Jews at the risk of their own lives.

Sadly, almost 40 years later Shmuel Spector, director of Yad Vashem's Center for Holocaust Teaching, made similar comments as he presented awards to the 130 Poles honored by Israel in 1984 for having risked their lives to save Jews from the Nazis. "The Poles know that generalizations accuse them. But", said Spector in denying these accusations. "the fact that many Jews were rescued [by Poles] was little known. Who knew about *Zegota*? . . . When you open up your documentation, you can reach closer to the truth."

Is it not time to turn from biased sentiments to truthful documents and end fifty years of slander of the Polish people? To let it be known that the Poles as a people were not the murderers but the rescuers of Jews, not the accomplices but the enemies as well as the victims of the Nazis? And does it not behoove critics of the convent at Auschwitz to keep their criticism within a context of respect for the million Poles who died there and the million more who, at the risk of their lives, shielded their Jewish countrymen from the flames of the Holocaust?

Some Notes on The Jewish Question

Jon Weisberger

This article was prepared for discussion prior to the July 1989 Ideological Conference of the Communist Party USA. Jewish Affairs thinks the article raises very important issues that our readers should consider and discuss in articles or letters.

It is a watchword among Marxist-Leninists that theory should be regularly reevaluated in the light of experience and practice. In the area of nationalities great experience has been accumulated not only by our Party, but by Communists around the world. I believe that these experiences show that we have underestimated the complexity of the national question, and that new approaches are required. Specifically, I think we need to reexamine our approach to the Jewish question — that is, our evaluation of the nature and role of Jewish communities, including our approach to the struggle against bourgeois nationalism among Jews.

Our Party has a long and honorable history with regard to the Jewish question, dating back to its very beginnings as a political organization. Despite occasional errors, we consistently fought for a progressive orientation among Jewish-Americans, and devoted substantial resources to this struggle. Many of our positions in the Jewish community, however, suffered during the McCarthy period. Further assaults on the Communists were made later, based on anti-Sovietism; the combined effect was to reduce, if not eliminate, Communist influence and leadership among Jews. Now, as we enter the 1990s, new possibilities have opened up. In order to take advantage of them, we have to ensure that we are in the right position, with answers to the questions facing American Jews and programs capable of meeting their concerns.

This fresh look needs to proceed on two main grounds. In the first place, we need to examine the ideological content of our work and whether its main emphasis relates to the issues that face American Jews. I believe that we have, so to speak, been barking up the wrong tree — that is, focussing on the wrong concerns and thereby failing to meet the needs of the times. Secondly, we need to look at whether we should continue to pay attention to the Jewish community and, if so, what obstacles are preventing us from doing effective Communist work among Jews.

For a long time our Party, like many others, has made the struggle against Zionism the main content of its approach to the Jewish question. Our opposition to Zionism rests on three main points: first, that Jews do not form a single, world-wide nation, as Zionism claims;

second, that Zionism as a particular form of nationalism has as its main content the obscuring of class differences between Jews and the withdrawal of Jewish workers from the class struggle; third, that Zionism as it has been carried out in the Middle East relied (and continues to rely) upon the suppression of Palestinian rights in order to carry out its goals.

None of these points are inaccurate, but I believe that the time has come to look more closely at Zionism and, more generally, the national question. A growing number of Communist thinkers are coming to the conclusion that past reliance upon Stalin's definition of the attributes of a nation has left many questions unanswered. This is particularly true when we examine the Jewish question.

For many years a nation has been considered by Communists to be, in Stalin's words, "a historically evolved, stable community of people, based upon the common possession of four principal attributes, namely: a common language, a common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychological make-up manifesting itself in common specific features of national culture."¹ It is on this basis, this definition of a nation, that the modern-day struggle against Zionism has been waged. (Lenin, it should be noted, generally did not address Zionism in these theoretical terms, but rather in the conditions of fierce battles waged for the allegiance of Jewish workers in the Czarist "prisonhouse of nations.")

An increasing number of Marxist-Leninist scholars have expressed a need to review this definition — indeed, the beginnings of a more scientific and useful approach were posed by a group of Soviet ethnologists more than a decade ago: "territorially separated groups of an ethnos (*i.e.*, people) may preserve their specific features for a long time in the field of culture, and their former self-awareness of community... some parts of the ethnos can split off from the main nucleus, the vocabulary of the language may alter... (individual groups may, furthermore, change their language altogether), and the material and spiritual culture and so on, may be greatly altered, yet if the people constituting the ethnos preserve characteristic common features and identity, the ethnos continues to exist as such."² Without examining this debate in detail, suffice it to say that the earlier definition of a nation is inadequate for the purpose of examining contemporary Jewish life.

This is so because the theory fails to address with-

any substance the question of how to deal with national or ethnic groups that meet some, but not all of Stalin's criteria. In the case of Jews there is neither a common language, common territory nor (in any substantial measure) a common economic life, and yet there is a clear relationship on both the subjective and objective levels between Jews of differing countries and regions. Because we do not have an analysis of what this means, we have a difficult time in characterizing this relationship and, therefore, create difficulties for ourselves in our approach to Jewish-Americans.

Opinion surveys among American Jews make the nature of this dilemma clear. Most Jews have consistently described themselves as "non-Zionist" whenever they have been given the opportunity to do so, and reject the essence of Zionist ideology, which says that Jews can only lead a full and free Jewish life in Israel. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of Jews also say that they care deeply about Israel, even though many have never been there. These attitudes hold true (outside of the Orthodox, who account for only about 10% of the Jewish population) among unaffiliated Jews as well as those who attend synagogue, belong to or contribute to Jewish organizations.³ Without an understanding of this phenomenon, which has strong political consequences, we are reduced to either making unsupported analogies — saying, for example, that the feeling of connection that Jewish-Americans have for Israel is like that of Italian-Americans for Italy — or, on the other hand, trying to convince Jews that their feelings about Israel are illusory and "politically incorrect", which is, experience has shown, a recipe for our marginalization.

Our approach to the Jewish question, then, while not wrong, has been one-sided; we have not developed an analysis which would allow us to counterpose a scientific description of relations between Jews to the "one nation" theory of Zionism. More importantly, we have continued to emphasize Zionism as the critical ideological factor in the American Jewish community at a time when it has become less powerful and relevant. We have tended to use the term "Zionist" as a simple epithet, a throw-away characterization, and a substitute for a deeper analysis of trends in the Jewish community, at the cost of creating useless and diversionary controversy. There is a real issue, that of bourgeois ideology (including nationalism) — but Zionism is only an aspect of that issue, not the focal point.

Related to these problems is the fact that our Party has, over a period of time, allowed its Jewish work to "wither away." *Jewish Affairs* continues to be published, albeit on a shoestring basis, and a national Jewish Commission continues to meet, though infrequently and with-

out a real national base. Jewish Commissions also exist in a number of districts. Nevertheless, if we examine the level of activity on a frank and self-critical basis, we can see that we are nowhere near the level at which we ought to be. Material from the Jewish Commission is routinely met with no response from the districts and clubs, and most of our comrades devoted to this work are of an age at which the kind of daily activity needed to sustain a vital presence in Jewish debate and work is difficult. Few young comrades are active in bringing the Communist "plus" to the Jewish community and there is, generally speaking, a low level of understanding of the Jewish question among Communists around the country, which extends not only to an underestimation of the impact of anti-Semitism on Jewish opinion, but also to a lack of clarity on the Marxist-Leninist support for the establishment of Israel as the embodiment of the right to self-determination of the Jews of the Yishuv (British Palestine).

This is especially problematic given the important role that American Jews have to play in progressive campaigns and coalitions. It has long been a sore point among Jewish neo-conservatives that Jews largely vote along more progressive lines than their economic self-interest would seem to dictate. Jews voted heavily against Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984 and against Bush in 1988. Jews provided substantial support for Harold Washington, in proportions far higher than other whites, and also for Tom Bradley; in fact, Jews have shown a greater willingness to vote for African-American candidates than has practically any other white group. Recent (July) surveys in New York City indicate that Jews are much more likely to support David Dinkins in a 3-way race than other whites and, when Dinkins' candidacy is counterposed to Jewish Mayor Ed Koch, are split more-or-less down the middle. These trends are especially important when looking at major cities, which in many cases have Jewish communities capable of providing a critical margin of support for progressive candidates.

In short, Jewish voters are likely to be attracted to progressive programs and candidates. The experience of the Jackson campaigns in 1984 and 1988 demonstrated that Jewish support for progressives can be undermined only by a fierce and slanderous campaign, just as it demonstrated that the absence of Communist (and Left) involvement among Jews can make it more difficult to counter such hysteria.

There is a strong need to mobilize forces capable of holding the line among Jews, and building the kind of support for Jackson (and other progressives) in the Jewish community that can help provide the margin for victory. If we do not respond, we will essentially be writing off a significant part of the progressive coalition, pas-

sively viewing developments as they occur without our participation or influence.

Developments in the Jewish community over the last decade have made it clear that large numbers of Jews are engaged in a serious rethinking of what it means to be American and Jewish at the end of the 20th century. The 'Who Is A Jew' controversy and the Israeli response to the Palestinian intifada have helped to propel this reexamination towards a Jewish-American "Declaration of Independence," which includes a plurality in support of the Palestinian right to a homeland alongside Israel. There is increasing interest in revitalizing and extending a secular Jewish culture as the basis for a vital Jewish community. A Jewish renewal of potentially gigantic proportions is a real and imminent possibility.

But without a rethinking and revival of our Party's Jewish work, we will not be part of this movement, and it will proceed on its own unstable way without us, if it proceeds at all. A conference on Jewish work, capable of undertaking this task, has been on the agenda for at least 3 years, yet has been consistently postponed. Such a conference would enable us to lay the groundwork for the future, and to hammer out a specific program that

would be the basis for the assignment of resources including new cadre.

- (1) Stalin, Joseph. *The National Question and Leninism*, International Publishers, p.3.
- (2) Bromley, Julian et.al., *Present-Day Ethnic Processes in the USSR*. Nauka Publishers, 1977. English translation, Progress Publishers, Moscow: 1982. pp.9-10.
- (3) The 1989 *National Survey of American Jews*, American Jewish Committee included the following:
 - a) Have you ever seriously considered living in Israel?
 - Yes-14%, No-82%, Not Sure-5%
 - b) Do you consider yourself a Zionist?
 - Yes-25%, No-61%, Not sure-15%.
 - c) I feel I can live a fuller Jewish life in Israel than in the US.
 - Agree-10%, Disagree-74%, Not sure-16%.
 - d) Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew
 - Agree-73%, Disagree-15%, Not Sure-13%.

(All of these figures have remained roughly constant for the last 3 years.)



Page 14

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The Situation of Argentinian Jews

Mina Fridman Rueter

It is a well-known fact that anti-Semitism has always been a weapon in the hands of the ruling class intended to divide the oppressed and to divert their attention from the real source of their sufferings. That is why anti-Semitism and all other sorts of racism and discrimination are in full bloom in hard times. This is, of course, a political truism at the end of the '80s but we choose to begin with these remarks on the Argentinian situation because they transparently apply to the present state of things here.

We also consider it necessary to point out that no kind of racism is characteristic of Argentine society as a whole. Whenever something of the sort happens, the people's response is, if not actively, definitely opposed.

There have been several anti-Semitic outbursts during the more than a century of existence of an organized Jewish community. For example, in January 1919 what is called the "Tragic Week" took place in Buenos Aires with many victims of pogrom-like actions. This happened in the framework of very strained socio-political conditions, but the anti-Jewish bias was clear. The response of democratic media, organizations and personalities was energetic and it was soon made clear that the anti-Semitic "ideologues" belonged to what is called here "golden youth" (the rich), who recruited under-world people to do the dirty work. Of course, they also found some support in "higher circles" of society.

With the advent of Nazism on the international arena, a wave of chauvinism was only to be expected, but the democratic forces in the country never allowed it to become a mass trend. Moreover, the fact that Jews were — and are — a hard working and socially organized community sharing all the struggles of the Argentine people helped dispel the ominous anti-Semitic threat.

At present it is important to bear in mind what the state of things is here. Argentina is facing its worst economic crisis ever. It is not within the scope of this article to describe it, but it is to the point to say that it is unprecedented and it would be no wonder if some anti-Semitic incidents were to occur.

What is interesting to point out is there are Jews in all walks of life and in all political and social organizations and movements, trade unions, scientific and other cultural centers and the like.

Mrs. Fridman Rueter is an Argentinian journalist and leader of Y.C.U.F., a Jewish cultural organization.

November/December

The Jewish establishment is prone to react to anti-Semitic expressions the usual old way: official interviews and open letters in the media only. The "only" has to do with their lack of appeal to the Jewish masses and to democratic political groups and organization of non-Jewish people in order to educate them as to the real meaning of such campaigns.

Not long ago, during Dr. Alfonsín's regime, an anti-discrimination law was passed in parliament. It is not a perfect one, but all the same it should be better publicized.

Now, under the newly installed Menem administration, we have not witnessed open racist acts, but there has been virulent propaganda by "Alerta Nacional", a small fascist group which is not being suppressed as it lawfully should be.

What is most contradictory about it is that the "Alerta Nacional" people claim to be part and parcel of the ruling Justicialista (Peronist) Party, and so far nobody has come out to disavow them — or, if they have, it has been very discreetly. This is so because the ruling party is characterized by its heterogeneous composition. In fact it comprises a variety of tendencies from ultra-left to extreme right. None of these factions have been disavowed, which partly explains "Alerta Nacional."

We in the progressive movement support the issuing of appeals by the Jewish leadership. They must take place, but what we try to stress is the importance of mobilizing the thousands of Jewish workers, businessmen, professionals, intellectuals, men and women, and of engaging them in all democratic fights for human rights.

Human rights in 1989 Argentina means, in the first place, the struggle to prevent the pardon of the criminals who committed kidnappings, torture and murders during the 1976-83 period in what was called "the Process." But human rights mean no less fighting hunger, homelessness, illiteracy and disease, which are spreading at never-before-seen speed in our country. Suffice it to say that, according to official figures, nine million people (almost one third of the population) are now under the poverty level; every 45 minutes (also according to official figures) a child dies of hunger in this country of ours once called the "bread basket of the world."

We in the progressive Jewish ranks are deeply convinced that anti-Semitism is bound to disappear when and if the popular forces in the country achieve, through unity round the vital socio-economic and political issues,

Continued on page 20

The Situation in Israel

J. Lipski

The report by the Central Bureau of Statistics that unemployment in Israel has reached a peak of 150,000 has roused great excitement in the country. It means that every tenth wage-earner is unemployed. Only a few months ago, Finance Minister Shimon Peres, of the Labor Party, had proposed a program that would make it possible to cut the unemployment rate to a minimum. Let us point out that the whole plan was based on giving up a series of demands on the part of the workers, reducing subsidies and worsening social conditions that were already difficult. It was argued that if the workers want to avoid losing their jobs, they have to agree to these measures. The workers have indeed made concessions, but the unemployment rate is still growing.

The worst is that unemployment hits hardest the so-called "development towns" and most of all towns in the Negev. Beersheba, the capital of the Negev, suffers badly from unemployment. There are towns in the Negev where unemployment is higher than 20%. "Why is the Negev neglected?", people are asking in alarm. In this context it is pointed out that the government has allocated an amount of 273 million Shekalim to support weak enterprises to avoid unemployment. Why hasn't this fund been used so far? For months negotiations have been taking place on a financial arrangement of the debts of the kibbutzim that are in a difficult situation. This would have eased the burden of the kibbutzim and of the unemployed as well. Why are the negotiations dragging on when the situation of many kibbutzim is so hard? (*Al Hamishmar*, 8/18/89).

However, the government says there is no money. But it is pointed out that keeping an army in the occupied territories to strangle the uprising of the Palestinians devours enormous amounts. For 21 months the uprising has been going on that is ruining the state. The means of oppression are getting more intense; victims are dying every day. This give rise to thoughts. Not only the Jewish-Arab Communist Party, not only the Jewish-Arab Front for Peace and Equality (Haddash), but also inside the Labor Party a bloc has been formed in favor of talks with the Palestinians, for giving up the occupied territories. Mapam and Ratz have also adopted similar positions. Even eminent rabbis like Ovadya Yosef, the former Chief Rabbi, have recently visited with a delegation to the Egyptian President and expressed the opinion that because of the danger to human lives one has to give up

the occupied territories. This has roused a great storm in the religious camp. Under the pressure of the right-wing extremist clerical circles, these rabbis have retracted some of their views and started talking about the Messiah. But the ideas expressed by them is proof of the more sober atmosphere that now exists among broad circles.

This is also evident when kibbutzim send help and foodstuffs and medicine to the suffering Palestinian population in the occupied territories, when groups of kibbutzniks enter Palestinian camps where they are warmly received by the inhabitants. Still greater appreciation and sympathy from Palestinians is received by those soldiers and reservists who refuse to serve in the occupied territories. The military authorities, however, are using stronger means of oppression. In the Meggido prison camp alone 1500 Palestinians are awaiting a trial, including young boys and intellectuals. The detention terms of Palestinian activists have been extended up to one year without a charge, without a court verdict, and still the government continues to search for Palestinian candidates for negotiations. Even the extremist right-winger Shamir has found it necessary to meet with Palestinian social activists. Afterwards, Shamir declared at a conference of rabbis that "there is no contradiction between peace and keeping the whole of Eretz Israel." This statement is ridiculous, because no peace is possible if one wants to keep the occupied territories and rule one million and a half Palestinians.

At the same time a real war is flaring up on our borders in Lebanon. Bloody battles are going on between Christians and Moslems, a civilian government and a military government headed by a general. At the same time Syrian military units are active and rival factions are also fighting among the Moslems and Christians themselves. Was it necessary in such a situation for Israel to have carried out a military action in Lebanon and seized a religious leader of the Moslems? As an act of retaliation, the extremist Moslem Hizballah have murdered an American colonel and threatened to murder other hostages. A storm broke out. The Israeli government claims that by this action they wanted to bring about an exchange of hostages and achieve the release of Israeli prisoners for Palestinian detainees. If the government seriously intended to free the Israeli soldiers they should have done everything not to cause a deterioration of the situation in the region and conduct quiet and open negotiations through various channels, first of all with the

J. Lipski is our Israel correspondent

Palestinians. Beirut is destroyed and the U.S. and French war fleets are concentrated opposite the coasts of Lebanon and Iran. This causes much unrest. The tension on the borders of Israel adds still further to the difficult economic and political situation.

In this tense situation, a joint election list of all forces in the Arab camp (except the extremist Moslems and extremist nationalists) has been established. The Jewish-Arab Front (Haddash) has also approached Mapam and Ratz to create a broad peace front in the Histadrut elections to repel the attack by the right-wing Likud that aims to take over the leadership in the Histadrut, to control the Kupat Holim Sick Fund and the Histadrut enterprises. The right-wing Likud is conducting an enormous demagogical campaign of incitement using the difficult economic situation and the fact that the leader of the Labor Party, Shimon Peres, holds the post of Finance Minister. However, Mapam and Ratz have rejected this approach because they don't want to run as partners of "non-Zionists," i.e., neither with the Communists nor with Arabs. Unfortunately, both left-wing Zionist parties, Mapam and Ratz, do not agree to participate in a joint list either.

The formation of a joint Jewish-Arab peace list is of extraordinary importance in the present conditions. In view of the war in Lebanon it is a proof of the political maturity of the Israeli Arab population to agree on a joint list headed by a Jewish candidate of Haddash, with a clear progressive program and a program for peace. This is an important achievement in view of the fact that the establishment politicians want to create an impression that Jewish-Arab cooperation is not possible on a peace program, while an anti-Arab propaganda campaign is conducted on one side and an anti-Jewish campaign on the other side. This demonstrates that the Israeli Arab population can be an important bridge toward an Israeli-Palestinian peace, that it is possible to achieve a stable peace between the State of Israel and the Palestinian state. □

In loving memory of

Tom

proud son of
the working class

Esther

Two Mothers

Edith Beck

One woman's face is gaunt
Eyes swollen from crying

The other woman's arms
Cradle her son,
Twelve years old

Mommy, Mom—Is the boy's last words
Her face is wet with tears
As he slowly grows cold

One woman says,
My son did his duty
To save his homeland.

The other says
My son gave his life
To save his homeland

One asks,
What are we saying?

The other asks,
What are we doing?

One says,
We must stop the crying!

The other says,
We must stop the dying!

Both say,
Give me your hand.
We tried war
But no more, No MORE!

With loving pain
We gave birth to life.

It's up to us
To stop the strife.

Let's give peace a chance!
We must learn how
Let's give peace a chance
Peace NOW!

We wish

Esther Carroll Cuca
a complete recovery.

We love you,

Jean and Bernard
N. Miami Beach

Palestine

Dan Queen

I want
to go home again
to find the peace of trees
and bushes
and arms filled
with my thoughts, wandering
through hills and creeks,
singing in the cracks of my toes —

I want to wander in the soft moss;
run alone over soil still shaped
by the steps of my friends;
laughing steps,
discovering
the sweet chorus of the trees.

I want a symphony,
parts filled by valleys
of mud and mustiness
of mold and misery
awaiting
the liberation of my joy —
the springtime of my hopes —
to flower,
to echo in waves through the woods,
not only in me.

I want to sing as I walk,
to cover miles of moss with my happy steps
and walk watery marshes untouched,
waiting to yield
to the weight
of my curiosity.

I want to love the learning again —
the discovery.
I want to feel
the splash of passing waves again,
my bow broken only by breakers.

I want to sing,
to walk under poplars
amazed at their heights,
to scale stone walls of restrictions
and find forbidden paths.

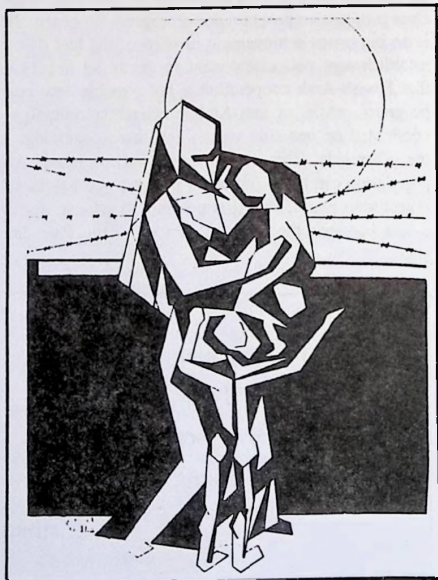
For I am all children —
children running,
arms filled
with thoughts of freedom;
with rocks of retribution
in smooth, untouched hands,
open now,

not bent yet to wait,
to be forced to close over burdens
by overseers outside their pale.

For I am all children —
children discovering,
torn apart by harmless
plastic bullets
chasing their childish dream
of a place to run and hide
from nothing.

Now there is something;
something
bearing the names of my fathers;
killing me —
and themselves with every shot.
My father slung the stone at the giant
now knows not why it comes back.

But I know,
I who have run freely through woods
I could call my own,
I who must now sling the stone
at myself
before I can run again.



A Holiday Remembrance

Florence J. Paul

I was seven years old, in December — the month in which we celebrate two festivals of lights.

Our small town was partially surrounded by cemeteries. Visitors would shudder and wonder how we could live so close to a graveyard. I was too young to understand why they were repelled at our proximity to the cemetery. Years later we would laugh and say, "The dead are more harmless than the living." The peal of the bells from the church in the cemetery were the most beautiful I have ever heard to this day.

The holiday of Hanukah passed quietly for us, as there was not enough money for the necessities, let alone a menorah, candles and gifts. My Jewish friends all showed their little gifts, but none of my four brothers or myself ever discussed it at home. Instinctively we knew that if our beloved Mom had the wherewithal, we would have had a festive holiday. We enjoyed her telling of the story of the Maccabees each year.

Following the eight days of Hanukah was Christmas. Our local shops were decorated and the colored lights reflected on the fresh white snow. To me it was a fairyland, and I loved to walk on our street at night. It was a time when people still could walk the streets unafraid. Our little town had no Santa Clauses ringing bells on the street corners, but my Christian friends all had trees in their homes, with delicate colored balls hanging on them. Some even had shining silver stars on top. At the base were beautifully wrapped boxes awaiting Christmas eve.

I felt in awe of all that magnificence, and the fact of mysterious gifts in the boxes. Of course, the gifts in the boxes were the practical items, as our neighbors were little better off than my family, but not enough to splurge on fulfilling the children's dreams. Most of the packages contained new mittens, gloves, galoshes, ties, underwear, etc. On Christmas day they all had ham or turkey dinners, to which I would occasionally be invited. My invitations were extended only to turkey dinners, as my friends knew that people of the Jewish faith did not eat pork products. They didn't know why, nor did I at the time, but they respected it.

One day my ball went over the fence into the cemetery. I crept through the opening, caused by years of children pushing through to retrieve a ball or play "hide and seek." Many of the tombstones were decorated for Christmas with wreaths, pine branches with red poinsettia leaves tucked in, and flowers. I picked up a pine branch that lay near my ball. It was about twelve inches

with several shoots covered with pine needles. I left with my ball and the branch.

On the walk home, I spotted a small cardboard box, in fine shape. I suddenly had an idea and took the box with me. My mother wasn't at home, so I went into the room I shared with youngest brother. A pencil hole in the center of the box held the branch upright. I thought about decorating it; an idea had come to me.

I made tiny balls of cotton, dipped some in blue ink, some in red ink I had found in the boy's room, and left some of them white. I placed the wet ones to dry on a piece of wax paper, then rummaged through a small "junk drawer" and found the glass vial I was looking for. It contained colored glass beads. I threaded several strings of four or five beads on each and tied them on the pine shoots, hanging down. When the cotton balls were dry enough, I strung thread through them and hung them on shoots alternating with the beads. I thought it was beautiful.

Although I couldn't recall how I had come into possession of them, there were more pretty beads hiding in the drawer. The delight I felt as I strung them into a double strand, wrapped them in a paper napkin and tied them with a little piece of red ribbon I had kept. I wrote "Mom" on the napkin and placed it at the foot of the tree.

When my mother came home, I took her hand and led her into my bedroom, to my "tree." She stared quietly at it. I pointed to the gift, "Mom, it's really a Hanukah gift, but it looks pretty under the tree."

She hadn't yet said a word, but I noticed tears in her eyes. She opened the package, held up the necklace and said, "How lovely," as she put it on over her head. She sat down on my bed, took me around and held me close. I loved the clean smell of her, and would have stayed so, but she soon held me a little away so she could look into my eyes and continued, "My darling," her voice was a little husky, "thank you, I will always keep and enjoy this lovely gift. From today on we will save our pennies so that next year we'll have a real Hanukah celebration."

I didn't know until years later that she arranged to do domestic work for a family nearby, one day a week while we were in school, to supplement my dad's depression-era salary. She put two dollars each week into a Christmas Club account at our local bank.

Nothing could have dimmed the satisfaction I received from her joy, even when one of my brothers said, "What a dumb thing that is."

I will treasure the memory forever. □

Reviews

Thomas L. Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem*, New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1989, 525pp., \$22.95

Lewis M. Moroz

New York Times correspondent, Thomas L. Friedman, who won the Pulitzer Prize twice, has combined his beautifully flowing prose with reportorial skills to bring the readers the tragic story of Beirut and Jerusalem — of Lebanon and Israel.

This work is colored by Friedman's Jewish American Zionist upbringing in Middle America and his many trips to Israel as a youth.

Friedman, a graduate of Brandeis and Oxford Universities, is fluent in Arabic and Hebrew. His command of both languages has enriched the book with the insights of the many Arab and Israeli leaders with whom he was able to converse on a myriad of subjects.

About his trip, Friedman writes: "(It) is about a young man of Minnesota who goes to Beirut and confronts a world for which nothing in his life had prepared him, a student of Middle East politics who discovers the region bears little resemblance to the logical and antiseptic descriptions he found in most of his textbooks. It is about a Jew raised on all the myths about Israel who discovers that it isn't the summer camp of his youth but an audacious and still unresolved experiment to get Jews to live together in the midst of the Arab world today. Lastly, it is a book about the people of Beirut and Jerusalem themselves who, I discovered, were going through remarkably similar crises. Each was caught in a struggle between new ideas, the new relationships, the new nations they are trying to build for the future, and the ancient memories, ancient passions and ancient feuds that kept dragging back to the past."

Keeping in mind that Friedman writes for the *N.Y. Times*, we note that there is little in the book about the legacy of imperialist control of the area and the current role of the imperialist powers.

Friedman bemoans the impact of the inter-ethnic strife let loose in Lebanon and is but mildly critical of the role of the United States, making no reference to the paper prepared for the State Department think-tank by Joseph Churba. That paper presented in 1981 called for the invasion of Lebanon. Churba is a bosom pal of the racist Rabbi Meir Kahane.

Nor does Friedman make any reference to the article in the Israeli Zionist organ, *Kivunim* (Directions), calling for the unleashing of inter-ethnic strife in all Arab countries bordering upon Israel.

Friedman, nevertheless, was deeply moved by the

bloody struggles in Beirut, commenting: "The spirit of Beirut is what is known as the Levantine spirit." He noted that the word "Levantine" derives from the old French word, Levant, which literally means "rising". However, Friedman makes no reference to the imperialist intrigue which sowed the seeds for perpetuating inter-ethnic conflict, thereby undermining the "Levantine" idea of building a modern Arab Republic melding together different Christian, Muslim and Druse sects.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 forged by Britain, France and Czarist Russia, carving up the Ottoman Empire is listed in the book's "Middle East Chronology," but is not referred to in the body of the work.

While ignoring the basic aspects of imperialist intrigue and making no reference to the U.S.-Israeli strategic military alliance, Friedman places undue emphasis on the "Hama Massacre" of February 1982 whose victims exceeded that of Sabra and Shatila. Friedman ignores that the slaughter was provoked by the arch-reactionary "Moslem Brotherhood" to combat and undermine the progressive course being taken by the Syrian government coalition.

About his stay in Israel, Friedman insightfully writes: "The truth is that the reluctance of the Israelis to deal with Arafat exists not only because some cannot hear him and others do not trust him, but also because most of them don't want to hear him. . . . they (the Israelis) are also unwilling to address the ugly reality of their occupation. . . . so they look for a curtain that will shield them. . . . the 'Holocaust'. . . . You have no right to judge us. We are the victims of Auschwitz. Go away! Go away!."

The growing disaffection of Jewish Americans with Israel is referred to but not handled with great depth.

Yet over-all this work is a valuable asset and should be read widely. □

Argentinian Jews Continued from page 15

the necessary strength to prevail in implementing an independent policy to set the country free from the enslaving foreign debt which is at the root of its deplorable plight. Not an easy task, but the only way out for us, as well as for all Third World countries.

We progressive Jews make use of every chance to

Continued on page 21

Jewish Affairs

Document

Agreement with United States Holocaust Memorial Council Signed

Cooperation with GDR institutions concerning further research into the anti-fascist resistance struggle and the crimes committed by the Nazi dictatorship.

Reprinted from G.D.R Foreign Affairs Bulletin September 4, 1989.

At Potsdam on 22 August, an agreement was signed on cooperation concerning further research into and the description of the anti-fascist resistance struggle and of the crimes committed by the Nazi dictatorship, especially of the Holocaust and its historical context, by Oberarchivrat Roland Leipold, Director of the State Archive Administration of the GDR and Harvey M. Meyerhoff, Chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. On that occasion Major-General Dieter Winderlich, Deputy Minister of the Interior, received the U.S. politician and those accompanying him.

Dieter Winderlich stressed that the GDR archives were making an important contribution to the fostering of the anti-fascist heritage. The GDR, he said, attributes special significance to the further development of international cooperation in this field in the face of the revival of the neo-Nazi forces and their entry into parliaments. All forces of common sense and goodwill are called upon to step up their efforts to forestall a new holocaust. The GDR as a socialist German state is making a contribution of its own to it by practicing a consistent anti-fascist policy of peace.

Harvey M. Meyerhoff reported on the activities of his organization for setting up a holocaust museum in Washington as a center of memory and worship as well as of research and meeting. He paid tribute to the GDR's consistent policy of complete elimination of Nazism and racism.

Hermann Kalb, Deputy State Secretary for Religious Affairs, took part in the meeting.

An agreement on cooperation between the national memorial sites of Brandenburg, Buchenwald, Ravensbruck, Sachsenhausen and the US Holocaust Memorial Council was signed by Obermuseumsrat Werner Wolf, Head of the Department of Museums and Monument Preservation of the GDR Ministry of Culture, and the Chairmen of the Memorial Council, Harvey M. Meyerhoff, in Berlin on 23 August. On that occasion Dr. D. Keller, State Secretary, Ministry of Culture, received the guests from the United States for a talk, in which Dr. H. Simon, Director of the foundation "New Synagogue of Berlin — Centrum Judaicum" also participated. Dr. Keller pointed out

that the GDR national memorial sites as centers for the collection, preservation and presentation of testimonies of the anti-fascist resistance struggle occupied an important place in the cultivation of the national heritage and at the same time were keeping alive the memory of the Nazi crimes. He said the political legacy of the victims of Nazism and of the heroes of the anti-fascist resistance struggle was the basis for the policy of the first socialist German state and was firmly rooted in the traditions of the anti-fascist struggle.

Harvey M. Meyerhoff stressed that cooperation with the national memorial centers and the foundation "New Synagogue of Berlin — Centrum Judaicum" would make an important contribution to further research into and the presentation of the anti-fascist resistance struggle as well as of the crimes committed by the Nazi dictatorship.

Argentinian Jews *Continued from page 20*

express that we consider Argentina our homeland and, although we entertain the deepest feelings for other Jews wherever they live, we do not expect to solve our problems by emigrating.

By the way, it should be stressed that Zionist circles which want to use the threat of anti-Semitism to increase emigration to Israel have so far failed. True, many people, especially young Jewish professionals, would like to work somewhere else, since conditions here, as above described, offer neither a good livelihood nor opportunities for research work. But it is also true that the number of people who choose to go to Israel is nowhere in proportion to the expectations of Zionist propaganda.

This is, in our opinion, the right time to emphasize that the Argentine Jewish community, now celebrating its 100th anniversary of organized life, is and feels itself to be an inseparable part of the Argentine people and, as such, is ready to defend its democratic rights together with the rest of democratic and peace-loving Argentini-ans.

As to anti-Semitism, it is not only a menace to the Jewish community but to Argentine democracy as a whole, and combatting it is every Argentine citizen's duty as part of the general upholding of democratic rights in our country. □

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*Due to space limitations the names of additional contributors will appear in the
January/February 1990 issue.*

יידישע ענינים

אידישע נייעס איבער דער וועלט

צווישן די טעמעס, וואָס זענען דיסקוטירט געוואָרן האָבן זיך געפונען פראַבלעמען פון הינוך און פון יידישער גייסטיקער אַנטוויקלונג. דאָס טוישן פון דעם לעבנס־שטייגער פון דער יוגנט. די באַציונגען צווישן יידישע יוגנטלעכע. זייער באַטיילונג אינעם קהילה־לעבן; די טעטיקייט צווישן דער יוגנט. די פארכינדונג מיט ישראל. און די ראל פון דער אפירעראשפט.

אין מאַסקווע לענינגראַד און ווילנע שוויבלט מיט קלאַסן פאַר אידיש און העברעאיש

אין מאַסקווע און אין לענינגראַד. שוין אָפּגערעדט פון ווילנע. עס שוויבלט און גריבלט דאָרט ממש מיט קרייזן און קרייזלעך, מיט לערן־קלאַסן און סעמינאַרן מכל המינים. איסער קלאַסן און לערנען העברעאיש און יידיש. זענען פאַראַן קרייזן פאַרן לימוד פון געשיכטע, סאַציאַלאַגיע, פּאָלקלאָר, מוזיק. אָפּטמאַל שטיצן זיי זיך אויף יחידים פון דער זלעבער פּראָפּעסיאָנעלער סביבה. דאָס נעמט אַרום פאַרשידענע סעקטאָרן — די גאַר פרומע ווי חב"ד, וועלטלעכע, אָדער מיט אַן אַרענטאַציע אויף ישראל — אָפּט אומאָפּהענגיק פון פּאַקטאָרן אויסער די סאַרוויטישע גרענעצן.

ד"ר שמעון יאָקירסאָן אין לענינגראַד האָט לעצטנס אַרויסגעגעבן אַ וויכטיק ווערק וועגן יידישע אינקוואַבלען. דאָס הייסט: די ערשטע דרוקן אין העברעאיש און יידיש, וואָס געפינען זיך אין רוסישע אַרכיוון.

אידישע און העברעאישע אויסגאַבן אין ריגע עס קומען פאַר פאַרשידענע באַמיונגען אַרויסצוגעבן זשורנאַלן, ווי למשל, דער ביולעטיין פון העברעאישן לערער־פאַרבאַנד אין רוסיש, אָדער "מאַמע־לשון" אין יידיש, וואָס האַלט שוין ביים 4טן נומער. אין ריגע האָט אָנגעהויבן דערשיינען אין רוסיש אַ פּיין־געדרוקטער חודש־זשורנאַל געווידמעט יידישע ענינים אונטערן נאָמען "וועק" — (יאָרהונדערט). פאַרוואָס ריגע? — ווייל דאָרט איז גרינגער צו באַקומען די נויטיקע רעגירונגס־דערוואַרעניש. לייגענדיק דעם זשורנאַל באַקענט מען זיך מיטן געדאַנקען־גאַנג פון יידישע אינטעלעקטואַלן בנוגע יידישע פּראַבלעמען. ס'איז זשורנאַל לויטן שניט פון די יידישע פּובליקאַציעס און ענגליש. פּראָנציוויש און שפּאַניש, וואָס דערשיינען אין אַנדערע לענדער. "וועק" איז אינגאַנצן געווידמעט יידישע ענינים, אַריינגערעכנט ישראל־טעמאַטיק און מאָדערנער יידישער געדאַנק.

אידיש טעאַטער און געזאַנג־גרוּפּן איבער דעם סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנד

בנוגע יידיש גופא הערשט אַן אויפֿלעבונג צווישן דער יוגנט. עס מערד זיך די קלובן און קלאַסן פאַרן לימוד פון דער שפּראַך. דער עיקר קומען אויף טעאַטער־און געזאַנג־גרוּפּן. לויט מיינע איינדרוקן, אין גאַנג פון די געשפרעכטן מיט די סטודענטן אין אונזער סעמינאַר, וואַלט איך געשאַצט: עס פונקציאָנירן היינט צו טאָג לכל הפחות אַן ערך 20 אַזעלכע טעאַטער און קונסט־קרייזן איבערן גאַנצן לאַנד. אין מאַסקווע זענען פאַראַן צוויי — איינער איז דער "ביראַבידזשונער טעאַטער" און דער צווייטער הייסט "שלום". ביידע זיינען קליין קונסט־בינעס וואָס מען רופט אין אַמעריקע "דערווי". זיי פירן דורך ספּעקטאַקלען האַלבי־יידיש, האַלבי־רוסיש.

וויכטיקער סאָוועטי־יידישע געלערנטער אין ישראל

תל־אביב — סאָוועט־רוסלאַנד האָט דערלויבט עולה צו זיין קיין ישראל איינעם פון די גרעסטע סאָוועטישע געלערנטע. ראאלד נאדליך איז פאַרגאַנגענע וואָך אָנגעקומען אין לאַנד, און איז גלייך אָנגענומען געוואָרן אַלס פּראָפּעסאָר אין וויצמאַן־אינסטיטוט אין רחובות.

"אַרט־שולן" ווידער טעטיק אין אונגאַרן נאָך 40 יאָר

(איטא) — צום ערשטן מאַל אין די לעצטע 40 יאָר האָט "אַרט", די אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע יידישע פּאָך און טעכנישע אויסשולונגס־אַרגאַניזאַציע, זיך אומגעקערט קיין אונגאַרן ווי זי האָט ווידער געעפנט אַ שול. דער באַשלוס וועגן דעם איז אָנגענומען געוואָרן אויף אַ וועלט־קענקעוויי מיטינג פון דער אַרגאַניזאַציע אין בודאַפעשט. עס וועט דאָ טעטיק זיין אַ וויסנשאַפטלעכע און טעכנאָלאָגישע לאַבאָראַטאָריע ביי דער אַנא פּראַנק יידישע טאַג־שול.

יאָרטאָג פון גרינדן אַ פאַריין

פון די יידישער יוגנט אין לאַנדאָן

צו דער געלעגנהייט פונעם אָפּמערקן 90 יאָר זינט דעם גרינדן פון דעם פאַריין פון דער יידישער יוגנט אין גרויס־בריטאַניע. איז אין לאַנדאָן פאַרגעקומען אַ סעסיע אויף דער טעמע, "וויזיאַנאַריזם און רעאַליזם אין דער טעטיקייט פון דער יידישער יוגנט".