

May/June 1990
\$1.50

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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Herbert Aptheker

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Florence Fox

Reparations and the Nazi Past

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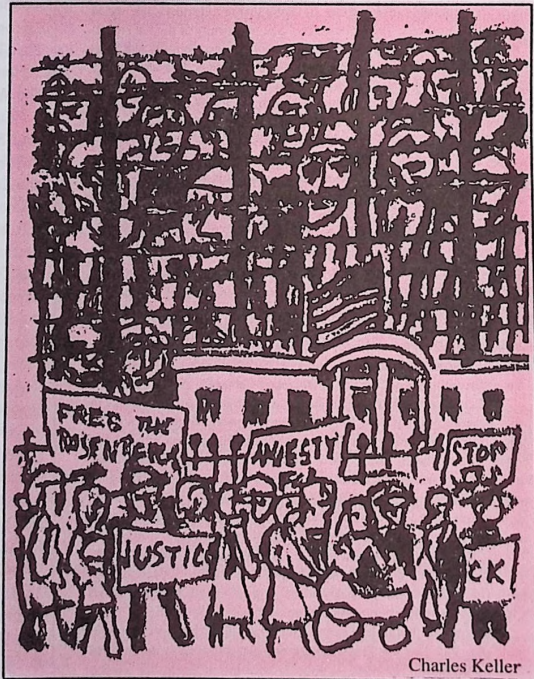
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Charles Keller

A Response and a Rejoinder

Eric Gordon writes:

As author of *Mark the Music: The Life and Work of Marc Blitzstein*, I am deeply aggrieved by Leonard Lehrman's lengthy blast in the March/April issue of *Jewish Affairs*. Potential readers of my book — and among the subscribers to *Jewish Affairs* this could mean several hundred people — may well be dissuaded from looking at it, based on Lehrman's review article. I am truly sorry if that is the case. I chose to write about Marc Blitzstein because he led a vibrant, committed life in exciting times, and I wanted the world to have a solid record of it. . . .

I have so many responses to what Lehrman did say that I can't devote much space to his omissions. Still, I find it remarkable, and sad, that in such a long article for *Jewish Affairs* he says nothing of substance about Blitzstein's relationship to his Jewishness. He doesn't even mention the months Blitzstein spent in Israel in 1962, toward the end of his life, which made such a strong, though belated impact on his consciousness. I'm sorry readers of Lehrman's article who may never get around to the book itself learned nothing about the Jewish aspects of Blitzstein's life, values and experience. . . .

I completely disagree that Jo Davis shared Lehrman's interest in her or her brother's "Judaic heritage." She was firmly of the old socialist, later Communist atheistic school that disparaged religion and Jewish cultural expression as superstitious and bourgeois. Her and Marc's parents and even grandparents felt that way too. If she was not too excited about Lehrman's tackling her brother's homosexuality or Communism, I suspect she must have felt repelled by an attempt to make him into a "Jewish" composer other than by birth. . . .

The many "corrections" Lehrman presents are minuscule points. Some I passed over in my book (disregarding his notes on the typescript) because they are of no real importance; other points on which Lehrman criticizes me are really patent attempts to puff himself up. Example: the lyrics I quote on p. 428 from the song *What Is the Stars?* from *Junjo*. Now Lehrman admits that I have spent more time in the archives than anyone else, yet he feels secure making assertions that are simply not supportable. I pointed out to him that the lyrics in question come from the final draft of the script, whereas he must have consulted some earlier version. So why does he choose to go into print with erroneous information? For two reasons: to score another point against me (or appear to), and to support his own version of the song on his forthcoming record album "A Blitzstein Cabaret". . . .

Let me say something about the absence of musical examples in this biography. This is a biography, not a musicological treatise. I prominently directed readers to two doctoral dissertations which have more of that sort of thing, but I was never confused about the more general, non-academic audience I wished to reach. My literary agent and my editor. . . both assured me that as soon as you put musical examples in a book, most potential readers will assume it is too technical and not for them. As I say in my preface. "If this biography encourages further interest among music scholars or performers, I will feel enormously gratified." So, Leonard, go to it! Write a musicological treatise! The definitive one! See if you find a publisher for it in this age of increasing monopoly control of the presses! . . .

It appears that Lehrman and I disagree somewhat over the radio song play *I've Got the Tune*, though our disagreement is far from as great as he states. The truth — unbeknownst to readers of his diatribe — is that I do not describe this entire work as "banal," only the final "mass song" version of the tune. I do not hide behind a bad *Variety*

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Jewish Affairs is published by the Communist Party, U.S.A. at 235 West 23rd Street, N.Y., NY 10011, 7th floor (212) 989-4994, ext. 209. Subscriptions: \$7.50 per year (bi-monthly). Second-class postage paid at the post office in New York, NY. ISSN: 0021-6305. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Jewish Affairs*, 235 W. 23rd St., N.Y., NY 10011.

Editorials

End the Occupation!

The May 20-23 blood bath in the West Bank and Gaza that left at least twenty dead and some 800 wounded Palestinians is only the latest, most atrocious episode in the brutal 22-year military occupation there. It is irrelevant that this was precipitated by the unauthorized gunfire of a deranged Israeli individual. For such an act could only take place in the racist, genocidal atmosphere that the occupation generated. More importantly, this act was followed by the authorized gunfire of Israeli soldiers, which accounted for most of the victims.

In the past two decades, particularly the past 2 1/2 years, over 1,000 Palestinians have been killed, about 50,000 wounded, 64,000 jailed and hundreds of thousands abused and humiliated by this illegal military occupation that contravenes United Nations resolutions and Geneva Conventions which Israel is a party to. The United States is also a party to and bound by these same international legal obligations. And it is obligated to carry out the U.S. national policy of curtailing foreign aid to countries that violate human rights, which the Congress has found Israel is doing on a large scale in the West Bank and Gaza.

Since the 3 billion dollars of U.S. foreign aid annually given to Israel is what makes possible its violation of human rights, Congress should cut back on financial aid to Israel until it ends the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and respects the rights of Palestinians, including the right to self-determination in a state of their own.

Leading Israeli human rights activist Dr. Israel Shahak is urging a 10 percent reduction, i.e., \$300,000, in U.S. aid to Israel as the only means of getting it to end the occupation. We advocate a reduction of at least \$1 billion since \$1.2 billion of the annual U.S. aid package for Israel is designated for military purposes. As an immediate measure we support the proposal that U.N. observers be sent to the West Bank and Gaza to monitor the treatment of Palestinians by the Israeli military.

Reflecting U.S. and world revulsion at the carnage of May 20-23, Secretary of State Baker stated that the U.S. government was prepared to consider supporting this proposal. However, the U.S. has vetoed the U.N. Security Council resolution for an observer mission, a measure supported by all the other 14 Council members, including Great Britain and France. Now is the time for thousands of messages to let the State Department and Congress know that the American people want U.N. observers in and Israeli troops out of the West Bank and Gaza. And that we don't want our taxes to continue to subsidize Israeli violations of human rights and international law.

The U.S. Press and Anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R.

The much publicized pogrom that was supposed to take place May 5 in Moscow did not take place. Despite the many reports and articles predicting the pogrom in the establishment press from January through May 4, the fact that there was none has been unreported and uncommented on. Also practically ignored by the press was Soviet President Gorbachev's mid-April public condemnation of anti-Semitism, the first such statement by a Soviet CP and government head since Lenin's time. On the other hand, at the end of March considerable press attention was given to a survey conducted by U.S. social scientists in Moscow which was misrepresented as finding a "High Level of Anti-Jewish Feeling" (*N.Y. Times*, 3/3/90) when it "in fact reveals a high level of pro-Jewish feeling" (*Jewish Currents*, 5/90).

Disregard of the outcome of the pogrom prediction, minimization of the Gorbachev statement and distortion of the survey results allowed the press to avoid having to admit and put an end to their exaggeration of the extent of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. And it allows the anti-Sovieteers and ingatherers of Soviet Jews to Israel to continue to conduct business as usual. (For discussion of the Gorbachev statement and the survey, see p. 6).

GDR Deserves Honor Not Slander

The German Democratic Republic's new anti-Communist-dominated parliament recently approved a statement accepting "responsibility for the humiliation, expulsion and murder" of Jews and "acknowledging this burden of German history." It also decided to pay "reparations" to Israel for the victims of the Holocaust. These decisions have been favorably compared by the general and Jewish establishments and their media to the positions of the former Communist-dominated GDR government which did not accept responsibility for these monstrous crimes and consequently did not pay reparations to them.

Jewish Affairs believes that the GDR's former positions were politically and morally sound. For the Communists, Socialists and the other anti-fascists who founded and led the GDR for four decades had fought against—and many were imprisoned or exiled for fighting against—the Nazis and their big business supporters who were responsible for these crimes. The GDR's institutions, from government and publishing houses to museums and schools, have always acknowledged the Third Reich burden of German history.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center calls for the new GDR government to adopt a "firm commitment to inoculate the youth of East Germany against the resurgence of neo-Nazism" and the World Jewish Congress calls for it "to enact laws forbidding racism, Nazism and attempts to deny

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The Question of German Reunification

Herbert Aptheker

Progressive world forces — with Communists in the forefront — never desired and never proposed permanent division of Germany. The movement for separation came from the West, and especially from Washington.

Thus, it was at the behest of the Western Allies that a separate currency for the western zone was introduced leading some months later to an eastern mark. Again, this monetary move simply prepared the way for the creation of the German Federal Republic; it took another six months for the creation of the German Democratic Republic.

In the East, decartelization and denazification was thorough; in the West it was fabricated and there tycoons and former Nazi bigwigs reappeared. Fresh after the war, the United States policy vis-a-vis Germany was officially expressed (1947) in a Memorandum issued by the State Department: "The guiding objectives of the government with respect to Germany were: 1) the total destruction of the Nazi regime, and 2) insurance against the reappearance in the future of regime or ideology calculated to disturb the general peace and security."

This was a brief re-affirmation of the commitments agreed to by Washington in the Potsdam Treaty. It coincided with President Roosevelt's statement in his 1943 message to the Congress that, "We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world."

By January 1959 the State Department officially summarized the U.S. position on Germany in this sentence: "In wartime agreements the Allied nations stated two fundamental policies: they pledged to defeat the enemy, and they declared they would strive for recovery from the war, continuing wartime cooperation."

Let the reader compare these statements.¹

The fact is that just as the West (including the United States) rearmed and financed the Germany that eventuated into Nazi Germany, so all the governments of the West made painfully clear to Hitler that so long as he carried forward his *Mein Kampf* program of destroying the Left in Germany and annihilating the USSR he would face no opposition. After Hitler's defeat — with the decisive role of the USSR therein — the policy of Washington took the turn described. By 1953, the late I. F. Stone was writing accurately: "The main objective of American foreign policy for several years has been to rearm Germany in order to repeat that invasion (of the

USSR), this time more terribly than before because supplemented by American atomic bombing."²

Developments since 1953, in terms of the decisive impact of the global movement against nuclear weaponry and nuclear war and for effective disarmament, have made impossible the military implementation Stone properly feared at that time.

But the fundamental overall aim was to undo the political content of fascism's defeat. What is at stake now as the question of German reunification is an immediate prospect, is this: **What is the political content of such unification?**

Is this unification to destroy the socialist base in the GDR; is it to undermine the socio-economic transformations achieved in industry and agriculture; the social welfare structure established there; the position of the working people; the position of women; the humanistic outlook on culture? Are we to see a Germany of cartels, of extremes in wealth, of great unemployment, of rampant chauvinism, of male supremacy, of pornography, of institutionalized prostitution — of widespread anti-Semitism? Already neo-Nazis are gathering openly, they occupy seats in legislative halls, they have organized parties, many newspapers and magazines, and their own "historians," adjusting the past, are seizing on Bitburg-Reagan's forgive and forget speech.

And elections with which Americans are quite familiar (and Nicaraguans and soon Panamanians, too) are conducted, are corrupted, are manipulated, are financed openly and brazenly by Western statesmen and their lackeys and PR men and speechwriters — what the TV moguls call "democracy."

Of course there is concern as to what sort of united Germany is to appear. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was moved to remind anyone who needed reminding (in a statement issued February 2, 1990) that the "Soviet Union lost twenty-six million people in World War II." All people, he emphasized "should have a right to guarantee that the threat of war will never come from German soil." He observed that there were "neo-Nazi attacks again on German soil," that not unity "but the revival of the sinister shadows of the past and thoughts of a possible growth of militarism evoke concern." He pointed out that the West German judiciary had reasserted the legitimacy of "1937 frontiers of the Reich." The Soviet Foreign Minister said that such a policy must be renounced "unconditionally" so that absolutely no

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The West German Reparations Hoax

Florence Fox

Editor's note: Although health problems have prevented Ms. Fox from dealing with the subject beyond the late 1950's, we believe this article provides valuable information for correcting the commercial media's unfavorable comparison of East Germany to West Germany on the issue of reparations to Jewish victims of the Nazis.

For decades, an unsuspecting world has been taken in by the prevailing myth that West Germany, seemingly conscience-stricken, had voluntarily paid reparations to Jewish victims of the holocaust. This myth has lately been repeated in connection with promises of such reparations from East Germany.

On April 11, 1990, the *New York Times'* page 1 feature story headlined "The East Germans Issue an Apology for Nazis' Crimes. Parliament Says it is Willing to Pay Reparations" stated: "West Germany has accepted blame and paid reparations to Israel and individuals. . . . Elan Steinberg of the World Jewish Congress said, 'We believe the next step. . . is appropriate material amends on the part of East Germany for the crimes of the Nazis, as has already been implemented by West Germany.'"

The little-known, behind-the-scenes scenario forcing West German post-war reparations bears retelling at this time. . . .

Washington, anxious to burnish the tarnished image of the holocaust-tainted West Germany, slated to play a key role in the soon-to-be formed NATO military alliance, made a little-known decision during the London Debt Conference in 1952. The United States cancelled over \$2 billion of German postwar debts so that the Bonn government could use this money to indemnify Israel for the latter's burden of harboring Jewish refugees whose assets had been confiscated in the amount of \$8 billion in Germany alone.

One would have thought that the then West German Adenauer government would leap at this heaven-sent chance to score a worldwide public relations coup, paid for by the U.S.A. However, Dr. Adenauer's proposal to the Bundestag on September 27, 1951 was adamantly opposed by many of his own political supporters—virulent unregenerated anti-Semites who were un-

moved by the plight of Jews and felt no guilt or necessity for reparations. Their prejudiced sentiments were echoed by the press and leading politicians. However, some of the latter recognized a good deal and lobbied for it. For example, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (2/24/53) quoted Minister of Justice Dr. Dehler, who declared: "The settlement with Israel is a business for which the Americans will compensate us quite handsomely." In another statement, however, he made the reservation that "No compensation should be paid to victims of Nazis until justice is done to the whole German people."

When the bill, calling for payments to Israel of \$175 million in goods and material over twelve years, was submitted to the Bundestag on March 18, 1953, Dr. Adenauer was deserted by large numbers of his own party and coalition, and the bill barely squeaked through to passage.

The Indemnity Law, which provided for compensation to individual Jews victimized by Nazis, was shamefully violated. In 1956, T. H. Tetens' book, *The New Germany and the Old Nazis*, disclosed that "The multi-billion dollar aid from the U.S.A. was used primarily for the benefit of those who had brought untold misery to Europe and the world. . . . (rather than to) more than a million survivors of Nazi persecution. Inmates of concentration camps, those whose property was stolen, whose livelihood was destroyed — have not received a penny."

The American Jewish Congress cited foot-dragging implementation "lost in the smoldered administrative machinery. . . . bitter complaints and shattering disappointments among those who have suffered persecution. . . . Claimants had to defer their hopes even though the necessary funds were available." The *New York Times* (11/21/54) stated that "Bavarian officials are systematically withholding payments to victims of Nazi persecution, but rewarding Nazi officials and their heirs with jobs and pensions." Numerous claims which reached the courts were decided in favor of the Nazis.

Anti-Semitic fervor was fueled by a statement in 1957 by Minister Schaeffer who protested restitution to victimized Jews as a burdensome drain of German finances. Writing of West Germany, Tetens reported that "The majority of German people feel no regret for the crimes committed against millions of Jews, but believe instead that 'world Jewry' is engaged in a plot to swindle the innocent Germans out of billions of marks."

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Florence Fox is the author of numerous articles on politics, labor, and the criminal justice system. Her article "Saving Soviet Jews" in the Churchman magazine was reprinted and circulated in pamphlet form by Jewish Affairs.

Anti-Semitism and Anti-Sovietism II

Alfred J. Kutzik

Our similarly-entitled article in the March/April issue noted that "the extent to which anti-Semitism exists among the Soviet population cannot be determined with any degree of certainty." It is gratifying to have to correct this statement in light of the scientifically valid survey of the attitudes towards Jews of Moscow non-Jews conducted in that city from February 16 to March 4 by sociologists from the University of Houston under the aegis of that university, the (U.S.) National Science Foundation and the Institute of Sociology of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The results of the survey were distributed to the press in late March by the American Jewish Committee, which had funded it along with the other U.S. sponsoring institutions. The AJC's press release, mailed with the report of the survey's findings by the sociologists who conducted it, systematically distorted these findings to make them show what the March 30 N.Y. Times reported as "Survey in Moscow Sees High Level of Anti-Jewish Feeling." We could not express our reaction to the news release (and the news stories it generated) better than an editorial of *Jewish Currents* (May 1990) that states this "reverses the total impact of the (survey) report, which in fact reveals a high level of pro-Jewish feeling."

Jewish Currents' perceptive critique of the AJC news release based on a comparison with the survey report follows (in part):

- In answers to Question 1 (Do you dislike any of a list of groups) a key contrast is omitted: while only 18% dislike Jews, fully 63% dislike Pamyat, the Russian nationalist anti-Semitic organization.
- In answer to Question 2 (are Jews responsible for current Soviet problems), the press release omits the cardinal fact that 79% disagree with the anti-Semitic implication of the question.
- In answer to Question 3 (would Jews choose money rather than people) the release again suppresses the fact that 38% disagreed, as against 33% agreeing and 29% uncertain.
- In answer to Question 4 (Jews have too much influence over Russian culture—a main cry by Pamyat), again the press release suppresses the fact that 56% disagree, as against 23% agreeing.
- In answer to Question 5 (Jews should be punished for having killed Christ), the release again suppresses the fact that 75% disagreed with the ancient canard. Answers to questions 8,9,10,11,12 were not distorted but simply buried towards the end of the press release.. (These were) responses that were not "negative"...91% said that "Jews should be free to decide for themselves whether they want to remain in the Soviet Union or

emigrate"; 90% agreed that "the government should make every effort to see that the rights of Jews to equal educational opportunity are respected". And 88% said the government should see "that the rights of Jews to equal employment opportunities are respected throughout the Soviet Union"...74% thought "the Government should be doing more....to control anti-Semitism today in the Soviet Union."

Jewish Currents concludes that "by manipulating the data, the American Jewish Committee has exaggerated the level of Soviet anti-Semitism and done a disservice to Jews both here and in the Soviet Union, and to U.S. public opinion on the eve of the May 30 summit."

While this is so, the relatively low level of of anti-Semitism that the survey finds is still a matter of concern. It is most significant that President Gorbachev has made a public statement expressing his opposition to anti-Semitism which has been widely disseminated throughout the Soviet Union. Originally in the form of a response to a question at the annual congress of the Komsomol (YCL), it was broadcast on radio and distributed by TASS, the Soviet news agency, nationwide. In responding to the question about anti-Semitism in the USSR, Pres. Gorbachev stated, "I believe that we ought not to allow raging of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism or any other 'isms' to occur. It is necessary to take the path of harmonizing inter-ethnic relations, to set up legal, economic and social prerequisites for people of all ethnic groups. There is no other way that I know of."

Predictably, some U.S. Jewish leaders felt the statement was weak and should have focussed exclusively on anti-Semitism. But Pres. Gorbachev's categorizing anti-Semitism with nationalism and chauvinism—among the greatest evils in Soviet culture and Marxist ideology—is a message that can not be misunderstood by the Soviet people.

Another survey of attitudes towards Jews conducted after Pres. Gorbachev's statement and after this summer's planned Soviet Party conference on the national question, of which the "Jewish question" is a part, might produce even more encouraging results. □

the Holocaust, as well as making sure the country's students learn about the crimes of the Third Reich in school"

Since the GDR has always had such a commitment, such laws and such curricula, these demands constitute baseless slander of a socialist state that, whatever its other shortcomings,deserves to be honored for its vigorously enforced anti-Nazi policies.

The Legacy of Emma Goldman

Leonard Lehrman

May 14, 1990 marks the 50th anniversary of the death of the Russian Jewish-American anarchist Emma Goldman. One of the greatest figures in the history of the American Left, she was a pioneer of free speech, reproductive freedom and war resistance and "the most dangerous woman in America" according to J. Edgar Hoover until he had her deported in 1919. Plans are afoot to commemorate the event in a special broadcast that morning on New York's WBAI-FM and in an exhibit beginning in May at NYU's Tamiment Library (which holds several of her letters) of materials culled from Candace Falk's Emma Goldman Papers project, located at the University of California at Berkeley.

In New York, the Bryant Library of Roslyn, L.I., will open its concert series May 15 with the 90-minute 2-person version of this writer's and Karen Ruoff Kramer's E.G.: *A Musical Portrait of Emma Goldman*, which will also be presented on WQXR's The Listening Room May 23 and at a WESPAC (Westchester Peace Action Coalition) benefit June 1.

Performances are planned for June at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam (which houses extensive archives on Goldman and other anarchists) and this summer in Paris, East and West Berlin and Dresden.

Emma Goldman in Exile is the title of the latest book about her published last June 27 (on her 120th birthday) by Beacon Press. It is Alice Wexler's second in her series of two biographical volumes: the first appeared in 1984 under the title *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, but was later reissued in paperback as *Emma Goldman in America*.

There is enough in Wexler's first footnote on works inspired by Emma to engender an entire essay, which this brief article can only begin to sketch. At latest count Emma has been a major figure in six documentary or quasi-documentary films, four works by novelists, two poems, a trio for viola, cello and piano in her memory, numerous songs, six plays in which she is or inspired a character, four one-woman shows, a reader's theatre piece and five full-length plays about her.

Alice Wexler's calling our work an opera and mis

Dr. Leonard Lehrman's review of a biography of Marc Blitzstein appeared in our last issue. The composer of over 100 works, he is director of the Metropolitan Philharmonic Chorus and Laureate Conductor of the Jewish Music Theater of Berlin.

spelling my name while omitting Karen Ruoff Kramer's is the first of a few small errors which do not, however, significantly diminish the extent of her achievement. (Others include the apparent misreading of her own notes, resulting in the misappellation of a *Des Moines Register* reviewer's phrase to the playwright Lawrence Stallings and the date the U.S. Citizenship Act was passed—which made it impossible for Emma to regain U.S. citizenship by planning to marry an American). For hers is the first *politically critical* biography of a subject who has undergone both deification and demonization, but rarely been explored thoroughly from both a positive and a negative standpoint.

While Wexler does not quite approach the depth of that definitive study of Emma in Spain, *Vision on Fire* (1983) by David Porter (whose review of her book in the latest *Fifth Estate* is a must read) her contribution is a valuable one to lay beside Richard Drinnon's *Rebel in Paradise* (1961) and his and Anna Maria Drinnon's *Nowhere at Home* (1975)—which really deserves reprinting. (So do Emma's own writings—especially her poignant essay, *A Woman Without A Country*.)

Wexler's two 300-page volumes also inevitably provoke comparison with Candace Falk's 600-page single-volume *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman*, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston in the same year as Wexler's first volume appeared, 1984. Both books are full of fascinating details and loving analysis of Emma's struggles with both the personal and the political. Falk's is actually more thorough in terms of Goldman's "intimate life," which must have influenced the change of title when Wexler's first volume was reissued in paperback.

Neither book, however, goes very deeply into what Wexler refers to on page 10 as Emma's alleged concern with "the rights of homosexuals." The fullest treatment of that subject is found in the pages on and by Goldman and her life-long comrade-in-arms Alexander Berkman in Jonathan Katz's *Gay American History: Lesbian and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (1976), where in 1925 she expressed sympathy for all oppressed groups, including homosexuals, but never really did touch on the question of their "rights." (The use of the term on Wexler's cover is thus slightly misleading.)

Wexler goes a bit further than Falk in adding appreciably to what we know of Emma's influence on and relationships with many people, including Paul Robeson

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A Rosenberg Case Update: Neither Espionage Nor Conspiracy!

Aaron Katz

The essence of the legal complaint by Attorney Fyke Farmer against Judge Irving B. Kaufman, filed in March 1990, is that his unprecedented death sentences for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were in violation of the U.S. constitution. The judge's sentencing statement on April 5, 1951 was specific and detailed. He sentenced the Rosenbergs for actually committing espionage, for "putting the A-bomb into the hands of the Russians." The indictment or the charge against the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, had been for conspiring to commit espionage.

While Judge Kaufman may argue that the statutes permitted the same maximum punishment for "conspiring" as for actually "committing" the act, the presumption of the Congress was that judges would use their discretion. It is obvious that Judge Kaufman failed to do so and it is time for the Congress or the courts to make that clear. So long as those Rosenberg sentences remain on the records without being officially repudiated, they disgrace and degrade America's legal and judicial processes.

At an early stage in the trial, Kaufman had similarly misstated the charge, saying that "matters vital to the national defense were transmitted to Russia. . . ." He was corrected by a defense attorney who pointed out that "Nowhere in the indictment is it stated that information actually was transmitted. The indictment charges that a plan was laid to transmit information." The judge agreed (trial transcript, page 186), accepted the correction, and said: "The charge is that they conspired. . . ." He then added:

"I might state right here that a conspiracy is essentially an agreement between defendants to violate a law of the United States. The law of the United States which the government claims the defendants conspired to violate was the espionage law. Now, in order to be guilty of a conspiracy, I will ultimately charge you that it is not necessary that the defendants actually complete their act or that they have success in their act. It is sufficient, if there is an agreement followed by an overt act, an agreement entered into with a criminal mind to accomplish and unlawful objective followed by an overt act, it is sufficient at this time with respect to the law. Proceed, Mr. Bloch."

Thus, while the jury was instructed about the difference between planning and committing espionage, and while the jury found the defendants guilty of "planning," Kaufman proceeded to sentence them for

"successfully executing their plan," clearly implying that was the jury's verdict! As a consequence, even at this late date, 39 years after those inordinate sentences, the press, radio and television continue to report that the Rosenbergs were convicted of "transmitting atomic secrets to the Soviet Union." This false claim has been reported tens of thousands of times throughout the years, but not once has Judge Kaufman seen fit to correct this falsification of history. The trial transcript shows that *not a single witness testified that the Rosenbergs ever passed any classified information to anyone.*

The Rosenbergs and Sobell were totally innocent, involved in neither espionage nor conspiracy. They were convicted at the height of McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria because of their political beliefs, because of alleged membership in the Communist Party. In that hysterical period, the U.S. Congress had enacted the unconstitutional McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. Violating our Bill of Rights, it held that Communists and members of "Communist Front" organizations were "agents of the Soviet Union." That lawless McCarran Act and not the evidence caused the conviction.

By the end of May, Federal Judge Mary Kram should be holding a hearing on Fyke Farmer's complaint in the Foley Square courthouse in New York City. □

Upcoming Actions on the Rosenberg Case

On June 18, noon to 2:00 p.m., there will be a demonstration organized by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case in front of this same Foley Square courthouse where Judge Kaufman sits on the federal Second Circuit Court for the New York District. An "open letter" will be delivered to him decrying his sentencing of the Rosenbergs and collusion with the prosecution in the Rosenberg-Sobell case. The following day, June 19, 7:30 p.m., the 37th annual commemoration of the deaths of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg will take place at the New York University Law School in Manhattan at 40 Washington Square South. Participation in these events by *Jewish Affairs* readers in the New York City area would contribute to the continuing efforts to reopen and procure justice in the Rosenberg case.

Report From Israel

J. Lipski

We celebrate the 42nd anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel in an atmosphere of joy and concern. It is an undeniable fact, that the State of Israel arose after the defeat of the smashed Hitlerite armies, one of whose declared aims was to erase the Jewish people from the earth. It is important to point out, that the historic UN resolution that established the State of Israel was adopted thanks to American-Soviet understanding. It is also an important fact that this resolution refers to two states, a Jewish and an Arab state to be formed on the territory of British Mandatory Palestine. These are fundamental facts that have to be taken into account in an analysis of the further developments.

It must be regretted that the Arab rulers did not accept this UN resolution. For this historic mistake the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people in particular have paid an enormous bloody price. Also among the Zionists there were extremists who demanded rejection of this resolution and seizure of "the whole of Eretz Israel." But reasonable Zionist circles and the broad Jewish popular masses all over the world and in Israel gladly accepted this resolution.

42 years have passed since the establishment of the State of Israel. We have gone through several wars. Serious and reasonable Zionist circles, including leading military personalities, have expressed their doubts as to whether all those wars couldn't have been avoided. Why is it so important to point out that it was possible to prevent wars if government leaders had pursued a reasonable policy? Because today, too, the voices of the warmongers are audible. Some remind us of the situation on the eve of the Six Days War. The Iraqi President has recently threatened to use chemical weapons that could destroy half of Israel. He said this would happen in case of an Israeli attack. At the same time, it is admitted that Iraq has chemical weapons and that Israel has atomic weapons. It is a dreadful to hear such horrible threats at a time when a struggle is going on in the occupied territories involving Israeli forces.

There are circles in the Arab countries and in Israel that interpret these statements as proofs that there is nobody with whom one can negotiate on peace. In these days of political crisis and increasing tension, the well-known Israeli writer Amos Oz was one of those who initiated a meeting with the participation of the prominent Palestinian leader Feisal Al-Husseini.

Amos Oz said, "Here is somebody with whom we can negotiate. The time has come to harness the horses and move forward. . . Of all the experiences that both peoples, Israelis and Palestinians, have had, the hardest test comes now. We all know that when peace comes the Palestinians will get only part of what they could have gotten in 1948 and we shall get only part of what we could have gotten in 1978" (*Davar*, 4/6/90). Even Yitzhak Rabin, who is not considered one of the "doves" in the Israel Labor Party, recently declared: "It is not the time now for settling accounts. Today it is possible to promote peace. One has to choose between this alternative of peace or something worse" (*Yediot Aharonot*, 4/6/90).

Also, the Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat recently announced several times that he is ready to conduct peace negotiations with Israel. He proposed meeting with Shimon Peres, if he were Prime Minister (*Davar*, 6/4/90). Consequently, it is possible to take concrete steps to bring peace nearer.

Why is this so vital for Israel? Because of the huge military expenses, the enormous costs of keeping an army in the occupied territories, repressing the Palestinian people who refuse to live under the Israeli occupation and because all these efforts ruin Israel's economy. The number of unemployed has reached a peak of 170,000. There is no money to keep schools and hospitals running, to support children and the aged and to finance industrial and agricultural enterprises. The Kibbutz movement has built exemplary farms and industries that are now in danger of collapse under the burden of debts.

Instead of making all efforts to use the present opportunities for promoting an Israeli-Palestinian peace, the extremist right-wing and fanatical clerical groups have started a campaign of agitation against the secular and Kibbutz population. Why? Because they don't observe the Sabbath and eat pork. One ultra-orthodox rabbi has even asked the question: Are these Jews? At the same time a hysterical campaign has started accusing those who support peace negotiations of abandoning the "holy unity" of Jerusalem. The same circles now call for changing the election law and all extremist, anti-peace right-wingers rally around Shamir, declaring openly that they will stop every step toward peace. This situation causes concern among reasonable Jewish and Arab peace supporters, who are not unanimous in their reactions.

It is, however, encouraging that in these difficult

J. Lipski is our Israel correspondent.

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Report From Poland

Sol Flapan

The Dolnoslask (Lower Silesia) Publishing House has just broadcast a call to all lovers of good literature to "subscribe now" to its Library of Jewish Authors. All 12 books of this Library are appearing in Polish translation in a uniformly-printed and-bound set in striking orange and black dustjackets each with its own back-of-the-book glossary of Jewish terms and Yiddishisms.

First off the printing presses were Sholem Aleichem's *Tevey the Milkman*, which inspired the musical *Fiddler on the Roof*, and the same author's *From the Fair*. Both books were sold out, becoming collectors' items in the proverbial "twinkling of an eye."

Next to come out will be Sholem Asch's novel, *The Nazarene*. According to the Dolnoslask publisher's ad in the widely read *Polityka* weekly, their Library of Jewish Authors "includes priceless works of Yiddish language classics culturally and historically intertwined with the Commonwealth."

In Polish history the Commonwealth (or Republic) relates to the period of partitions and foreign occupation (1772-1918). Though Poland disappeared from the political map of Europe, the proud name and ideals of the Rzeczpospolita-Commonwealth was never abandoned by the nation.

Sadly, these and more positive items in the print and electronic media reflecting favorably on the multifaceted nearly one-thousand-year-long history of Polish-Jewish relations have been marred of late by an ugly rash of anti-Semitic spray-painted graffiti. These range from the old mob calls of "Jews Out" to the politically sophisticated "Sanitize Poland of Zionists."

The terms Zionist and Zionism still serve some as an anti-Semitic code. They were originally used as such during shameful events of March 1968 regrettably inspired by certain people in the leadership of the then-ruling Polish United Workers Party and the government.

"Jews to Madagascar" — of all places — is another anti-Semitic slogan. While the anti-Semitic graffiti has been decried in the media, the usual response by individual Poles is sad or angry but silent head-shaking. One of the most effective criticisms is the story of how someone tacked on to the graffiti slogan "Down with the Jews" the words "and the cyclists." "Why the cyclists?," asks the dumbfounded anti-Semite in this story. "Why the Jews?" is the reply.

Another positive development in Polish-Jewish re-

lations is the April 25 to May 6 Second World Festival of Jewish Culture in Krakow in southern Poland. This Festival in Poland's ancient capital, which is to this day an intellectual-cultural-artistic center, has been jointly organized by Krzysztof Gierat and Janusz Makuch, respectively festival director and assistant director, as well as Manfred Lemm, a West German radio journalist, entertainer and one of the finest performers of Yiddish songs. Lemm is the musical director of the event while the Department of Jewish History and Culture in Poland at the over 600 year-old Jagiellonian University is organizer of the scientific part of the Festival. Festival chairperson is Marion Celejewski while the Minister of Culture and Art Izabella Cywinska has assumed patronage of this two week research and entertainment project the purpose of which is to popularize knowledge of Polish-Jewish relations and of Jewish culture.

Contemporary political developments have also put their stamp on the program. Among these, the Festival organizers cited at a March 1 press conference Poland's re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel after a break of 23 years. This hiatus, it is generally agreed here, did not serve the cause of the Arab victims of Tel Aviv attack, nor the anti-war and anti-occupation forces in Israel itself, nor the peace process in the Middle East generally. On the other hand, it did fuel an artificially brewed enmity between the two peoples who suffered most from the same Nazi-German engineered Holocaust right here in Poland.

Manfred Lemm underscored another political element, a sort of projection of this latter factor. The Yiddish-Polish publication *Folks Shtime* quotes this Wuppertal Radio celebrity as saying that the Festival will be a step towards a common European home (the universally accepted Gorbachev-coined term); that it will be a step towards completely eradicating all prejudice.

A scientific session titled "Poland-Israel" will inaugurate the Festival with papers presented by scholars from Poland, Israel and England. Then the local Kiev movie theater will host an April 27-30 marathon concert of Yiddish music with Lemm, Golda Tencer, star of the Warsaw-based Jewish Theater, and Ruth Levin from Israel doing the honors. Post-concert Golden Menorahs will be awarded the performers by Slawa Przybylska, a star of the first magnitude in the Polish pop entertainment firmament, whose repertoire includes many a Yiddish song delightfully rendered in a soft, sweet Polish accent. The Kiev movie house will also host a review of

Sol Flapan is our Polish correspondent.

Report from Poland

continued

motion pictures dealing with Jewish themes, including films in Yiddish. That will cover the May 1 to 6 period of the Festival.

The last two days of this scientific-cultural experience will be devoted to the "Days of Jewish Kazimierz." In pre-World War II times, Kazimierz just outside Krakow was the epitome of what has come down in history as the Yiddish "shtetl." Sub-titled *The Balaban Trail*, this program will retrace the Jewish presence in old Kazimierz under the guidance of the staff of the local Judaica Museum. There will also be concerts of Sephardic and liturgical songs performed by Cantor Joseph Malovan from the United States. *The Balaban Trail* refers to Maier Balaban (1877-1942), outstanding historian of the life and culture of the Jews, especially of the Krakow region, and a professor at Warsaw University. Reprints of his works are sold out as soon as they appear in book stores.

Another facet of the Festival will be photo exhibits at Krakow's numerous cultural centers and stage presentations of Ilya Ehrenburg's *The Stormy Life of Lazik Roitshvants* and *The Star Beyond the Wall*.

Something new in this year's Festival will be the county fair-like open air market in Krakow's New Square where phonograph records, books, posters and other Jewish memorabilia will be on sale. The proceeds will be contributed to ongoing efforts at renovating Krakow-based Jewish cultural sites.

Added attractions will be authors-meet-the-public soirees fielded by Israeli writers Miriam Akavi and Dudu Barak, as well as performances by various prestigious theatre groups. These include the Jewish Theater of Warsaw which will stage its version of *The Enchanted World* of the painter Marc Chagal. Then Krakow's Old Theater Company will present the classics *The Dybbuk* and *Hear O Israel*, while the Bagatela Theater will stage *The Stormy Life of Lazik Roitshvants*. And actor Marc Bargielowski of Warsaw's Contemporary Theater will appear in a one-man show *Who Was That Man* about Janusz Korczak, the renowned physician-teacher and writer of children's stories, who accompanied his orphanage charges to their deaths in Auschwitz.

Last but not least, on April 29 and May 6 there will be unveiling ceremonies of memorial plaques in honor of the Jewish poet and singer Mordechai Gebirtig whose entire life and cultural work was connected with Krakow and Kazimierz, his birthplace.

One may justifiably conclude from all this that the opening phrase of Poland's national anthem "Poland has not yet perished so long as we live. . ." may equally be applied to Polish-Jewish culture and Polish Jews. □

Report from Israel

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circumstances it was possible to bring down the Shamir government on the issue of whether one should accept the call by the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to start preparatory consultations in Cairo for opening peace negotiations with the Palestinians. This shows the possibility that Jewish-Arab peace forces can prevent another dreadful war caused by the policy of refusal to negotiate with the Palestinians.

In the last few months a large number of immigrants have arrived in Israel, mainly from the Soviet Union. This is seen as a "historic opportunity" to absorb such a big aliyah. Plans are being made for building 50,000 apartments. Appeals have been made to the Jews of the world. But the government budget for 1990 has allocated an amount of money for constructing only 3,000 apartments. At the same time, rents have risen considerably. There are plenty of empty apartments, but in areas where no chance exists of getting a job. Isn't it logical to do everything for achieving peace in order to provide opportunities for integrating and finding employment for the immigrants from the Soviet Union? One must make up one's mind: What is more important, an "Undivided Eretz Israel" or absorbing the unprecedented number of immigrants?

There are possibilities for Israel to cope with its current political and economic crisis. Opportunities have opened for trading with the East European countries. Most of them have renewed their relations with Israel. It is believed that the slightest move toward peace will also make possible restoring diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. It is necessary to dissociate ourselves from Shamir's declaration that "a big Aliyah (immigration) requires a big Eretz Israel," which was the reason the Soviet authorities refused to permit direct flights between Moscow and Tel Aviv. Can there be a better proof that even on the issue of Aliyah a peace policy is needed.

Moreover, Israel is an important exporter of flowers to the European market, as well as of irrigation equipment, agricultural machinery, fruits and vegetables shipped from here to some East European countries.

Extremist right-wing and fanatical religious circles have kindled a violent campaign against giving up the idea of a "Whole Eretz Israel." But even among the religious groups, some understand the necessity of reaching peace for the sake of *pikuah nefesh* — saving human lives. That is why we trust that peace forces will gain the upper hand and lead toward Israeli-Palestinian peace that is possible and urgently needed in the vital interest of Israel. Let us hope that the 43rd year of the State of Israel will be celebrated in conditions of peace, upbuilding and a secure future for Israel. □

Reparations Hoax

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A survey by Kurt Grossman cited a propaganda blitz in the German media, claiming that "the Jews have willfully exaggerated the figures of Jewish deaths in order to secure more restitution."

A letter to Adenauer by Social Democrat Jakob Diel charged that "In the opinion of the West German people, it is regrettable that all Jews had not been gassed, for in that case Germany would not have to make restitution." Restitution was denounced as a "racket played by a bunch of greedy Jewish lawyers."

In 1954, according to an article in the *Nationale Zeitung* of Basle, "About 85% of middle and upper dignitaries of the Nazi party, the SA and SS, and generals of Hitler's Wehrmacht are today receiving their full pensions." A report by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (9/30/58) cited hundreds of millions of marks paid to ex-Nazi officials year after year — gauleiters, Nazi mayors, Gestapo officials, concentration camp commanders, etc. Meantime, more than a decade after the war, and five years after passage of the Indemnity Law, more than a million victims of the Nazis were still awaiting the promised reparations. □

Reparations and the Nazi Past

The May 6, 1990 lead editorial of the *New York Times* criticizing — and exaggerating — anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had this to say about the German Democratic Republic:

It was something of a moral revolution when East Germany's newly elected Government accepted responsibility for Hitler's crimes against the Jews. Having taken the imperative first step, East Germans need now to re-examine school books and the way the past is depicted in their media. Such sunlight has worked well in West Germany. . . .

This prompted the following "letter to the editor" that appeared in the *Times* on May 20.

To the Editor:

In your May 6 editorial "The Maggots in Communism's Decay," praise for what is alleged to be a new willingness by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to acknowledge the country's Nazi past is misleading.

The G.D.R. has from the beginning defined and celebrated itself as a government founded by the surviving enemies of the Hitler coalition. The anti-fascist credentials of the old Com-

munist leadership were real, although most of the population, like their kin to the West, were enthusiastic supporters of Hitler before they developed total amnesia.

Under these conditions, the G.D.R. conducted a thorough de-Nazification program. Teachers who had been Nazi party members or active sympathizers were barred from the classroom, and the industrial property of major Hitler backers was seized. The seriousness of the program is a major reason why the G.D.R. was labor-short from its first days.

For nearly 45 years, the struggle against Nazism was underlined in both popular media and high culture. Even the coming-of-age ceremony developed to replace confirmation (*jugendweihe*) strongly emphasized the responsibility to combat residual fascist tendencies and often involved visits to concentration camps.

No thoroughgoing purge of the public service occurred in the West, and almost all large industrial firms there ended up back in the same hands, regardless of their involvement in Nazi politics or the murderous wartime slave labor system. The Western allies lost interest in de-Nazification as the cold war made the need to incorporate their part of Germany into the Western alliance system paramount.

With respect to compensation of victims, the G.D.R. has provided preferential treatment for Jewish "victims of fascism" who either live in or visit the G.D.R. What it has not done is make payments to Jews who are abroad. However, it did pay large reparations to the Soviet Union (which was second only to Poland in the number of Jewish citizens killed by the Nazis). These reparations, which were in effect "for the whole German nation," took the form of removal of entire factories immediately after the war, followed by large, in-kind transfers that continued until 1954 and may have amounted to as much as 20% of GNP. At the same time that the poorer and smaller East Germany was being drained, West Germany was receiving substantial Marshall Plan and other aid. . . .

Robert J. McIntyre
Associate Professor of Economics
Smith College
Northampton, Mass.

For a policy statement of the recently replaced Communist government of the German Democratic Republic relating to Israel as the "home" of "survivors of the fascist holocaust," see the document on p. 18.

Hypocrite?

Richard Davidson

Hypocrite, Abe, is that what you called me?

Hypocrite because I go to synagogue and I'm an atheist?

Sure I go to synagogue

I go because I'm a Jew

A Jew in the guts, Abe.

Faith, Abe, without prayer.

Faith in the power of men and women

Who are Jews.

Who have lived and struggled and survived through the centuries.

From Egypt to Auschwitz.

I'm a part of that,

Also I remember

The Jewish Children's Home when I was a boy.

They had a chapel on campus.

I was the youngest kid.

I remember the older boys used to beat me up all the time.

So I would run away and hide behind the chapel.

And there was Ruthie from the girl's cottage.

She was picked on by the other girls.

Two outcasts.

We would meet at night behind the chapel.

We would hold each other and kiss and hang on to the last star shooting across the sky.

And we would laugh and sing and she would say,

"I feel God looking down over my shoulder."

And sometimes it would be cold

And we would shiver still holding each other.

And there would be peace for us.

Where are you, Ruthie, now?

I remember when I fought for the Rosenbergs the rabbi would meet us out front with coffee and doughnuts while we marched.

He spoke about it being in God's hands.

We spoke about it being in our hands.

But we all believed and struggled.

So, Abe, here in this synagogue

I feel at home with other Jews

Working in offices.

Working in factories.

Doctors, lawyers, shopkeepers,

Nurses, musicians, cab drivers

Here I feel our people looking over my shoulder.

Over you and me, Abe.

Becky and Phil and Max and Rosalind,

Over all our brothers and sisters.

Hypocrite, Abe?



and Roger Baldwin. Wexler reports Robeson as telling an audience at one of the famous Foyle's Literary Luncheons in London that Goldman's sympathy and appreciation for his singing, at that critical moment in his life when he was trying to decide on a career, had helped persuade him to pursue music. Goldman gave him a feeling, he said, "I only get otherwise from novels of Dostoyevsky...the feeling that someone exists whose love really embraces all humanity" (p. 117).

She reports that Baldwin, the A.C.L.U.'s founder, wrote of Goldman in 1931 that her battles "for free speech in America" were "unmatched by the labors of any organization." However, Wexler seems to find evidence from Baldwin of what she feels was her subject's Achilles heel. On May 15, 1925 Baldwin wrote Goldman in response to her unabating criticism of the Soviet government: "I am through with indicting evil in the world merely for the sake of satisfying myself that I have spoken out" (Wexler, p. 106). "I had to speak out," wrote Goldman to Havelock Ellis the same year, "no matter the consequences" (Wexler, p. 110).

Details such as these bolster Wexler's contention, shared no doubt by many *Jewish Affairs* readers, that Goldman's anti-Bolshevism was more emotionally than rationally motivated. Her initially enthusiastic embrace of the Russian Revolution gradually dimmed after being deported there in 1919. Two years later, after the Kronstadt uprising was put down, she and Berkman fled back to the West and began a campaign against what they considered to be tyrannical abuses they had seen.

Wexler lists detail after detail of Emma's carelessness with facts to support her own contention that Goldman "contributed to the emergence of an anti-Communist consensus in America" (pp. 2-3). Pointing to the "continuity thesis" concerning the alleged inevitability of Marxism leading to Leninism leading to Stalinism, she cited Irving Howe's praise of Emma's *My Disillusionment in Russia* and comes close to blaming Goldman for helping to fashion the ideology of the Cold War. Hers is thus the first cogent, coherent American critique of Goldman and anarchism *from the left*.

In the end, however, the reader, or at least this reader, hungers for more information in order to make a final judgment. And it seems likely that Candace Falk may be the one to have the last word. As of this writing, her Emma Goldman Papers Project in Berkeley is planning to publish and release on microfilm copies of Gold-

man's extant 40,000 letters (she is estimated to have written over 200,000). And with glasnost has come a promise, at least, from the Soviet government to release to Falk the minutes of Goldman's and Berkman's fateful meeting with Lenin in 1920 —of which we as yet have only her side, as narrated in *Living My Life*. Then will come the task, hopefully, of uncovering all the material which Goldman and Berkman assembled from all over the young Soviet Union:

printed matter, proclamations, pamphlets, banners, posters, weapons, stamps, money — relating to revolutionary movements as far back as the early nineteenth-century Decembrists. . . .also. . . .data on various counter-revolutionary movements, on the secret police archives of the czars, and on pogroms against the Jews (Wexler, p. 42).

They had gathered all these things for a Museum of the Revolution, only to find on returning to Moscow that the project had been changed to the Museum of the Communist Party, and all their materials were put out of reach. Falk has already learned that the IBI consciously destroyed the wealth of materials they had confiscated from Goldman and Berkman. But much remains to be written, as for example the eagerly awaited first full-length biography of Berkman, by today's leading historian of anarchism, Paul Avrich.

A full portrait of Emma as a Jew also remains to be written. While mentioning her early fantasies of becoming a Judith figure, and her prescient remarks on the future state of Israel, Wexler also touches upon the resurgence of Goldman's Jewish consciousness, especially as she personally saw for herself the effects of anti-Semitic raids by counter-revolutionaries in areas only recently retaken by the Red Army: "When I was in America," Emma wrote to her niece Stella Ballantine from Russia Nov. 3, 1920, "I did not believe in the Jewish question removed from the whole social question. But since we visited some of the pogrom regions I have come to see that there is a Jewish question, especially in the Ukraine." And no matter how much Goldman would later criticize the Soviet government, Wexler does note that she had nothing but praise for its efforts to stop the pogroms and to keep anti-Semitism "rigidly in check" (p. 41).

May these efforts continue, as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe grope their way to a society Emma Goldman dreamed of, even if she was, as William Marion Reedy wrote in *The St. Louis Mirror*, Nov. 5, 1908, "about eight thousand years ahead of her age." □

Response and Rejoinder *Continued from page 2*

review; rather, I have several paragraphs of excerpts from wide-ranging but mostly appreciative reviews of this work, beginning with this sentence: "The immediate critical reception of *I've Got the Tune* was overwhelmingly positive." In any case, my job as biographer is not what a paid publicist for a forthcoming theatrical production is expected to do. Having spent ten years of my life researching and writing this book, I believe it's evident which side I am on. Fatuous, uncritical adoration of every note and word Blitzstein ever wrote, and citation in my text of only the positive critical accolades, would have made my entire project suspect and unbelievable — worse, a laughable, monochromatic plaster statue of Saint Marc. I'm sorry, but I still think that after a series of scenes involving highly inventive variations to the basic tune in this interesting and stageworthy work, the tune itself, in its final apotheosis as a May Day marching song, could have been better. . . .

It's obvious that Lehrman has a gay problem. It accounts for his flagrant gay-baiting. First of all, he says of me that my "prime identification seems to be with the gay rights struggle," adding that I was fundamentally incapable of dealing with the life of a composer. I do not deny my years of activity on the gay front; indeed, I suspect that many readers of *Jewish Affairs* have in one fashion or another lent their voices and their signatures over the years to various efforts to curb the virulent anti-gay backlash in this country. I also have many other strong interests and commitments. I hate to disappoint Lehrman, but in a way I'm probably a lot like him: I identify myself primarily on the basis of my professional life as a writer, not on my sleeping habits. In the mainstream press I've published widely on a variety of musical and cultural subjects. I also publish extensively in the left-wing press. I served on the editorial board of *Jewish Currents* magazine before leaving New York, and I have written articles in the *People's Daily World* off and on for more than ten years. . . . Do I need. . . to justify my politics and my love life to the readers of *Jewish Affairs*?

Lehrman engages in more gay-baiting when he supposedly quotes me referring to Blitzstein's "gayness" (as I "called it proudly," he says). I do not remember the conversation in particular, and it's not really important. But Blitzstein was gay, so it's not at all unlikely that I referred to his "gayness." . . . Whether I said it "proudly" or not, I can't say; that's a subjective question of how Lehrman heard it. But even to refer to it, to put the word in quotes as if I had used some kind of herozing term, is a sign of plain old homophobia in Lehrman's mind.

He also mentions the testimonials on my book jacket "by four prominent, provocative, gay American men." He is referring to composers Ned Rorem and David Diamond, playwright/critic Eric Bentley (all of whom knew Blitzstein.) and historian/biographer Martin Baum Duberman. It does so happen that each of those well-known figures who read and appreciated my book is gay. . . . but what relevance is Lehrman imputing to that? Lehrman also says that "only the *N.Y. Times* assigned a reviewer whose field of expertise was gay drama, not music, because of the biography's supposed stress on 'homocriticism.'" (Where did Lehrman get that idea?) Personally, I would have preferred a musician myself, as that is what the book is basically about. I'm afraid the *Times* reviewer rather grossly missed the point, which comes as no news. I'm sure, to *Jewish Affairs* readers. But there have been reviews so far in ten different publications oriented toward a gay/lesbian readership, and there have been gay radio interviews as well, and all those reviewers were not musicians by any means. The *N.Y. Times* was hardly alone in being interested in the gay angle to this book.

I am quoted incorrectly from p. 175 about those who believed there was a homosexual network in the music world that watched out

for one another and excluded straights. I did not say that such a "Homintern" actually existed, and I did not say that people still feel that way. Lehrman feels that way! That's why he associates this apocryphal gay network with the incident of (straight) composer Hugo Weisgall's being turned down when he wanted to conduct a 1947 production of *The Cradle Will Rock*. I don't know why Weisgall was not chosen. But what was in fact the outcome of that story? Bernstein and Blitzstein chose Howard Shanet to conduct, and he is straight. And if Bernstein was part of this "Homintern," as Lehrman suggests, how come he embraced Lehrman in 1970 and endorsed his intention to complete *Idiots First*? By Lehrman's theory, shouldn't Bernstein have promoted a gay composer for that job? . . . At the risk of sounding too pro-gay, I might remind Lehrman that if you tallied up the weight of prejudice for and against gays in the world, the pro's would not likely come out the winners.

In this day and age a biography has to take into account the whole subject. Like it or not, that includes a person's sex life. If Blitzstein had been happily married, with children and a house in the suburbs, I would have duly reported that, and tried to analyze the implications such a lifestyle might have exerted on his work. . . . I don't know how Lehrman feels about this, but I found it remarkable that so many important American composers of Blitzstein's generation were gay: Copeland, Thomson, Barber, Menotti, Cowell, Engel, Bowles, Diamond, Bernstein, Rorem. Contrary to Lehrman's fantastic assertion, I do not "insist that their homosexuality is part of the reason for their greatness." I challenge him or any reader to produce a single syllable in my book reflecting such a position. I pay attention to it, yes, but I neither promote nor denigrate. The *Boston Globe's* music critic Richard Dyer seems to have appreciated my point of view. Calling my book "a considerable achievement of cultural history," he says I detail Blitzstein's involvement with the Communist Party and various social causes. "Gordon also deals openly with Blitzstein's homosexuality. It's more than being honest about the circumstances of Blitzstein's death at the hands of toughs in Martinique. . . . it's a question of exploring Blitzstein's sexual and emotional nature and how this affected his work. For that matter, Gordon's is probably the first book to deal with the whole matter of the major role homosexual musicians played in this era of artistic ferment." Couldn't have said it better myself: As a biographer who seriously tried to understand my subject and set him within the context of his period, I am proud to have earned Dyer's evaluation. . . .

Lehrman seems to believe that reviewers of my book are not doing enough to stimulate interest in Blitzstein and *Idiots First*. Well, as book reviewers, I'm not at all sure that's their job, but here is a brief sampling of quotes anyway. *Hartford Courant*: "Gordon has given us an important document. The book will sharpen our awareness and understanding of the man; it would be nice to think it will also help to arouse a renewed interest in his music." *Boulder (Colo.) Camera*: "Blitzstein, Gordon convinces me, is a man who needs to be known in these days of pale patriotism and national complacency." *Arizona Daily Star*: "Perhaps, thanks in part to the interest this book should generate, we may eventually get to know him better through his music." *Boston Globe*: "Gordon leaves the reader avid to hear music that he cannot, and that's the most important thing: This examination of Blitzstein's life in *Mark the Music* will certainly prompt the reexamination of the music that it deserves."

Leonard Lehrman responds:

First of all, I do not think anyone will be, or should be dissuaded by my article from reading *Mark the Music*. The fact is, *Jewish Affairs* has devoted more space to it than to any other book it has ever reviewed. And my article, though critical of Gordon's publishers boast-

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Letter to World Jewish Leadership Peace Conference

Yasser Arafat

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat sent the following letter, dated February 17, to the Emergency World Jewish Leadership Peace Conference which took place in Jerusalem on February 21-22.

Ladies and gentlemen, Leaders of the Jewish communities around the world meeting in Jerusalem:

Freedom, democracy and human rights. Those are the concepts that are bringing about the historic changes in the world around us at this turn of the century. Those are also the concepts that have fueled the struggle of the Palestinian people.

That there is a connection between my people's decades old struggle for its rights to existence, security and freedom like the rest of the peoples on this planet, and the political quakes that are rumbling through other parts of the world, I have no doubt.

While the Palestinian intifada's quest for freedom played a role in inspiring today's global freedom fest, the brave new world of liberty that is dawning around us will in turn stiffen my people's determination to achieve the freedom that has now become the universal goal of humanity; the self-determination and democracy to which every nation, including the Palestinian nation, is entitled; the human rights that, by definition, no human being should be denied. The Palestinian popular uprising marks the ultimate steps of the march of our people in the diaspora to their land, to reaffirm their national identity and exercise their right to self-determination, freedom and national independence.

The objective of the Palestinian intifada is peace, and the means we have so far assigned to the intifada to attain that objective are peaceful. By resisting the occupation, the intifada aspires to freedom, peace and co-existence on the basis of respect for the rights of all peoples in the region. Its sole creed is the Palestinian people's right, like all other peoples, to self-determination and independence. The ultimate authority it looks up to is international legitimacy.

Just over a year ago, the Palestine National Council, strengthened by the moral and political clout of the intifada, met in Algiers and adopted a peace proposal. I assume that the thrust of this proposal is known to you, but I will reiterate that it embodies a strategic decision. It is not a tactical maneuver, as the opponents of peace claim. As a strategic decision, it has the full support of the Palestinian, Arab and international legal authorities.

It is truly regrettable that this proposal, which can be translated into peace and security for all the peoples of the region and an end to the occupation of Palestinian

and Arab territories, has been subjected to so many campaigns of doubts and fears. The apprehensions expressed by the Israelis, be they genuine or counterfeit, trouble us deeply, because they delay the historic settlement that awaits our two peoples.

But troubled as we are, we remain deeply convinced that the only real security guarantee for Israel lies in a peaceful settlement based on the termination of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories and the acceptance of the two-state principle that the Palestinian people have already accepted in their peace proposal — a principle rooted in international law and supported by the Arab and international communities, including Arab summit conferences, the United Nations, the European Community, Japan, and the Socialist, Scandinavian, Non-Aligned, Moslem and African nations.

Let me add here that Israel's fears, whether they are real or fictitious, have an echo on the Palestinian side. Watching the convoluted maneuvers the Israeli government has engaged in and the massive obstacle with which it has littered the path to peace, the Palestinian people are not filled with confidence in the good intentions of the Israeli leaders. To them, the only guarantee of their own security and their political future lies in the full participation of the PLO in all stages of the peace process as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and in exile. In the final analysis, however, the fears of the Israelis and the Palestinians can only be quelled by international guarantees, which are attainable only in the context of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Among the fears that the Israeli government says it has is fear of the Palestinian right of return. Let me say at once that settlement of this issue lies in mutual recognition and the start of negotiations. Having said that, I will tell you how we view the Palestinian right of return: it is enshrined in international law and reaffirmed by the United Nations in its Resolution 194 of December 11, 1948. Let me draw your attention to the fact that U.N. Resolution 273 of May 11, 1949, which admitted Israel to the community of nations, includes an article that commits Israel to honor the United Nations Charter and accept all previous UN resolutions on the Palestine question, including Resolution 194. The right to return is

sacred. However, we are ready to discuss the conditions of its application on the basis of Resolution 194.

Also among the fears that have been expressed by Israel is one that relates to the context of the peace process. I have touched on this before, but I will repeat: The Palestinian people need guarantees more than any other party to this conflict. Our people have been victims for decades. We have gone from crisis to catastrophe, from repression to dispossession, from siege to massacre. We need guarantees that can only be provided by the great powers and the United Nations, with the participation of the regional parties concerned. Hence our insistence on an international context for the peace settlement — a context that should not conflict with Israel's own requirement for guarantees.

However, because Israel, with American backing, has so far opposed the idea of an international peace conference, and because the Palestinians want to do everything in their power to create a climate of trust that will hopefully lead to an international peace conference, the PLO once more leaned over backwards and approved the idea of dialogue between representatives of the Israeli government and representatives of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories and the diaspora, on the understanding that this dialogue would be part of a peace process aimed at a comprehensive and final settlement, and that its agenda would cover all the conceptual ingredients of that process, including the elections and the ten Egyptian points.

The Israeli government, by rejecting the idea of negotiating with the PLO and the principle of territory-for-peace, by blocking the implementation of UN Security Resolution 242 and by insisting on fragmenting the Palestinian people, is not only obstructing a peaceful settlement but is also confirming the propagandist nature of its election proposal, suggesting that the proposal was merely a maneuver to neutralize the Palestinian peace plan, mislead international and Israeli public opinion and gain time in order to perpetuate the suffering of the Palestinian people, stifle the intifada and create new demographic and political facts in the occupied Palestinian land that would prevent a peaceful settlement. In our view, these maneuvers will lead, whether we like it or not, to a new explosion in a region packed with nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons. Is this what the Israeli leadership wants? The option we have chosen is peace. What we offer is the hand of a proud nation, not the surrender of a vanquished people.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has made all the commitments it can make in favor of a settlement. It has laid the foundations of a comprehensive peace based on international legitimacy and a balance of the interests

of all the parties to the conflict. In return, we have received from the Israeli government no positive response and no commitment to the peace process. The Israeli government has been straining in the opposite direction, ignoring all international peace initiatives and the appeals of Jewish groups; trying to crush the promise of the future with the myths of the past; and insisting on swimming against the currents of change that have already swept away other ossified mentalities. Still, we refuse to drop the olive branch we have raised for our sake and that of others, for the sake of our children and yours. We shall not be deterred by the arrogance of Israeli officialdom.

We look forward to the outcome of your deliberations, hoping that it will mobilize the Israeli advocates of peace and world Jewry for a just and comprehensive settlement. We hope they will act as a pressure group to safeguard the Israeli people from the destructive obduracy of their leadership and uphold their spiritual and human values. Your influence in Israel and elsewhere is great. That's why we pin great hopes on your meeting, confident that it will entice the Israeli government to press ahead with the peace process. Throughout the history of mankind, Jews have played a pioneering role in the defense of freedom and human rights, and their great leaders have consistently taken noble stands.

I urge you to consider the Israeli Government's attempt to use Soviet Jews' newly acquired rights as a club with which to destroy the rights of the Palestinians. Let me state unequivocally: we support the right of individuals to free movement and travel. We respect their freedom to choose the country in which they wish to reside. However, this right, like all others, has its limitations. It ends where other people's rights begin. The other people in this case are the Palestinians. They too have a right to live in their homeland and resist all attempts to uproot them. Jewish emigrants have the right to choose their destinations, without being forcibly directed to any other place. Any attempt to deny them that right could provoke dangerous explosions and deal a fatal blow to peace efforts.

Ladies and gentlemen: We have an opportunity to establish peace in our region. If we let it slip through our fingers, we will have many more years of death and destruction before another opportunity comes by. There is no escape from peace. The only question is whether we accept it now or after thousands more of our children have been sacrificed at the altar of unrealistic ambitions. The Palestinians have opted for peace now — for us and our children, peace for you and yours, peace in the land of prophets and their message of peace. □

GDR ready to normalize relations with Israel

Radio interview by Dr. Heinz-Dieter Winter, Deputy Foreign Minister of the GDR, on 29 January 1990
Reprinted from Foreign Affairs Bulletin of February 2, 1990 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic. It should be borne in mind that this expressed the policy of the former SED-PDS (Communist) Party government then headed by Prime Minister Hans Modrow.

In connection with the talks which have started in Copenhagen between the foreign ministries of the GDR and Israel, the Deputy GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Heinz-Dieter Winter stated that it was the aim of the GDR delegation to underline its government's readiness to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. The Modrow government was guided by the wish to maintain normal diplomatic relations with Israel as well. This could provide a basis for cooperation in various fields, e.g., the economy, culture, science and technology, which would be of mutual benefit.

He said that the process of renewal under way in the GDR also had repercussions on its relationship with Israel.

According to Dr. Winter, the GDR holds that a diplomatic blockade, which means that opportunities for dialogue remain unused, is not a suitable way to settle political problems and conflicts. Normal diplomatic relations, he said, were useful and important and served stability and peace in the world.

Dr. Winter put special emphasis on the fact that the people of the GDR needed contacts with the people of Israel so that their basically antifascist attitude would be reinforced. He said this was why the Modrow government attached due significance to relations with Israel, where many survivors of the fascist holocaust have found a home.

He went on to say that there was no doubt that the GDR Government had to admit to its responsibility for the history of the German people.

Dr. Winter reaffirmed that during his recent visit to several Arab states he had met with concern lest relations between the GDR and Israel could negatively affect the interests of the Arab states and the PLO. In this context he underlined that these relations are not directed against third states in general or the Arab states in particular, in the same manner as relations with Arab states are not directed against Israel. Neither did the establishment of diplomatic relations mean that one state agreed with all aspects of another's policy. As regards the Middle East issue he stated that the GDR would continue, in line with the principles of international law and relevant UN resolutions, to speak out for a just and comprehensive settlement of the conflict and against the illegal occupation of Arab territories, against violations of human rights and the suppression of the intifada.

Dr. Winter said that he was convinced that the establishment of relations with Israel would not have a negative impact on cooperation with other states. □

German Reunification *continued from page 4*

doubt whatsoever remains that a Germany would never again appear with "territorial claims."

Perhaps, he suggested, the question of German unification should be debated "in a most democratic and open way;" he had in mind a "European referendum" with Canadian and U.S. participation and "broad parliamentary debates."³

Yes, this question is one of German self-determination, but self-determination in a world rightly demanding guarantees as to the nature of that united Germany.

Among the peoples urgently concerned are the Germans themselves, the Soviet and the Polish people, and peoples of other ravaged lands and most certainly what is left of the Jewish people after Hitlerism finished its work.

The Jewish press everywhere — and notably in Israel — has expressed profound doubts and quite properly has raised demands for guarantees as to what kind of a Germany is in the offing.⁴

Haste is more than waste so far as this question is concerned; haste may mean disaster.

There is to be a unified Germany. Its creation is the concern of all humanity. Unified Germany must be in tune with the Potsdam Treaty, the promises of President Roosevelt, Washington's official Memorandum of 1947.

A unified Germany must not be one that mocks the dead of the Holocaust, the dead of all peoples numbering over fifty millions, the sweat and tears and blood, the sacrifice expended by hundreds and hundreds of millions to assure that no "vestige of Fascism" survives or revives in the world.

NOTES

- 1) See my *American Foreign Policy and the Cold War* (N.Y., 1962, reprinted 1977 by Kraus Reprint Co., Millwood, N.Y.), pp. 165-205.
- 2) I. F. Stone, *The Haunted Fifties* (Little, Brown, Boston 1963, reprinted 1989), p. 56.
- 3) Published in *Reprints from the Soviet Press*, April 15, 1990.
- 4) See the *Chicago Jewish Sentinel*, April 5, 1990.

Document

Young Communists in Birobidzhan Protest Soviet Journal's Anti-Semitism

Translator's Note: The leading committee of the Communist Youth League (Komsomol) in the city of Birobidzhan recently issued a statement urging the top leadership of the Komsomol in Moscow to publicly denounce anti-Semitism and to censure one of its magazines, *Molodaya Gvardia* (*Young Guard*) in Moscow, for publishing anti-Semitic articles.

The city of Birobidzhan is the administrative center of the Jewish Autonomous Region, also known as Birobidzhan, in eastern Siberia. It should be noted that despite the official designation of Birobidzhan as the Jewish Autonomous Region the actual Jewish population there is quite small; the somewhat more than ten thousand Jews who live there account for less than 5% of the Region's population of 216,000 people.

The Birobidzhan Communist Youth League statement was adopted unanimously and published on the front page of the Yiddish newspaper, *Birobidzhaner Shtern* (*Birobidzhan Star*) of February 2, 1990. (The newspaper is issued five times a week and has a print run of 12,000 copies per issue.) The statement also supported the Regional Communist Party leader, Leonid Korsunsky, a Jew, who has been attacked for "Russophobia" after he denounced anti-Semitic articles in *Molodaya Gvardia* and *Nash Sovremenik* (*Our Contemporary*), a literary journal in Moscow. The slightly abridged text of the Birobidzhan Communist Youth League statement follows.

We, the participants of the 2nd plenary session of the Birobidzhan City Committee of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League in the Jewish Autonomous Region, consider it our obligation to state that articles that had been published in *Molodaya Gvardia* incite racist and anti-Semitic sentiments that could lead to a danger of pogroms by extremists and to other serious excesses in the country.

The mass media has on several occasions reported cases of vandalism in Jewish cemeteries, of desecrations of monuments dedicated to those who perished in the ghettos and of direct calls for discriminations against Soviet Jews that were made by the Pamyat society and by individual members of the Russian Republic Writers Union of the USSR.

We believe these incidents were made possible "thanks" to statements in *Molodaya Gvardia* (Nos. 8, 10, 11, 1989) and to similar articles in other publications which provoke a hostile attitude to Jews whether or not this was their intention.

We deem it not only impermissible, but also politically harmful that ugly articles of this type appear in the journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League whose chief task ought to be the formation of a Communist world view among the youth of our country that is based on internationalism and the sovereignty of all the peoples who inhabit our spacious homeland.

We support the statements of Comrade Leonid B. Korsunsky, the First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Jewish Autonomous Region, which he made at the September 1989 meeting of the Party's Central Committee (at which he denounced the anti-Semitic articles in *Molodaya Gvardia* and *Nash Sovremenik* - Translator.

We demand that the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League officially and publicly evaluate the position of its journal, *Molodaya Gvardia*. . . . because silence (on this issue) is tantamount to a conciliatory attitude.

We suggest a committee ought to be created by the Central Committee to investigate this extraordinary development and then render its political evaluation that would be adequate to the Marxist-Leninist convictions in our time.

We are all citizens of one great country and it has to be strictly understood that if our society is to preserve its unity, it must also decisively oppose efforts that diminish the legal, civil and nationality rights (of any people.)
-Statement adopted unanimously.

Translated by Sid Resnick.

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ing of his work as "definitive," praises both his industry and the importance of his subject in no uncertain terms. But it is important to realize that, publicity-minded implication notwithstanding, this biography of Marc Blitzstein was never authorized by the Blitzstein Estate. This fact has been confirmed in several conversations with Blitzstein's sister and nephews.

Dr. Gordon is apparently attempting to discredit me because I happen to know more about part of his subject (the musical part) than he does, and have felt compelled to correct him on points no one else has taken the trouble to. Yet he himself wrote — in the copy of his book he inscribed to me — that I "know Marc's music better than anyone else in the world." I would thus suggest that his trying to tear me down only diminishes himself.

Concerning Marc's Jewishness, I certainly do mention it in my article several times, and could (indeed almost did) write nearly a whole thesis on the subject. Concerning his sister Jo's perspective on the subject, Gordon is right that she, like my family, was of the tradition that "disparaged religion," but certainly not "Jewish cultural ex-

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Review

Robert I. Friedman, *The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane, From FBI Informant to Knesset Member*, (Brooklyn: Lawrence Hill, 1990), 282 pgs., \$19.95

Gerald Horne

With every passing day it becomes more obvious that narrow nationalism has been a useful tool for the U.S. ruling class; in part this has been a tool as well in Washington's dealing with Europe, which sheds light on the proliferation of anti-Semitism there. An illustrative example of how this kind of nationalism can be manipulated is found in this worthy study of Rabbi Meir Kahane, a founder of the terrorist Jewish Defense League (JDL) who in July 1984 won a Knesset seat in Israel campaigning on a platform of expulsion of Arabs.

The JDL was born in New York City and capitalized on racist tensions flowing from the teachers strike in 1968. But racism and anti-communism tend to be linked and it is not surprising that attacks on the USSR for alleged persecution of Soviet Jewry quickly became their primary cause. According to the author, Kahane and the JDL calculated that "an influx of Soviet Jews could help redress the demographic imbalance caused when Israel swallowed the Occupied Territories with its large Arab population." Thus, they began a concerted campaign of harassment, bombings and the like of Soviet diplomatic missions, airlines, tourist agencies, etc. Though they allege that they are defenders of the Jewish people, the "success" of the JDL and their allies in weakening the socialist bloc is directly connected to the current proliferation of anti-Semitism.

For make no mistake, the JDL — at least according to the careful research presented here — did have some support in the Jewish community. In the first place, it seemed that they were supported lavishly by the affluent. The Kahane family had been close to the millionaire Bernard Bergman for some time; he had made a fortune from a chain of nursing homes. "He kept dead bodies in freezers. . . to collect their social security payments." The JDL received contributions from "Joseph Gruss, who heads his own investment firm in New York and is one of the wealthiest Jewish philanthropists in America. . . ." The affluent investor Bernard Deutsch was another supporter, as was apparently Max Stern, "the multi-millionaire pet food prince. . . ." JDL members also included a number of doctors, dentists and Wall Street executives, as well as a cadre of JDL attorneys, who worked pro bono on an expanding list of JDL cases."

That is not all. "Murray Wilson, a wealthy New York businessman and key JDL activist" funded Ka-

hane, as did "Dr. Victor Ratner, the well-known British neurologist. . . and Haagen-Daz ice cream founder, Reuben Mattus." Other Kahane backers include comic Jackie Mason, Raymond Safra ("a top executive of the Republic National Bank of New York"), Barry Friedman, "a well-to-do commodities broker who trades fuel on the New York Commodities Exchange," William Ross ("a multi-millionaire Los Angeles real estate broker"), et al. From about 1968-1972 alone, it has been estimated that Kahane "had raised nearly \$10 million."

Evidently, there is some support for Kahane in the broader Jewish community. "According to a 1986 survey conducted for the American Jewish Committee by Professor Steven M. Cohen, 14% of American Jews professed strong sympathy for Kahane, a proportion that rose to 30% among the 500,000 strong Orthodox community." His electoral victory in Israel suggests some support there: "One poll in *Ha'aretz* in 1984 revealed that 32% of Israeli Jews felt that violence towards Arabs, even terrorism, was justified; more than 60% of young Israelis polled believed that Arabs should not be accorded full civil rights."

Despite this apparent support and his assumed role as defender of his people, Kahane has directed some of his sharpest attacks against the Jewish community. It appears that he has "connection to a terrorist underground in Israel. . . calling themselves the Sicarim. . . that has begun to attack Israeli Jews who advocate negotiating with the Palestine Liberation Organization. . . ." When he testified before the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, "the objects of Kahane's scorn were fellow Jews whose views he found pernicious." Later he "even called for the liquidation of Jews whose views" he disdained. Not surprisingly, the first victim of the "anti-Soviet violence" of the JDL was Jewish. "A squad of JDL youths firebombed the Manhattan offices of Jewish impresario Sol Hurok, who brought Soviet performers to the United States. . . (killing) Iris Kronos a twenty-seven year old secretary. . . ."

The JDL has sought to bomb a Black community center in Brooklyn and succeeded in bombing "Christian churches and bookstores in Jerusalem. . . ." The headquarters of the Communist Party in Manhattan has been bombed by the JDL also.

Despite this lawless record, JDL militants have

seen treated leniently in the courts. There are a number of reasons for this. There are surprisingly close links between the JDL and the New York legal establishment: "Jerome Hornblase, now an acting New York State Supreme Court justice, helped Kahane launch the movement." Kahane and his band regularly receive suspended sentences. Furthermore, there are close links between Kahane and both the FBI and CIA. The FBI particularly sought to use the JDL as a battering ram against the Black Panther Party. Much of this work was done jointly with Kahane's close friend Joseph Churba, later a top advisor to the Reagan Administration, who "currently heads the Center for International Security. . . . funded by Reverend Sun Myung Moon's political arm. . . ."

The JDL's focus on Soviet Jewry led to close ties between Kahane and "the American Jewish establishment. . . . for some American Jewish officials, Kahane commanded respect, even secret admiration. . . . the (National Conference of Soviet Jewry) and the JDL learned to work together. . . ."

Throughout, Kahane received support from elected officials, especially those based in New York City; a conspicuous example is the notorious Assemblyman from Brooklyn, Dov Haskind. But even more shocking was the budding relationship between the JDL and organized crime. In the early 1970's Kahane and mob boss Joseph Colombo developed an alliance that was facilitated by the lawyer they shared in common, Barry Slotnick (also the lawyer for Bernard Goetz).

Per usual, the press is implicated in all of this. The *New York Times* "eagerly covered the JDL's adventures, giving visibility to the movement" but decided not to print details of Kahane's unsavory personal life which could have been fatal to his career. The *Jewish Press* in New York "gave him entree into tens of thousands of Jewish living rooms every week" through a column penned by Kahane and reams of publicity.

Not the least unsavory part of this tale is the rampant sexism of Kahane and the JDL. He is a philanderer, an adulterer, who has gone so far as to recommend bigamy. Moreover, Rabbi Kahane told his "worshippers. . . . that he would no longer be their rabbi if men and women sat together during prayers." Like the racists of the Deep South, he has made a major point in his Israeli campaigns of condemning marriages between Arabs and Jews.

Friedman suggests that if "Kahane were a Black militant, there is no doubt in my mind that he would have been prosecuted and convicted. . . ." As narrow nationalism continues to rage here and abroad, this book is must reading for all concerned with making a better world. □

לעצמם געווען אין אַמעריקע און באַקומען אַן אויסצייכענונג פאַר זיין קאַמף קעגן אַפאַרטהייד פון דער ווייסינאַנאַנאַנאַ. האָט ער געזאָגט, אָז זיי באַצוינגען צווישן יידן און שוואַרצע אין דרום־אַפריקע און אַמעריקע וועלן ווייטער ליידן ביז ישראל וועט אַפּוואַרפן ביידע פאַרבינדונגען מיט דרום־אַפריקע."

אַ סך אַ שאַרפּערע אַנטיסעמיטישע הערשט צווישן דער מוסולמענישער באַפעלקערונג. די גרופע פאַרשפרייט לינגס און העצט קעגן יידן און ישראל און העלפט שאַפן אַ נעגאַטיווע באַציונג צו יידן.

עס איז שווער פאַראַרצווערן, וואָס ס'וועט פאַרקומען אין דרום־אַפריקע. די סיטואַציע איז דאָרט אַבער זייער אָן ערנסט. ס'איז דאָס איינציקע לאַנד אויפן קאָנטינענט, וואו עס הערשט נאָך אַ ווייטער מינאָריטעט. עס וועלן זיכער פאַרקומען ענדערונגען, וואָס וועלן האָבן אַ שטאַרקע ווירקונג אויף יידן. אַנטיסעמיטישע אַנטי־ווייסיש און די עקאָנאָמישע לאַגע שאַפן מער אַומזיכעריקייט פאַר יידן אין דרום־אַפריקע ווי אין אַנדערע לענדער. דערווייל איז דאָרט פאַראַן אַ שיינער יידישער ישוב, מיט פיינע אינסטרוציעס און פאַרצווייגטע קולטור־טעטיקייט. לאַמיר האָפן, אָז דאָס אַלץ וועט ווייטער אַנגיין און אַז דרום־אַפריקאַנער ייִדנטום וועט ווייטער זיין אַ שעפּערישער טייל פון ייִדישן פּאָלק.

Response and Rejoinder *continued from page 19*

pression" along with it (especially after WWII). That would have been throwing the baby out with the bathwater. And to put the shoe on the other foot, if Gordon were really so concerned with his Jewishness as he says he is, then why on earth did he never bother to interview the great Jewish writer Bernard Malamud, whom Ned Rorem called Blitzstein's "ideal collaborator"!?

I do not believe my statement on *What Is the Stars* is erroneous. I am going by the score, which was Marc's, not the script, which was not.

Concerning my alleged "gay problem": Let me state right now, not that "some of my best friends" are gay, but that *most* of my best friends are gay. Yes, it is true that the majority of the U.S. population is neither gay nor pro-gay, but in the arts community the opposite happens to be the case: Straights are a distinct minority, whose rights and feelings ought also to be respected. And fighting for minority rights should never be attacked by civil libertarians, least of all those who themselves stand to lose by their diminishment. Those on the inside may not believe in a "mafia" or a "Homintern," but those on the outside certainly do, and recognition of those beliefs certainly constitutes neither "gay-baiting" nor "homophobia."

Finally, let me express my joy that so many critics have written so well about *Mark the Music*. And let me, publicly, thank Dr. Eric Gordon for having helped to do something I have been trying to do for 17 years: to interest a company in doing the orchestral premiere of *Tales of Malamud*. Thanks in large part to his book, which called Blitzstein's work to Richard Marshall's attention, the Center for Contemporary Opera plans to present that orchestral premiere next spring in New York. Thank you, Eric. And good luck to you. □

יידן אין דרום-אפריקע

י. נאסקאוויטש

דער דאזיקער ארטיקל איז שוין אביסל אלט, אבער עס איז נאך גענוג אינטערעסאנט פאר אונזערע ליינער.

אפריקע און איז געווארן א טייל פון דעם "בריטיש קאמאנוועלט".

דרום אפריקע איז א רייך לאנד. עס איז דאָרט פאראן גוטע ערד, מינעראלן און דער עיקר גאלד און דיאמאנטן. בכדי צו באַארבעטן די פעלדער און גראַבן אין די גאלדגריבער האָט זיך געפאָדערט, אַז מען זאָל האָבן אַ סך אַרבעטס הענט. אי די ענגלישע באַפעלקערונג איז די באַערן האָבן איינגעשפּאַנט די שוואַצע איינוואוינער, וואָס זענען געווען אין לאַנד פון דור דורות, און אויך שוואַרצע פון אַנדערע טיילן אַפריקע, וואָס האָבן געזוכט אַרבעט פון דעם האָבן די ווייסע אונטערגעמערס אַריינגעבראַכט אַרבעטס־הענט פון אינדיע. דורך דעם האָט זיך געשאַפן אַ פּלוראליסטישע געזעלשאַפּט, וואָס איז געפירט געוואָרן פון אַ ווייסער עלטע און ווי די נישט־ווייסע באַפעלקערונג האָט נישט געהאַט קיין שום רעכט.

יידן זענען געקומען אין דרום־אפריקע מיט די ענגלענדער. די פירע אימיגראַציע איז געווען אַ גאַר קליינע. אין 1880 האָבן 4000 יידן געוואוינט אין דרום אַפריקע, דאָס רוב פון ענגלאַנד און מערב אייראָפּע. צווישן 1880 און 1921 זענען צוגעקומען אַ צאָל אימיגראַנטן פון מזרח אייראָפּע. דאָס איז געווען אַ תקופה פון מאַסן עמיגראַציע פון מזרח־אייראָפּע, דער עיקר קיין אַמעריקע; אָבער מיט אַ קליינער צאָל אין אַנדערע לענדער ווי דרום אַפריקע.

די גרעסטע צאָל אימיגראַנטן פון מזרח־אייראָפּע זענען געקומען קיין דרום־אפריקע נאָך דעם ווי די פּאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן האָבן שטאַרק, באַגרינעצט די צאָל אימיגראַנטן פון יענעם טייל אייראָפּע. דאָס איז געשען אין 1924. צווישן די וואָס זענען אין יענע יאָרן געקומען אין לאַנד זענען די מערסטע געווען ליטווישע יידן. אין די שפּעטע דרייסיגער יאָרן איז צוגעקומען אַ קליינע צאָל דייטשע יידן, וואָס האָבן זיך געראַטעוועט פון די נאַציס. נאָך דער צווייטער וועלט מלחמה זענען אירן אָנגעקומען אַ קליינע צאָל יידן פון דער שאַריח הפליטה, און אַזוי צוזאַמען מיט דעם נאַטירלעכן צוואַוקס האָבן זיך געשאַפן אַ ישוב פון העכער 100,000 יידן.

די יידן פון דרום־אפריקע זענען געווען — און זענען נאָך איצט — אַ טייל פון דער ווייסער באַפעלקערונג; און ווי ווייסע איז געווען מעגעלעך, אַז זיי זאָלן זיך גוט איינארבעטן. דער גרעסטער טייל יידן אין לאַנד געהערן צום מיטעלן אָדער הויך־מיטלען קלאַס. דער ישוב איז גוט אָרגאַניזירט אויפן ענגלישן שטייגער. עס זענען פאראן בערך 200 יידישע קהילות אין לאַנד, דאָס רוב קליינע. אין

דרום־אפריקע איז לעצטנס אָפט אין די צייטונטן־קעפלעך און אויף טעלעוויזיע. דאָס איז צוליב די אומרוען — אַ רעוולוטאָט פון קאַמף, וואָס קומט פאַר צווישן דער כמעט־רעכטלאָזער שוואַרצע מאַיאָריטעט. דרום־אפריקע איז אַ לאַנד פון פאַרשיידענע גרופּעס. אין 1987 האָבן דאָרט געוואוינט 19.7 מיליאָן שוואַרצע, 5 מיליאָן ווייסע, 3 מיליאָן געמישטע (שוואַרץ און ווייס) און אַ קנאַפער מיליאָן, וואָס שטאַמט פון אַזיע (דער עיקר אינדיע). אָבער די עטנישע און רעליגיעזע צעטיילונג פון דער באַפעלקערונג איז אַן קאָמפּליצירטער.

צווישן די שוואַרצע זענען דאָ עטלעכע שכטים, וועלכע לעבן נישט אַלעמאַל כּשולם איינער מיטן אַנדערן; צווישן די וויאַטן זענען פאראן הונדוסן און מוסולמענער און צווישן די ווייסע זענען דאָ צוויי גרויסע גרופּעס — די וואָס שטאַמען פון האַלאַנד און די וואָס שטאַמען פון ענגלאַנד. צווישן די פאַרשיידענע שיכטן פון דער באַפעלקערונג געפינען זיך אַן ערך 115,000 יידן. וועגן דעם רעלאַטיו־קליינעם ישוב איז כּדאי צו אינפארמירן, ווייל עס איז מעגלעך, אַז זיין ווייטערדיקע עקזיסטענץ שטייט אין סכנה.

איינער מיר קומען צו די דרום־אפריקאַנער יידן, לאָמיר זיך בקיצור אַפּשטעלן אויף דער געשיכטע פון לאַנד. מיט מער ווי דריי הונדערט יאָר צוריק זענען די ערשטע אייראָפּיער געקומען זיך באַזעצן אין דעם ווייניק־באַפעלקערן דרומדיקן שפיץ פון אַפריקע. דאָס זענען געווען האַלענדער און די עטריאַריי און געוואָסן אַ האַלענדישע קאָלאָניע. מיט יאָרן שפּעטער זענען געקומען די ענגלענדער, איבערגענומען די טעריטאָריע און געמאַכט פאַרן אַן ענגלישער קאָלאָניע. דער האַלענדישער עלעמענט האָט זיך אָרויסגעצויגן פון דרומדיקן שפיץ און אויסגעוואַנדערט אין צפון, וואו זיי האָבן זיך באַזעצט אויף מוטער־ערד און געוואָרן פאַרמערס.

כּמשך פון אַ סך יאָרן זענען די באַצויגען צווישן דער ענגלישער און דער האַלענדישער באַפעלקערונג נישט געווען קיין גוטע. אין צפון האָבן זיך געשאַפן באַזונדערע רעפּובליקן, ווי עס האָבן גענירט די האַלענדישע איינוואוינער. דאָס גאַנצע לאַנד איז אָבער געווען אַ טייל פון דער בריטישער אימפעריע און ווען די באַערן (אזוי געוואָלט ווערן אין גאַנצן זעלבשטענדיק איז אויסגעבראַכן פריער איין מלחמה און דערנאָך אַ צווייטע. די ענגלענדער האָבן געזיגט און אין די ערשטע יאָרן פון צוואַנציקסן יאָרהונדערט איז געשאַפן געוואָרן אַ פאַראייניקטע דרום־

יידישע ענינים

אידישע נייעס איבער דער וועלט

אויסברייטערן דעם דאָקומענטאַציע-צענטער
אין בערגען-בעלין

אין 1988 איז געלייגט געוואָרן דער גרונד־שטיין פון אַ נייער פליגל פון דעם מעדאַראַל-הויז פון בערגען-בעלזען, וואָס געפינט זיך אין נידערזאַקסן. דער באַשלוס צו באַנייען דער מעדאַראַל און צו פאַרברייטערן דאָס דאָקומענטאַציע-הויז איז אָנגענומען געוואָרן דורך דער פאַרוואַלטונג פון דער לאַנד נידערזאַקסן. דער 18-טן אַפּריל 1985. ער ווערט פאַרגעזעצט דאָס זאַמלען פון פּובליקאַציעס וואָס זענען דערשינען אין לאַנגערן זכּרונות. פאַרצייכענונגען און דאָקומענטן און עס וועט פאַרגעזעצט ווערן דאָס צוויפּזאַמלען דאָקומענטן אין שייכות מיט די אומשטענדן פון דעם שרעקלעכן לאַגער פון דער נאַציסטישער באַרכאַריי.

יידישע קלאַסיקער אין פּוילישער איבערזעצונג
וואַרשע. — שלום-עליכס "טוביה דער מילכיקער" וועט דערשיינען אין פּויליש אין דער סעריע פון יידישע שרייבער, וואָס ווערן דאָרט איבערגעזעצט אויף פּויליש. די סעריע ווערט אַרויסגעגעבן דורך דעם נידערשליעזישן פאַרלאַג, וועלכער איז געגרינדעט געוואָרן אין 1986.

"מיר זעצן איבער אויף פּויליש די אממערסטן ווערטפולע ווערן פון דער יידישער ליטעראַטור". האָט דערקלערט דער דירעקטאָר פון פאַרלאַג, אַנדזשעי אַדאַמס. עס ווערט פלאַנירט, אַז אין די נאַענטסטע יאָרן זאָלן דערשיינען 25 ווערט פון דער קלאַסישער יידישער ליטעראַטור. אַכט פון זיי זענען שוין איבערגעזעצט און צוויי ווערן געגרייט. צווישן די ביכער וועלן זיין בעלעטריסטיק, פאַנעזיע דראַמע, עסייען און ביכער, וועלכע באַלייכטן די קולטור-ירושע פון די יידן, וואָס האָבן געלעבט אין פּוילן, האָט געזאָגט אַדאַמס.

און אַ ישראל-קיבוץ געקומען יוגנטלעכע פון ראַטנפאַרבאַנד

60 יידישע יוגנטלעכע פון ראַטנפאַרבאַנד זענען געקומען קיין ישראל, בכדי צו אַרבעטן צוויי מיט אַ האַלב חרשים אין קיבוצים. די יוגנטלעכע צווישן 18 און 32 יאָר זענען געקומען פון מאַסקווע, לענינגראַד, קיעוו און קישעניעוו. דער פּראָיעקט איז רעאַליזירט געוואָרן דורך ברוך שילדקרויט פון פאַריקן ווינטער, ווען ער איז געווען אויף באַזוך אין ראַטנפאַרבאַנד. פון וואָנען ער איז אָן אַפּשטאַמיקער.

קרוב צו 13 מיליאָן יידן אויף דער וועלט: 46 פּראָצענט אין אַמעריקע און 27 פּראָצענט אין ישראל

איבער דער וועלט לעבן היינט צו טאָג 12 מיליאָן 967 טויזנט יידן. פון דער צאָל וווינען 46 פּראָצענט אין די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן און בערך 27 פּראָצענט אין ישראל. די דאָזיקע ציפּערן ווערן אָנגעגעבן אין דעם יידיש-אַמעריקאַנער יידישן קאָמיטעט.

לויט די דאָזיקע אָנגאַבן קומט אויס, אַז דער אַמעריקאַנער ישוב ציילט היינט 5 מיליאָן מיט 935 טויזנט נפשות. דער יאַרבוך גיט אויך אָן, אַז אין ניו-יאָרק באַטרעפן די יידן 10 מיט 4 צענטל פּראָצענט פון דער באַפעלקערונג אין שטאַט. די צאָל אין ניו-יאָרק דערגייט ביז אַ מיליאָן מיט 700 טויזנט נפשות. פון זיי וווינען אין ברוקלין 402 טויזנט. צי די גרויסע יידישע קהילות אין אַמעריקע געהערן: לאַס-אַנדזשעלעס מיט 500 טויזנט יידן; מיאַמי — 300 טויזנט; שיקאַגאָ — 250 טויזנט און באַסטאָן — 228 טויזנט יידן.

קאַנצערטן פון באַרימטן חזן יוסף מאַלאַוואַני אין מאַסקווע

דער באַרימטער חזן יוסף מאַלאַוואַני, פון דער "פּייפט ווענווי סינגאַג" האָט געגעבן אַ ריי קאַנצערטן אין דער "שטייַקאָוסקי"-זאַל פון מאַסקווע, אויף דער איינלאַדונג פון דעם פּילהאַרמאָנישן אַרקעסטער פון דער הויפט שטאַט פונעם ראַטנפאַרבאַנד. אָן ערך 2 טויזנט פּערזאָן האָבן זיך באַטייליקט ביי יעדן פון זיינע קאַנצערטן. דער חזן מאַלאַוואַני האָט אויך געגעבן אַ קאַנצערטן אין דער אַפּערע פון טאַשקענט, אַקאַמפּאַנירט פון פּרעסטזשפולע סאָויעטישע מוזיקער.

בשנת אַ באַזוך אין לאַנדאָן איז מאַלאַוואַני געווען אַנטציקט דערפון וואָס ס'איז אים אָנגעבאָטן געוואָרן דורך אַרטיסטן, פּראָפּעסיאָנעלן פון ראַטנפאַרבאַנד, ער זאָל זיי געבן לעקציעס, בכדי זיי זאָלן ווערן חזנים. "דאָס איבערגעבן די חזנות-קונסט איז געווען זייער אַ שווערע, דאָס איז אַבער געווען פאַר מיר אַ גלענצענדיקער עקספּערימענט און דערמוטנדיקער אַספּעקט פון מיין ריזע."