

July/August-  
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# JEWISH AFFAIRS

**The Reagan-Bush Supreme Court**  
*Herbert Aptheker*

**The Jews and the Elections**  
*Jon Weisberger*

**The Poles, the Jews and Auschwitz**  
*Alfred J. Kutzik*

**Polish-Jewish Society**  
*Sol Flapan*

**Abba Eban: Voice of Reason**  
*Lewis M. Moroze*

**Sholom Aleichem! Aleichem Sholom!**  
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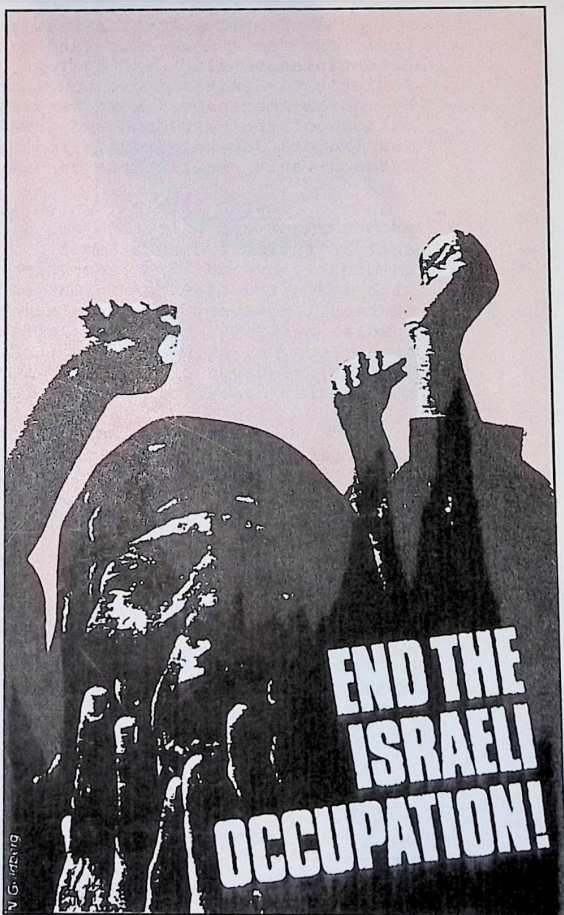
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**Speech**  
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*Regarding Victims of Stalinist Repres-  
sion*

*Regarding Neo-Nazism in W. Germany  
and W. Berlin*



# JEWISH AFFAIRS

Published by the Communist Party, U.S.A.

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July, 1989

Dear Reader:

Finally, after seventeen years, Jewish Affairs' positions for a peace-for-land solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and against the big lie of "official Soviet anti-Semitism" are now increasingly being accepted by Jewish Americans. Most want an end to the brutal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and even the leaders of the "major" Jewish organizations advocate dropping the Jackson-Vanik restrictions on U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade.

Jewish Affairs, which is the clearest voice for such changes and unity of Jews and non-Jews of all races against racism and anti-Semitism, now has an opportunity to greatly expand its readership and influence, especially with its attractive new format and more varied, livelier content. However, promoting our magazine through ads, special mailings, tables at conferences, distributing sample copies, etc. requires funds that we have not got. In fact, we haven't got enough funds to print and mail the regular number of copies to our present subscribers.

So once again we turn to readers like you for a financial contribution which is a traditional part of our annual dinner. We hope that you can attend and make a contribution in person on September 24. But whether or not you can, your greeting-contribution--and those of your friends--can be mailed to us in the enclosed envelope. Your assistance is more important at this time than ever before.

*Herbert Aptheker*

Herbert Aptheker,  
Editor

*Alfred J. Kutzik*

Alfred J. Kutzik,  
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*Lewis M. Moroze*

Lewis M. Moroze,  
Managing Editor

P.S.: House parties or gatherings have proven to be a good way of collecting funds for a group contribution.

Encl.



## Editorials

### C.P.U.S.A. at 70

On its 70th anniversary congratulations are in order for the Communist Party USA for having always participated, despite unceasing attacks by the ruling class from the day it was founded in September 1919, in the struggles of the American people for peace and progress. The Party has played a decisive role in the struggle to organize the working class, especially in industrial unions. It played a leading role in the enactment of social security and unemployment insurance. It has made significant contributions to the struggles against racism and anti-Semitism and for civil rights, against fascism and U.S. imperialism and for peace. *Jewish Affairs* takes pride in the strong representation of Jews in the membership of the Party from its inception to the present day.

### Dinkins For Mayor of New York

New York City readers have the opportunity to help elect an honest, progressive politician, David Dinkins, in the primary on September 12 as the Democratic Party's candidate and in the election on November 7 as mayor of the city with the largest Jewish population in the world.

Why should Jews vote for the only non-Jewish candidate in the Democratic primary and the only African American in the mayoral election? Because David Dinkins is committed to a progressive agenda including more affordable housing, improved education and expanded health care and is the only candidate opposed to making New York City a homeport for nuclear weapons-capable Navy ships. Supported by nearly all of the city's labor unions and the Central Labor Council, Dinkins will certainly be most responsive to the needs of working people of all those running for mayor. Further, Dinkins is committed to bringing New York City — fragmented by 12 years in office of the most racist and chauvinist mayor in its history — together again, particularly the polarized African American and Jewish communities. As an African American with a record of sensitivity to and action on Jewish concerns, Dinkins can do this better than any other candidate.

For example, in May 1985 he joined an American Jewish Congress delegation that went to Germany to protest President Reagan's honoring the SS at Bitburg. And in October of that year he held a press conference in front of Madison Square Garden condemning Minister Louis Farrakhan's anti-Semitism the day before the latter's scheduled address there. In recognition of his demonstrated friendship, Dinkins has been honored by a number of Jewish organizations ranging from the New York Board of Rabbis to the Jewish Lawyers Guild. One of New York's leading Jewish lawyers and government of-

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

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## Letters from Readers

ficials, Attorney General Robert Abrams, has endorsed Dinkins' mayoral candidacy for, among other things, his "extraordinarily deep and strong record of involvement, participation and leadership on particular issues of great sensitivity to the Jewish community."

*Jewish Affairs* believes that the election of David Dinkins as mayor of the cultural capital of the United States and most cosmopolitan city in the world will be "good for the Jews" and non-Jews of all nationalities and races.

### Cut U.S. Military Aid to Israel

Since March *Jewish Affairs* has called for cutting U.S. military aid to Israel in response to its violations of human rights and international law in the occupation of Palestine (West Bank and Gaza). At its national convention in July, the New Jewish Agenda adopted a similar position. With the qualification that "the total amount of U.S. aid to Israel should remain stable," the convention resolved that "the U.S. should redirect for peaceful purposes that part of its aid which is used for military or administrative purposes designed to perpetuate the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, specifically the establishment and maintenance of settlements on the West Bank and Gaza, as well as actions designed to harass Palestinian residents of those areas to diminish their resources or rights, and should foster dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians." The resolution further specified that "U.S. aid to Israel should be subjected to the same measure of accountability and human rights monitoring as U.S. aid to other countries." We think a substantial reduction in the total amount of U.S. aid would more effectively pressure Israel's misrulers to end their anti-Palestinian and *anti-Israeli* policies and to negotiate with the P.L.O. rather than "dialogue" with "Palestinians." However, we applaud Agenda's position which, given the Jewish establishment's compulsive support of U.S. aid to Israel, is a courageous, progressive step.

### The Flag is Ours

While the right-wingers and conservatives who are clamoring for a constitutional amendment to protect the flag from desecration and limit the Bill of Rights' guarantee of freedom of speech will probably fail to achieve this, with the support of liberals they will probably succeed in doing so through congressional legislation — which will probably be ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. However this outrageous diversion of attention from the important issues facing our country goes, it is bound to promote the all-too-common mistaken belief on the left that the flag "belongs" to the right or at least to the establishment. For the conclusion of this editorial — and *Jewish Affairs'* celebration of the Fourth of July — see in this issue the poem, "The Flag is Ours."

I have just finished reading a book about the labor movement, *The Labor Leader* by Harry Kelber, a very beautifully written novel of the difficulties, successes and failures in the struggle to unionize the food industry. The detailed description of renewing a contract and the wisdom and dedication on the part of union leaders in negotiations seem familiar to us garment workers who lived and fought for those very same goals.

The book gives proper recognition to members of the Communist Party for their selfless dedication to the cause of organizing the workers into unions in the struggle for a better world.

I recommend the book highly to all my friends — especially the garment workers.

Esther Carroll  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

*Harry Kelber's* *The Labor Leader* was published by Picket Press, Box 2308, New York, N.Y. 10185.

I am seeking your assistance in locating recent articles on Jewish life in the German Democratic Republic.

I would appreciate copies of such articles which might have appeared in your fine magazine as well as information in other periodicals which might have published related articles.

Of course I am prepared to reimburse you for copying and mailing expenses.

Mark S. Alper  
P.O. Box 45039  
Winter Hill Br.  
Somerville, MA 02145-0001

*We print Mr. Alper's address for those who may wish to mail him information of the kind he needs.*

*Jewish Affairs* 17th Annual Dinner, Sunday noon September 24, 1989 at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City will be on the theme, "Celebrating the Communist Party USA's 70 Years of Struggle for Peace and Social and Economic Justice." Jarvis Tyner, chair of the N.Y. State Communist Party will speak on the upcoming N.Y. City election, editor Herbert Aptheker will speak on the history of the CPUSA and associate editor Alfred J. Kutzik will speak on recent positive developments in the U.S. Jewish community. Soprano Paula Baron will present a program of English, Hebrew, Russian and Yiddish songs. Reservations at \$30.00 per person and greetings and contributions should be mailed to *Jewish Affairs* 235 W. 23 Street, New York, NY 10011.

# The Reagan-Bush Supreme Court and Human Rights

Herbert Aptheker

*Our editor, Dr. Aptheker has taught the course, "Racism and the Law" for the past twelve years at the Law School of the University of California (Berkeley) and will soon have a detailed, documented study of the Reagan-Bush Court in Political Affairs.*

The Foul Five majority of the Reagan-Bush Supreme Court — Rehnquist, Kennedy, Scalia, O'Connor and White — has mounted since January 1989, the month of Bush's inauguration, a fierce campaign against human rights, civil liberties, civil rights, and the rights of women and the rights of working people. One would have to go back to the slaveholders-dominated Court of the 1850's or the ice-age Court of the late 19th century, which destroyed Reconstruction legislation, to find an equal for the reactionary quality and sheer brutality of this Court.

The majority has ruled in favor of the constitutionality of executing youngsters for crimes committed before the age of 18; it has countenanced the execution of a 22-year old whose mental age is that of 7-year old. It has refused to give relief in a Michigan "red-squad" case which reflects the worst practices of the McCarthyite era. It has refused to allow damages to a handicapped student suffering indignities from a Pennsylvania school. It has modified the Miranda decision, thus allowing police greater leeway in the handling of prisoners.

The Court majority refused relief to Inuit (Eskimo) and Asian workers in an Alaskan cannery who demonstrated the existence of onerous racist discrimination. It has refused relief to African-American women employed by A.T.&T. in Illinois who showed that a recently installed system flagrantly discriminated against them.

It refused relief and damages to an African-American woman who worked as a teller in a North Carolina credit union, despite the fact that she showed the bosses has refused her training for advanced positions provided white workers, had withheld from her routine wage increases allowed white workers, had ordered her to perform janitorial tasks and subjected her to racial slurs.

The Court majority rejected a consent decree — *upheld by a lower federal court eight years ago* — which provided some help to African-American firemen in the notoriously racist department in Birmingham, Alabama. It rejected a plan implemented by Richmond, Virginia in

which 30% of future city construction contracts were to go to minority-owned businesses. This despite the fact that the plan was in force for three years and that it had been implemented after the city itself had found that, in the previous five years, *less than one percent* of its contracts had gone to such businesses, although the population of the city was 50% African-American!

And it reached this decision despite the fact that half a dozen relevant official and citizens' groups, in a joint brief, pointed out that killing the Richmond plan jeopardized similar efforts in scores of other cities and in over thirty states.

In July 1989, this Foul Five found in favor of a medieval-like Missouri law which drastically undercuts the right of women to an abortion. It "finds" life to exist at the moment of fertilization (is an egg a chicken?), prohibits hospitals and doctors in certain cases from acting, and even criminalizes, in some instances, women seeking relief. Further, the Court announced that when it meets again in the fall of 1989 it will consider other laws inhibiting the rights of women which exist in other states, thus making possible, — perhaps probable — the overthrow of *Roe v. Wade* and putting women, especially poor women, at the mercy of untrained butchers or back-alley remedies which maim and kill.

In doing all this — and especially in its attacks upon civil rights and affirmative action — the present majority reflects (at times, even quotes) the thinking of the so-called neo-Conservatives. And here *Jewish Affairs* must note that prominent in spreading this diabolical garbage have been Irving Kristol of *The Public Interest*, Norman Podhoretz and his vile *Commentary*, Albert Shanker, with his demagogic equating of affirmative action goals with anti-Semitic quotas of the Czar (though they are *opposites*) and, especially, Nathan Glazer of Harvard whose book *Affirmative Discrimination*, laid down the basic ideological attack upon affirmative action.

Fundamental to that attack and the reasoning of the Foul Five is the concept that racial discrimination is a matter of the past and that it is wrong to punish the present generation for the misdeeds of earlier ones.

Making up for past crimes not to be dismissed; but, of course, racism not only has characterized this nation's

*Continued on page 24*



## Roots and Branches

# The Jews and the Elections

Jon Weisberger

Elections are always important, but coming up this year and next are some critical tests for the forces of political independence. The New York and Chicago mayoral elections this year, and the elections to state legislatures in 1990 will be hard-fought battles in which progressives must chart a careful but steady course. In this year's elections especially, Jews will figure significantly, with more than 1.7 million Jews in New York and over 250 thousand in Chicago. What are the prospects? What kinds of programs can win Jewish support? How can Jews participate in building the kind of broad progressive coalitions needed to win?

In order to answer these questions, we need first to take a look at how American Jews view social and political issues. Fortunately, the 1988 National Survey of American Jews, conducted by Steven M. Cohen for the American Jewish Committee, provides a detailed picture of the opinions of Jews on the major social questions that are likely to be involved in upcoming electoral campaigns.

The first point to note is that Jews are substantially more likely to identify themselves as Democrats or independents than are other whites. In fact, they are almost twice as likely to call themselves Democrats (61% vs. 37%), and less than half as likely to call themselves Republicans (14% vs. 37%). Jews are also twice as likely to define themselves as "liberal" (29% vs. 15%) or "very liberal" (4% vs. 2%), and much less likely to define themselves as "conservative" (20% vs. 32%) or "very conservative" (1% vs. 4%). It is only in the "middle-of-the-road" category that Jews match other whites (46% vs. 48%). In short, the Jewish "opinion curve" is almost a reverse image of the larger white population's; where whites generally describe themselves as middle-of-the-road or conservative, Jews generally say they are middle-of-the-road or liberal. What is interesting is that these characterizations are relatively stable across income lines when it comes to Jews who define themselves as conservative. This invariance becomes clear when we compare Jews and non-Jews who describe themselves this way (See Table I). It is likely that if the comparison were with other whites only, the contrast would be even greater.

Thanks to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court, a number of so-called social issues are likely to

figure prominently in the coming elections. Where do Jews stand on some of the issues? With the exception of certain welfare and affirmative action questions, which we will examine later in more detail, Jews generally stand on the left-liberal end of the spectrum on the social issues, such as abortion, government spending, taxes and separation of church and state. On the right to choice, Jews show by far the strongest support of any group for an unrestricted right to an abortion — 87% agreed that "abortion should be legal as it is now", while 12% believed that it should be "legal only in some cases". 69% of those surveyed believe that deficit reduction should be accomplished through cuts in defense spending, while only 39% believe that it should be done through reduced domestic spending. Interestingly, Jews were most likely to support increased taxes (25% vs. 20% of other whites) and least likely to oppose them (54% vs. 62%) as a tool for reducing the deficit. On church-state separation issues, Jews are overwhelmingly opposed to a constitutional amendment permitting prayer in public schools (only 18% support such an amendment, compared to 71% of other whites), while slightly more than a third support the display on public property of manger scenes or menorahs. When we turn to the question of government welfare programs, the picture is more complicated. Only 32% of those surveyed said that they support efforts to reduce or eliminate welfare programs; on the other hand, 77% also believe that welfare programs have had "many bad effects on the very people they're supposed to help" and only a slight majority (54%) say that they generally support "the goals and philosophy of such government programs as welfare." While these figures are somewhat disturbing, though in the absence of more detailed surveys we may speculate that they indicate a not-unreasonable skepticism about the long-term value of welfare programs, combined with strong opposition to reducing or ending them until a better, more progressive alternative appears.

The most mixed signals of all come in the area of affirmative action. Jews are slightly less likely to support preferential hiring of people in a variety of categories, including the handicapped and women, as well as African-Americans. Asked if they support preferential hiring of Jews, only 28% said yes — 1% more than support for preferential hiring of Blacks! (In fact, African-Ameri-

cans surveyed were twice as supportive of preferential hiring of Jews). Several interesting and significant variations may be noted here — most importantly, that there is a wide variation in opinion based on income, similar to that among other whites. Actually, this income-based difference plays a critical role in determining overall Jewish opinion, since if we compare Jewish and non-Jewish opinion by income, we can see that within most categories, Jews are slightly more supportive of preferential hiring (See Table II). If we factor out African-Americans from the "non-Jews" category, it seems likely that the poorer and working-class Jews are considerably more supportive of preferential hiring than other whites. It is also appropriate to point out that most Jewish organizations have articulated strong support for affirmative action programs, including timetables and numerical goals for hiring and promotion. Nevertheless, the lack of support for preferential hiring — a critical component of effective affirmative action programs — is a significant problem, especially if it has the potential of affecting Jewish support for African-American or other progressive candidates. What is responsible for this attitude and what is an effective approach to dealing with it?

The answer appears to lie in ongoing fears of anti-Semitism among American Jews. While much attention has been devoted to Jewish concerns about Black anti-Semitism, a closer look at Jewish attitudes about anti-Semitism reveals, I believe, a somewhat different dimension to the problem. The key lies in the following survey response: asked to respond to the statement "virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews," only 25% agreed, while 65% — almost two-thirds — disagreed. Further, of those surveyed, 35% believe that most or many "big business" leaders are anti-Semitic, while another 42% believe that some are. The combination of these two items, I think, shows the roots of Jewish concerns about preferential hiring in affirmative action programs — that is, that those who control institutions implementing affirmative action programs may, in a constricted economy, place the burden of non-preference on Jews, rather than on whites as a whole. Progressive candidates in upcoming elections, then, must deal with the question of affirmative action on several levels. First, a clear commitment to overcoming discrimination must be made, including support for preferential hiring. Secondly, a strong and unequivocal statement of opposition to anti-Semitism is needed, with an affirmation that the rights of Jews to be free of discrimination will be respected. Finally, candidates who wish to contend for Jewish support will need to provide creative solutions to the problem of unemployment, starting with substantial reductions in the military bud-

get. Beyond this particular issue, Jews are likely to support candidates who are strong advocates of pro-choice policies, equitable and progressive tax structures, clear boundaries between the state and religious institutions and well-designed, adequate welfare programs which include genuine educational and training components.

Progressive Jews will have a critical role to play in the upcoming campaigns, especially where there are African-American candidates. The experiences of the Jackson campaigns of 1984 and 1988 and the Chicago mayoral race earlier this year demonstrate that the Right believes that it has found an effective wedge to use to divide Jewish voters from the burgeoning progressive coalition — allegations of Black anti-Semitism. Given the deep concerns that Jews justifiably have about anti-Semitism, this should come as no surprise and it is important that the issue be dealt with squarely. The most effective counters to such campaigns will come from voices within the Jewish community that have a clear and consistent approach that does not minimize or dismiss Jewish fears, while pointing out where the real anti-Semitic dangers lie and the consistency of supporting African-American candidates with Jewish ethics and values. In these circumstances, Jewish support for progressive candidates cannot be taken for granted, but neither should the mistake be made of writing off the Jewish community. As Cohen's survey demonstrates, Jews are consistent supporters of progressive approaches to the main issues confronting the electorate. If properly dealt with, they can be a vital part of the progressive coalition.

#### Self-Described Conservatives

Income	%Jews	%Non-Jews
\$25,000 +	22	52
\$40-49,999	19	34
\$30-39,999	21	35
\$20-29,999	22	37
Under \$20,000	20	30

#### Support of Preferential Hiring

Income	%Jews	%Non-Jews
\$50,000 +	20	20
\$40-49,999	19	20
\$30-39,999	26	21
\$20-29,999	32	30
Under \$20,000	44	39



# The Poles, the Jews and Auschwitz

Alfred J. Kutzik

One again the painful question of the relation of Poles to the Nazi genocide of Jews has been raised. It is high time that it was definitively answered.

In the last few months groups of Jews from various countries, including the U.S., have traveled to the Auschwitz concentration camp to demonstrate against the continuing operation of a Polish Catholic convent at its outer wall since 1984 despite a 1987 agreement by the Vatican and the Carmelite Order to remove it by February 1989. In May several hundred women from various countries demonstrated at the convent site while Kalman Sultanik, vice president of the World Jewish Congress, met with Poland's Deputy Prime Minister, Ireneusz Sekula, and warned him that more demonstrations would follow if the Polish church did not abide by the agreement to close down the convent. In July a group of U.S. Jews led by J.D.L.-supporter, Rabbi Avraham Weiss of New York City, not only demonstrated for an extended period but seven of them climbed over the six-foot wall surrounding the convent blowing *shafarim* (rams' horns) and shouting under its windows until six Polish workers physically evicted them from the cloister. Reuter reported that some of these Jews were punched and kicked as they were dragged from the convent's steps and described this as the "ugliest anti-Jewish violence in Poland in many years." The Polish government newspaper, *Rzeczpospolita*, reported the incident as an "organized provocation" which had "terrified" the nuns who had felt "under seige" since food supplies and mail could not reach them during the several hours that the protest lasted.

Within days a delegation of U.S. Jews organized by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles went to Rome where they presented a letter to the Vatican Secretary of State demanding that the Pope force the convent to close. The delegation was informed that the matter was in the hands of Polish church officials. Cardinal Macharski, archbishop of Cracow, whose diocese includes Oswiecim (Auschwitz), had not spoken publicly on the issue up to this point. The *N.Y. Times* reported that "prominent Catholics in Cracow familiar with (the Cardinal's) thinking say he has avoided firm action because of strong resistance from the nuns and their superi-

ors, who have the support of local Catholic clergy and laity." After the eviction of the intruders from the cloister, Poland's Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Majewski informed members of Israel's parliament that his government "would take steps to assure the convent's removal." Directly following this, the official Polish press agency announced details concerning the construction in 1990 of a center for Christian-Jewish dialogue which, according to the 1987 agreement, was to replace the convent. However, a week later about 100 representatives of four West European Jewish student organizations marched to the site of the convent carrying placards that included two in Polish reading, "Carmelites leave Auschwitz" and "Today's Prayers Cannot Atone for the Silence of the Past." According to the *N.Y. Times* the marchers were met by a crowd of local residents some of whom "shouted angry insults like 'Back to Palestine!' while others begged the Jews to comprehend the convent's purpose. 'They are praying for the people who died here,' an elderly Pole shouted. 'They are praying for everyone.'"

In reaction to these demonstrations and a spate of anti-Polish and anti-Catholic letters and articles in the Western and, particularly, the U.S. press, on August 10 Cardinal Macharski announced "such attitudes and actions make it impossible" to construct the center for Christian-Jewish dialogue that was to replace the convent. On August 12 a letter to the *N.Y. Times* indicated how far these attitudes had gone for some Jews. It blew up the intrusion-eviction incident to Jews "beaten and bloodied for twenty minutes on the convent porch by Auschwitz workers and local Poles" and ended with "What an apropos image this all is: Polish workers at Auschwitz beating the children of survivors of Auschwitz, while 'religious people' look on silently."

Earlier the *Times* had concluded that the convent controversy "has affected relations between Jewish communities and the Polish church and government, and between Poland and Israel" and "stirred lingering concern over Polish anti-Semitism." It also has raised the long unsettled questions of the relationship of the Poles to Auschwitz and the Holocaust and the relationship of Jews to Poles and other non-Jewish victims of Nazi genocide.

Reuters reported the basis of Jewish objection to the convent as follows: "Jews say the convent is an intrusion because most camp victims were Jewish and be-

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*Among Dr. Kutzik's articles on Nazi genocide is "The Slavic Holocaust: The Polish Dimension," Polish Heritage (Spring 1982).*



cause Auschwitz is the most symbolic site of the Nazi Holocaust, in which six million Jews were killed." But there is another reason for Jewish objection to a Polish convent at Auschwitz which was hinted at by the placard charging Polish Catholics with "Silence of the Past." It is the widespread belief among Jews — recently strengthened by the virulently anti-Polish "documentary" film, *Shoah* — that the Poles sympathized when they did not collaborate with the Nazis in killing Jews at Auschwitz and elsewhere. Let us examine the validity of these objections.

To begin with, how compelling is the argument that Auschwitz should be considered an exclusively Jewish "symbolic site" since "most camp victims were Jewish"? While it may come as a surprise to the general public, who have been led to believe that Auschwitz was a camp for Jews and a few Gypsies and partisans, that of the 4 million people who died there 2½ million were Jews and that of the 1½ million non-Jews about 1 million were Poles. Yes, most of those who died at Auschwitz were Jews, but one of every three was a non-Jew and one of every four a Pole. With so many non-Jewish, particularly Polish, victims at Auschwitz, the argument that it should be considered an exclusively Jewish "symbolic site" can not be sustained.

It can still be argued that, although the historical data demonstrate a major non-Jewish dimension to Auschwitz, since it is where the largest number of Jews were killed by the Nazis it is correctly perceived as the principal site of Jewish genocide and its ultimate symbol. This is incontrovertibly so. However, Auschwitz — which had only Polish prisoners from when it opened in June 1940 until the following year — is also the place where the largest number of Poles were killed by the Nazis and is just as correctly perceived as the principal site of Polish genocide and considered its ultimate symbol. This is not a logical supposition but actual fact. As early as 1947 the Polish government established a museum at the Auschwitz concentration camp as a "Memorial to the Martyrdom of the Polish Nation and Other Nations" which has been maintained with this appellation to the present day — something every citizen of Poland knows and feels. Finally, as the place where the largest number of people irrespective of nationality were killed by the Nazis, Auschwitz is also correctly perceived as the ultimate symbol of Nazi crimes against humanity. As the International Auschwitz Committee has expressed this: "Auschwitz-Birkenau: Sanctuary of human suffering where Nazism established, with highest scientific efficiency, a machine to destroy those whom it did not consider worthy of living . . . Each particle of this soil is soaked with the blood of the prisoners of 23 coun-

tries. . . . The message of those who died in this place must remain throughout the centuries. . . ." A monument to all the victims of Auschwitz has been erected there by this committee.

Jews, Poles, Russians (the third largest contingent of victims) and Gypsies (who had a "family camp" there) are each entitled to consider Auschwitz the symbol of their tragedy under the Nazis, but in light of the foregoing no single group can claim it as exclusively their symbol. So, despite the universalistic ideology of the Catholic church and intention of its adherents, a Polish Carmelite convent is not an appropriate institutional means of commemorating all the victims of Auschwitz who were of different nationalities and different or no religions. Despite the understandable difficulty of the Polish Catholic church and many Polish Catholics have in understanding this, the convent will soon be closed. But the wounds the controversy over it has inflicted on the Jewish and Polish peoples will not soon be healed. For they have reopened old festering wounds that have little to do with this convent or even Auschwitz: four and a half decades of Jewish charges that the Poles were co-responsible with the Nazis for the mass murder of millions of Jews in German-occupied Poland.

These unfounded charges will be refuted in the second half of this article in our following issue. We end this first half by noting that, since one of every 27 non-Jewish Poles died in the Auschwitz concentration camp, some of the nuns at the convent and the workers accused of "beating the children of survivors of Auschwitz" may well have been the children of survivors of Auschwitz. And since one of every nine non-Jewish Poles were killed by the Nazis — 3 million of a total of 27 million — some of these nuns and workers were certainly the children of survivors of the Holocaust. □

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Our associate editor, Alfred J. Kutzik, will be teaching a course on "The Secular Jewish Tradition" beginning September 28 at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

The course description reads:

Countering the misconception that the Jewish tradition is monolithically religious and that Jewish secularism is a departure from tradition dating from the 19th century, this course explores the secular dimensions of Jewish life and thought from biblical times to the present. It discusses the substantial secular components of the Jewish religion as well as Jewish secular movements and thinkers including sadduceism, *haskalah*, Zionism, diaspora nationalism, "Ecclesiastes", Elisha ben Abuyah, Spinoza, Marx, Freud, Dubnow and Kallen.

## Polish-Jewish Society Organized in Warsaw

Sol Flapan

National and local organizations reflecting practically all the trends in socio-political thought are mushrooming up all over Poland. And so, the *Solidarnosc* (Solidarity) Trade Union has re-emerged and has been certified as a bona fide labor organization. Also, ecology-oriented groups are appearing and becoming ever more vocal and active. Currently, a "women's self-protection" league is in the process of forging a place for itself on the public scene. This women's lobby in the making is out to counteract attempts by self-appointed "life already conceived" vigilantes — Poland's version of so-called "pro-life" forces elsewhere — who are pressing for undoing the mid-1950's legislation here which gives women the legal right and public health accessibility to abortion.

Now joining this yeast-like germination of new public organizations is a Polish-Jewish Society. A founding meeting has been held in Warsaw attended by leading civic-oriented activists from Jewish organizations, also by eminent scientists, scholars, writers and other public figures. This Gentile-Jewish presence reflected a widespread acceptance of the idea for such an association. Next comes the organizational formalities, the drawing up of statutes, and then formal request at a province (state) level court for registration and a membership drive.

Initiating the enterprise was the National Council of Societies of Friendship Among Nations, an umbrella grouping embracing a rather wide spectrum of organizations promoting friendship between Poland and other nations.

The declared purpose of the yet embryonic Polish-Jewish Society (PJS) is multifold. Firstly, it wants to develop and expand inter-ethnic and -cultural relations generally. Specifically, it wants to promote Polish public interest in the history and culture of the Jewish people; it will work at preserving and commemorating Jewish cultural-historic monuments and memorabilia. The PJS also looks forward to establishing ties with Polish Jews who have been scattered far and wide by the winds of fate. It intends to spotlight the role of Polish Jews in the blossoming of culture, the arts and sciences wherever they may have settled.

Former Minister of Culture Jozef Tejchma, current chair of the Friendship Among Nations federation, deserves credit for getting the operation on "go." After ar-

ently welcoming the galaxy of notables who graced the PJS founding meeting, this former Prime Minister handed over the gavel to Lucjan Motyka, another Minister of Culture of a previous administration and today the chair of the International Auschwitz Committee. According to Motyka the nurturing of people to people, nation to nation ties will be the PJS's bottom line.

Floor discussion followed with many of the stars of Poland's socio-political, cultural and scholarly firmament expressing their thoughts on the creation of a Polish-Jewish "landsmanshaft." Better late than never, observed Szymon Szurmiej, chair of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland (*Testkzet* in the Polish acronym). "Our brothers and sisters all over the world will certainly rejoice over this news," added the Jewish Theater director-actor.

Szurmiej cited a letter he received from Stefan Grajek, president of the World Federation of Polish Jews in Israel, as an example of such sentiment. That hero and one of the survivors of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising against the Nazis has requested Szurmiej to sign him up as a member of the PJS. Szurmiej also reported that at a joint meeting the leaderships of *Testkzet*, and the Jewish Historical Institute and Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith pledged their active participation in the PJS.

Professor Witold Tylloch observed that, though an organization of this type has come rather late on the public scene here, much has already been done in tightening Polish-Jewish bonds. Citing his own work base, he pointed to the Warsaw University's Department of Jewish Culture in the Inter-World War period. This university also has an Israeli History and Culture faculty.

Civic activist Antoni Marianowicz exhorted the PJS not to avoid but to assist in filling the so-called "blank spots" in Polish-Jewish history. "Let's jettison the old dogmatic mouthings. Let's tell the whole truth," he urged. Marianowicz then proposed that the PJS begin thinking now of expanding activity by establishing a presence in Krakow, Lublin, Wroclaw and Lodz where, he said, there are large concentrations of young people many of whom are showing keen interest in Jewish history and culture.

Speaking for the Jewish religious community, Dr. Pawel Wildshtein, vice-president of Mosaic Union, highlighted what he called the emotional need for a Polish-Jewish Society. This is a need, he said, fueled by the desire and the striving to discover and re-establish family

*Continued on page 11*

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*Sol Flapan is our Polish correspondent*



# Abba Eban: Israeli Voice of Reason

Lewis Moroze

As the full significance of the intifadah makes itself evident to ever broader sectors of the Israelis new forces join with the peace constituencies, including a growing number of Labor Alignment constituents among whom there are members of the Knesset.

Among the more consistent voices for a peaceful resolution of the Middle East crisis is the famed Abba Eban, former Foreign Minister of Israel. Abba Eban persists in his call for reason and realism.

For his principled pursuit of a peace policy for Israel calling for negotiations with the PLO. Abba Eban was removed from the preferred list of Labor Alignment candidates for the Knesset in the 1988 elections. At the time he was chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset. Eban continues, however, to call upon the Labor Alignment leadership and membership to change direction and to pursue a realistic and just course for peace, urging the "Labor movement to take a corrective look at itself."

Abba Eban bemoans the fact that the Labor Alignment leadership "is still indulging in its own fantasy under the heading of 'trying to find a partner.'" He charges the Labor Alignment leadership with arrogance in its determination to select not only its own negotiating team but that of the Palestinian people. He derides Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin of the Labor Alignment for deluding himself and others about an imaginary group of people called "non-PLO Palestinians in the territories" who can be dealt with "as a separate delegation independent of the PLO."

In essence Eban describes the dilemma of the Labor Alignment leadership as that of "refusing to negotiate with those who are willing and are ready to negotiate with those who don't exist."

Addressing himself to the Labor Alignment leadership Eban pleads that they "should confirm (their) enhanced status by refusing to appoint the Palestinian 'partners'" with whom Israel should negotiate.

Pursuing the logic of his position further he argues: "The Kremlin does not appoint American 'partners' for arms control talks. Iraq does not seek to appoint Iranian 'partners' for peace negotiations. In the unlikely event that some hardy 'local' Palestinians will emerge from this search, their legitimacy will be compromised by the very fact of their discovery by Israel."

Eban questions the Labor Alignment rejection of the recognition of the PLO in view of the fact that 160 states recognize the PLO. He strongly questions whether

"anyone without some sort of PLO mandate will be recognized as a serious negotiator."

Commenting on the opening of dialogue between the USA and the PLO, he believes that it has had "salutary results." Reflecting his anti-Soviet bias, Eban concludes that U.S. dialogue with the PLO has "correspondingly weakened the Soviet monopoly of an important sector of Arab nationalist thinking." In fact, because of the firm Soviet support of national liberation movements Soviet influence is growing among the Arab peoples and among Israeli peace forces.

Reflecting his own nationalist prejudices Eban asserts that "the success of the PLO in winning international recognition is not a reward for its charm, which is non-existent." At the same time he refers to the "flight of our party leaders from realism about the Palestinians."

Eban notes that Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, stressed that "dialogue was useful only with parties who, if they undergo a change of self-appraisal, can make commitments." "It is inaccurate," says Eban, "to state that there is no such opening now."

Abba Eban cautions that "Our Jewish experience leads us to be more aware of dangers than of opportunities. This tendency must be transcended if we are to emerge into a future different from the recent past."

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## Polish-Jewish Society *Continued from page 10*

ties — that gnawing drive in search of family-cultural roots; to nurture and strengthen the ties between Jews here in Poland and those scattered in all lands and climes.

Pre-World War II Poland, recalled Wildsztein, was the quantitative and qualitative anchor of Jewish cultural and spiritual achievements and values which radiated Jewish life globally. "It is urgent," he said, "to establish many-faceted ties between Poles and Jews the world over who seek such ties and friendship. Polish Jewry experiences that cordiality here every day. Indeed, for over 700 years we have been and are linked by a common fate; a single stream of blood and sweat has watered Polish soil regardless whether its source was from those who visited their respective temple of worship on Saturday or Sunday." Concluding, the vice-president of the Mosaic Union proposed that the preamble to the PJS's statute include a point on the need for co-operation between Poles and the 15 million Jews around the world in all fields of human endeavor and at all levels, but especially in the struggle for peace. □



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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1989

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# Speech at Israeli-Palestinian Peace Conference

Yossi Sarid

*The following are excerpts from a speech given by this Member of Knesset (Israeli parliament) at the Road to Peace Conference held at Columbia University on March 11-13, 1989.*

I feel the need to start off with the children. The questions which dead children ask are much more difficult than those asked by living children. I do not know who can answer them. I do not know who ought to.

One dead child asks: "If I was really so dangerous, and attacked them face to face, then why did I end up with a bullet in my back?"

And the second child asks: "If they were shooting in the air, and I am really rather short, why was I hit?"

The third one asks: "If they shot me in the legs, then why is it that I have got a hole in my head?"

And the fourth one: "If I am only ten years old, why was it reported that a youth was hit? Maybe it isn't really me?"

And a fifth one asks: "If a plastic bullet doesn't kill and a rubber one doesn't either, then why is my mother crying as if her child has been killed?"

And the sixth: "If your army spends all the time investigating each and every incident, then how come I know nothing about the circumstances of my own death?"

I, too, have a fourteen year old boy at home. No news editor is going to turn him into a youth for me; no official spokesman can change his face, his voice and the spirit of his body. I say all of this with fullest of responsibility, only after having urged my son to come into my arms, and my body measured his body and his body temperature accurately.

The official spokesman is not to blame. The whole occupation is based on a lie. A democracy must lie to itself when it holds a whole Palestinian people in its cellar, and doesn't let it emerge from there for twenty-one years. But the spirit of these people comes up from the cellar and haunts the whole house, story by story, room by room. One can deport people but one cannot deport a spirit. Without the self-told lies, the nightmare would send the democracy out of its mind. And it would end up by taking leave of its soul. . . .

And now a message for the American Jewish community: We, my friends and I, are always willing to be guarantors for our brethren in the United States. Their fate concerns us. Is this feeling mutual? I am not sure. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, and especially in the last twenty one years since the occupation,

too many American Jews have given too much backing to any Israeli government irrespective of the policies it has followed. They served all the masters, both from the (Labor) Alignment and the Likud, and with the same degree of enthusiasm. They set aside their own will for the sake of that of the Israeli establishment. They answered "Amen" after Golda and Rabin, Dayan and Shamir, as well as Sharon. "So be it" as if they were all Hassidim in a Brooklyn court.

These leaders from Manhattan insisted that their complete support of the governments of Israel is a manifestation of concern and responsibility towards the State of Israel. I am a citizen of the State of Israel and I do not accept this argument. If Israel is really important to you, you must get up and speak out whenever it causes, in your opinion, damage to itself. You should have risen when the government of Israel established one hundred settlements in the occupied territories. Those are one hundred obstacles to peace. You should have risen when the government of Israel opened the unnecessary war in Lebanon. You should have risen when in the process of crushing the Intifida, deeds were committed which do not agree with the norms and values customary in democratic societies and with Jewish morality. You must rise now when the government of Israel continues to demonstrate recalcitrance and short-sightedness and places obstacles on the road to peace. It is not enough to be interested in the "Who is a Jew" issue. One must take greater interest in "What is a Jew?" These two questions are inter-connected. If it is not clear "What is a Jew?" then perhaps it is not so important "Who is a Jew?"

The State of Israel is much more than the government of Israel. Governments come and go but the State of Israel is here to stay. It must stand forever.

The State of Israel is not officially represented here. Nevertheless, I should like to use this opportunity to suggest to the government of Israel a row of measures which will help change the situation.

First of all, as an act of good will the administrative detainees in the territories should be released.

Second, free political activity should be allowed in the territories as a first step toward the holding of free elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Such activity should be open to all those willing to recognize Israel and to co-exist with it.

Third, freedom of speech and a free press should be allowed in the territories, limited only by the same censorship laws which apply in Israel itself.

Fourth, elections in the territories should be held with international supervision to ensure their freedom.

Fifth, meetings between personalities from the territories and leaders of the PLO should be allowed in order to work towards a respite in the Intifada and the holding of the elections.

Finally, the Palestinian representation which will be elected in the territories should start negotiations with Israel and prepare the ground for direct talks between Israel and the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Arab Palestinian people. There is no escape from the need to confront the PLO face to face. Lip service to options which might never have been realistic and today are nothing but empty slogans won't do.

Among those sitting here with us are authorized representatives of the PLO. To them I should like to say the following: Opinion polls carried out in Israel recently show clearly that a majority of the citizens of Israel have reached the conclusion that sooner or later we shall have to talk to the PLO about a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. There is no doubt that these encouraging findings are a direct result of the important recent declarations made by Yasser Arafat, who recognized Israel, adopted Security Council Resolution 242, and spoke out against acts of terror. Public opinion in Israel is much more realistic and progressive than the Israeli leaders.

Two peoples live in the land of Israel: The Jewish people and the Arab Palestinian people. Both have natural and historical rights to this land. Therefore, the alternatives are clear: either compromise and partition, or endless war.

The Jewish people have realized its right to self-determination upon the establishment of the State of Israel. The Palestinian people must now realize the same right and establish its state.

Ladies and gentlemen: The world at the beginning of 1989 is a much more optimistic and promising world. It is a world which is gradually ridding itself of the struggles which threaten its welfare. A world of dialogue is taking over from a world of confrontation. Everyone is talking to everyone. Everyone is meeting with everyone. Channels of communication which were blocked for many years are opening up. I have not found on the map of the world two enemy states which are not seeking a way to the negotiating table. The United States is talking with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union is talking with China, China is talking with India, India with Pakistan, and the day will come when Pakistan will talk with Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union is getting out of Afghanistan and North Vietnam is getting out of Kampuchea. Cuba is getting out of Angola and South Africa out of Namibia. Not

only are states talking to states, but states, and even the great powers are talking with liberation organizations. The Soviet Union is trying to talk to rebels in Afghanistan; Morocco has agreed to talk to the Polisario, and Nicaragua to the contras. The talks are occasionally difficult and riddled with crises and it is easy to despair. However, there is no alternative to talks. There is no comparison between a conflict in which there has been no attempt to talk and a conflict in which a door has been opened to negotiations even if the opening is at first narrow.

The Middle East is not a different planet, even if it sometimes looks that way. The Middle East is part of the world and it must be part of the new world which is more conciliatory and responsible. Rabbi Nakhman of Bratzlav once said the whole world is a very narrow bridge and most important is not to be afraid. Both Israel and the PLO must stop being afraid. They must be courageous, get on the narrow bridge, start walking across it and meet each other half way. □

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## WE SHOOT CHILDREN TOO, DON'T WE

Dan Almagor

*Excerpts from a poem that caused a sensation when read at a Tel Aviv demonstration marking the first year of the intifada.*

Most of these people truly desire  
To harvest their olive trees  
As they have for hundreds of years  
Most of these people truly desire  
To raise their kids  
Not to throw stones  
Or Molotov cocktails  
But to study in peace  
To play in peace  
And raise a flag.  
A flag.  
Their own flag.  
And facing that flag, to cry  
As we did, that night, then, excited as we were.  
And we have no, have no, have no  
Right in the world  
To rob them of this desire,  
This flag,  
These tears.  
These tears, which always, always  
Come after all the others. . . .

Let us start preparing our defense.  
We will need it soon enough.  
All those who actually did it  
And those who still do.  
All those who hushed it up  
And those who still do.  
All those who said nothing  
And those who clucked their tongue, saying  
"Something must be done really;  
(But not tonight. I have a concert,  
A gala,  
A birthday!)"  
Yes, we'll all get our summons one day  
For the Colonels' trials. . . .

The Colonels' trials are coming.  
Their time will come, it must be so  
The trials of the Generals, the Colonels,  
The division, the battalion,

And the platoon commanders  
There is no escaping it.  
This is how history works.  
What shall we say then?  
What will the Colonels, the Captains, the  
Corporals say?  
What will they say  
Of those terrible beatings,  
The brutality,  
Of houses blown up.  
And most of all, the humiliation.  
That humiliation.  
Of patients forced to wipe the writing  
off the walls,  
Of old men forced to take down a flag  
From an electric pole,  
Who were electrocuted, or fell  
And broke their legs.  
Of the old water carrier  
Whom soldiers ordered off his donkey  
And rode on his back, just for fun. . . .

Mean, arrogant, and dumb.  
Who do we think we are?  
Who gave us the right  
To be so deaf, so dumb?  
Ignoring the obvious: they are as human,  
As we are, as we are.  
At least as we used to be  
Only forty-one years ago.  
No less diligent, no less smart  
As sensitive, as full of hope.  
They love their wives and children  
As we do, no less.  
And our children now shoot theirs  
With lead, plastic bullets, and gas. . . .

The Palestinian state will come to pass.  
It will.  
Not a poet wrote this.  
History will.

And seasons will come and seasons will go  
And life goes on as we very well know  
Weddings, and births and deaths all the same,  
But just the shame of it. The shame.

---

*Dan Almagor, an Israeli professor of Hebrew literature, is famous throughout Israel as a lyricist and TV show host.*

## THE FLAG IS OURS

J.K. Alfred

When I first came home from Viet Nam  
I could not bear to see  
The sight of the flag. For what I saw  
Was bones and skulls not stripes and stars  
And perched on the pole with bloody claws  
A vulture leered at me.

And I cursed the day that I went away  
To fight for democracy.  
I cursed the war that destroyed my peace,  
I cursed the men who had made me a beast  
And I cursed the flag for the filthy rag  
It had turned out to be.

When I first came home from Viet Nam  
The worst day in the year for me  
Was that day when everywhere flags would fly  
And from flagdraped platforms speakers would lie  
About the glorious Fourth of July  
And our great democracy.

Until one day in the month of May  
While wandering here and there  
I went across the railroad tracks  
To the shantytown reserved for Blacks  
And saw in front of one of the shacks  
A flag beyond compare.

It was wide and tall as the rickety wall  
With tassles and fringes of gold.  
On the field of blue the stars were few  
And among the stripes it was hard to see  
The patches sewn so carefully  
Where there once were bullet-holes.

So I asked the old man on the porch to explain  
Why this flag was there that day.  
I wanted to know where it was from  
But even more to know how come  
A man with his skin and a man with his home  
Had a flag up anyway.

The white-haired man smiled and began  
With, "Quite some questions, son."  
Then, "This here's the flag that my granddad  
Carried at the head of his brigade  
In the great victory parade  
Before Lincoln in Washington

Just like he had carried it  
Though shot and shell near buried it  
At Shilo and Bull Run.

"It's much like the flag that my own dad  
Held at the head of the lines  
Marching for the eight-hour day,  
Picketing for decent pay.  
Fighting for workers to have a say  
In the factories and mines.

"It's much like the flag I remember we had  
In the 92nd Infantry.  
Like the one that waved when we marched on parade  
And the one that wavered in the Ardennes  
And the one that covered the best of my friends  
Who got hit instead of me.

"And it's not so different than the flags  
I've marched behind since then  
For civil rights and human rights,  
For women's rights and union rights,  
For justice for Blacks and browns and whites  
And never war again.

"Though I know there's them that say  
This flag's the property  
Of the Birchers and KKK,  
I have to disagree.  
The KKK and the Birchers may own  
The stars and bars and skull and bones  
But the stars and stripes belong by right  
To those who fought and those who fight  
For a land of liberty.  
So whether it's a holiday  
In December or in May  
I fly Old Glory every day."

The next time that I saw the flag  
Was on the Fourth of July  
In the kind of parade I had thought a charade  
With batons being twirled by half-naked girls  
And rifles on boys as if they were toys  
When the flag came by.

I did not cheer but did not jeer  
As once I would have done.  
I looked past the floats and the crazy cars,  
Past the pot-bellied vets in the color guard  
And saw through a blur the stripes and the stars  
As they were before Viet Nam.

---

*J. K. Alfred's poems have appeared in the Peoples Daily World.*

Since then I've marched behind the flag  
For many a worthy cause:  
For civil rights and human rights  
For women's rights and union rights,  
For justice for Blacks and browns and whites  
And an end to wars.

And whenever I've met a Viet Nam vet  
Or a vet of labor's struggles  
Who think that the flag belongs to the few  
That profit from our blood and sweat  
While wrapping themselves in it and we get  
Nothing from the red, white and blue  
But pain and shame and troubles,

I remember that Black man and that flag  
With more bullet-holes than stars.  
And I tell them of those who fought and died  
With the flag flying on freedom's side  
From Valley Forge to Harper's Ferry,  
From Antietam and Vicksburg to Dearborn and  
Pittsburgh,  
From Iwo Jima to Bastogne and the Elbe:  
I tell them the flag is ours.

## Anti-Semitism On U.S. Airwaves

*Reprinted from St. Louis Journalism Review, 7/8/89*

The extreme rightist and anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby has purchased Radio North America One, which the lobby describes as the "largest and most successful all-satellite radio broadcasting system in the world." It has already begun broadcasting a new program called "Radio Free America" over the facility. Also, Radio North America One has contracted with Reuters to supply it with round-the-clock news coverage that will be rewritten and announced by Tom Valentine, who has been writing for *The Spotlight*, Liberty Lobby's long time weekly tabloid.

Similar programming is already provided by "Point of View," an interview talk show produced by Marlin Maddoux out of Dallas and carried by some 240 stations across the country. Maddoux also provides the USA Radio Network news to some 400 subscribing stations. Maddoux says that about 80% of his affiliates are Christian-oriented stations, although that definition is left unclear. In a recent interview with the John Birch Society magazine, *The New American*, Maddoux said that his programs are not right-wing. Rather, he said, they feature interviews with "political conservatives and anti-communists." □

## AMINI-REVIEW

A CENTURY OF YIDDISH POETRY. Selected, translated and edited by Aaron Kramer. \$24.95, Cornwall Books.

Anne Sadowski

Hundreds of poems span a century of struggle, love and sorrow in this inspiring and uplifting collection. One hundred and thirty six poets are featured in all.

Kramer skillfully organizes the works so that the reader follows the development of form and content as well as the development of social and national consciousness in Yiddish poetry. It is a journey through a people's history and culture, yet these are universal themes.

Most are poems of workers — ordinary people. The poems of the First Golden Age are wonderful. They include personal song-like verses, as well as poems that decry social injustice.

There are poems written about hours spent in factories, and poverty. Poems about falling in love and having children. There are poems about struggle and organizing — like Joseph Bovshover's *To those in power*.

... "I come because tyranny planted my seed in the hot desert sand;  
I come because masters have kindled my fury with every command;  
I come because Man cannot murder the life-giving seed in his veins;  
I come because Liberty cannot be fettered by chains. . . ."

Also of interest is a section of Soviet poets and poets of the left. The anthology includes tributes to the Molly Maguires, Walt Whitman and a powerful and moving section of poets from the Holocaust. When reading this poem by Lerke Rosenblum, I was reminded of Langston Hughes.

I Yearm

(the poet, a young girl, escaped from a concentration camp.)

I yearn for the laugh, free and open,  
that long ago rang through the air,  
an uproar of children, unbroken  
by motherless sobs of despair  
I yearn for a step to be taken  
with pride and a sense of self-worth.  
I yearn for the day when I'll walk  
to find myself free on earth. □



# Sholom Aleichem! Aleichem Sholom!

## We Go Back To Our Roots

Estelle Katz

They were going back to the land of their parents and grandparents, to their roots! They had heard the stories of pogroms, running away from the Tsar's army, the revolutionary struggles in which some of their forebears took part. They also felt the Holocaust. Many family members who had stayed were lost during the war.

Twenty-eight members of the Sholom Aleichem Cultural Club of Philadelphia arrived in Moscow in July to see for themselves what was taking place under glasnost and perestroika. Some of the group spoke Russian and many spoke Yiddish. This was the first visit for all but one couple.

No matter where we went our members stopped to speak with and photograph Soviet people. Sightseeing in Moscow included a visit to the Kremlin, Lenin's Tomb and Red Square. Learning the history and technique of icon painting was an interesting sidelight. We visited the site of the home of Sholom Aleichem, which is currently being renovated.

An evening trip in the Moscow Metro was an event of great excitement. Not knowing the language a small group was "rescued" by Russians who took them to their destination and then put them back on the train for their hotel. What cleanliness, speed and beauty! And all for 5 kopeks!

We visited the editorial staff of *Sovetish Heimland*. It was an open, instructive and often critical dialogue. Those who spoke Yiddish translated for those of us who did not understand.

"Yes", their publication was growing. "Yes", they did receive a subsidy from the government, but that did not cover their costs. They were working with other groups to help to establish a resurgence of the Yiddish language and cultural life. There was a new Cultural Center in Moscow. It was not functioning as well as it might, but there was progress. Books were now being published to teach Yiddish to the children. There were plans for training teachers to teach Yiddish. The Yiddish theatre is flourishing. Many books and stories, originally in Yiddish, had been and were being translated into other languages of the Soviet people so that the culture of the Jews was being spread and shared.

Our hosts admitted that there were problems, but they seemed confident that the problems would be over-

come.

Kishinev, in the Moldavian Socialist Republic, was our next stop. It is a new and shiny city full of parks.

On arrival at the airport one couple was met by a second cousin. They visited with him at his home the next evening and told us that "he wanted to emigrate to Israel." He felt his child had "no future in the USSR." He was well educated and had an apartment. Lack of consumer goods was the main complaint. Fear of a possible increase in anti-Semitism, too.

We found the small synagogue; the young cantor with us participated in the delivery of the prayers and some of our group attended the services.

The poet Alexander Pushkin spent three years in exile in Kishinev. A visit to his home where we heard of his life and work was a high point.

An art exhibit of new modern artists, a first, was held in a large beautiful new building which had been built for the "Party" but was now turned over to groups for local activities. A young, English-speaking Moldavian man, was the Information Officer and guided us through the exhibit. He expressed great discontent with the slowness of the changes that were taking place, with the lack of "goods" available, and upon questioning by the group he stated, "I don't like Socialism." He was asked what he thought would be better. "Capitalism", he answered. There was dead silence, on the part of some the impulse to laugh. We just left with a "Thank you."

A delightful afternoon was spent at a famous winery where after a guided tour through the underground caverns with millions of bottles of wine aging, we were treated to a wine tasting session. A parting gift of a bottle of wine was given to each of us.

From Kishinev a couple went to a small town to try to locate any family that might be left. They found people who had known the family, found one person left, saw where the family had lived and visited the Jewish cemetery and found the graves of their family. They returned happy at having found their "roots."

In Kishinev the Moldavian nationalist movement is very vocal and active and had held a large demonstration a few days prior to our arrival. They seem to have ample money for printed literature. They speak of "Moldavia for Moldavians — get rid of the Russians and the Jews!" That was frightening to our group as the first expression of open anti-Semitism and a negative aspect of glasnost we experienced.

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*Estelle Katz recently led a tour group of Philadelphia people to the Soviet Union*

Kiev — the city was a monument to the will of the Soviet people to rebuild what had been totally destroyed during what they call the “Great Patriotic War.” A visit to a model Kindergarten-Day Care Center was a joyous highlight. We met the director, who in passing mentioned that she was Jewish, and the children who performed for us and welcomed us as only children can do. In the afternoon, a boat trip on the Dnieper was a delight shared by all.

The trip to Babi Yar was a sad and moving experience. It brought back memories of the genocide that the Nazis had practiced against the Jews and the slaughter of thousands of Ukrainians considered “enemy” by the Nazis. It brought closer to home that some of our group had lost family there during the war.

Ironically, opposite the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building, in the park we were accosted by very vocal members of the nationalist “New Democracy” movement. This disturbed some of our folks who recalled tales of pogroms in the Ukraine.

A more positive highlight was our trip to the park of the Arch of Friendship where we met some Jewish artists who were showing their paintings and were selling them. They told us that they were free to paint what and how they wanted, but that paints and supplies were difficult to obtain. There was pleasure all around from this meeting.

Three members of our group traveled from Kiev to a small town four hours away to meet relatives. They were accorded a warm welcome and spent a wonderful day together. It was a memorable experience since one was a woman who had been born there and brought to America as a child, the others were cousins. They had never met the “family” here.

Leningrad, heart of history, struggle and beauty. A “Western” cosmopolitan city! The visit to the Hermitage was just enough to whet the appetite. It was a bleak day when we hydrofoiled across the Bay of Finland to Petrodvoretz to see the summer palace of Peter the Great. The reconstruction which had replaced the opulence of the palace was impressive but there were those who were concerned that so much money had been put into palace and church restorations while there was need for housing, better health care, higher pensions, etc.

The visit to the Piskaryovskoe Cemetery and the Monument to the Defenders of Leningrad where 800,000 who died during the 900 days of siege are buried sobered us. With all the obvious “shortcomings” in society today, the defeat of fascism and the rebuilding of life that had taken place since 1945 was recognized by our group as the results of socialism.

The couple who had relatives in Kishinev also had family in Leningrad. They told us that these Jews had no

intention or desire to leave. Life could be better but they were educated, professionals, had an adequate apartment, a dacha, a car and well educated children with good positions and families.

Three evenings out included the Osipov Mandolin Orchestra Concert, the Ice Circus Show and a performance of the Siberian Folk Dancers. Each one was thoroughly enjoyed by all. Shopping in each city was fun but rushed. Many gifts will be received here at home. Some times an adventure was had when trying to shop in a “Russian” shop with rubles. The private “Farmers Markets” provided many of us with a unique experience.

While out walking one evening we met two young Soviet women with their children. They were returning from the country and one had a large pillowship like plastic bag full of ripe apricots, the other carrying a pan filled to the brim with cherries. They recognized us as visitors and stopped, motioning to us to please taste the cherries and take some apricots. Finally settling on a few words in French, we understood them and they us — but we left them with our pockets and handbags full to overflowing with fruit!

In the Farmers’ Market in Kiev several of us went to shop for some fruit. Trying to make ourselves understood to the seller that we only wanted about 4-5 peaches, he motioned to us that his weight for the scale could not measure such a small amount and he did not know how to charge us. A woman passing by who knew some English helped us and we ended up with the fruit given to us as a gift!

However, one of the sore points was the constant approach to our group by young, healthy males with all sorts of contraband and stolen goods for “only \$5.” Also, the open exchange of dollars into rubles, outside the banks, was troubling.

On the whole, the group was positively affected by their visit. They were deeply impressed with the many parks and green areas in the cities, the many housing projects we passed as we travelled, and by the variety of clothes and styles of dress but most of all by the healthy, happy children. Last but not least they were amazed by the lack of kids “hanging out” since most children were either in camp or vacationing with their parents. They had concern for the success of perestroika and glasnost. The faults and weakness they “picked apart” were a reflection of their hopes that had been passed on to them from their parents and had not yet been accomplished. They hope for a complete eradication of anti-Semitism, a greater growth of Yiddish culture, and success in building a better future for the USSR.

## Document

### In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Translated by Marsha S. Rifkin

*This is a translation of the lead article of the March 1989 issue of the Soviet Yiddish journal, Sovetish Heymland. While it deals with "hundreds of thousands" of victims of Stalinist repression, Sovetish Heymland is understandably especially concerned with Jewish victims, who included a number of leading Soviet Jewish writers. It may help the reader to know that the "triangles" and "special sessions" mentioned below were extra-legal commissions that investigated and adjudicated cases of suspected counter-revolutionary activity.*

**"Regarding additional means of re-establishing justice for the victims of the repression in the period of the 30's, 40's and early 50's."**

In its decision in reference to this question the Central Committee of the CPSU noted that the documentary materials, the experience of rehabilitation, which was collected directly after the XX and XXVII party congresses, as well as in the most recent time, give us irrefutable evidence that in the 30's, 40's and the start of the 50's there was in place a practice of mass repression and debasement. The high point of injustice were the specially established non-judicial organs — the so-called "triangles" and "special sessions" — and the practice of drawing up and certifying the backgrounds of the repressed.

Such practices led to tragic results for hundreds of thousands of Soviet people. It had a tremendously negative effect on the socio-economic development of the country and imbued in the consciousness a cynicism towards the norms of law and human life. The progress of Soviet society, socialism and the authority of the party suffered a great deal of serious harm.

The re-establishment of historical judicial legalities has now acquired a political significance. To a large degree the forward movement of a socialist and just nation and the sound development of social consciousness is dependent on this. The public, the families and friends of those that suffered are waiting for all innocently oppressed victims to be completely rehabilitated and their memories eternally honored.

The Central Committee of the CPSU decided to introduce at a discussion in the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., a resolution to abolish through a legal act the illegal decisions that prevailed in the period

of the 30's, 40's and beginning of the 50's, the acts of the "triangles" and "special sessions" in operation at that time.

At the same time it has to be realized that this act does not apply to traitors to the homeland and to perpetrators of violent acts during the Fatherland War, Nazi criminals, organizers of nationalistic gangs and their helpers, those who were in the business of frame-ups as well as those who deliberately committed murders, and other criminal acts. Regarding the above-mentioned categories the existing legal system of bringing appeals is in force and the re-examination of indictments and other decisions.

The Central Committee of the CPSU considers it urgent:

To expedite the legal prosecution of those guilty of carrying out repression during the period under discussion: to make sure this takes place within the established regulations for rehabilitating and compensating the victims who suffered damage and losses, and notifying their relatives about it.

The Central Committee CPSU has agreed to the proposals of the Soviet public regarding the creating at the level of sectional, regional and municipal Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous Republics commissions composed of people's deputies and representatives of the public in order to assist the Soviet organs of government in safeguarding the rights and interests of the rehabilitated victims of repression and persecutions and to maintain in a proper manner the places of their burial.

The article concludes with a "Memorial List of Soviet Jewish Writers and Journalists Who Were Victims of the Stalin Repressions of the 30's-50's Period." □

#### A Postscript

Following up on the foregoing article and "Memorial List" of Yiddish writers in its March issue, the April issue of Sovetish Heymland began a series of articles presenting "biographical and bibliographical materials about the figures in Jewish Soviet culture" who were "victims of the 1930-1950 Stalinist repression." This issue contains three such articles, totaling 27 pages, on the novelist Avrom Abchuk (1897-1937) and the journalist-editors Shmul Agursky (1884-1937) and Leib Abram (1896-1948).



## Book Review

Gerald Horne

### Wolf Blitzer, **TERRITORY OF LIES: THE EXCLUSIVE STORY OF JONATHAN POLLARD, THE AMERICAN WHO SPIED ON HIS COUNTRY FOR ISRAEL AND HOW HE WAS BETRAYED** (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 336 pp., \$22.50

The case of Jonathan Jay Pollard — son of a prominent member of the Indiana Jewish community, the microbiologist Dr. Morris Pollard — continues to roil U.S.-Israeli bilateral relations. It has also been seized upon by anti-Semites in this country in an attempt to cast a shadow on the entire U.S. Jewish community.

Pollard began his intelligence career spying for the CIA on his fellow students at Tufts University in the late 1970's. Then he was hired as an analyst by Naval Intelligence; in 1982 he began taking documents from their offices and turning them over to the Israelis. This was no rogue operation, as it had been portrayed. His handlers included such top-level Israeli functionaries as Rafi Etian and Avi Sella. Indeed, though Pollard is now languishing in prison he is still on the Israeli payroll and they are paying his legal fees.

His importance to Israel was obvious. "In effect, what Pollard did was to make virtually the entire U.S. intelligence gathering apparatus available to Israel, completing the picture in those areas where Israel's own knowledge was limited" (p.164). He provided the Israelis with the U.S. handbook on "communications intelligence" (p. 171). The quantity of documents was "great enough to occupy a space six feet by six feet by ten feet" (p.226).

Pollard was far from being a saint. He learned Afrikaans and in fact had ties to South African intelligence. Some of the documents he purloined apparently made their way to Pretoria, though the author does not plumb this sufficiently. His spying facilitated the October 1, 1985 bombing of the PLO headquarters in Tunisia. He was apparently involved in the spying on CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) on behalf of Naval Intelligence.

The Israelis were not that interested in his obtaining information on "terrorism" or "counter-terrorism." They were extremely curious about U.S. spies in Israel and dirt and scandals on various high-level Israeli officials that the U.S. might possess.

This is a tricky case. Apparently there have been those U.S. Zionists who have assisted Israeli intelligence over the years. There is the case of Stephen Bryen, formerly of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff; David Saad of the National Association of Arab Ameri-

cans later filed an affidavit swearing that he saw Bryen transfer classified documents to the Israelis in the Madison Hotel coffee shop in Washington, D.C. Apparently "Israel has long sought to use its contacts among various Jewish communities around the world to serve its interests" (p. 162). The infamous Lavon Affair of 1954 is detailed by the author: here Egyptian Jews were involved in a scheme in Cairo.

While seeking to use certain U.S. Jews some Israeli officials have suggested "that their American counterparts are not too bright. . . ." (p.280). The author suggests that Pollard-type spying continues in the U.S. to this day.

The anti-Semites have seized on this question ferociously. Top level U.S. Jews in the national security apparatus have been losing their intelligence clearances. A "Pentagon official sensed that non-Jews now look at Jews 'in a funny way'" (p.290). When Pollard was initially suspected, "the Justice Department. . . wanted to know whether any American Jewish leaders were part of an Israeli spy network. While attached to a polygraph machine, for example, Pollard was asked to read lists of Jewish names and to point out alleged Israeli spies" (p. 215).

The author does not put this important case in the context of U.S. imperialism's manipulation or re-thinking of the Mid-East question. He seems to accept Israel's role as client and proxy as a given; simultaneously, he does not explore the fact that Israel and the U.S. do have certain divergences from time to time. Nevertheless, this book is a shot over the bow for all concerned about the future of democratic rights in this country. [ ]

*Happy 82nd Birthday*  
to  
**GERTRUDE DECKER**

a dedicated worker for  
*Jewish Affairs* and member  
of the Jewish Commission CPUSA

*The Editorial Committee*

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

## Book Review

Y. Harkabi, ISRAEL'S FATEFUL HOUR *New York: Harper and Row, 1988. xiv + 256 pages, \$22.50*

Yehoshafat Harkabi's latest book has created quite a stir in the West. This is perhaps due more to who Harkabi is, than to what the book says. He is a *sabra*, a specialist in Arabic literature, who fought in the 1948 War, a retired Israeli general, advisor on military intelligence for several Labor governments as well as for Begin. He is presently Professor of International Relations and Middle East Studies at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

During the sixties, he authored *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (Keter, 1972) as well as the complementary booklet *The Attitude of Israel in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Devir, 1967). During this decade Harkabi coined the term "politicide" to characterize what he perceived as Arab intentions toward Israel. In the seventies he published several books which studied the changing positions of the Arabs, *Palestinians and Israel* (Keter, 1974), *Arab Strategies and Israel's Response* (Free Press, 1977; hereafter AS&IR), and *Winds of Change in the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Devir, 1978). Finally, the eighties saw two more books, these focussing more on the inflexible positions of the Israelis. These were *The Bar Kokhba Syndrome* (Rosell, 1983) and the present volume, *Israel's Fateful Hour*.

Harkabi's most recent book has six chapters and five appendices. The first chapters discuss the Arab position and the Israeli position, respectively, in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The third chapter addresses the ideological differences between Labor Zionism and Revisionist Zionism. The fourth recounts the "widespread deterioration of Israel's situation" in all aspects of life, due — holds Harkabi — to Likud's rise to power in 1977. The fifth chapter considers how the Jewish religious climate has been debased as a result of changes in the Israeli political (nationalistic) climate since the 1967 War. The final chapter weighs policy alternatives which might prevent Israel from committing what Harkabi calls "national suicide." The appendices reprint documents pertinent to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including UN Resolutions 242 and 338, the Fez Summit Declaration, the Camp David Accords, etc.

The book may be particularly helpful for those whose ideological or chauvinistic preconceptions have inhibited deep inquiry into the conflict and the future of

Gordon Welty

Israel. Harkabi considers for instance, Why is there a PLO? What is the significance of anti-Zionist terrorism?, etc. Of course these points demonstrate that there is someone for Israel to negotiate with regarding peace and justice in the Middle East, namely the PLO. These points also demonstrate that various charges against the Palestinians — such as "terrorism" — represent Israeli (and, by implication US) "distortion of to the highest political level" (p.99) and should not inhibit negotiations.

Harkabi's theme is that there are two fundamental positions on the Arab side, and two on the Israeli side. On each side, one position is "radical" or "extremist," the other is "moderate." An example of the Arab extremist, for Harkabi, is George Habash; an Arab moderate, Anwar Sadat; an Israeli extremist, Meir Kahane; an Israeli moderate, Amnon Rubenstein (perhaps). Harkabi undoubtedly considers himself to be a moderate.

What is the essence of these positions? In *content*, Harkabi contends that the radical position is *maximalist*, advocating Eretz Yisrael and Pax Israelica on the one side, and the destruction of the State of Israel on the other. The moderate position, he holds, promotes a negotiated settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict, one which would involve compromise on both sides, and ultimately two states coexisting within historical Palestine.

In terms of *form*, the radical position is self-standing, depending on no other position. By contrast, the moderate position by definition implicates a position on the other side. The radical position has a more ready audience and is more fully developed — ideologically and politically — on both Arab and Israeli sides, than the moderate position.

But Harkabi does not employ these concepts consistently. At one point he observes that Israeli "hard-line policies" have led to a "de facto alliance with the Arab radical" (p.12). Thus, for Harkabi, Israeli extremism and Arab extremism are mutually supportive (p.122). Subsequently he holds that "Arab extremists tend to support the view of Israeli moderates" while "Arab moderates tend to support Israeli extremists" (p.55). Thus, for Harkabi, radicalism on the one side and moderation on the other are mutually supportive.

Nor does he apply these concepts accurately. In what sense can the fundamentalist Islamic Jihad movement of Gaza (p.40) be usefully equated with the Palestinian CP (p.xvii), whereby both are "extremist?" A decade ago, Harkabi distinguished between these (AS & IR,

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pp.73-76). These inconsistencies and inaccuracies appear to be due more to the inadequacies of the concepts themselves, than to shortcomings or clumsiness on Harkabi's part. He had used "radical" and "moderate" before (e.g., AS&IR, p.39, 48, 57, 98-99), but not categorically. Harkabi's "radical" and "moderate" echo US Department of State language, wherein "friends" are characterized as "moderate" and opponents become known as "radical."

In the past (in AS&IR, for instance), he had analyzed the situation in terms of a *triad* of Arab positions and a *triad* of Israeli positions. While that typology is somewhat dated, and the methodology employed suffers from the same subjectivism that infuses his current work, the earlier effort is more satisfying than the "radical" and "moderate" of the present book. As we shall see, however, there is a more fundamental set of categories than "radical" and "moderate" categories which are lurking within Harkabi's discussion, categories which would permit him more coherent and more accurate analysis.

These are the categories which characterize the bourgeois parties in the era of imperialism, in the era of the general crisis of capitalism. Such parties are either founded on a bourgeois base, such as the Liberal Party in England, or else they include substantial pre-capitalist or religious tendencies in their base, as does the Conservative Party in England. Hence the category scheme is not unitary, but multi-dimensional. Of course, this lack of categorical unity reflects both the difference between the base and the political superstructure of capitalist society, as well as the divisions within the capitalist ruling class regarding the distribution of surplus value.

Each bourgeois party can be classified as either *Modernist*, established on a bourgeois political base, or else as *Traditionalist*, incorporating clerical elements in its base. Its political program will reflect the interests of its political base. And then the party can be located along a political continuum, depending upon the facility with which it will overturn the bourgeois Constitution, the "Fundamental Law," in order to preserve privilege of the propertied few. The fewer its compunctions about overturning the Constitution, the more rightward the party. Starting from the extreme right-wing of the political spectrum, then, the Modernist categories would range from Nazi-type, through Fascist-type, to Conservative-type parties, and, in parallel, the Traditionalist ones would range from Clerical-fascist type, through 'Christian' Democratic-type to 'Christian' Socialist-type parties.

Harkabi could make more sense of his evidence in terms of political categories such as these. For instance, he points out that Ze'ev Jabotinsky, the founder of Revi-

sionist Zionism, was "inspired by Marshal Pilsudski" (p.135) — that is, the proto-Fascist Polish strongman. Josef Pilsudski — and indicates that the "overblown nationalism" of Pilsudski's Poland and Fascist Italy "greatly influenced Jabotinsky" (p.76). This is suggestive that the original Revisionist Zionism should be categorized at least as a Fascist-type bourgeois party. When we recall the charge by Albert Einstein and other eminent Jews in the late 40's that Menahim Begin was a Fascist, the proposed categorization is supported in later periods as well. When Harkabi recounts the struggle of Yitzhak Shamir's faction of the Revisionists to ally itself with Nazi Germany (p.214), the categorization is even further corroborated. Finally, when we remember the contemporary Israeli pundits' assertion that Kahane's Kach Party is the *truth* of Geula Cohen's and Rafel Eitan's Tehiya Party, while Tehiya is the *truth* of Begin's and Shamir's Likud, the categorization seems appropriate indeed.

But, it may be remarked. Likud is a coalition, including not just Herut, but also junior partners. The populist rhetoric and orientation, and petty bourgeois base of Herut is balanced by its Likud partner. Yitzak Mo'dei's Liberal Party, which as Harkabi acknowledges "represents the high bourgeois" (p.111). Fascist parties and movements characteristically combine the representatives of the declassé, the petty bourgeois, as well as those of the hegemon, the big capitalists, bankers, etc. And Likud seems to be no exception.

The same kind of analysis would permit the categorization of the partners in the Labor Alignment — Mapai, etc. — somewhat more toward the center by comparison to Herut, but a categorization as bourgeois parties nonetheless. Thus we find the differences between Labor and Likud to be distinctly differences subordinated within unity: and it is that unity which gives rise to the recent "Nation Unity" governments in Israel.

The case with reference to the movements, parties, etc. in the Arab world which Harkabi calls "radical" is somewhat more complex. This complication is due to the residual nature of his concept — it is comprised of those he understands as 'opponents' — for whatever reason they might be opposed. Harkabi is not alone in such an understanding. According to the logic of the US Department of State, for instance both Socialist Cuba and Islamic Republic of Iran are "radical." Rather than following a line of thought which will of necessity end up in bourgeois apologetics, one would do better to distinguish between progressive and reactionary anti-bourgeois or anti-imperialist movements. Again it is the political base — the toiling masses or the landlords, clerics, etc. — and its social relations which establishes the politics of the



movement or party.

This bears upon Harkabi's discussion of policy alternatives in his concluding chapter, entitled "What is There to Do?" He calls for "realism," yet shows little understanding of the kind of social and economic struggle and transformation which Israeli society must undergo before the "Jabotinsky-Begin ethos" — read *fascist mentality* — will be replaced by the mentality of "realism." Harkabi has acknowledged in the past that, due to his approach, "the whole political drama is reduced to an intellectual tug-of-war between such metaphysical entities as ethereal schools of thought" (AS&IR, p. 157). Or, as Marx and Engels once put it, it is reduced to a "battle of the books at the Leipzig book fair."

The necessary shift of mentalities will not come about simply as a result of intellectual debate — nor even as a result of parliamentary debate — although these activities may have some bearing upon the shift. Nor will it come about as a result of political realignments, a point Harkabi acknowledges (p. 195). It is rather a more basic process which must be considered.

As the objective conditions of Israeli society continue to deteriorate, the necessity of extending the broad democratic struggle and the necessity of profound transformation of the entire society will become increasingly evident. Harkabi does note that "economic crisis has given the public a more realistic understanding of limits of Israel's economic capacity. This can serve as the starting point for understanding the limits of military and political power and the constraints within which Israel must act" (p. 199). And, we must add, that understanding must be more *democratic*. The direction of that democratic struggle, the direction of that profound transformation, can only be provided by the deepest understanding of the categories which reflect the movement of history. And those are not the conceptualizations of the US State Department. Harkabi notes the "ideological vacuum in Israel" and continues "an ideology cannot be delivered on demand" (p. 200); no matter how enthusiastically Foggy Bottom promotes its ideological wares, they are defective goods. The requisite terms are none other than the categories of historical materialism, i.e., Marxism. □

### Reagan-Bush Court *Continued from page 5*

past, it permeates the present. Indeed, its impact has intensified recently, especially because of Reagan's pro-rich, anti-civil rights policies. That is why, as the National Urban League's 1989 study of *The State of Black America* shows, the African-American population's poverty rate was 300% greater than the white, its unemployment rate 250% higher; and for the second year in a row,

the life expectancy of African-American people has actually declined.

These developments have enraged the African-American population, all friends of decency and, particularly, women as a whole. Leaders of their organizations have spoken eloquently of their anger and have promised what must be delivered — massive, organized, militant, persistent protests. Such action in the past changed the position of the Supreme Court (as in the New Deal days) and it has prevented the appointment of especially reactionary justices as in the case of Parker in the 1920's and that of Bork just the other day.

Three of the forward-looking justices on the Court today are past 80 years of age. This means that Bush will probably have the opportunity — *if left alone* — to pack the Court with more Kennedys and Scalias and burden this nation with a judicial abomination well into the next century.

The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson spoke correctly and eloquently — as usual — when he noted that Bush gets excited when the flag is burned, but says nothing when the Constitution is burned.

Nothing can prevent this danger and turn this setback into an important popular victory except mass action, arousal, protest. The need is urgent and present. The Court, when it meets this fall, must be aware of this irresistible popular opinion. As Benjamin Hooks, head of the NAACP, said at its 80th Convention, "We will not permit ourselves to be turned around." As Eleanor Smeal, head of a national woman's organization, promised: "We will organize in the street and we will organize in the state legislatures." The Majority has indeed launched a "war against women" as another leader of a woman's organization remarked and that means a war against humanity.

Part of the rising reactionary threat is the marked increase in anti-Semitic activity and propaganda afflicting this nation. Even on the campuses — where civility should be expected — the Anti-Defamation League's 1988 audit, made public in January 1989, disclosed 54 anti-Semitic acts on 38 U.S. campuses — double the number in 1987. In communities throughout the country, violent nazi-like groups are sprouting and filthy scrawlings are appearing and arson, especially against synagogues, is increasing.

Reaction and anti-Semitism are twins, of course. To turn back the Reagan-Bush Foul Five is to turn back reaction and to help thwart anti-Semitism. The time for action has come. Let us do our work and help save our country. □

## Document

### JOINT APPEAL by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, (GDR) the German Communist Party (FRG) and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (May 1989)

*Reprinted from Foreign Affairs Bulletin (June 2, 1989) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic*

It is with deep concern that the Communist parties on German soil address themselves to all peace-loving people of anti-fascist, democratic persuasion in Europe.

In the year of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War launched by Hitler fascism, there is an alarming increase in the activities of right-wing extremists and dyed-in-the-wool old and new Nazis. In Berlin (West), for the first time in the history of that city, a manifestly neo-Nazi party entered the House of Representatives. In the Federal Republic of Germany it obtained mandates (representatives) in city and community parliaments. Now the neo-Nazis are preparing their drive across the border of the Federal Republic of Germany into the European Parliament, intending to propagate their slogans from Strasbourg. They view this as a springboard for their entry into the Bundestag (Parliament) of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1989 — the fortieth year of the existence of both the German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany — those developments reveal to the whole world once again which of the two German states fulfilled the legacy left behind by the victims of the Second World War and of the anti-fascist Resistance movement and in which it was scorned. With the emergence of the German Democratic Republic for the first time a German state committed to peace became unchangeable reality. It is here and only here that war and Nazi criminals were deprived of their power and punished with the full force of the law, that the administration, the judiciary, schools and other institutions were purged of Nazis and fundamentally democratized, that drastic socio-economic and political changes were carried out, so that the historical roots of fascism and war were removed once and for all. Today, the existence of the socialist GDR, its commitment to safeguarding peace and promoting the well-being of the people, and its anti-fascist role more than ever prove to be beneficial to the European peoples.

In the Federal Republic of Germany and in Berlin (West) there are strong anti-fascist democratic forces which embody the will of the majority of the population. They enjoy the high esteem and confidence of the European peoples. This contrasts with the alarming resurgence of neo-Nazi forces in the FRG and Berlin (West). It is a result of the fact that on that part of German soil

they did not come to terms with the disastrous past. Rather, a process of restoration took place in the decades following the Second World War which made the old and new fascist ideology and its proponents socially acceptable. Since the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany, right-wing extremists, old and new fascists have been able to organize under the protection of that state. For years they have been calling openly for a revision of the status quo in Europe, seeking to restore the German Reich within its borders of 1937 or 1938. Using insolent and provocative language, the leaders of parties calling themselves Republicans, National Democratic Party, German People's Union and other forces of the calibre announce that they are out to "save the German ethnic substance and the biological status" and to "guide our people out of what continues to be a state of oppressive Babylonian captivity."

Their credo is the damnation of humanist progress, the denunciation of social security and democratic freedoms, hatred of other peoples, and deadly enmity of communism. In a well-organized manner, neo-Nazi or other militant groups play at civil war, terrorize peaceable people and upright democrats, destroy facilities and offices of democratic parties and organizations, plant bombs and poison minds to destroy monuments of anti-fascist resistance and Jewish anguish. Adulation of everything German and a reactionary concept of history make an impact on people's minds. An upsetting and outrageous reflection of that is the fact that administrative, right-wing conservative quarters have for decades condoned and encouraged anti-foreigner sentiments, pan-German nationalism, revanchism and racism. Xenophobia and anti-foreigner propaganda are much in currency again. Reactionary ideas of those who prepared people's minds for Hitler fascism are being revamped. In what passes for a learned dispute among historians right-wing conservatives are trying to gloss over and hush up Nazi atrocities and German imperialist aggression against the domestic population and other peoples. The war of extermination against the Soviet Union is to be legitimized as a "preventive war."

Accessories to such reactionary doings in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Berlin (West) are those right-wing conservative politicians who feel that extremists and neo-Nazis help them appear middle-of-the-road. Special support to the neo-Nazis comes from those who cling tooth and nail to the doctrine of deterrence repro-

ducing time and again the worn-out anti-communist enemy image. In revanchist fashion they spread the fiction of an "open German question," clamouring for "reunification." What they practise is snooping into people's political views, job blacklisting of democrats, and labelling activists of the peace movement as criminals. Social and political marginalization, the ideological and psychological isolation of large segments of the population help to create a breeding ground for neo-Nazi groups.

Feelings of dismay and concern, as well as growing protest and widening action on behalf of anti-fascism and peace in the Federal Republic of Germany and other European countries can be traced back to the bitter experiences with Hitler fascism and its policies of aggression. The growing influence of right-wing extremists and neo-Nazis signals political dangers which, if not averted, would obstruct or call in doubt the building of a common European home and the achievement of security and co-operation on our continent.

We appeal to states, governments and nations, to people from all social classes and strata, and of divergent political and ideological beliefs, to all Europeans of good will: Be vigilant! Twice this century a war against the world started from German soil. The rule of extremely aggressive and chauvinist circles of German imperialism brought forth the anti-human monster of fascism.

The memory of the 50 million victims of the fascist war of aggression and Nazi atrocities, the legacy of anti-fascist resistance fighters impress on us: The Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin (West) must be free of the evil spirit and machinations of neo-Nazism.

Therefore, join us in our call

— to prohibit and disband all neo-Nazi parties and organization, revoke the parliamentary mandates already obtained by them, exclude neo-Nazi forces from elections;

— to overcome anti-foreigner sentiment and incitement to hatred of other peoples, counter aspirations for supremacy and revanchist ambitions, and generally ensure equal rights in a tolerant society;

— to create an anti-fascist climate where neo-Nazism, racism and revanchism are ostracised by the entire society;

— to pursue efforts to relax the political situation further, particularly by steadily continuing the disarmament process, promote confidence-building and cooperation among all states with a view to resolving pressing problems of man's survival and in the interest of building a common and peaceful European house.

Never again war and fascism on German soil. To

make this a reality is possible today more than ever before and, indeed, necessary as part of the struggle against confrontation and massive arms build-up. On German soil, in the German Democratic Republic, anti-fascism and peace are state doctrine. In the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin (West) the forces committed peace, anti-fascism and democracy reflect the wishes of the majority. In Europe anti-fascist thinking and acting are deeply rooted.

Together we must live up to the responsibility for a peaceful development of our continent, a responsibility placed on us by the victims of fascism and war.

Together we can arrest the threat of neo-Nazism and militarism.

**Socialist Unity Party of Germany**  
**German Communist Party**  
**Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin**

## *Greetings*

*(Received by August 16, 1989)*

**I. Bacal**  
**Chris Asher**  
**Mitchell Berkowitz**  
**Arthur Doronatsy**  
**Zena and Marc Druckman**  
**Sophie Edwin**  
**Bea and Jack Engelhardt**  
**Mr. and Mrs. Louis Feinschil**  
**Jean Frantjjs**  
**Samuel and Mollie Gold**  
**Lement Harris**  
**David Kolodoff**  
**Glenn Morrison**  
**Murray and Myra Rosenberg**  
**Laura Ross**  
**Freda Shipman**  
**Arthur and Rita Simon**  
**Rose and Max Sparer**  
**Edward and Mollie Topp**  
**Harry Zeitz**



# Greetings and Contributions to Jewish Affairs

(Received by August 16, 1989)

*Best Wishes*  
Vernon & Florence Fox  
San Diego, CA

*Greetings*  
To an important magazine  
Alvin & Ann Warren  
Montrose, N.Y.

I Salute Jewish Affairs  
On its 17th Annual Dinner  
Rose Landa  
Los Angeles, CA

Greetings and Best Wishes  
For world peace in this century  
Ruth and Max Shlafrock  
Franklin, NC

In Memory of my Brother  
**Louis Antonoff**  
Died January 28, 1973  
and  
Sister-in-law,  
**Dina**  
I will always miss you  
**Ruth Kushner**  
Bronx, N.Y.

We wish you success.  
Mary and Fred Blair  
Milwaukee, Wis.

*Best Wishes*  
To a fine magazine  
J. Wishinsky  
Nate & Ruth Schaffner  
Skokie, IL

*Best Wishes*  
Laurent & Mercedes Ross  
Washington, DC

*Greetings*  
In honor of **John Pozickow** who  
celebrated his 100th Birthday  
with Family and Friends  
July 9th, 1989  
Sarah and Eddie

*Greetings*  
W. Richard Meyers  
San Pedro, CA

Condolences  
to  
**Harry and Sarah Tobman**  
on the loss of **Manya Kramer**  
**Sonia and Willie Surenko**  
**Solomon and Rose Margulies**  
Miami Beach, FL

*Wishing my Wife*  
Sarah  
A Happy Birthday  
**Harry Tobman**

*Best Wishes*  
**Sonia Itzkowitz**

A Tribute to Clarence Sharp  
A longtime supporter of  
*Jewish Affairs*  
**Sigrid Sharp**  
Minneapolis, MN

*Best Wishes*  
**Frederick & Judith Hicks, NY**

*Greetings*  
**Leo Schneider, NY**

Best Wishes  
**Dr. James Thomson, NY**

From Longtime Supporters  
Our Best  
**Henri and Florence Percikow**  
Brooklyn, NY

*Greetings*  
**Sylvia Bjornson, NY**  
Warm Greetings  
**Henry Danielowitz**  
Maine

Carry on!  
**Michael Ziebel**  
Miami Beach, FL

Keep up the Good Work!  
**Harry Silver**

*Greetings*  
**Celia Kraft Schnaper**  
Arizona

Keep up the work for Peace

**Philip and Ruth Sillman, NY**

Continue Your Efforts for  
A Just Peace in Middle East.  
**Ruth and Cordier MacGuire**  
Boulder, CO.

*Greetings*  
**Benjamin Wainfield, MD**

Success on your 17th Annual Banquet  
**Thomas and Rose Keenan**  
W. Palm Beach, FL.

In Memory of  
**Max and Anna Beller**  
**Dr. Harry and Maysie Beller**  
Sebastian, FL.

Greetings from the  
**Anita Whitney Club**  
**Doris M. Glenn**  
Sunnyside, Ca.

*Best Wishes*  
**David C. Fathis**  
Berkeley, CA.

Keep up the Good Fight  
Against Racism and Anti-Semitism  
**Jerry and Tillie Simkin**  
Brooklyn, NY

*Warm Support*  
for your fine magazine.  
**Bernard and Adeline Gross**  
**Yetta and Sons**  
Knoxville, TN.

*Continued Success*  
**Herbert Hyson**  
Dorchester, MA.

*In Memory of my Wife*  
**Mary Kalb**  
Worker for Peace and Friendship  
Among Nations and Peoples  
**Lou Kalb**

In Remembrance of Our Son  
**Marvin**  
Died August 14, 1982  
**Harry and Sarah Tobman**

*In honor of*  
**HERBERT APTHEKER**  
Theodore Dreiser Club CPUSA  
N. Santa Clara County, CA

*Best Wishes*  
**Faye Gardner**  
Miami Beach, FL

I Salute *Jewish Affairs*.  
the voice of progress  
**Sam Kaminsky**  
Brooklyn, NY

Best wishes to the 17th  
Annual Dinner of  
*Jewish Affairs*  
**Max & Julia Kagan**  
Los Angeles, CA

Continued Success  
**Mary Gale**  
New York

In Memory of my Sister  
**Dorothy Albert**  
**Nathan Albert**  
Philadelphia, PA

Keep Up The Good Fight  
for a  
Just Peace in the Middle East  
**Jehoshua Wishinsky**  
Chicago, IL

Warm Greetings  
**Lil Greene**  
Toronto, Canada

Best Wishes  
**Jack & Sue Kling**  
Chicago, IL

Best Wishes  
to  
*Jewish Affairs*  
**Benjamin & Thelma DeLeon**  
Cranston, RI





# די גרינצונג פון פאַראייניקטע אידישע געווערקשאפטן

פון כ. וויינשטיין

יעדע וואך. און יעדן מאל האָט ער געדארפט שילען די "קאָטערינקע" אָף די פלייצעס פון איין שאַפּ צום צווייטן. ווען דער האָבן פלעגט אים אוועקשיקן. אָדער ווען ער האָט געוואַלט אַליין אוועקגיין עס האָט גענומען די אידישע יוניאָנס און די פאַראייניקטע אידישע געווערקשאפטן אַ סך יאָרן אַפצושאַפן אַט די פאַרפלוכטע סיסטעם

אין יענע יאָרן האָבן כמעט אַלע אַרבעטער געאַרבעט פון שטיק און די וועכענטלעכע ווירדשעס פלעגן זיין קלעגלאַכע. ווען אַ פאַמיליע פאַטער פלעגט ברענגען דאָלאַר און וואָך "פּעני", האָט עס געהייסן גרויסע ווירדשעס כלוין גרויסע פאַמיליעס האָבן געהאַט "גוואַלדיקע" "פּירדעס". די עלטסטע טעכטער צו דריי דאָלאַר און וואָך און די 10 און 12 יאַריקע קינדער צו 20 \$ און וואָך. און די מאַמע מיט די פּיצלעך קינדער אין הויז פלעגן אויך אויסאַרבעטן צוזאַמען איין דאָלאַר מיט 50 סענט און וואָך

די צרות און לידן. וואָס די אידישע אימיגראַנטן האָבן געהאַט אויסצושטיין די ערשטע יאָרן פון זייער אַנקומען אין אַמעריקע. — איידער עס זיינען אַרגאַניזירט געוואָרן די יוניאָנס. — איז גאָר אוממעגלעך צו באַשרייבן געפאַרן זיינע אַלע אַהער מיט דער דערוואַרטונג צו שאַרן דאָ גאַלד מיט אַלפּעטעס. אויסגעלאָזן אָבער האָט זיך. אַז אַלע אָן אויסנאַם האָבן געמוזט אַרבעטן שווער און כּוֹסער פאַרן שטיקל ברויט. יעדער מאָן און פּרוי. ווי אויך די מערסטע קינדער. פלעגן דאָן גיין אַרבעטן אין שאַפּ אום צו "מאַכן אַ לעבן". מוטערס פון פאַמיליעס, וועלכע האָבן גיט געקאָנט גיין אין שאַפּ. ווייל זיי האָבן געמוזט פירן די הויז ווירטשאַפּט. פלעגן נעמען אַרבעט אַהיים אין זייערע וואוינונגען. וואו זיי פלעגן צוזאַמען מיט זייערע יונגיקע קינדערלעך פּראַצעווען יעדע פּרייע מינוט פון טאָג כּיז שפּעט אין דער נאַכט

אידישע זוינים, זיידעס. וואָס זיינען געצוקומען אַהער צוזאַמען מיט זייערע פאַרהייראַטע קינדער. האָבן אויך געמוזט געפינען פאַר זיך אַ באַשעפטיקונג. אום צו פאַרדינען זייער חיונה. זיי האָבן נישט געקאָנט גיין אַרבעטן אין פאַבריקן. ווייל מיט 50 יאָר צוריק זיינען די מערסטע פאַבריקן געווען גויאישע, און מען האָט דאָרט געמוזט אַרבעטן אום שבת און יום־טובּ. און דאָס האָבן די אַלטע לייט, פאַרשטייט זיך. נישט געוואַלט דער שיקאַל האָט אָבער די זקנים אויך נישט פאַרלאָזט דער געשעפט פון סקאַרטיין אַלטע שמאַטעס איז צו יענער צייט ביסלעכווייז אריבער אין אידישע הענט. זיינען אַ סך אַלטע אידן געוואָרן שמאַטע־קלייבער ביי אידישע באַלעבאַטיס. וועלכע פלעגן שליסן זייערע קלעצער אַלע שבת און אידישע יום־טובּים אין יענע שמוציקע. פּיצצטערע קלעצערס פלעגן די אידישע

די פאַראייניקטע אידישע געווערקשאפטן פון ניו יאָרק זיינען געגרינדעט געוואָרן אין יאָר 1888. מיט זעקס יאָר שפּעטער, ווי עס האָט זיך אָנגעפאַנגען די ערשטע גרויסע אימיגראַציע פון די אידן פון רוסלאַנד קיין אַמעריקע. אַ גרופּע אידישע סאַציאַליסטן, מיטגלידער פון דער אידיש־רוסישער סעקציע פון דער סאַציאַליסטישער אַרבעטער פּאַרטיי אין ניו יאָרק, האָט דעמאָלט באַשלאָסן צו גרינדן אַ צענטראַלע קערפּערשאַפט פון אידישע יוניאָנס, מיטן צוועק אויפצובויען אַ שטאַרקע טרייד־יוניאָן באַוועגונג צווישן די דעמאָלטיקע אידישע אַרבעטער אין אַמעריקע. די אויפגאַבע, וואָס די גרינדער פון די פאַראייניקטע אידישע געווערקשאפטן האָבן זיך דעמאָלט געשטעלט, איז געווען צו פאַרבעסערן די לאַגע פון די אידישע אַרבעטער, וועלכע זיינען צו יענער צייט עקספּלואַטירט געוואָרן אָפּן שענדל־אַכטסן אָפּן.

די גרינדער פון די געווערקשאפטן זיינען אַלע געווען סאַציאַליסטן, און זיי האָבן געהאַפט דורך די געווערקשאפטן נישט נאָר צו פאַרבעסערן די לאַגע פון די אַרבעטער, נאָר אויך צו קענען בעסער פאַרשפּרייטן דעם סאַציאַליסטישן אידעאַל צווישן די אידישע מאַסן.

## די געשיכטע פון די געווערקשאפטן אין די געשיכטע פון די אידן אין אַמעריקע.

די געשיכטע פון פאַראייניקטע אידישע געווערקשאפטן פון ניו יאָרק איז איינגעטלעך די געשיכטע פון אַ פּערט־חלק פון דעם אידישן פּאָלק פון דער גאַנצער וועלט, וואָס וואוינט איצט אין אַמעריקע. דאָס איז די געשיכטע פון די אידישע אימיגראַנטן, וועלכע האָבן אין די 80 יאָרן פון פאַריקן יאָרהונדערט גענומען אימיגרירן פון די מזרח־איראָפּיאישע לענדער אין דער נייער וועלט און האָבן אין פאַרלוירן פון אַ האַלבן יאָרהונדערט פאַר זיך געשאַפּן אַ נייעם ישוב, וועלכער ציילט היינט צו טאָג פיר און אַ האַלב מיליאָן פּפּושת.

די אַרבעט־שטונדן פלעגן זיין פון 14 ביז 16 אין אַ מעת־לעט.

אַזוי ווי די מערסטע אידישע אימיגראַנטן האָבן דאָן געאַרבעט ביי די גאַלד־טרייס אָף יונגערס אַמאָשינען, האָבן די קאַנטראַטאָרס און אויך אַ גרויסע צאָל באַלעבאַטיס פון די "אינסיד־שעפּער" געהאַט איינגעפירט אַ סיסטעם, אַז יעדער אָפּערייטאָר האָט געדאַרפט האָבן צו דער אַרבעט אָן אייגענע מאַשין, וועלכע די "גרינע" האָבן דאָן אַ נאָמען געגעבן די "קאָטערינקע". דער אָפּערייטאָר האָט געדאַרפט קויפּן די מאַשין אָן אַפּצאַלן, וואָרים קיין קעש האָט דאָך דעמאָלט אָן אָפּערייטאָר נישט געהאַט. פלעגט ער אויסצאָלן פון די שכירות דעם מאַשין־אַגענט אַ דאָלאַר

# אידישע נייעס איבער דער וועלט

## סאָויעטישער טעאַטער ענטוואָסטיש אויפגענומען

תל-אביב (איטא). — דאָס יוגנט-טעאַטער פון מאַקסווע האָט זיך באַקומען אַ שטורמישע וואַזע פון פּובליקום, בעת דאָס אויפטריוט צו דער דערעפּענונג פון צווייטן פעסטיוואַל פון קינדער-טעאַטער אין חיפה. דאָס איז געווען דאָס ערשטע מאָל וואָס אַ סאָויעטישע טעאַטער-גרופּע האָט געגעבן אַ פּאַרשטעלונג אין ישראל. דער טעאַטער-אַנסאַמבל באַשטייט פון 27 מיטגלידער. די פּאַרשטעלונג, וואָס זיי האָבן געגעבן, „דאָס האַרץ פון אַ הונט“, איז ביז איצט געווען פּאַרבאָטן אין סאָויעט-רוסלאַנד.

## אַ אידישע גימנאַזיע בקרוב אין ריגע

אין ריגע, די הויפט-שטאָט פון לאַטוויע, (היינט, סאָויעטן-פּאַרבאָנד), וועט דעם קומענדיקן סעפטעמבער געעפנט ווערן אַ אידישע גימנאַזיע (מיטל-שולע). עס וועט דאַרט געלערנט ווערן די אידיש, אַדער העברעאישע שפּראַך, אַ חוץ די אַנדערע אַלגעמיינע קעגנשטאַנדן. עס ווערט אויך געמאַלדן, אַז די טעג וועט גע'חחמעט ווערן אַן אַפּיזיעלע אַפּמאַך מיט די סאָויעטישע הערשער וועגן באַקומען אַ פּאַסיקן ביזן פּאַר דער גימנאַזיע. אין אַ טעלעפּאָנישן געשפּרעך פון ריגע מיט אלי לאַנדאו, רעדאַקטאָר פון דער צייטשריפט פון דעם ראַט פּאַר סאָוועטישע אידן איז איבערגעגעבן געוואָרן אַז דעם 21-טן און 22-טן מאי, 1989, איז אַפּגעהאַלטן געוואָרן אין ריגע אַ קאָנפּערענץ אין וועלכן ס'האַבן זיך באַטייליקט 180 אידן, פּאַרשטייער פון אַרגאַניזאַציעס און גרופּעס פון 27 שטעט פון סאָויעטן פּאַרבאָנד.

## אַמסטערדאַם אידישער מוזעי קריגט אויסצייכענונג

אַמסטערדאַם (איטא). — דעם אידישן היסטאָרישן מוזעי אין אַמסטערדאַם איז צוגעטיילט געוואָרן אַן אויסצייכענונג און 5 טויזנט דאָלאַר ווי דעם געווינער פון אייראָפּעאישן מוזעי-פּרייז פּאַרן יאָר 1989. דער מוזעי, וואָס עקזיסטירט שוין 57 יאָר, איז „אויסגעליידיקט“ געוואָרן דורך די נאַציס בעת דער צווייטער וועלט-מלחמה. ס'איז דער ערשטער מוזעי אין האַלאַנד וועלכער באַקומט אַט די אויסצייכענונג, וואָס איז עטאַבלירט געוואָרן ביי דעם אייראָפּעאישן ראַט אין שטראַסבורג. דעם פּרייז האָט דער מוזעי באַקומען פּאַרן אויסערגעוויינלעכן אָפּן ווי אַזוי ער פרעזענטירט די אידישע קולטור ווי אַ טייל פון דער האַלענדישער קולטור.

צוויי-דריטל אַמעריקאַנער שרעקן זיך מער נישט פּאַר סאָוועט-רוסלאַנד, ווייזט אַנקעטע וואַשינגטאָן — (יו.פי.א.). — דער גרעסטער טייל אַמעריקאַנער באַטראַכטן איצט מער נישט סאָויעט-רוסלאַנד ווי אַ מיליטערישע געפּאַר און דריי פון יעדע פיר אַמעריקאַנער גלויבן, אַז ס'וועט נישט זיין קיין אַטאָמישע מלחמה, האָט איצט פעסטגעשטעלט אַ נייער פּאַל. די דאָזיקע געענדערטע שטימונג איז אַ רעוולוטאַט פון גאַראַנטירט פּאַליטיק, האָבן געזאָגט די פּאַרשער. צוויי-דריטל זענען מסכים מיט גאַרבאַטשאַוויס פּאַרשלאָג צו אונטערהאַנדלען וועגן באַווייטיקן פון אייראָפּע די נוקלעאַרע מיסילס אויף קורצע שטרעקעס. פרעזידענט בוש איז קעגן אַזעלכע אונטערהאַנדלונגען.

## ישראל-דאָקטוירים היילן סאָוועטישע באַן-קרבנות

תל-אביב (איטא). — אַ גרופּע ישראל-דאָקטוירים, ספעציאַליסטן אין היילן בראַנד-וואונדן, איז אַפּגעפּאַרן קיין סאָוועט-רוסלאַנד, כדי צו באַהאַנדלען די קרבנות פון דער סיבירער באַן-קאַטאַסטראַפּע. דער פּאַרשלאָג צו העלפן אין דעם אומגליק איז פּאַרעגלייגט געוואָרן די סאָוועטן דורכן וויצע-אויסערן-מיניסטער כּנימין נחניה. דער ישראל-פּאַרשלאָג איז דורך די סאָוועטן גלייך אַנגענומען געוואָרן. די ישראל-מאַנשאַפט באַשטייט פון 5 דאָקטוירים און אַ קראַנקן-שוועסטער. די גרופּע ווערט אַנגעפירט דורך שוקי שמר (שעמער), דעם געהילף-קאָמאַנדיר פון ישראלס מעדיצינישן קאַרפּוס.

## אַ אידישע צייטונג אין מאַסקווע

ווי עס דערציילט דאָס מערב-דייטשע וואַכנבלאַט „דער שפיגעל“ — לויט אַ מעלדונג פון מאַסקווע — האָט דאָרט אַנגעהויבן צו דערשיינען אַ אידישע צייטונג אין רוסיש. זי טראַגט דעם נאָמען וועסטניק (שליח) און דערשיינט אין 25 טויזנט קאָפּיעס. צום ערשטן מאָל אין דער סאָויעטישער געשיכטע ווערט אַנגעגעבן אויף אַ לעבאַלער צייטונג, אַז זי איז אויך „איבער-נאַציאָנאַל“. דער שפּרעך-רעדאַקטאָר, וויקטאָר מאַגידוואַן, האָט אַנגעזאָגט אינעם ערשטן נומער: „מיר ווילן איבערגעבן און דערהאַלטן די וואַרצלען פון אַנווער קולטור. מיר ווילן, אַז ס'זאָל אַנערקענט ווערן אַנווער אַרט אין דער געזעלשאַפּט.“



# יידישע ענינים

## מיר באגריסן די קאמוניסטישע פארטיי פון אונזער לאַנד צום 70סטן יוביליי

א פארטיי, וועלכע האָט צוגעטראָגן פיל ביישטייערונגען צום וואוילזיין און דעמאָקראַטישע דערגרייכונגען פון די אמעריקאַנער פֿאָלקס — מאַסן אין זייערע קאָמפּן פֿאַר אַ בעסער לעבן, פֿאַר שלום און פֿרייטשאַפט איבער דער וועלט.

## מיין קעמפּערישער דור

פון אברהם רייזין

איך האָב אים ליב, מיין דור,  
מיין דור פון אידעאלן;  
און ביז מיין לעצטן יאָר  
זיין ליכט אָף מיר וועט פֿאַלן.

איך האָב זיי ליב די פֿריינט,  
וואָס האָבן הינטער די גראַטן  
געפינסטערט זייער היינט —  
דעם מאַרגן ניט פֿאַראַכטן.

איך הער די שטאַלצע רייד,  
כיזע פּלאַמען אין די אויגן;  
און באַ דער טיפּסטער לייד  
האָט איר זיך ניט געבויגן.

איך האָב אים ליב, מיין דור,  
וואָס האָט געגלויבט, געליטן,  
און ביז מיין לעצטן יאָר  
וועל איך זיין גלויבן היטן.

און ביז די לעצטע טעג  
מיט אייך זיין, פֿריינט און ברידער  
און גיין אין אייער וועג  
און זינגען אייערע לידער.

צום 72סטן יוביליי פון  
דער רוסישער רעוואָלוציע



ווי  
מאָד

אַ רויט־אַרמייִער דרוקט צום האַרצן  
אַ באַפֿרייטן געטא־איידן