

Nov./Dec. 1990

\$1.50

JEWISH AFFAIRS

**The Mid-East Crisis:
What's To Be Done?**
Herbert Aptheker

**Herbert Aptheker at 75
and the World at 2000 AD**
Charlene Mitchell

**The Decisive Decade
for American Jews**
Jon Weisberger

**Re-Framing the Rosenbergs,
1990 Version**
Aaron Katz

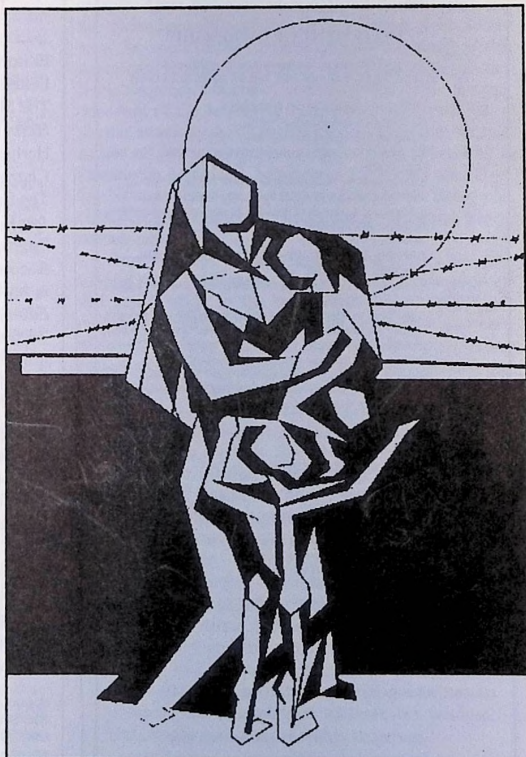
A Jewish Activist Reminisces
Edith Beck

**Progressive Work in the
Jewish Community**
Leo Werner

**Reprint:
On Soviet Anti-Semitism**
Norman Massey

Book Reviews:
Gerald Horne
G.A.W.

Document:
New Synagogue of Berlin



די לכיבוש דעם ארץ ישראל
DOWN WITH THE OCCUPATION

Opportunity for Ending the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The Al Aksa massacre has widened the current focus of world attention in the Middle East from exclusive concern with Iraq's military occupation of Kuwait to include Israel's far lengthier and more brutal military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza – and parts of Syria and Lebanon. Despite the position of the Israeli and U.S. governments that there is no comparison and can be no linkage between these two essentially similar violations of international law, the similarity is evident to all but chauvinists and ideologues and such linkage has been officially called for by the Soviet, French, Spanish and many other governments in addition to Arab ones. Along with the negative consequences of Iraq's aggression – worst among which is the danger of U.S. military involvement in another Vietnam – in cracking the frozen status quo of the Middle East, it has resulted in a real opportunity for ending Israel's oppression of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

Progressives should do everything possible to support and publicize the U.N. Secretary General's proposal that the Security Council act "to insure the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians living under Israeli occupation." Placing U.N. observers and peacekeeping forces in the West Bank and Gaza would be the first step in the Security Council's bringing about and guaranteeing a just settlement of the tragic Israeli-Palestinian conflict which Israel is clearly incapable of doing on its own. Judging from experience, Israel will refuse to cooperate with the Security Council in this process unless the United States fully participates in it, including the threat or use of U.N. sanctions and cuts in the \$3 billion U.S. tax dollars it annually gives to Israel.

Jewish Establishment Acts Against Jewish McCarthyism

The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, the coordinating organization for 113 Jewish community councils and eleven major national organizations, including the ADL, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Jewish War Veterans, etc., has adopted an historic resolution that strengthens democracy in the Jewish community. The resolution calls upon Jewish organizations to discuss differences "in an atmosphere of mutual respect and ci-

vility" with "ample opportunity for expressing their points of view" and specifically supports the "right to dissent." This unprecedented resolution of NJCRAC is a response to recent attacks upon certain Jewish organizations and individuals by Americans for a Safe Israel, a right-wing organization that supports Israel's official policies on all questions and calls for immediate annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.

The target of AFSI's most recent publication is the New Israel Fund, which it accuses of being "radical" and attacking Israel for raising money for Israeli organizations and programs dedicated to Arab-Jewish reconciliation. Other U.S. organizations similarly accused by AFSI are the New Jewish Agenda, Friends of Peace Now and *Tikkun* magazine. Among the moderate individuals AFSI has labeled anti-Israel "extremists" are the vice chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the chair of the national executive council of the American Jewish Committee and a member of the Jewish Agency's board of governors who is the former president of the Jewish Welfare Board. In the 1970s, a similar attack by AFSI on Breira destroyed this organization of young progressive Jews which advocated a Palestinian homeland. More recently, AFSI's attack on the New Jewish Agenda has resulted in its being excluded from membership in a number of Jewish community councils.

The NCRAC's stand against such McCarthyite suppression of dissenting views is both a reflection of and contribution to the more reasonable, critical approach to Israel's policies among increasing numbers of American Jews in the last few years. It is also an important contribution towards greater democracy in debating other issues in American Jewish life.

It is gratifying to hear from many who attended the *Jewish Affairs* annual dinner on September 30 that it was the best ever. Those who were unable to attend can read the outstanding addresses given then in this issue. Unfortunately, we do not have a record of the extemporaneous remarks of Jon Weisberger before his address in which he paid moving tribute to former managing editor Lewis Moroze. When he retired in May, tributes from around the country and the world were read at the reception in his honor. Although we sorely miss Lew's daily presence, the editorial committee is pleased that he continues to share his wisdom and insight with us at monthly meetings.

Letters from readers

The spread of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is very disturbing. It seems to be well organized and with full freedom to spread its anti-Semitic poison. How else can we explain its access to print the anti-Semitic articles in many of the official government and even Party and Y.C.L. publications.

In this respect it is worth quoting from an article appearing in the May-June issue of *Jewish Affairs*, "Young Communists in Birobidzhan Protest Soviet Journal's Anti-Semitism?"

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 Guardia* (Young Guard) in Moscow, for publishing anti-Semitic articles." If this was the only anti-Semitic article one could perhaps consider it an aberration, but this is one of many and it is increasing with time.

What is equally disturbing, is the treatment of anti-Semitism in an article in the May-June issue by Alfred J. Kutzik, "Anti-Semitism and Anti-Sovietism." Kutzik deals with the question of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union on the basis of numbers: while only 18% dislike Jews, fully 63% dislike Pamyat. And he continues with additional figures, which in my opinion are of no fundamental significance, on the spread of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

It should be clear that anti-Semitism is not a mathematical question but a social and political question, and it must be explained politically and not by percentages. The rise of fascism in the 30's in Germany began with small numbers but it grew and developed because there was no unity in combatting it until it was too late.

President Gorbachev has made a public statement expressing his opposition to anti-Semitism which has been widely disseminated throughout the Soviet Union. In responding to the question of anti-Semitism in the USSR, Pres. Gorbachev stated, "I believe we ought not to allow raging of nationalism, chauvinism, and anti-Semitism, or any other 'ism' to occur." A very weak statement from the Soviet Union's outstanding leader.

It is not enough to recognize the evil of anti-Semitism; it has to be eliminated from Soviet life. Permitting the existence of anti-Semitic organizations is not democracy. Marxist-Leninists never looked upon democracy as an abstraction. But rather, how well did it serve the people. Therefore, an organization like

Pamyat should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

Jewish Affairs must take up the struggle against anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It must call upon the Soviet government and Party to eradicate anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It is obvious that the anti-Semitic and anti-democratic forces in the Soviet Union are taking advantage of glasnost in order to behead perestroika. It is one of the main weapons. It must be stopped.

Jerry Simkin
Brooklyn, NY

This letter concludes that the article in the May/June issue discussing the first scientific survey of Soviet attitudes towards Jews indicates that our associate editor "deals with the question of anti-Semitism on the basis of numbers" and not as "a social and political question." Other articles in Jewish Affairs by him and others demonstrate that we do treat anti-Semitism in the USSR as a social and political issue. The article in question brought out how the bourgeois media distorted the survey's findings so as to exaggerate the relatively small amount of anti-Jewish attitudes and minimize the far greater amount of unprejudiced and pro-Jewish attitudes among the non-Jews of Moscow.

In reporting on manifestations of anti-Semitism in the USSR and the increasing efforts of the Soviet government to combat it in our March/April issue, our associate editor welcomed the legal action being taken against Pamyat in Moscow and other officials measures taken against anti-Semites in Moscow, Kiev and Odessa and called for further "pushing Soviet governmental action beyond press exposes of anti-Semitism." That article reported on the Pamyat gang that invaded a meeting of progressive journalists with anti-Semitic insults and threats of violence and pogroms. It is gratifying to note that the leader of that gang, a prominent Pamyat spokesman, has been tried and convicted for that action in a Moscow court on the grounds that it broke the law against expressing anti-Semitism.

For an objective discussion of the low level of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. and the campaign to exaggerate it, see the article "On Soviet Anti-Semitism" in the present issue.

A.J.K.

Perhaps the nice poem in your last issue on the American bald eagle that was blown to Ireland convinced me to write to you. But I think it was the inter-

continued on page 21

The Mid-East Crisis: What's To Be Done?

Herbert Aptheker

This is the text of an address delivered at the Jewish Affairs annual dinner on September 30, 1990.

The root of the turmoil in the historic homeland of the Arab peoples—from Morocco to Iraq—lies in their betrayal by the Allies in the First World War. Join us, the Allies said to dominant Arab families, in war upon the Ottoman allies of Berlin and Vienna and we will see that you have an independent Arab nation. When that betrayal, called the Sykes-Picot secret treaty of 1916, was made public by the Bolsheviks, a result for an embarrassed President Wilson was his Fourteen Points and the promise of self-determination. Wilson's Fourteen Points was forbidden publication in Mesopotamia (later Iraq) already dominated by the British. In their quest for world domination the allies lied to all, whether through the Sykes-Picot agreement, the Balfour Declaration or the Fourteen Points. But classical colonialism—the political-economic face of imperialism—never recovered from betrayals of World War I, the example of the Bolshevik Revolution and the vast upheavals of colonial peoples which marked ensuing history from Asia to Latin America to Africa—and to the Mid-East.

It is possible to ban a Fourteen Point document, but it is not possible to kill the feeling of nationality that history creates; on the contrary, efforts to do so not only fail, they inflame the feeling they would eliminate. Underlying the purpose of the outrage was the subjection of the masses to terrible socio-economic conditions of interminable impoverishment and super-exploitation, out of which imperialists and their lackeys lived in obscene opulence. Bush's intervention seeks, basically, to retain that domination. A source of the venom he displays lies in the fact that one of his many favorite despots—Saddam Hussein—has turned against him. Saddam, goaded by Kuwait's betrayal of OPEC agreements and relying on past U.S. partisanship and its apparent acquiescence in his appropriating part of Kuwait, decided to try for all the marbles. Saddam seeks domination over the precious oil of the Mid-East and political control of the region. But so does Bush and one would be hard-pressed to explain why the one who lives in Washington and vacations in Maine has a better right to such economic and political domination than one who lives in Iraq.

Politicians and pundits here talk of protecting our "way of life" or of upholding "civilization"—the latter

term reflecting their racism. But is a "way of life" built upon inordinate luxury flowing from merciless exploitation civilized? Shall a nation whose leaders—to recall only recent history—murdered millions in Asia and slaughtered hundreds of thousands in Latin America, who funded ruling monsters from Chile to South Korea, who invaded Grenada and Panama, starved Nicaragua and financed the Shah, give lessons in "civilized" behavior to others—particularly when those others were recently on their payrolls?

What kind of a "civilization" is being defended in Saudi Arabia where a family despotically rules thirteen million people, is pre-feudal in its outlook, retains actual slavery, dismembers and decapitates prisoners, permits neither political parties nor trade unions, bans Jews and makes chattel of women? What kind of "civilization" is it that sees an Emir dominating two million people in Kuwait, himself possessing one hundred billion dollars—most of it invested in the West—and whose imported working class is forbidden every elementary political and economic right?

According to Amnesty International, Kuwait routinely subjects its prisoners to "beatings while blindfolded, electric shock, sexual assault, alternate dousing with cold and hot water, threats of death and deportation and threats against relatives." And, according to the 1989 human rights report of the State Department itself, Saudi Arabia is a country where "all forms of political expression (except those favorable to the regime) are forbidden" and where arbitrary arrest, torture, and execution are commonplace.

Even the claim of an Iraqi "stranglehold" on oil, to loosen which hundreds of thousands of young people must postpone living and dig holes in sand and swelter during the day and shiver during the night and prepare to kill and be killed—even that claim is a lie. Before those young people were so ordered, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia together accounted for less than sixteen percent of global oil production. Even if one throws in all the sheikdoms—whose stability so worries Bush—one has less than twenty-two percent of world oil production.

The United States, before the crisis, imported 290,000,000 barrels of oil per year. If, in the United States, the automobile industry would raise its fuel-consuming standards by 2.75 miles per gallon (easily done with present-day technology) this country's consumption of oil would fall by 290,000,000 barrels a

year. But the Reagan-Bush administrations revoked efforts to increase such efficiency, thus yielding to the automobile and oil magnates for whom they work.

One of the problems with Iraq is that its oil industry—like that of Mexico—is state-owned, while in the other “civilized” Gulf states companies like Exxon and Chevron have major de facto controlling interest. It must be added that while oil is basic to U.S. interest in Saudi Arabia, over half of U.S. investments there is in banking, insurance, real estate, manufacturing, and so forth.

The editor of *Harper's* in its October issue tells a story which is more illuminating than hours of ABC-NBC talk. Two days after the Kuwait invasion, when a barrel of oil rose from \$22 to \$25, he was at an elaborate dinner. There, he says, “a gentleman from Texas read aloud from a telegram he sent that morning, only partly in jest, to Saddam Hussein: ‘Warm congratulations on your well-earned victory. Every good wish for your continued success!’” Too bad the GI’s holding Bush’s “line in the sand” were not at that dinner!

The Bush Administration seeks through enflaming war-like passions to thwart the constitutional authority of Congress in connection with war-making, an authority strengthened after the Vietnam lesson by the War Powers Act, which that Administration says it does not feel it must obey. Bush seeks to stifle indignation aroused by the housing and banking thievery, to trivialize the sharpening economic decline, to ignore the millions of hungry and homeless, to further erode civil rights. Bush seeks to squander the peace dividend.

He made this explicit in his recent address to the Veterans of Foreign Wars. “I will oppose,” he then said, “the defense budget slashers who are out of tune with what American needs to keep freedom secure and safe.” The Gulf crisis, Bush told those veterans, justifies getting more minesweepers and mobile battalions; it justifies, he said, “giving the military the tools to do its job,” and among those tools he explicitly included the MX missile on rails, the Stealth bomber and the Strategic Defense Initiative—i.e., Reagan’s Star Wars. Bush wants especially to use the Mid-East crisis as a major tool to advance Washington’s strategic purpose, now that the Cold War has terminated, namely, to become the global policeman, who is to keep the Third World peoples “in their place.”

Certainly Saddam Hussein’s invasion and occupation and annexation of Kuwait violates international law—as certainly as does Israeli action vis-a-vis the Palestinian people and the invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of parts of that country and of Syria; as certainly as did Washington’s invasion of Grenada and Panama, its bombing of Libya and its strangling of

Nicaragua. Certainly the UN Security Council Resolution 660, 661 and 662, adopted August 2, 6 and 9, 1990, quite properly and in accordance with the UN Charter, demanded that Iraq “withdraw immediately and unconditionally.” And these Resolutions authorized embargo of arms, funds and supplies for Iraq, but specifically exempted supplies for medical and humanitarian purposes; and nowhere did they call for the military intervention that Bush immediately ordered.

Yes, Bush moved at once and unilaterally and massively towards military intervention and, with the acquiescence of his Saudi puppet, now occupies that vast land and has officially announced his intention to maintain that occupation for a prolonged period—and has stated his intention to ignore the War Powers Act.

Dr. Strangeloves from Kirkpatrick to Kissinger to Max Lerner to William Pfaff are not satisfied with mere occupation. They want blood (other’s, of course), they want mass killing, they want war, while they lecture about it at fat fees and youngsters have their limbs blown off and see the guts of buddies spilling over the sand upon which Bush drew his cursed line.

Happily, significant and growing demonstrations against intervention and the possibility of war have occurred already and voices of sanity like those of Daniel Ellsberg, Coretta Scott King, Congressman Ron Dellums came quickly. This is growing and will continue to grow. Professor Alex Manley of the University of Wisconsin published a marvelous article entitled “If My Marine Son Is Killed” which did appear in the Op Ed page of the *NY Times* (Aug. 23) and the Fund for New Priorities has reprinted this in full-page ads and has stated in an open letter to President Bush: “We oppose the use of U.S. military forces to preempt the United Nations and act as sole international police force.”

Voices other than that of Representative Dellums are beginning to ask probing questions in Congress. Representative Henry Gonzales (D.-Texas) in an open letter to House speaker Tom Foley, has demanded: “Do we or do we not have a Constitution? Do we have a President, a Caesar? a monarch? a potentate? What happened,” the Congressman demanded, “to the checks and balances...and the powers vested in Congress to declare war!” Congressman Gonzales demanded, at the very least, a debate on what the President has been doing and especially his flouting of the War Powers Act.

So far I’ve not seen any response from Speaker Foley, but this kind of demand will grow inside and outside Congress and it will force more than an answer. If insistent and widespread enough, it will force

continued on page 19

Herbert Aptheker at 75 and the World at 2000 AD

Charlene Mitchell

This is the text of an address delivered at the Jewish Affairs annual dinner on September 30, 1990.

It is with great pleasure that I join with all of you and especially with Faye at this luncheon to pay tribute to Herbert Aptheker on the occasion of his 75th birthday. Birthdays have a way of changing relativity. When Herbert was fifty, I was still a fairly young woman of 35. Now when Herbert is 75, I am 60 and already signed up for AARP health insurance. But, irrespective of age we have at each birthday been proud to say that we are alive and well, and continuing in the causes of freedom, peace, justice and socialism.

As we approach the 21st century, our race, the human race is faced with tremendous problems and tremendous challenges. Before the 1990's were underway, we were looking at the possible end of socialist governments in many countries of Eastern Europe. Without question as we watched the upheavals in one country after another we all knew that something, somehow had gone wrong. We knew that the CIA and other forces of world imperialism played their usual role in the destabilization of socialist and newly liberated countries. We knew that the socialist world did not move nearly quickly enough to grasp the significance of New Thinking for this period. We did not know or appreciate fully however that there was resistance to new thinking especially as it related to economic developments and concepts of democratic socialism.

We knew that the Soviet Union had historically led the way in the battle to end the arms race, to stop the cold war, to normalize relations between states with different social systems and to raise the role of the United Nations to its rightful place as the peacekeeper, the world banker, the agency to stop hunger, disease, poverty, hopelessness and illiteracy throughout the planet. This new leadership role of the United Nations now makes it possible to avoid an all out shooting war in the Arab Gulf.

When Herbert Aptheker was a youth of fifty, just a short 25 years ago, it was a different story. The United States was fully engaged in an aggressive war against

Charlene Mitchell is Executive Director of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and chair of the Peace and Solidarity Commission of the CPUSA.

Viet Nam. Always the internationalist and anti-imperialist, Herbert led a delegation to Hanoi to bring back an honest report about that war and to build U.S. public action to stop its destruction of Viet Nam and its heroic people. At that time of the Viet Nam war the UN role was practically nil. Today, even though President Bush, while we were busy reading his lips, violated international and national laws by sending what now amounts to more than 150 thousand troops to the Persian Gulf, he has not been able to quickly move in on Iraq. The United Nations, in its overwhelming majority, correctly condemned the Iraq invasion of Kuwait. The United Nations acted immediately to pass resolutions to condemn but also to call for all member nations to enact sanctions against Iraq until its troops were withdrawn from Kuwait. The Bush Administration, with James Baker in the lead, has made continuous efforts to push closer and closer to the brink of a shooting war with Iraq. On each occasion the United Nations has acted to pull back from the brink.

At the early September Summit meeting between Presidents Bush and Gorbachev it was clear that there remained differences between their two nations on how to resolve the crisis in the Gulf. The People's Daily World in its excellent coverage of the Gulf Crisis reported the News Conference from the Summit with the following quotes from Gorbachev: "I did not say that if Iraq does not withdraw peacefully, we're going to have recourse to military methods...And moreover, in my view, that would draw us into consequences which we can't at this stage forecast and therefore our country and the United Nations as a whole have a whole range of possibilities of finding a political solution to this problem." Gorbachev also said at the news conference, in speaking about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, "It seems to me that there is a link here because the failure to find a solution in the Middle East at large also has a bearing on the acuteness of the particular conflict we have been talking about here."

Clearly the new role of the United Nations and the leadership role of the Soviet Union will not be the only staying influence on imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place. It is the responsibility of the peace movement, the anti-imperialist movement, the movements for freedom and justice, and generally the labor, religious, women's, and youth movements to coalesce

to bring about the total withdrawal of U.S. troops and bases from the Middle East.

Dear Herbert, as we celebrate your 75th birthday, it should be an occasion taking place throughout our country, especially on every campus. Your contributions toward placing the history of African Americans and therefore the history of our nation in its proper and important perspective is a contribution of historical proportions. Let me take the last few minutes to draw some lessons from history and from Herbert Aptheker.

The struggle for the complete equality — economic, political, social and cultural equality — of African Americans is an absolute necessity for the securing of democracy in our country. This is essentially the meaning of Karl Marx's words that "labor in the white skin will not be free as long as labor in the black skin is branded."

As one peruses Aptheker's *Documentary History of the Negro People* it is readily clear that each time there was an advance for the Black people in our country, it was an advance for the whole country. The ending of slavery and beginning of Reconstruction following the Civil War made it possible for many small farmers to own their farms. The achievement of public education, was an advance for the whole nation. When African American workers became part of unions, those unions grew in number and in strength. This was especially the case when the CIO was formed. The Supreme Court decision ordering the ending of segregation in schools, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Right Act of 1965 opened new possibilities for working people generally, women and youth.

From the onset of the Reagan administration, the attacks on the gains made by African Americans, the accompanying racist attacks and the attacks on the labor movement have set back the process of democracy for all our people. To guarantee the continuation of the Reagan policies and those of Bush as well, it has become expedient to reach back and grab that worn but still useful weapon of racist divisions. The method: convince white Americans that the reason that there are drugs and crime is because of black youth. Convince white city dwellers that the reason their cities do not get sufficient federal funding and lower their tax base is because 1) there are too many African Americans in the city and 2) there is an African American mayor.

I am reminded of the Watts upsurge in 1965. When white residents of Los Angeles were convinced that the problems were created by Black people, Herbert Aptheker came to Los Angeles on speaking tour. It is instructive today to remember Herbert's words: Those who blame the victim, have far more in common with the victim than they do with the banks, the big land-

lords, supermarket owners and factory bosses. They should unite against the oppression rather than blame the victim.

Now as we end the first year of the last decade of the twentieth century. The world has drawn back from the cold war. But imperialism has not drawn back from threatening hot war in continuing its designs of domination, especially of the third world. This foreign policy not only seeks to step up military actions in the Gulf but to continue the Israeli illegal occupation of the Gaza and the West Bank, to continue the U.S. occupation of Panama and to eventually control the destiny of Cuba by subverting and destabilizing that socialist country. While the foreign policy continues, the money for the Pentagon continues while the possibilities for a peace dividend continues to disappear.

While the political pundits, the cheerleaders for monopoly gloat over what they hope is a dead philosophy, millions of people in our country are faced with severe crisis brought on by the nature of the policies of capitalism. Without question grave mistakes have been made in the name of socialism. But also without question socialism is a higher social system because it benefits the majority. When and as it serves that majority socialism will be victorious.

As Joe Slovo, chair of the Communist Party of South Africa, has expressed in conclusion of his recent pamphlet, *Has Socialism Failed?*:

"The way forward for the whole of humanity lies within a socialist framework guided by genuine socialist humanitarianism and not within a capitalist system which entrenches economic and social inequalities as a way of life. Socialism can undoubtedly be made to work without the negative practices which have distorted many of its key objectives. But mere faith in the future of socialism is not enough. The lessons of past failures have to be learnt. Above all, we have to ensure that its fundamental tenet — socialist democracy — occupies a rightful place in all future practice."

So, Herbert, as we look to a 21st century where our grandchildren and their children will live in a world without war, without racism, without exploitation, in a world of freedom, peace and plenty, I lift my glass to you as one who helped to make that day possible. □

Roots and Branches

The Decisive Decade for American Jews

Jon Weisberger

This is the text of an address delivered at the Jewish Affairs annual dinner on September 30, 1990.

Several years ago, in the early 1980s, Robert O. Freedman edited a collection of essays about Jews in the Soviet Union in the 1970s, and gave it the title "Soviet Jewry: The Decisive Decade." It's easy to say in retrospect that Freedman was mistaken, but his subtitle – the decisive decade – rang in my mind as I thought about what I wanted to say today, for it seems increasingly clear to me that this new decade, the 1990s, will be a decisive one for American Jews, a period that will resolve, in one fashion or another, most of the serious issues that confront us. The nature of those resolutions – how those questions will be answered – depends, I think, to a very great extent, on us: progressives, leftists, socialists and Communists.

What I would like to emphasize today is our responsibility on the ideological level. I do this not because I want to downgrade the practical or suggest that the development of theory frees us from the need to translate vision into activity, but because – thanks to publications such as *Jewish Affairs* – the practical agenda is widely known and discussed, while there is, I think, not only a lack of clarity but even a lack of discussion of critical elements of the progressive agenda in the Jewish community. There is a new interest in ideology today within the Jewish community. This stems from a recognition that the dominant ideological trends of the past have failed to create an enduring basis for Jewish communal life. As many historians have pointed out, the 1950s and early 1960s saw an effort to create a synagogue-based Jewish community, an effort unable to stem the increasing disaffection of American Jews. The 1967 war and its aftermath saw the rise of an Israel-centered ideology, in which Israel became, as Leonard Fein has put it, the secular religion of the Jews. But this, too, is a tactic which has exhausted itself, though it has not yet disappeared. It's rather remarkable, though, to see mainstream Zionist publications such as *Midstream* publishing articles asking whether Zionism is dead, and concluding that – yes, it is.

Jon Weisberger is a member of the Jewish Commission of the CPUSA and a regular contributor to Jewish Affairs.

So, if Zionism cannot sustain Jewish communal life, and a socially-oriented synagogue cannot, what is capable of maintaining a cohesive Jewish community? Some leaders, such as Arthur Hertzberg – an active supporter of a just and peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – argue that there is essentially no substitute for religion. It is religion, he argues, that is the only stable, long-term basis for Jewish identity and community.

My sense is that he is wrong, but his argument has not yet been given the serious kind of response it deserves. There is, of course, the question of whether a Jewish community is worth preserving, worth struggling for. After all, we know that in American society in the twentieth century, many ethnic communities have been increasingly absorbed into the larger society; why should it be different with the Jews?

Indeed, some people – like my friend Mike Hirsch, a long-time New Jewish Agenda activist – have argued that there is no reason to strive for the maintenance of the community, of Jewish identity. Mike bases his reasoning upon a pretty straightforward notion – that Jewish identity is the result of concrete historical conditions. When the conditions change, so does Jewish identity.

There's obviously some truth to that, but I think that there is value in preserving and extending a sense of Jewish identity and the reason lies in what many Jews consider to be an essential aspect of being Jewish. The *Los Angeles Times* surveyed American Jewish opinion a few years ago, and one of the most interesting points discovered was that a plurality of Jews felt that having a commitment to social justice was the most important aspect of being Jewish. Preserving and building Jewish identity and a conscious Jewish community, then, means finding the ways of reinforcing a commitment to social justice. The particulars of Jewish culture seem to help that happen and it would be a terrible thing to lose that. Not that people wouldn't continue to develop that commitment, that sense of justice, but an historically effective and meaningful way of doing that would be gone.

That's the reason, then, to fight for the revitalization of the community. There is a struggle to define Jewishness and Judaism and the stake is several mil-

continued on page 10

Progressive Work in the Jewish Community

Leo Werner

For too long Jewish progressives have believed that they could not achieve progressives aims in the Jewish community. We did not join local Jewish Community Centers, synagogues, chapters of the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, National Council of Jewish Women, Pioneer Women, Jewish War Veterans, etc. They were written off as middle class and Zionist. Because of this attitude practically no progressive Jews have been active in the Jewish community in recent years. My personal experience shows that progressives can and should engage in such activity.

I have been active in the Jewish War Veterans where I was elected to the office of Post Commander and District Commander. I was also a member of the N.Y. State Department Executive. As a member and an officer I had the opportunity to speak out against the Cold War, anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. True, I was sometimes red-baited and even vilified, yet I gained the grudging respect of my fellow members and officers. They listened even if they didn't agree.

I was also involved with the Stephen S. Wise Synagogue a few years ago. Rabbi Balfour Brickner had organized a workshop on "Judaism and the Bomb." I took it upon myself to get copies of the invitation and I mailed them to temples and synagogues in the Shorefront Area of Brooklyn. This helped make the conference a success.

Even after giving up my activities in the Jewish War Veterans, I have played an active role in the Jewish community. I helped to have a "Shalom Shabbat" (Peace Sabbath) in Manhattan Beach. I spent my winters in San Diego and have become an active participant with some other progressives in the Jewish Community center in neighboring La Jolla.

Once a week we attend a "World Forum" and play a leading role in it. We are members of the Center and are involved in all activities. At the Center's "Third Seder" I introduced a "Radical Haggadah" drawn from a number of progressive and radical versions of the Haggadah.

Members and non-members of the Center do not always agree with our positions yet they thank us for presenting a different point of view that has not been presented before. This activity has given progressives a platform and the respect and friendship of the people

Decisive Decade *continued from page 9*
lion people. If we don't help to define and flesh out a Jewishness that emphasizes and strengthens that focus on social justice, then the Jewishness that survives will be truncated, and will, I think, inevitably decline in the way that those other communities have.

In this campaign, an important role is played by institutions like *Jewish Affairs*, and like New Jewish Agenda, in which I have worked for many years. I want especially to encourage *Jewish Affairs* readers, particularly older ones, to seek out and become involved in New Jewish Agenda.

You know, there's a very interesting book which came out a few years ago, called "Followers of the Trail," which is a sort of oral history of a sector of progressive Jews who were active in the 20s and 30s and 40s; some of them were Communists, some were not. This book has become a sort of underground classic among many Agenda activists, because they are really interested in what progressive, secular Jewish culture was like in those times and what lessons can be drawn for today's younger generations.

I know that there's a tremendous wealth of knowledge and experience among you older friends and comrades; I hope that you will think about how that can be shared, how it can be passed on. There are a lot of young people who really need and want to hear from you.

This is a time of profound change in the progressive movement and around the world. Old ideas are being re-examined and new approaches to securing a better world are being developed.

It is incumbent upon us to make a contribution, to make that link that I spoke of between the past and the future, and to develop the basis for a renewal of Jewish community life. That means looking at a lot of things, old and new, in order to revitalize that commitment to social justice of which I spoke. If that effort fails - and especially if it fails for a lack of will - we, progressive Jews, and the people as a whole will be that much poorer. □

who come to use the facilities of the Center.

My experience demonstrates that progressive activity in the Jewish community is not only possible but can achieve progressive aims.

Leo Werner was an organizer of Jewish Americans for Jesse Jackson in 1984 and 1988 and spokesman for the Jewish Committee for Dinkins in the recent New York City mayoral campaign.

A Jewish Activist Reminisces

Edith Beck

This article consists of remarks made by the author at the birthday party in honor of her 80th year.

Today is my birthday — and my son, Ian, and his friend Mimi have given me this birthday party, my very first birthday party. And to you — my children, family and friends — I will admit my age. It's a secret I want you to keep. Today I'm 80. But tomorrow I go back to being 39. So please today is our secret.

80 years — an epoch of revolution. From the cobblestone streets of Kishinev to the forbidding doors of Ellis Island, the harsh, impersonal and frightening introduction of a 12 year-old to the Golden Land. The one bedroom apartment in Brownsville (in Brooklyn, NY, ed.) home of Jack and Fannie and three children. I give homage and thanks to their goodness and bravery, taking in four little children and giving them warmth and care. Yes, those were the days when people gave of themselves to their fullest.

From P. S. 174 I graduated straight into the sweat shops, where I was thrown into the historic struggle for unionism and the eight-hour day. Thus I accepted my place as a member of the American working class. Years of struggle — picket lines, demonstrations, beatings, jail and friendship and a wonderful camaraderie to last a lifetime. Out of the struggle unions were born and the eight-hour day was won, the American workers' gift to the world.

In this period there were other achievements: unemployment insurance, social security, civil rights, etc. And I'm here to tell you, my children, that they were not given to us on a silver platter. We fought for them. This was a contribution of my generation to America, and, with pride, I say I was part of it all.

History moved and Eda moved along with it. In the labor movement she developed a hunger for knowledge, a taste for art, literature, music — and love. I became an insatiable reader and found Tolstoy, Gorky, Dostoevsky, Roman Rolland, Anatole France, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Jack London and our own John Reed and many more. And then came Karl Marx. From night high school, I transferred attention to the Workers School, the school of Marxism — a new vista, new thinkers, idealists, fighters, dreamers — all for a new and better world.

Edith Beck of Los Angeles has had several poems in Jewish Affairs.

The world of thinking and doing opened up for me, the beauty of words, writing, speaking, and so my life was formed. Yes, my children, the family's first "Commie" became evident. Activist that I was, I needed a political home. There were lots to choose from at that time of crystallization in progressive movements. There was the I.W.W., the Socialist Party, the Y.P.S.L.'s and the newly born American Communist Party. I was too young for all of them, so together with children of Communists we formed the Young Pioneers of America.

And let me tell you what we did as a working-class children's organization. Those were the days of the depression and many children came to school hungry and barefoot. So our first campaign was a fight for "free lunches for the children of the unemployed." Also shoes for them. And we organized the first ever school strike!

The powers that be became alarmed and needed to do something drastic. So they arrested our Harry, then 14. He was tried and sentenced to detention in a juvenile institution until he would be 21! A big campaign developed to "Free Harry Eisman" that became worldwide. But that's another story. Suffice it to say that our family had a real hero, brave and idealistic. The Russian "Young Pioneers" invited him to come and live there. So, rather than waste six years of his life, he sadly left his family and friends and went alone to live in a strange country. But, as I said, that's a story I'll try to do justice to some other time.

And so went the years — working, learning, doing, and, yes, loving. Our approach to love and fun was different than today. Yep, we also had our fun. And I promise that some other time I'll tell you about my love interests. But then came Leon! Crazy, active, fun-filled Leon just here from Argentina, young and handsome and not a word of English. But lovers need no words at all. Marriage, the experience of a war-time wife separated from her husband. It was hell, but we made it.

"Eda, give up the Party. I want to show you the world. It's beautiful. Come, follow me to California."

"I wish no riches, Leon, I want a child."

"A child you want? A child you will get. But in California which is young and growing and people will profit. Let's become part of it all! Let's get rich!"

I needed no riches, but it was a challenge — to be continued on page 14

Re-framing The Rosenbergs, 1990 Version

Aaron Katz

Periodically, as the stench of government corruption in the Rosenberg case becomes unbearable, "new facts" are developed and surface to "prove" Rosenberg guilty. In *The Autobiography of Roy Cohn*, key assistant prosecutor and architect of the case against the Rosenbergs, the unlawful ex parte collusion between Judge Irving R. Kaufman and Roy Cohn is vividly described, including the judge's assurance to Cohn before the trial began, that he would sentence Julius Rosenberg to death. There is also the new book, just published in August, 1990, *The Murder of the Rosenbergs*, by New York lawyer Stanley Yalkowsky. Also, the recent book by Washington attorney, Joseph Sharlitt, *Fatal Error! The Miscarriage of Justice* that Sealed the Rosenberg Fate. It was inevitable that something "new" should surface around this time and the explosion came in the headlines on September 24th.

"Khrushchev Tapes From the 1970s"; "Thanks the Rosenbergs For Supplying Atomic Secrets." If the tapes possessed by *Time* magazine are to be believed, the deposed leader, while under virtual house arrest, stated: "I was part of Stalin's circle when he mentioned the Rosenbergs with warmth. I cannot specifically say what kind of help they gave us, but I heard...that the Rosenbergs provided very significant help in accelerating the production of our atom bomb. Let this be a worthy tribute to those people."

This quote, along with other statements relating to Stalin and Fidel Castro, show signs of confusion and irresponsibility which make them unworthy of belief. Khrushchev's son, Sergei, evidently shares this disbelief. He insists that the Soviet bomb was created by Soviet scientists without outside assistance.

The explosion turns out to be a dud! It is insignificant when contrasted with first-hand testimony by the current director of the Soviet nuclear project, Dr. Brokhovich, close co-worker of the late Dr. Kurchatov, the original director and producer of the Soviet bomb. Brokhovich, interviewed last year in the *New York Times*, said: "You sat the Rosenbergs in the electric chair for nothing. We got nothing from the Rosenbergs." America's top atomic scientists argue that the charge that the Rosenbergs conspired to give the Soviets "the secret of the A-bomb" was unfounded since there is no such secret. Among the most prominent, Albert Einstein and Harold C. Urey therefore

maintained that the Rosenbergs were innocent.

Was Khrushchev's memory and reasoning failing at the time? If he truly wished to pay tribute to the Rosenbergs, saying that they spied and lied was obviously the wrong way. He might well have followed the example of French philosopher, author and playwright, Jean Paul Sartre, who said that in those dark days of anti-Communist hysteria, it was Ethel and Julius Rosenberg who saved the good name and reputation of the United States. They maintained their innocence to the bitter end, refusing to save their lives with false confessions demanded by the FBI, "confessions" that would have been used to justify J. Edgar Hoover's proposed reign of terror against Communists and progressives. □

BALLAD OF TWO SISTERS

David Seltzer

Beside the Dniester
there stands an old mill.
The voice of its water
is never still:

that burns and commands.

"Here dwelled a miller:
lovely and slim
as pines, were the daughters
who lived with him.

"The younger one
whispers
into his ears.
At a window the elder one
swallows her tears.

The elder one knitted
all the day long;
sorrow was in her
eves and her song.

"They'll be weaving
wreaths
on the Dniester soon,
fiddling and fluting
a wedding tune.

"The younger one
scampered
to forest and sea;
over the mountains
her joy rang free.

"They'll be clinking cups
on Dniester's shore:
old folks and young folks
drunk on the floor....

"When evening comes
with cricket and star,
a shadow steals
toward the mill from afar:

"Home to her husband
was carried the bride;
the elder one drowned
her grief in the tide."

a lad like an oak,
with two mighty hands,
a hairy beast

Deserted now
stands the old mill.
Only the water
is not still.

Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld

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

On Soviet Anti-Semitism

Norman Massey

Reprinted from *Outlook* (Sept. 1990), "Canada's prominent Jewish magazine"

These past few months we have witnessed pogrom-hysteria in a section of the Israeli press, and in the Anglo-Jewish press in the U.S. and Canada. There have been constant reports about "attacks" on Jews in the USSR, about "impending pogroms" similar to those in Nazi Germany during the 1930s, and calls for "rescuing" Jews "before it is too late."

What does it matter if Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze assures American-Jewish representatives that Jews will be protected against assault by Pamyat members and other hooligans? These journals ignore the fact that the KGB (Soviet security police) declared recently that "we are keeping an eye on the Pamyat gang" and go on merrily creating pogrom-hysteria. A number of responsible Jewish journalists, in Israel and the U.S., have come out with sharp criticism of these panic mongers.

Glasnost, unfortunately, has also provided opportunity for various anti-Semitic and fascist worms to spread their poison among sections of the Soviet population. Regrettably, Soviet leaders have until now not condemned strongly enough these hateful elements whose actions violate the Soviet constitution. This situation has created fear among large sections of Soviet Jews who wish to leave the USSR as a result.

In the April, 1990 issue of *Yiddisher Kemfer* (*Jewish Fighter*), organ of the Labour Zionists in the U.S., there was a long and thoughtful article by Z. Kamai under the heading, "The Jewish Exception," dealing with the Gorbachev "revolution" and its effect on Soviet Jewish life.

Writing about *Pamyat*, Kamai says: "We should have anticipated that not only would Jews acquire more freedom of expression to engage in various cultural activities and promote their beliefs. The same would affect a portion of their opponents or even enemies." And he continues: "No one can deny that the relative tolerance which is now dominant in all Soviet republics also allowed full freedom for various sinister forces, including fascist and neo-nazi groupings." Kamai declares that "even though anti-Semitic elements have appeared, we must not exaggerate by talking about non-existent pogroms. For any objective observer must admit that the pogrom-panic that has spread from city to city is an exaggerated one. It is an incontrovertible fact that until the end of April of this year,

not a single Jew (thank God!) was the victim of a pogrom in the entire USSR. Even so-called 'facts' about certain physical attacks on Jews were not confirmed."

Kamai further points out that "objective analysts of Soviet-Jewish history have noticed another phenomenon. During Czarist times, it is well known that pogroms against Jews were often hatched by members of the Russian Orthodox church and its followers. Its clergy spread hatred against Jewish people, and fabricated all kinds of 'blood libels.' They gave their blessing to those who hacked Jewish heads or violated Jewish women. Yet today, the Orthodox church which has also acquired new freedoms, has not had the slightest involvement in the revived wave of anti-Semitism. On the contrary, its leaders have often taken their distance most categorically from the hate-mongers. This is a new development in general historical terms and especially in Soviet history. The present Soviet leadership is interested in limiting the volcanic lava that has affected millions to tough talk and even tough demonstrations. These have been tolerated, as long as they have not led to bloody terror in everyday life. But should these forces prepare to kill and rob their neighbors, the exaggeratedly 'soft' Gorbachev regime will use other measures. In such circumstances, the prophets of excess will get such blows on the head, that they will be warning their children and grandchildren never again to play with fire."

Now let us see what the editor of the New York *Forverts* (*Forward*) had to say about this same issue. On June 8, in the first of two articles, entitled "No Cheating on the Scales," Mordecai Shtrigler criticized a number of Israeli publications for spreading panic about alleged pogroms against Soviet Jews. He reminded his readers that the *Histadrut* paper, *Davar*, had reprinted a story from the Jewish *Chronicle*, organ of official British Jewry, that hooligans entered a Jewish home and began to brutally torture a Jew while his wife looked on helplessly, and then killed him in front of her. Shtrigler reported the horror he had felt on reading this, thinking: "This is the beginning of the pogroms against Jews that had been expected so long..." Shtrigler continues: "This story interested a well-known correspondent who went to the site of the alleged act to find out the truth. His findings were reported in the Israeli daily *Yediot Achrannot* (*Latest News*) of May 6, 1990. There he related that the Jew

who had been killed was a member of an underworld gang and had been murdered by his own cronies. Jews in that city thought it wiser to cover up this fact and not trumpet it across the world." Shtrigler goes on thus: "It is morally wrong and inhumane to fool readers by spreading false reports. It seems that a number of people have forgotten this lesson in ethics. Once they decide to smear the present Soviet regime, they go to any means, no matter how repugnant, to besmirch it. Others are motivated by nationalist Zionist interests...The more talk there is about pogroms, the greater encouragement there will be for *aliya* (emigration to Israel)." No further comment needed!

Strigler often touches on issues that others try to cover up. He says: "Sometimes, this kind of issue has to be thrashed out. A writer for the above-mentioned *Davar* reacted sharply to this matter. Alex Getzer called it 'the joy of anti-Semitism. The Israeli press is full of hysterical exaggerations about alleged pogroms against Jews in the USSR. On this question, they act as if the slightest iota of honesty is out of order.' The readers of the Israeli press now live from one pogrom to another." (One could add to Shtrigler's comment that the Anglo-Jewish press on our continent is no better.)

Later in his article, Shtrigler writes: "The *Davar* journalist accuses the Israeli press of spreading panic," and he goes on to cite what a prominent Israeli journalist said in no uncertain terms: "The anti-Semitic devil is not as menacing as he is depicted in the Western and Israeli media. There have not been any pogroms, and there is no indication on the horizon that there will be any. There is a near-total absence of brutality towards individual Jews in the USSR. Even anti-Semitic graffiti are a rare occurrence."

In this first of two articles, Shtrigler concludes as follows: "From all the facts at hand, the *Davar* contributor reached a quite different conclusion, and his interpretation is most categorical. 'There will be no pogroms in the USSR as long as the regime opposes them, and since it opposes them in no uncertain terms, there will not be any pogroms.'" Shtrigler himself concludes his first article: "It is absolutely wrong to compare the Soviet situation to the atmosphere in Nazi Germany." The editor of *Forverts* has performed a most useful task in exposing the lies about the non-existent anti-Semitic violence and pogroms.

Now about another matter concerning Soviet Jews. There should also be a moral and ethical approach to fund drives. Thousands of Jews are now settling in Israel and require the assistance of Jews everywhere. And Jews are ready to contribute. But is it necessary to carry out financial drives with cold war slogans like "Operation Exodus." This latter word is reminiscent of

Jewish Activist *continued from page 11*
come part of growing California. So, I took leave of absence from the Party and we embarked on a new life of business, money, etc. Leon's promise came true — we made money; we lived well and we traveled the world. And the child I wanted, I got. My golden boy, my Don! Many stories I could tell about my 34 years with Don. But not today. Suffice it to say, this promise of Leon's was the best thing that ever happened to me.

And now? I know, of course, you want to know where do I stand now? Frankly, my dears, I don't know. It's good and it's bad. Good, because some people will get more freedom and more bread. Bad, very bad in light of history, I think. You see, children, in all the excitement and surge to so-called democracy, I have my doubts. I see a resurgence of nationalism which I thought was a thing of the past. Though I do not agree with the ballyhoo about the death of communism, of socialism, I am perturbed about Gorbachev's new bedfellows: Bush, Thatcher and such. And the stupidity that capitalism and its so-called democracy is the world's savior. I am not ready to concede that a system so unfair — the rich and the poor, the greed, the exploitation, the drug addicts, the wars — not my idea for a better world.

So where am I? Feeling shocked and betrayed — not an enemy but still on leave from the Party. But that too is another of the stories I want to tell so I can leave some sort of legacy from me to you, a legacy of social awareness and love of learning and doing. And heck, kids, maybe I'll yet tell these stories, for tomorrow I am 39 again.

Today I feel great among you children and friends. In these turbulent changing times, it's good to be alive, alert and somewhat knowledgeable, to see history unfold. What an exciting era of history I lived through! And what exciting things are yet to come! □

the exodus from Egypt. Jews in the USSR are not slaves. Most Soviet-Jewish emigres are highly educated, doctors, engineers and other trained specialists. And Gorbachev is not Pharaoh, that enslaver of Jews. These are different times. The long-lasting Stalin-Brezhnev nightmare that afflicted Jews no longer exists. Soviet Jews have now organized an umbrella group that strives to rebuild Jewish life in every sphere of activity and fight anti-Semitism. Large numbers of Jews will remain in the USSR and there will be no Egypt-style "exodus." The anti-Semites will not succeed in making the Soviet Union "Judenrein." Worn-out cold war slogans are outdated. □

Translated from the Yiddish by Ben Shok.

Reviews

Abraham K. Korman, *The Outsiders: Jews and Corporate America*, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1988), 203 pp.

Gerald Horne

Discriminatory stereotypes hold that Jewish people are disproportionately influential in the corporations that dominate the U.S. economy. But as this useful but flawed study suggests, this stereotype is perversely inaccurate and misleading.

The author points out that "large numbers of Jews are below median income levels nationwide and many are below poverty levels" (p. 170). This is not just a product of present day anti-Semitism but a direct outgrowth of a long history of anti-Jewish bigotry in the higher circles of this nation. Before World War II "Jews were not employed to any meaningful extent in our major industrial corporations...Jews had difficulty gaining employment in such industries as commercial banking, public utilities and insurance...Jews were being directed—both explicitly and, sometimes, more subtly—into entrepreneurial opportunities and more high-risk industries such as retailing, amusements, and soft goods" (p. 45). Even corporations which Jewish people played a prominent role in founding, e.g. Sears Roebuck, often capitulated to anti-Semitism; Lessing Rosenwald, a major Jewish stockholder in this company, acquiesced to the discrimination of the chief executive "on the grounds that the company was showing high profits under his leadership" (p. 130).

Today this brutal bigotry has not disappeared. Though the author does not note it, the number of individuals who were found to have anti-Semitic and even Nazi connections working in the election campaign of George Bush was symptomatic of this trend. The author finds that "Jews have been and continue to be absent from managerial and executive roles in the overwhelming majority of the largest and most important organizations comprising corporate America...Yet, paradoxically, Jews are often found in these frequently utilized as 'outside professionals,' providing various types of specialized assistance" (p. xv). One of the few studies ever done in this area conducted by Prof. R.M. Powell in 1969 showed that being a member of the Jewish faith negatively influenced the possibility of a successful career as an organizational executive" (p. 30). Korman quotes one executive as averring, "I'm not hiring them, and I'm not promoting them" (p. 37).

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

The oil industry, with which the Bush name has been closely connected over the years, has been particularly discriminatory. Yet, they are not alone. One of the more enduring anti-Semitic canards suggests that Jewish people control the banking industry. Nevertheless, "it has been true historically and remains so today that commercial banking as an industry is notable for its lack of Jewish executives. This was true during the 1920s and 1930s; it was true during the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s; and it is still true for the most part today..." (p. 50).

The case of Harry Gray provides an ironic example of the impact of anti-Jewish discrimination. He has played the dominant role in United Technologies Corporation, which is in the top twenty of the Fortune 500, a major Pentagon contractor, \$16 billion a year in sales, etc. "There is...considerable evidence that Mr. Gray, despite his denials, was born and raised Jewish and lived as a Jew until he was past thirty, when he changed his name, his life and apparently his background. According to the accounts of relatives and other records, Harry Gray is actually Harry Jack Grusin, the son of Jacob Grusin, a Jewish immigrant from Latvia...Gray today denies that his name change had anything to do with his Jewishness and, in fact, denies that he is Jewish, a denial that is disputed by his relatives" (p. 68). Evidently, Gray felt that reaching the pinnacle of the corporate elite meant having to sacrifice his Jewish identity.

The fact is that "there is a minimal level of Jewish presence at the executive level in major American industries that employ millions of people and account for billions of dollars in sales" (p.65). This trend is apt to continue for major corporations which often do not recruit at certain colleges known to have significant numbers of Jewish graduates. The import of this study may come as a shock to those weaned on the notion of Jewish control of "corporate America;" but Korman shows the industries are few in which Jews play prominent roles—retailing, entertainment, clothing-fashion, etc. "In virtually any industry in which the need for capital construction funds was minimal—industries as varied as real estate/construction and publishing..." there has been a noted Jewish presence.

The author, to his credit, also points out the exception
continued on page 17

Samir Abed-Rabbo and Doris Safie (eds.) *The Palestinian Uprising* Belmont, MA: Association of Arab-American University Graduates (1990). pp. xxv + 435. \$19.95.

G.A.W.

Since 1967, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has sought to subjugate the Palestinians. The Israelis have sought to dominate, to control through violence — the military and paramilitary apparatus — and through the so-called “structural violence” of political, economic, legal, and social institutions. And the Israeli authorities have sought to recoup the costs of occupation by taxing the Palestinians. Make the victims pay!

But the occupied people has been far from submissive and has in fact been deepening and maturing its nationalist movement over the ensuing twenty years. Finally, in December 1987, the Occupied Territories exploded in the uprising known as the Intifada. There have been a number of good books written about the Intifada. Some are by Israelis: Intifada by Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari (NY: Simon and Schuster); some by Americans: Palestine and Israel by Zachary Lockman and Joel Beinin (Boston: South End Press, 1989); Intifada by Don Peretz (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990).

The book before us, by contrast, has been written by the Intifada, as it were, written during the events of the uprising it recounts, written from within the uprising. It is of particular interest to us as it reflects the understanding of the Intifada held by progressive Palestinian forces who are involved in that struggle on a daily basis.

It begins with a lengthy dedication to the martyrs of the Intifada. From the first martyr, the Infant Fatmeh Alqidri of Gaza City, killed on December 9, 1987, up to Wael Alhoms of Rafah, killed February 25, 1990, the list of more than 700 martyrs occupies nineteen pages. At that point, the listing breaks off as the book was going to press. As we know, the Israeli killings have continued, and so has the Intifada.

The book is made up of a series of Weekly Reviews, dating from Number 1 (March 1988) up to Number 38 (March 1989). These reviews were originally published by the FACTS Information Committee, one of a network of popular committees which have developed as an aspect of Palestinian nation-building efforts, especially since 1987.

FACTS itself began publishing in January

G.A.W. is a university professor who teaches Middle East studies.

1988, in order to disseminate the local Palestinian understanding of the Intifada. Reflected in the pages of the book before us is not only searing evidence of Israeli exploitation and repression of the Palestinian people, but the heroic resistance of the Palestinians as well. Moreover, their resistance has been profoundly disciplined — not only in eschewing the use of firearms, but in their creative efforts of nation-building as well.

A brief Editors' introduction by the two editors — both of whom reside in the US — is followed by FACTS own introduction, which gives a concise analysis of the Intifada from a progressive standpoint. To provide some flavor of this analysis, consider the treatment of the “popular committees which have provided the organizational structure for both popular protest and for the provision of community services.” FACTS continues “as mass organizations, they are now identical with the forces that are leading the national movement” (p. 16). These passages are taken from Weekly Review Number 4 (April 2, 1988).

Following this introduction, the book is divided into three parts. Part I, “Resistance,” has five chapters. Chapter 1, “The Discipline of Resistance,” is based on Weekly Review Number 10, 12, and 23 (May and August 1988) and provides statistical summaries of (a) the number of demonstrations reported in the Arabic language West Bank press, (b) the number of casualties (excluding fatalities) in the Gaza Strip, as reported by UNRWA authorities, and (c) the number of Palestinians killed, analyzed by age, by gender, and by cause of death. During the first five months of the Intifada, for instance, there were more than 4,000 casualties reported in Gaza, comprising more than one percent of the population of the Strip.

Chapter 2 is “Popular Restructuring,” based on Weekly Review Numbers 8, 16, 22, and 38 (April, June, and August 1988, and March 1989). This describes the essence of the popular committees, even as early as 1972, in opposition to Israeli occupation measures. By July 1, 1988, the Israeli Central Command declared all these popular committees to be illegal. On August 18, Yizhak Rabin reiterated that they were “illegal organizations,” which were the “moving force behind the uprising” and which were an “alternative to the military government.” Rabin sought to justify the deportation of Palestinians — in contravention of inter-

national law — by claiming that the deportees were “committee activists.”

“The Process of Disengagement,” presented in Chapter 3, details the process of establishing an independent government and socioeconomic process in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This involves resignation of Palestinians from the local police forces and from the civil administration, the struggle of Palestinian shopkeepers to set their own hours, prices, etc. Given the nation-building initiative described in the preceding chapter, the goal of disengagement is to demarc clearly the boundaries between Palestinian society and Israeli authority.

Chapter 4 includes Diaries from the towns of Al-Yamoun, ‘Aroura, Idna, Kur Ra’, and Yetta, as well as from Jenin Camp. These give day by day accounts of life under Israeli occupation — the repression, the resistance — from the viewpoint of the oppressed. Finally, Chapter 5 reprints a dozen of the Communiqués of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising, ranging from the first, issued in Gaza nine days after the Intifada began, to the 35th, issued on February 26, 1989. If you haven’t read one of them, the book is worth having for these historic documents alone.

Part II, on “Repression,” complements the first part and consists of four chapters. Chapter 6 recounts some of the “Physical Measure” employed by the Israelis against the Intifada — curfews for 24 hours a day, for weeks on end, with associated food shortages; chemical warfare including contraindicated usage of CN and CS teargas and other chemical agents; brutality including settler violence, attacks on children, sadism by the Golani and other units of the Israel Defense Force, burying Palestinians alive, etc.; and conditions in Israeli concentration camps.

Chapter 7 describes “Economic Measures and Responses,” including Israeli economic sanctions and collective punishments against Palestinians such as house demolitions, cutting telephone and electric lines, uprooting trees, illegal taxes, stifling of local industry, and the stifling of Palestinian agriculture. The latter is recounted by a reprinting of *The Siege of Agriculture*, originally published by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (October 1988), portions of which were subsequently published in the JMCC’s expanded *Bitter Harvest* (May 1989). This chapter also reprints several documents originally published by the Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committee (PARC).

Chapter 8, “Fear of Education,” documents Israeli policies designed to ensure that a generation of young Palestinians will be uneducated. This material has been derived from another JMCC publication, *Palestinian Education: A Threat to Israel’s Security?* (Belmont,

The Outsiders *continued from page 15*

tions to his thesis, e.g., oil barons like Leon Hess and Armand Hammer, hotel barons like Ben Swig, defense contractors like General Dynamic’s Henry Crown. This latter fact points to one of the flaws of this work. Too often the author makes unnecessarily sweeping generalizations. Moreover, his data and statistics often seem rather dated and stale and this can be fatal in an area as rapidly changing as this one. But perhaps the most serious deficiency of this work is in the prescription. Though he acknowledges that the corporate elite are more prone to place Jewish people in staff and professional posts (attorneys, accountants, etc.) and not at the senior managerial posts, he aims his fire at the movement for affirmative action which, in the author’s opinion, is eroding the position of Jewish males at the staff level. First of all, there is serious doubt as to whether this is in fact happening; second of all, one wonders why the author is so comparatively timid in assailing and formulating remedies for the well-documented exclusion of “Jewish males” (Jewish women are covered by the reviled affirmative action) at the higher levels.

But with all that, Prof. Korman has produced a useful study that needs to be pondered seriously; he inadvertently points up the bigotry of monopoly capital and the objective interest that most Jewish people have in opposing monopoly capital.□

MA: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1989), which is available separately. The ninth and last chapter, “Impact on Health,” is based on a series of *Emergency Newsletters* of the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC), the oldest and most progressive of the medical committees. The documents range from Number 2 (January 1988) through 10 (March 1989).

The book concludes with Part III, “Toward a Solution,” which gives a review of the various proposals made by the several parties to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict — the Shultz Plan, Hussein’s “gambit,” the different calls for an international conference, the Soviet position, etc. — each with an appraisal by the Palestinians. The editors have deliberately left this part open-ended, to reflect that the situation in the Occupied Territories still awaits resolution.

This is an invaluable book, one which must necessarily be read by anyone who wants to understand how the Intifada has understood and directed itself. In this day, when it is becoming increasingly clear that the world is profoundly and dramatically shaped by collective self-understanding — ideas which “grip the masses” — nothing less will suffice.□

Document

Enlarged Committee Discusses Continuation of Work on the New Synagogue of Berlin

Reprinted from the Foreign Affairs Bulletin of the German Democratic Republic of July 25, 1990, this report demonstrates both East and West German governmental support for a major German Jewish undertaking, the reconstruction of the principal synagogue of Berlin badly damaged by the Nazis in 1938.

An enlarged committee meeting held in Berlin on June 20 reported on how reconstruction work on the New Synagogue of Berlin has progressed since its beginning nearly two years ago and how further construction work is planned to go on.

The President of the "New Synagogue - Centrum Judaicum" foundation, Dr. Peter Kirchner, Chairman of the Jewish Community in Berlin, spoke of "visible progress in construction work" in the last six months. But he also pointed out to members of the committee, guests from governmental bodies, social institutions and factories and institutions participating in construction work that there were the problems and difficulties as well. The enlarged committee was necessary, Dr. Kirchner said, since neither the committee nor the executive of the foundation were viable at present because of social developments. Some of the members from governmental bodies and social committees no longer held offices to which they had been nominated, and the newly created institutions and executives had not yet appointed new members. Nevertheless, construction work was progressing.

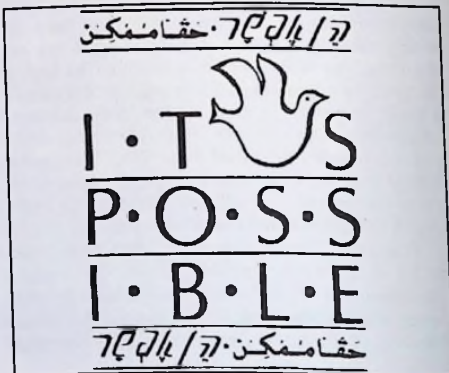
In view of the great political changes in the GDR, the President of the foundation stressed, one was optimistic as regards the reconstruction of the synagogue. People's interest was still great. "Financial contribution to our work are still coming from all sections of the population. This is also a reason why it is our duty to have the public participate in the reconstruction at any time." Dr. Kirchner said that the facade of the extant front part of the building was to be restored to its original form by 6 September 1991, the 125th anniversary of the inauguration of the synagogue. The interior will then take some more three or four years.

The participants heard reports on the objectives pursued by monument preservation, on the state of the works, on project solutions provided and the deadline for construction work. By the summer of this year a steel construction will be put onto the main dome of the synagogue. Reconstruction work done so far has

cost 6.8 million marks. After completion, the building will mainly serve as a museum.

The Chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Heinz Galinsky, first vice-president of the Committee, came out in favor of avoiding double functions, not least for financial reasons, in the future use of Jewish institutions in a united Berlin. With a view to the unification of the two German states and the Jewish communities in Berlin, he suggested that members of a joint commission to be set up should discuss these problems. The State Secretary in the Ministry of Culture, Gabriele Muschter, for the GDR Government, and Berlin's Mayor, Dr. Tino Schwierzina, promised to support the reconstruction of the synagogue.

Upon remarks that the amounts of financial contribution in the accounts of the foundation will be halved due to monetary union, Gabriele Muschter said that competent circles should think it over again "from the viewpoint of political morale and overall German responsibility" whether it should be done in this case, too. The Mayor's announcement that property rights should be examined accurately and carefully whenever there was the slightest indication that succession to property was based on Aryanization or other coercive measures met with approval. The Director of the Foundation, Dr. Hermann Simon, proposed setting up a body of representatives of the Committee, the Foundation and of public life (culture, municipal authorities) to decide upon arrangements and equipment of the historical rooms of the synagogue. □



The Mid East Crisis *continued from page 6*
a reversal of policy on the part of the White House. Yes, Senator Brock Adams (D.-Washington) says: "The Congress should move to reassert its authority because right now we are just being told what is happening and not really brought into the deliberations." Congress will so move if enough of the people it is supposed to represent tells those members clearly and repeatedly that such movement is demanded.

Splendid initiatives for peace and against the actions of Bush have come from the Friends and the WILPF, from many other liberal and left groups and from such significant publications as *The Nation* and *The Progressive*. A very significant part of the popular pressure that is necessary is appearing from consequential Jewish men and women and Jewish organizations. Late in August the New Jewish Agenda, which now has fifty chapters in the United States and Canada, issued an official statement which included this sentence: "The United States decision to deploy its military to Saudi Arabia was made prior to testing the effectiveness of the UN resolution to boycott Iraq, and prior to exhausting all diplomatic possibilities through the UN and the Arab League. To reduce tensions in the region, NJA firmly believes that an effort should be made to replace US forces with strong UN peacekeeping forces."

This NJA statement went on to reiterate its support "for the principle of self-determination for all states and peoples in the Middle East." It said that the present crisis "reinforces the need for an international conference under the auspices of the UN to settle all disputes in the region;" it specifically added that "this must include the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." The Palestinians' "just claims to self-determination and sovereignty" must be reaffirmed by such an international conference, NJA stated; for certainly, "it is essential to the security of Israel that such a comprehensive peace plan emerge out of the present regional crisis."

More recently some forty prominent Jewish community leaders—lawyers, professors, rabbis—put their name to a full-page advertisement (*The Nation*, October 1, 1990) which concludes: "The crisis demands a regional settlement addressing everyone's right to peace and justice. It is inconsistent for our government to subsidize Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories while spending billions to oppose the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait; the United States must remove its troops from the Persian Gulf region; the United States must stop financing the Israeli occupation; Israel must withdraw from the Occupied Territories."

Before it is too late, we who helped stop the killing

in Indo-China must help rouse ourselves and our children and our neighbors to demand peace, not war. For United Nations mediation, not U.S.- backed military intervention. There are 55,000 names on the Vietnam Memorial, and millions in graves in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and Korea, and Panama and Nicaragua. Enough! No more blood!

What shall be carved upon the grave-markers of those youth who may be killed in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and Iraq, and God knows where else. Shall the makers say—this 20 year-old died for "Emir, what's his name?" That this youngster gave his life for "A Jew-hating, women-enslaving absolute monarch?"

Are such stones to be placed next to those who died at Valley Forge so that the United States might be independent and not the possession of a monarch? Next to those who died at Gettysburg, so that slavery should end, and this government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth?

A call to reason is rising in our land. It needs organizing so that an irresistible will for peace sweeps the country, now, before corpses return to grieving loved ones, now, before hundreds of thousands are killed, now before cities are leveled, now, before all humanity is placed in the utmost peril. □

JEWISH AFFAIRS

235 W. 23rd St.
New York, N.Y.
10011

() Enclosed is my subscription at \$7.50 per year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please send a gift subscription for a first time subscriber at \$6 per year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Contributions to Jewish Affairs (through October)

Irwin Korey \$1,000
 Philadelphia Cultural Club 537
 Sam Kamineski 500
 Edith Segal 260

\$100

Yetta Groshans
 Bernard & Arlene Gross
 Louis Kanter
 William Koenig
 Israel Kushner
 Bertha Lashinsky
 David & Edka Seltzer
 J. Wishinsky

\$50 to \$99

David Bennett
 Sylvia Bjornsen
 Genevieve Liebman
 Sarah Milgram
 Joe & Lillian Ritz
 Louis & Mary Rosenbaum
 Clarence Taylor
 Sarah & Eddie Weiss

\$30 to \$35

Ruth Bollinger
 Gertrude & Robert Decker
 Samuel Hass
 Henry Kench
 Elizabeth Mikelson
 Nassau Club CPUSA
 Rose & Emil Shaw
 Harry & Sarah Tobman
 A. & A. Warren

\$25 and under

Sarah & Ernest Alchermes
 David Antonoff
 David & Judy Aronoff
 Leo & Shirley Auerbach
 E.V. & Alice Barrett
 Joe & Zippy Bauman
 Edith Beck
 Harry & Margie Beller
 Pauline Belmont
 Lilly Bernstein
 Sonia & Sam Best

Fred & Mary Blair
 Rose Bleifeld
 Frances Boris
 Esther Brall
 Blanche Breslow
 Paula Brownstein
 Beverly & Morton Chernoff
 Julia Cohen
 Cecelia Corr
 Eleanor & Irving Crain
 Claude Crone
 Estelle Crawley
 J. Cylich
 Harry Danielowitz
 Zelda & Bob Davidson
 Zena & Marc Druckman
 Sophie Edwin
 Ettie Elkins
 Dora Elson
 Jack & Ruth Emmer
 F. Epstein
 David Factor
 Harriet Fahey
 Michael C. Fahey
 Edna Farkas
 Louis Feinchel
 G. & L. Feigenbaum
 Lillian Feigenbaum
 Al & Anne Filardo
 Ada Fink
 Raya & Leo Finkelberg
 Fred & Nina Firestone
 Elizabeth & Sam Fishman
 L. Forer
 Jean Frantjij
 Isidore & Henrietta Friedman
 Dorothy Frumkin
 Mildred & Sol Garelick
 Faye Gardner
 Lillian Gicherman
 Jean & Bernard Gittelman
 Esty Glassman
 Doris M. Glenn
 Jack & Emily Goldman
 William Goodich
 Sarah Gouldner
 M. & F. Grad
 Robert Greenberg
 Miriam Gwenter

Letters *continued from page 4*

esting letter by Alfred J. Kutzik on "The Pains of Anti-Yiddish" that made up my mind.

Kutzik is right, of course. Yiddish is a language in its own right, not a "German dialect." Most scientific references list it as a West German language, a member of a group that includes Dutch, English, Flemish, Frisian and German. In terms of numbers Yiddish has about 4 million speakers today, quite a respectable number and roughly equal to the number of people who speak Norwegian.

People who question the status of Yiddish as a "real language" obviously are not speaking from a scientific point of view. This same political approach also has been taken toward languages like Catalan, Scottish and Ukrainian — to give just a few examples — which are held to be simply "degenerate" forms of the ruling class language (Castilian, Received Standard English, Russian).

Kutzik I think has brought out an important point about this political approach which I would like to elaborate on. The approach by no means excludes recognition that speakers of Yiddish, Catalan, Scottish or Ukrainian represent a distinct people. In fact people who take this approach are more than likely to insist that not only are they distinct, but hopelessly so.

As well, the approach certainly does not exclude relishing the culture, sense of humor, unique patterns of speech and other features of the people involved. But what people with this political approach automatically exclude is any notion of equality.

Clearly if Catalan is simply a "degenerate" form of Castilian it can be amusing at times but cannot be allowed to "corrupt" the pure ruling class idiom. Degenerates may possibly be tolerated, but are never equal: if they really wanted equality that would require total eradication — in German, "vernichtung" — of their degeneracy.

And here we come to the crucial point, don't we? Even if the question of physical extermination is not raised, as with the Catalans and the Scots, is not being placed in a condition of permanent inequality, with its accompanying ridicule and contempt, merely a slower version of the same thing?

This political approach I have described most definitely served the feudal ruling class in Britain, Prussia, Russia and Spain, and became highly useful to them in the capitalist era as well. It allowed the most miserable peasant or worker infected with it somehow feel himself "superior" because he spoke a "real language." Some of these questions were biting attacked by V.I. Lenin in his article "On the National Pride of the Great

Russians."

I think Kutzik brought out some good points in his letter, which obviously has caused me to reflect on it a good deal.

Tom Foley
New York, NY

Contributions *continued from page 20*

G. & M. Hanusiak
Harry & Helen Harrison
Harold & Lilo Heller
Beatrice Hellman
Leonard Hirshman
John Hoey
Nat Hoffman
Ken Horenstein
Lottie Iwaskow
Minnie Jaffee
Ernest Kaiser
Louis Kalb
Max & Julia Kagin
Bruce Kanze
Blanche Katz
Thomas Keenan
Cele Keller
Sidney Kivanoski
Jack & Susan Kling
David Kolodoff
Walter & Mary Kowalchuk
Celia Kraft
Paul Kraus
Rita Kutin
Lilly Lahn
Anna Lebowitz
George Landman
Virginia Lerner
Murray Levin
Rose W. Lewis
Ruth Maguire
Aaron & Mildred Mahler
Anne Matlin
Herta Mayer
Lawrence & Mildred McCarthy
W. Richard Meyer
Pamela Mills
Glenn Morrison
Dora & Lewis Moroze
Jack Munter
Lilly Neumann

continued on page 22

די סאָויעטישע אידן אינעם

זיג איבער דעם פּאַשיזם

פון עליה ביידער

שלוש פון דער אַרטיקל פון סריעדיקע נומער פון אַן אָפּזיר אין רויטן אַרמיי אין דער צווייטער וועלטס קריג

די מלחמה און דער זיג איבער דעם פּאַשיזטן דייטשלאַנד האָט אונדז טייער געקאָסט. 20 מיליאָן מענטשן זענען אומגעקומען. אַ צענט־חלק פון זיי זענען אידן, וועלכע זענען געווען נאָר אַ 50־סטער חלק פון דער באַפעלקערונג אין ראַטנפאַרבאַנד.

דער בייטראַג פונעם אידישן פּאָלק אין ראַטנפאַרבאַנד אינעם גרויסן זיג איבער דעם פּאַשיזטן דייטשלאַנד איז כולט צו זען אין די אַנגאַבן פון די באַלרושע מיט אַרנס און מעדאַלן אין די שווערסטע טעג פון דער מלחמה. צווישן די 185,113 באַלרושע לייטן אוקאַ פונעם 5טן אָקטאָבער 1942 יאָר פאַר דער אַנטיילן אין קאַמף־אָפּעראַציעס זענען געווען 5163 אידן ד"ה, אַז לויט דער אַכסאַלערער צאָל באַלרושע איז דאָס פּערטע אַרט צווישן אַלע סאָויעטישע נאַציאָנאַליטעטן.

וועגן דעם בייטראַג פונעם אידישן פּאָלק אינעם זיג איבער דעם פּאַשיזטן דייטשלאַנד וואָלט מען געקענט כאַטש פון די העלדן פון ראַטנפאַרבאַנד אַרויסגעבן אַ געדענק־בוך. אָבער... האָט מסחמא נישט געסטייעט קיין פּעפּיר. אַזאָ בוך איז דערשינען אין 1982 יאָר אין חל־אביב. זיין אירטאָר איז גרשון שאַפּיראַ פון ראַווע. אַ געוועזענער קאַמאַנדיר פון דער רויטער אַרמיי. אַ מיטגליד פון דעם קערפּ פונעם 1920 יאָר. ער איז געווען אַ פּאַריזער פון אַ אידישן קאַלוירט "פּרילינג" אין אַרעסער געגענט. 15 יאָר האָט ער געקליבן מאַטעריאַלן וועגן 148 העלדן פונעם ראַטנפאַרבאַנד.

אין טאָג פון אונדזער גרויסן זיג און אין אַלע טעג פון אונדזער כּרוינדיקן לעבן דאַרפן מיר נישט פאַרגעסן דעם העלדנטאָט פון אַלע פעלקער אין דער וועלט אין זייער קאַמף מיט דער כּרוינער פעסט — מיטן פּאַשיזם. מיר טארן אויך נישט פאַרגעסן דעם בייטראַג פונעם אידישן פּאָלק, וואָס האָט אָפּגעגעבן דעם גרעסטן קרבן פאַר אונדזער זיג. ס'איז וויכטיק אויך געדענקען די ווערטער פונעם העלדישן מאַרשאַל זשוקאָוו: "באַזונדערס איז וויכטיק צו געדענקען: צווישן אידן לעבן מענטשן, וועלכע האָבן געקעמפט. באַצייט זיך צו זיי מיט דר־אַרץ. דאָס איז זייער אַ קליין געצאָלטס פאַר אַליץ, וואָס זיי האָבן געטאָן פאַר אידן."

אייביקע רום די אין געראַנגל מיטן פּאַשיזם געפּאַלענע העלדן! ערע זי לעבן געבליבענע, וועלכע האָבן אַלץ געטאָן פאַר אונדזער זיג.

- Theresa Olshansky
- Sylvia Orans
- Minnie & Alexander Ovan
- Peter Panken
- J. Perlmutter
- Frances Popowitz
- H. Rabinowitz
- Marsha Rifkin
- Max & Frieda Rosenberg
- Laura Ross
- Mary Russak
- Florence & Irving Satinoff
- Reuben Schaffer
- Martha & Ruth Schaffner
- Carrie Schreiber
- David Sheven
- M. & H. Shoiket
- H. & L. Shuster
- Ruth & Phil Sillman
- Harry Silver
- Jerry Simkin
- Rose & Max Sparer
- Dora Spivey
- Erling & Rachel Tholfson
- Victor & Nina Tishler
- Ralph & Mavis Uebeller
- Lester Unter
- Antoinette Vita
- David Weiner
- Froma Wellman
- James H. Williams
- Lillian Wolin
- Marjorie Zak
- Michael Zebel
- Anne & Abraham Zuckerman

ערן קאַמיטעט פון מאַנומענט

— פּרעזידענט: ווילי כּראַנזט (מערב־דייטשלאַנד).

- מיטגלידער: ב. אבצוג (פּאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן), הענרי כּולאַוואַק (פּראַנקרייך), מ. טשלענאָוו (ראַטנפאַרבאַנד), מ. דיימוסישמייט (פּראַנקרייך), ס. עמערני (שפּאַניע), פ. ערדמאַן (פּראַנקרייך), זשאַן גאל (בעלגיע), ל. האַמאן (פּראַנקרייך), זשאַן קאַהן (פּראַנקרייך), י. קיסר (ישׂראל), טעאַ קליין (פּראַנקרייך), ל. קאַפּעלאַוויץ (ענגלאַנד), ר. לאלעמאַן (בעלגיע), ד"ר ש. לעזענבערג (ענגלאַנד), פ. מאַראַגאַל (שפּאַניע), א. אָספּיענקאַ (ראַטנפאַרבאַנד), ה. אַסטראַך (פּאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן), ל. פּערעז (בעלגיע), ג. רעדאַן (שפּאַניע), זשאַרזש שעק (בעלגיע), ש.ל. שניידערמאַן (פּאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן), דוד סוסקינד (בעלגיע), מ. וואַן העמעלדראַק (בעלגיע), סימאָן ווילי (פּראַנקרייך), אלי ווידעל (פּאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן), ט. זאבי (איטאַליע).

לאַנדסבערג'ס און די "שואה" אין ליטע

די חל-אביבער "לעצטע נייעס" פון 25סטן אפריל האט פארעפנטלעכט אן ארטיקל, וואס ווארפט א ליכט אויף די "נייע נאציאנאליסטיש-ליטווישע טעורענען". שטיצנדיק זיך אויף די אנגעגעבענע פאקטן פונעם פראָפ. רב לעווין פון העברעישן אוניווערסיטעט — א דאקטער פאָרשער וועגן דער פאָרנכטונג פון ליטווישן יידנטום.

דאָס ארטיקל (פון נתן רועי) ווייזט-אן בלייבן אין אנהייב, אַז "די ליטווינער מיט זייער מנהיג וויטאוטאָס לאַנדסבערג'ס, פרוון "אייבערשרייבן פונדאָסיני די געשיכטע" מינימירנדיק דעם אַנטייל פון די ליטווינער אין די שחטות איבער די אידן בעת דער שואה אָדער פאַרלייקענענדיק אינגאַנצן דעם דאָזיקן אַנטייל: "זיי אָבן גישט מיר האָבן אוינגעבראַכט די אידן, נאָר די סאָויעטן", און זיי האַלטן אַפילו איצט אין פאַרואַנדלען דעם "ניינטן פאַרט", דעם אַביעקט פון די רציחות איבער די אידן בעת די סאָויעטיש-סטאַליניסטישע פאַרברעכנס..."

לאַנדסבערג'ס פרווט פאַרע זינט-כליז "אייבערדרייען די ליטווישע יצרות פונעם לאַנד"; ער באַהיפטעט אין מערערע דערקלערונגען — אַז "ביז דער שואה האָבן די אידן געלעבט צווישן די באַליטישע פעלקער אין פאַרזעטנישע-סיגעט-גוטע באַדינגונגען..." רב לעווין וואַרפט עס קאַטעגאָריש אָפּ. מאַכנדיק פאַלגנדיקע פעסטשטעלונגען:

"חוקף מיטן מלחמה אויסברוך צווישן די ייטשלאַנד און רוסלאַנד נאָך איידער עס האָבן אַריינמאַרשירט די ווערמאַכט-זעלנער, איז אויסגעבראַכן אַכאָואַליע מאַסן פאַרזאַמען אין פאַרשידענע ערטער. אין ליטער — ווייניקסטנס אין 40 ערטער. אין 25 ערטער זענען דורכגעפירט געוואָרן פאַרגוואַרליקענען פון פרויען און 36 אין פאַרגעקומען דאָס כוּרטאַלע אידעקעווען זיך איבער רעכס (...). בעת די דייטשן זענען אַריין אין דער שטאַט האָבן די ליטווינער, מיט זייער דערמאָטיקונג, דורכגעפירט אַ כולט-באָד אין סלאַבאָדקע און אין אַנדערע ערטער. זיי האָבן זיך נישט באַזונגעט מיט טויטן די קרבנות, נאָר זיי האָבן פאַר דעם געפייניקט און דורכגעפירט שוידערלעכע אָרגיעס. די אַקטיוו-באַטייליקטע אין די דאָזיקע רציחות, אָדער ווייניקסטנס די איניציאַטאָרן, זענען געקומען פון די קרוין פון דער אינטעליגענץ אָדער געוועזענע געזעלשאַפטלעכע טוערן."

פראָפ. לעווין פאַררופט זיך דערביי אויף די פאַרצייכענענע פון די ליטווישער דאָקטאָרן העלענאַ קאַטאַריענאַ, וועלכע האָבן אין יענע טעג געשריבן אין איר

טאַגבוך: "אַלע ליטווינער, אויסער עטלעכע אויסנאַמען, זענען פאַראייניקט אין זייער שואה צו די אידן (...). אַ וולגאַרער ליטווישער המון, ביי דעם פּולשטענדיק גלייכנילט מצד ער אינטעליגענץ (און מעגלעך מיט דער הסכמה) האָט אַרויסגעוויזן אַן אַכזריות פון ווילדע חיות (...). איך בין פּולשטענדיק דערשיטערט פונעם כוח פון דער בלינדער שואה, וועלכע מען אַנטוויקלט און מען בלאָזט צונויף, כדי צו באַפרידיקן די סאַמע ווידסטע אינטענטן..."

אויפן סמך פון זיינע פאַרשונגען איז פראָפ. רב לעווין געקומען צו פאַלגנדיקע אויספירן, וואָס ער האָט שוין באַקאַנט געמאַכט אין יולי 1988: דער פראָצעס באַליטישע אידן, וועלכע זענען דערמאַרדעט געוואָרן אין דער שואה (95 פראָצענט) איז געווען דער סאַמע העכסטער אין אייראָפּע. פיל פון די אידישע קרבנות אין דיאָ לענדער, אויב נישט די גרעסטע מערהייט, זענען אַנגעבראַכט געוואָרן דורך די ליטווינער, לעטן און עסטאַניער, אָדער מיט זייער אַקטיווער מיטהילף, אַ געוויסע צאל פון די דאָזיקע פעלקער, טיילווייז פרייוויליקע, וועלכע האָבן געדינט אין די גרעסטע אָדער פאַליציאָנאַשע פאַרמאַציעס פון דער נאַצישער מאַכט, האָבן זיך אויך באַטייליקט אין מאָרדן אידן און ווייסרוסלאַנד און פּוילן".

אַזעלכע זענען די פאַקטן. פאַרוואָס זוכט לאַנדסבערג'ס צו פאַרווישן זיי, פאַרמינערנדיק די פאַרזעטנישע פאַרזעטנישע פון די ליטווישע רוצחישע קאַלאָראַראַטאָרן און זוכנדיק אַ תירוץ פאַר אַלץ אין דער פריערדיקער "סאָויעטישער אָפּזאַציע פון 1940"? פאַרוואָס אַזאָ שטוינענדיקע האַלטונג מצד אַ פירער, וואָס האַלט זיך און פאַררופן אידן די מענטשן און פעלקער-רעכט?

די האַלטונג פון לאַנדסבערג'ס אין דער פראָגע פון די שחטות איבער די אידן בעת דער שואה דערליכט אפּשר ליכטער צו פאַרשטיין די מאַדע פאַרמולירונג פונעם באַשלוס פון ליטווישן פאַרלאַמענט וועגן דער "אומפּאָהענגיקייט": פון פאַר דער צווייטער וועלט-מלחמה און צו דער קאַנסטיטוציע פון 1938...

די דאָזיקע "קאַנסטיטוציע פון 1938" איז געווען — וויי באַוווסט — אַ פּאַרוקט פון דער פאַשיסטישן רעזשים וואָס איז איינגעשטעלט געוואָרן אין ליטע זינט 1926. נאָך דער איבערקערעניש פון דיקטאַטאָר טעמענאַז, און וואָס האָט געויערשט ביז צו דער מלחמה, צי חלומט אַזאָ לאַנדסבערג'ס צוריקצוקערן זיך צו יענעם פאַשיסטישן רעזשים? צי אידן דאָס די "פרייהייט" וואָס ער פאַרלאַנגט פאַר ליטע?

דאָס אַלץ איז פאַרשייט זיך, ווייט צו קאַנען באַצייטערן די אַלע, וואָס האָבן נישט פאַרגעסן דעם נעכטן. און דעם זין איז כאַראַקטעריסטיש דאָס פאַרעפּונלעכטע אַרטיקל ווי אויך מערערע ענלעכע דערמאַנונגען אין אַ ריי אַנדערע ישראלי-צייטונגען.

ענינים

יידישע

אָרום דעם מאָנומענט

אין שפּאַניע

רב ליבערמאַן

דורות פון דער צוקונפט

פון אברהם רייזין

דורות פון דער צוקונפט

קומענדיקע ברידער,

איר זאָלט ניט דערוועגן

אויסלאַכן די לידער —

לידער פון די שוואַכע,

לידער פון די מידע,

אין אַ דור אָן אַרימען,

פאַר דער וועלטס ירידה.

מיט דער ווייטער פרייהייט

אַלע דורכגעדרונגען

האַבן מיר די לידער

שטילערהייט געזונגען.

און אין נאַכט אין חושך,

ווייט פון אייגענע גליקן,

האַבן מיר בשתיקה

אויפגעשטעלט די בריקן.

זיך געהיט פון שונא,

וואָס האָט וואָך געלוערט,

און דערפאַר די לידער

קלינגען אָפּ פאַרטרויערט

און די גרויע בענקשאַפט

און דער געהיימער צאָרן,

וואָס איז אין די לידער

איינגעוועבט געוואָרן...

28 אָנגעזעענע פּערזענלעכקייטן האָבן מסכים געווען צו פּיאָנירן אין ערן קאָמיטעט פאַרן מאָנומענט לכּבֿד די 7000 העלדישע אידישע קעמפּער אין שפּאַניע אין די יאָרן 1936 — 1939.

איבערשטייגנדיק אַלע דערוואַרטונגען האָבן אַלע פּערזענלעכקייטן פּאַזיטיוו און ווירדיק גענטפּערט אויפן אַפעל צו זיין מיטגלידער פון קאָמיטעט, אויב דער מדינה פּרעזידענט פון ישראל חיים הערצאָג האָט נישט געקענט אָננעמען צו זיין פּרעזידענט פון ערן קאָמיטעט, האָט ער אָבער שוין אין אַפריל 1989 צוגעשיקט זינען וואַרעמע ברכות, שרייבנדיק ווערטלעך דורך זיין סעקרעטאַרין אסתר בילן: "זאָלן געשטאַרקט זיין אירע הענט אין דער אַקציע." אויף אַנווער ווענדונג צו ווילי בראַנדט צו זיין דער פּרעזידענט פון ערן קאָמיטעט, האָט ער געענפּערט, אָז אַלס ערן פּרעזידענט פון סאַציאַליסטישן אינטערנאַציאָנאַל נעמט ער אָן מיט פּאַרגעניגן און כּבֿד די וויכטיקע פּונקציע. ווען מיר האָבן היינט אָפּגעשלאָסן די ליסטע פון די 28 פּאַזיטיווע ענטפּערס שטעלן מיר פּעסט מיט דער גרעסטער סאַטיספּאַקציע, אָז זעלטן האָט אַמאָל אָן אַפעל פאַר אַ אידישע איניציאַטיוו געהאַט אַזאַ אָפּקלאַנג. יעדער דעהאַלטענער בריוו וואָלט אַפּשר פּאַרדינט צו ווערן פּאַרעפּנטלעכט צוליב די וואַרעמע און ריזניקע קאָמענטאַרן און די מיינסטע האַלטן, אָז מיר האָבן זיי צוגעטיילט אַ גרויסן כּבֿד אַנטײל צו נעמען אין אַזאַ וויכטיקער אָפּמערקונג צום אַנדענק פון די אידישע קעמפּער.

כּבֿד נישט צו מאַכן קיין דיסקרימינאַציע און נישט קיין פּרעצעדענטן גיבן מיר די רשימה לויטן אַלף-בית מיט די פּונקציעס פון די פּערזענלעכקייטן פון פּאַרשידענע שאַטירונגען. מיר ווילן האַפּן, אָז זיי וועלן באַאיינפּלוסן די אידישע לייענער צו האָבן אַ פּאַזיטיווע באַציונג אין דער מעגלעכן, אָז אַלע מאַטיווירטע און פּאַראַינטערפּרירטע לגבי דער וויכטיקער מאַניפּעסטאַציע זאָלן קענען זיין אָנוועזנד אין באַצעלאַנע דעם 25טן מערץ 1990.