

July/August 1991
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JEWISH AFFAIRS

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**Fifty Years After the Pogrom in
Baghdad**
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Reprint
The Strategic Peace Initiative Package
James J. Zogby

Fiction
David Seltzer

Review
Gerald Horne

Document
Irina Klepfisz letter to Tikkun



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JEWISH AFFAIRS

19th ANNUAL DINNER

JEWISH AMERICANS AND AFRICAN AMERICANS: REBUILDING THE ALLIANCE

Speakers

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Editor, *Jewish Affairs*

GERALD HORNE

Chair, Department of Black Studies
University of California at Santa Barbara

Cultural Program

VINIE BURROWS

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Editorials

The Multicultural Curriculum: Educationally and Socially Correct

The proponents of a multicultural curriculum — which Jewish Affairs strongly supports — are being charged by their critics with attempting to impose a politically correct, educationally unsound and socially divisive approach to what is taught in our schools. While the charge of political correctness is unfounded, since liberals and progressives are on both sides of the issue, the charges of educational unsoundness and social divisiveness unfortunately have some substance to them.

The multicultural curriculum being advocated has two related objectives: to reorient the teaching of world history and literature to include more of the world than Europe and the teaching of U.S. history and literature to include that of our virtually excluded minority ethnic groups. There is little danger of worsening and great potential for improving education and intergroup understanding by augmenting the traditional Eurocentric curriculum for world history and literature with the experience and writings of African, Asian, Latin American, Mideastern and other cultures. However, augmenting the traditional curriculum for U.S. history and literature with that of African American, Asian American, Latino and Native American ethnic groups may well worsen rather than improve education and intergroup relations unless the curriculum is augmented beyond them. For teaching about the tribulations of these ethnic minority groups along with the relatively more fortunate experience of the white majority inculcates the false, racism-generating view of a classless U.S. society consisting of non-white oppressed and white oppressors. This can be avoided only if the curriculum also requires teaching about European ethnic groups like the Irish, Italians and Jews who have undergone oppression as well.

Teaching about such European ethnic groups along with non-European ones not only counteracts the negative effects of teaching exclusively about the latter. It rectifies curricular omissions and distortions comparable to those relating to minority ethnic groups. For non-WASP Europeans are virtually excluded from the traditional curriculum, which is not Eurocentric but British and North European WASP-centered. To get all students to feel part of and consequently be motivated to learn about our country's past and present, the curriculum should require that they

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Jewish Affairs

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Illustration:

Ben Shahn..... Cover
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learn that the strands making up the fabric of U.S. society include that large part of our population that came from eastern and southern Europe as well as other continents.

Just as African American and other nationally oppressed students gain a sense of pride and ethnic identity from learning about their groups' involvement in our country's history and contributions to our society and customs, the same holds true for students of European descent. In the case of Jewish students, how different would their view of being Jewish be if they could learn that, in addition to Haym Salomon's financial contribution to the American revolution, Abraham Solomon fought at Bunker Hill, that Mordecai Sheftall headed the revolutionaries in Savannah, that the Jewish community of Charleston fielded a "Jews Company" for the revolutionary army and that the entire Jewish community of New York fled the city in 1776 rather than live under British rule not to return until 1783? And that, in addition to Judah Benjamin being in the Confederate leadership, August Bondi, Jacob Benjamin and Theodore Weiner fought alongside John Brown in Kansas, that some 6,500 Jews—including the "Israelite Company" of the 82nd Illinois Infantry Regiment commanded by Col. Edward Selig Solomon—fought for the Union from Bull Run and Gettysburg to Vicksburg and the Wilderness, where Leopold Karpeles became one of the six Jewish Union soldiers to be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor? And how different a view of Jews would non-Jewish students have if they learned such facts as well?

Similarly, increased self-respect and respect from others—and increased educational motivation—would come from Irish, German and other students learning about the heroic Irish brigades and German companies in the Civil War and the equally heroic leading roles of these groups in the late 19th century wars of labor against capital of which the judicial murders of the Molly Maguires and the Haymarket anarchists are evidence—just as the judicial murders of Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs are evidence of the role of Italian and Jewish radicals in the labor and progressive movements of the first half of this century. And what would both Polish and non-Polish students think of "the dumb Poles" if they were to learn even the single fact that Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who was an officer in the American revolution and headed the Polish revolution of the same period, willed much of his estate to purchase the freedom of U.S. slaves.

For both educational and social reasons, *Jewish Affairs* advocates a multicultural curriculum that will enable all students to learn about our country's multiethnic heritage and present-day multiethnic reality and

their place within it. At the same time, we insist that the truth be taught about ethnic groups of every origin, their weaknesses as well as strengths, and that a fully multicultural curriculum must include, in addition to the traditional focus on the upper classes, the experience and achievements of the working class in each ethnic group and the nation as a whole.

The African-Centered Curriculum: Educationally and Socially Destructive

One of the foremost proponents of the multicultural curriculum restricted to minority ethnic groups is Dr. Leonard Jeffries Jr. of the City College of New York who further proposes that this new curriculum be "African-centered." Aside from its questionable scholarly basis and educational validity, such a narrow nationalist approach would alienate Asian, most Latino and Native Americans as well as European ethnics from African Americans who would properly be seen as belittling all other peoples' contributions and experience but their own.

This would be a calamity for African Americans. What this approach could mean for Jews is suggested by Dr. Jeffries' July 20 speech at the Empire State Black Arts and Cultural Festival in Albany, N.Y., in which he fulminates about "the attack (*upon African Americans, ed.*) coming from the Jewish community—systematic, unrelenting" and announces that he and like-minded colleagues are preparing "ten major books relating to the Jewish community (the wealthy Jewish community) and enslavement (*of Africans, ed.*)" Although Dr. Jeffries qualifies Jewish community with "wealthy" and elsewhere states "Everybody was involved in the enslavement of Africans," his singling out Jews for attack—from Europe and colonial America to present-day Hollywood and Texas (!)—is clearly antisemitic.

Jews should, therefore, be particularly concerned with the multicultural curriculum being developed in New York State, for which Dr. Jeffries was a principal consultant. But all progressives must be concerned with ensuring that, in New York and elsewhere, any new curriculum not increase but decrease ethnic divisiveness by being fully multicultural along the lines discussed above.

The Word of the Law Goes Forth From Jerusalem

A news report informs us that "Jerusalem police have deferred action on charges" that at a conference

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Police Brutality, Class and Race

Herbert Aptheker

The creation of a professional police force is a modern phenomenon. It appears in cities in the nineteenth century – London in 1829, New York in 1849. They were created to protect the rich from what were then called “the dangerous classes” – that is, the workers.

In the United States there was an added feature: police were instruments for the suppression of “colored peoples” and, especially with slavery, the control of the enslaved.

Police brutality – that is the excessive use of force by police against the particularly exploited poor – African-American, Latino and American-Indian, especially – has been and is a basic characteristic of the U.S. social order.

Let us illustrate this in our century through the writings of its greatest figure. W.E.B. Du Bois denounced police racism and brutality in November 1906 in an article devoted to the Atlanta pogrom of that year. When he edited *The Crisis* he repeatedly denounced “the killings of Blacks by police in the South” (November, 1911); the “complicity of police and courts in the system of terrorization” (August, 1921); the “brutality of the police” in New York (March, 1922); he wrote of the picketing of police headquarters by Black women in Brooklyn, N.Y., “demanding an end to police brutality” (May, 1926); he denounced “police brutality and murder” in Florida (May, 1928); and offered a general excoriation of the system of police brutality and racism in January, 1931.

Under Herbert Hoover, the Wickersham Commission denounced police brutality in 1931. Every “report” since, from that after the Harlem outbreak in 1943, to Truman’s “Secure These Rights” just after World War II, to the Kerner Report of “two nations” a few years later, to those following the uprisings of the 1960s – all of them have denounced police brutality and pointed to its existence as a basic grievance of the so-called minority peoples – especially the African-American population.

Now here it is 1991 and another report announced rampant and brutal racism in the police force of Los Angeles and the systematic practice of brutality by that force – a practice known among and encouraged by that force from top to bottom.

Why? Because racism is fundamental to a United States capitalist society; because racism is profitable and useful to those who rule society. This racism

serves as justification for and instigator of systematic terrorization.

The struggle against it must be – in the first place – a mass phenomenon, a street phenomenon. If Black women picketed police headquarters in Brooklyn in 1926, can they not again picket such stations in a thousand cities now? Can they not be joined by men; can they not be joined by human beings of every color and of no color? Civilian police review boards, with real powers of enforcement, must be demanded and appointed in cities throughout the United States.

A real commitment to the extirpation of this barbarism must be demanded from every political figure and body in this country, every labor union, every parents’ association, every alert civic organization.

This kind of an aroused mass movement, taking to the streets, refusing to be palliated, demanding action, is what is needed. Nothing else will work. It will bring about some positive changes and it will help lay the groundwork for a renovated political system in this country which will in turn make possible a real shift away from the decay of the present social order and the beginnings of a society which approximates decent human values.

A Letter from a Reader

With much pleasure we have read your magazine dated May-June of this year, and it fills us with satisfaction the coincidence that exists between the subjects that are treated in it, with the ones that are the base of our social activities.

As you, we are fighting for human rights, for peace in the world, especially between Israel and Palestinians, for Jewish culture in all its displays, according to principles against racism and antisemitism.

We are sending information about some of the activities that we have realized during this year. Hoping that our contact will be permanent, we remain,

Dr. Vladimir Kornecki
Asociacion Cultural Israelita
Montevideo, Uruguay

New Hope for Mideast Peace

Jon Weisberger

At a time when President Bush's "peace process" appears to have ground to a halt, a new battle over the Middle East is shaping up in Washington.

The President appears to be leaning against approval of a forthcoming Israeli request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees for Soviet immigrant absorption unless the ultra-right Shamir government halts its extensive development of Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories. The settlements violate Israel's obligations under international law as an occupying power, and because their purpose is to "create facts" – that is, to establish a permanent Israeli presence (especially on the West Bank) – they are seen as one of the biggest obstacles to a peace settlement.

While neither Bush nor Secretary of State Baker has yet clearly stated that the administration will tie support for the loan guarantees to a freeze on settlement activity, Israeli authorities are very worried that such a linkage will be made. Israel's United States Ambassador Zalman Shoval caused a ruckus in Jerusalem recently when he said in several radio interviews that "the government of Israel will have no choice but to decide if it is more important to continue settlement-building ... or obtain American aid for the absorption of Soviet immigrants."

Though Shoval was attacked for "undercutting" the government, his opinion as to the likely administration position can hardly be discounted. Cabinet members, therefore – including the prime minister and Housing Minister Ariel Sharon – have taken to arguing that linkage of the guarantees ("humanitarian aid") to settlements ("a political position") would be immoral.

The request for loan guarantees offers the best opportunity yet for success in applying pressure on the Israeli government to halt its policy of creeping annexation. A number of factors contribute to this:

- The need for the loan guarantees is unmistakable. Numerous Israeli leaders from all parts of the political spectrum have stated publicly that the Israeli economy is incapable by itself of absorbing the flood of Soviet immigrants.

- While the settlements are extremely controversial in Israel, immigrant absorption is a project on which the entire Zionist movement is united. If Shoval is correct – that Israel must make a choice between the two – it seems likely that absorption will win out.

- The U.S. administration has previously linked loan guarantees to settlements. \$400 million in guaran-

tees was held up for almost a year until the Israeli government promised not to expand settlements beyond the 1967 border (a promise promptly violated once the guarantees were in hand).

The settlements – and the loan guarantees – are both separable from the issue of Israeli security. Past efforts to condition U.S. aid to Israel have run afoul of claims that reduction or suspension of aid would jeopardize security; such claims cannot be made with regard to a guarantees-settlements linkage.

- There are signs that a number of Senators and Representatives – normally reflexive in support of Israeli policies – are both disturbed about Israeli settlements and willing to follow the administration's lead on the guarantees. Rep. Dante Fascell (D-FL), has said that if there were administration opposition to the guarantees, a "lot of people would hide behind it." A bloc between liberals concerned about the settlements and Republicans "supporting their President" is a distinct possibility.

- A number of American Jewish leaders have publicly expressed their opposition to, or at least reservations about the settlements, and share Shoval's view of the situation. For example, Abraham Foxman, head of the Anti-Defamation League, was quoted in an Israel newspaper as saying that the current settlement drive is "a provocative act." While most American Jewish groups have publicly pledged to lobby in support of the loan guarantees, they can be counted upon to privately lobby the Shamir government to accept linkage.

- The Israeli counter-argument to linkage – that "humanitarian aid" ought not to be linked to "political issues" – is a weak one. For one thing, U.S. administrations routinely link the two. More importantly, however, if the loan guarantees are to be considered as humanitarian aid, the question is then raised of whether the absorption of Soviet immigrants into Israel should be a high priority. Soviet immigrants are, as a group, healthy and well-educated, moving to a country with one of the highest per capita GNP's outside of Western Europe and North America. It is inconceivable that humanitarian aid to such a group should be granted at such a high level while the administration can barely bring itself to cough up a measly \$80 million in humanitarian assistance to tens of millions of South African Blacks.

The fight around the loan guarantees is one that can be won. Stopping the settlements would be a

tremendous victory for Middle East peace, because it would halt the momentum of the Shamir-Sharon policy of undercutting even the possibility of a peace agreement, and lay the groundwork for positive motion towards a just and lasting peace. It is not too soon to begin building coalitions to take the issue on. Let's get moving!

Artists for Peace in the Mideast

Artists for Mideast Peace has produced five large, colorful peace buttons like this one.



They also promote the creation and exhibition of original artwork on the theme of peace — a great project for a Hebrew or public school class.

Each participant gets a large poster that already contains the border with the word peace in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. It is fascinating to see how different each finished poster looks when filled in. You can order buttons from Artists for Mideast Peace, 99 Burlington Street, Lexington, MA 02173, (617) 891-4235. They are \$1 each, plus \$1 for postage.

Mitch Kamen invites artists to submit designs for new posters and buttons. Anyone interested in planning a poster project for a school group or organization can call him at the above number.

Reprint The Strategic Peace Initiative Package

James J. Zogby

The Strategic Peace Initiative Package (SPIP) provides a new approach to Israeli-Palestinian peace. Developed by the Coalition for Post-War U.S. Policy in the Middle East, which includes most major Arab American organizations, it has drawn the attention of Middle East leaders, the major news media, policy makers and the U.S. State Department. Endorsers include Ambassador James Aiken, Ambassador Lucius Battle, Frances T. Farenthold, Leonard Fein, Bishop Thomas J. Gumbelton, Ambassador Robert V. Keeley, Robin Morgan and Stanley K. Sheinbaum. Fein was the editor of Moment, a magazine of Jewish opinion, and Sheinbaum is one of a small group of U.S. Jews who helped win over Yassir Arafat to the two-state solution. Since its release in March, stories on SPIP have appeared in Jerusalem Report, (Israel), In These Times, Washington Jewish Week, and The Nation, which expressed editorial support. SPIP's principal author, James Zogby, has been interviewed about it on CBS Radio News, National Public Radio's "All Things Considered," CNN's "International Hour" and NBC's TV's "Today" show. This reprint is the summary of SPIP and the reaction to it of Middle Eastern leaders, including the foreign ministers of Egypt and Tunisia and PLO chairman Yassir Arafat, presented by Zogby to a forum at the U.S. State Department on June 4th.

I have just returned from a three-nation tour of the Middle East, during which I visited Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Tunisia. I met with the secretaries general of the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council, the foreign policy establishment and business leadership in these countries, and the chairman of the PLO.

Despite significant differences in the positions and perspectives of those with whom I met, several important common themes and points of fundamental agreement emerged in our discussions:

(1) There is an appreciation for and agreement with the principles set forth in President Bush's March 6 address to the joint session of Congress, specifically his assertion that: "A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security

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Dr. Zogby is director of the Arab American Institute and a progressive political activist.

Fifty Years After the Pogrom in Baghdad: Who Was Responsible?

Naim Giladi

On May 29, 1941 the pro-German Iraqi government headed by Rashid Ali, that had come to power in a coup the month before, collapsed and the members of the cabinet fled to Iran. The British Army advanced to one kilometer from Baghdad and stopped. Nobody knows why. On June 1-2, the Jews of the city celebrated the Shevuot holiday. On the afternoon of June 2, armed men in uniform launched a pogrom. One hundred and twenty-seven Jews were killed and fourteen raped. 1,400 businesses were systematically ransacked.

Reliable information on who was responsible for this atrocity has been very difficult to come by. Why? Because the British foreign office did not disclose any documents at the time or since then. The question of who was responsible has never been answered on the basis of evidence, although "the Iraqis" have often been charged with carrying out this pogrom. In my forthcoming book *Weapons in the Baghdad Synagogue*, I present evidence-based information that definitively answers this 50-year old question.

Yosef Meir, one of the most prominent activists in the underground Zionist movement in Iraq who now works for Israel's Defense Ministry, deals with this in his book *Road in the Desert* (published in the early 1970s by the Defense Ministry). On page 36 Meir writes:

There are those who argue that the pogrom against Jews in Iraq were already planned by the pro-Nazis before the revolt (i.e., Rashid Ali's coup, ed.) failed. In my view, this does not square with reality since,

1. Despite the absence of a lawful government and despite the reports that the leaders of the revolt had already escaped, law and order were maintained for two full days.

2. When it was reported that the revolt failed, on Friday, May 30th in the morning, the Moslem masses certainly did not know that the British force was postponing its entry into the capital and it was not yet known when the King's viceroy would return to Baghdad. Had the pogrom been planned ahead of time, the masses would have taken advantage of the situation to rob and kill before the British forces entered the capital and before a lawful government was establishment.

3. The fact that the peace was not breached for two

Mr. Giladi was formerly on the editorial staff of Haolam Hazeh. Born and raised in Baghdad, he lived for 30 years in Israel and now resides in New York City.

days and that the business district, which was wholly owned by Jews, was not attacked even when the city was under the control of robbers and murderers because the district was guarded by the Committee for Internal Security proves that the Committee was well in control of the situation.

4. There are numerous pieces of evidence that the British were fully aware that delaying the entry of their forces into Baghdad or postponing the establishment of a lawful government would open the city to robberies and murders. But, as the intelligence offices of the British troops put it, "It would have injured the prestige of our ally the viceroy if it turned out that he returned with the aid of British bayonettes."

It was therefore necessary to avoid such an impression and instead make it appear that the viceroy returned as a savior who reestablished law and order. Then a foreign hand began to stir the pot. The vulnerable element were the Jews and they were abandoned to be robbed and murdered so as to provide the appropriate pretext for the entry of the viceroy into the capital. Since the riots ended at midnight and the viceroy was still not in the capital, it became necessary to resume them (the pogrom riots, ed.), as indeed they were at a relatively late hour, 8 a.m., and they ended only when the viceroy's loyal soldiers entered the capital at 8 a.m.

The self-evident conclusion is that the pogrom was the result of late planning and the only ones who would have benefited from this are the British and their allies the viceroy and his men.

Yosef Meir is indeed correct, in that the only ones who benefited from the events in Baghdad were the British and a few members of the Iraqi elite and that the Iraqi government did not begin but ended the pogrom. It can be assumed that Meir's assertions are based on documents in the archives of the Defense Ministry to which he had free access, particularly since his book was published by the Defense Ministry itself. It is reasonable to assume that the Ministry had documents which pointed to the British as being responsible for organizing the riots or, at least, that they were behind them.

Even before Yosef Meir immigrated to Israel and contemplated publishing this book, my suspicion that the British organized the pogrom was confirmed to me by someone I met accidentally.

In the years 1945-46 a young Armenian named Afak, who looked and acted like a preacher, became fa-

mous in Iraq claiming that he had the power to cure patients with incurable diseases. He looked a lot like the popular pictures of Jesus of Nazareth and the way he communicated with his followers exactly followed Jesus's model.

He came to Baghdad on his way to Buenos Aires, Argentina where he was invited by a businessman who had a son who suffered from an incurable disease. After this businessman had given up on doctors he invited Afak to treat his sick son.

Most of Afak's preaching was for Armenians to return to the reborn (Soviet) Armenia. Among the young men who were drawn to him was Michael Timosian, a Baghdad resident who was working as a nurse in one of the city's public hospitals.

On his way to Armenia, Timosian reached the city of Abadan (in southern Iran) where he found hundreds of Armenians working for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

He decided to stay in Abadan. He purchased a phony Iranian identity card, went to the company's hospital and was promptly hired, which was not difficult since Timosian was fluent in Farsi (Persian) and English in addition to Arabic. I met him at the Iranian Club run by the oil company and as we were discussing the role of the British in the events in Palestine and the traditional method of creating intra-ethnic hostilities employed by the British, he told me the following:

On the second day of the second week in June 1941 (*the day when the pogrom of Baghdad Jews began, ed.*) I was on duty at the hospital for 24 straight hours. In the evening a large number of injured people were brought to the hospital, most of whom were Jews but there were others as well.

The department where I worked was headed by a well-known Jewish doctor and that evening we were anxious because most of the Jewish nurses did not show up. At first we thought it was due to the holiday (the two day-long holiday of Shavuot ed.) but soon we realized that the Jewish nurses were among the casualties — or their families were, so the doctor and I had to take care of all the emergency patients. Of the injured, I was especially interested in two whose conduct did not follow local custom and they drove us crazy. One of them had been hit by a bullet in his shoulder and the other in his right knee. We bandaged them after the doctor removed the bullets but they did not allow us to change their clothes which were soaked with dried blood. Furthermore, they refused to say a word, acting as if they were dumb. Since those who are born speechless are also deaf, we checked their sense of hearing and it turned out that they could hear very well. This made the doctor susp-

icious and he told me to keep an eye on them.

In order to pacify them, we injected them with anesthetics and as they were sleeping we changed their soiled clothes. We then discovered that one of them had hanging around his neck an identification tag of the type used by British troops. (*Timosian had been employed as a registered nurse with the customs of Indian units under the command of the British army, ed.*) The second one had tattoos including Indian writing on his right arm, as well as the familiar sword of the Gurkhas (members of an Indian ethnic group renowned for their military powers who often served in the British armed forces, ed.).

The doctor decided to inform the authorities but there was no one to contact. Reports about the escape of Rashid Ali's men and the massacre of the Jews were being broadcast by the radio stations.

The British, according to the reports people gave us, had reached the outskirts of Baghdad but moved no farther and Armenians such as myself began to worry that we would be next in line after the Jews.

On Tuesday morning my replacement arrived telling One Thousand And One Nights stories about what went on on the Jewish streets of Baghdad.

I left with the doctor, after we were escorted by policemen who had been called by hospital management and I was supposed to return the following evening.

That evening I was somewhat late for work. I traveled by bicycle and the streets were full of policemen who were stopping people.

I apologized to my friend, the male nurse who replaced me, and took over the job. Meanwhile a few female nurses arrived. As soon as I put on my uniform I went to the unit where the two speechless wounded men had been, but to my surprise their beds were empty.

I ran after my replacement who had not yet gotten on his bicycle and asked him what happened to the two men. He told me that early that morning a British officer had come to the hospital accompanied by a sergeant and two Gurkha soldiers and began to circulate among the buildings of the hospital. I asked them what they wanted, and they said they had come to pick up wounded Indian soldiers who had been brought to the hospital. When they came to the two injured men, the Indian sergeant began to talk with them. They immediately saluted and spoke to him. Then they covered themselves with sheets and left with the squad. I asked for their papers and their signatures on forms but the officer just waved the automatic gun he was carrying and I fled.

Timosian's account ends here. He repeated it a number of times. I immigrated to Israel and he eventually went to Armenia, and I nearly forgot what he had told me.

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Argentina Under the Shadow of the Swastika

Mina Fridman Ruetter

The Jewish community in Argentina has lately been disturbed by expressions of blatant anti-Semitism. One of the most abhorrent was the desecration of more than 100 graves in a Jewish cemetery situated on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, called Berazategui. There have been different reactions to this outrage. Some people in official circles tried to dismiss its real meaning by describing it as "sheer vandalism."

But this idea was readily belied by more sober assessments, especially at a meeting convened at the desecrated spot where there were speeches from community leaders and top representatives of the two most important political parties. These parties are the Peronist, who are in office, and the Radical opposition. "Radical" in our country has a different meaning than in the U.S.A. It is the name of a political party founded in 1890, whose head today is ex-President Alfonsín, who spoke at the above-mentioned meeting. There was also a letter from YCUF (Yiddish Cultural Federation) which was mentioned without reading the text. As things are in this country, this mention can be considered a step forward in the difficult relationship between the Jewish Left and the Establishment.

Since the Berazategui events, brazen Nazi propaganda has gained momentum, to say nothing of graffiti, leaflets, radio and TV interviews. One of the most virulent groups is "Alerta Nacional." They have asked the Courts for permission to use the hideous swastika as their symbol, and have arranged a march to Parliament for June 21st. As both things have been denied them, Alerta Nacional, through its leader Alejandro Biondini, has announced they will defy the government and demonstrate all the same.

Alerta Nacional openly supports the Hitlerite creed and, at a press conference, announced its aims. La Nación, the oldest newspaper in Buenos Aires, which represents the establishment and advocates "liberal" thinking, ("liberal" here means "conservative") aptly reported the contents of this press conference:

"The National Socialist Workers Party (PNST), neo-Nazi oriented, confirmed the public meeting scheduled for next Friday (June 21st) at Congress square, in spite of the government's decision forbidding it. The announcement was made by the leader of

the organization, Alejandro Biondini, in the course of a rather peculiar press conference at party headquarters, at which Biondini was flanked by two young men dressed in khaki shirts, black trousers and tie, and red arm-bands with swastikas:

"Our aim is to obtain the citizens' consensus and come to power through their vote. I am convinced that in the next presidential elections Argentine National Socialism will win...Our first step when in power will be the breaking of relations with Israel and recognizing the PLO. We shall intervene in the Stock Exchange and the foreign currency agencies...Enormous falsehoods have been said about World War II. Different historians have said that Holocaust and the gas chambers are a big lie...Menem (Argentina's president) can be compared to Judas, who betrayed his teacher, Christ, and sold Him away for thirty dinars. He came to be president preaching the Peronist gospel; he did not say he would end up ruling with Alsogaray (head of the Liberal party, U.C.D.) He acted like a traitor."

Even though anti-Semitism is one of the main points in the propaganda and criminal deeds of these local Nazis, they do not limit themselves to attacks on the Jewish community. The film director Solanas has been shot in both legs, judges threatened and many similarly cowardly and covert actions are occurring daily, in the purest Nazi style. The offices of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo (who regularly protest their "disappeared" left-wing sons and daughters) are being regularly broken into. This has happened once a month, for the fourth time now, and the mothers themselves are receiving phone threats during which they are, among other things, called "Jewesses."

When asked about the meaning and intentions of this Nazi campaign, political and community leaders, people in the cultural and artistic media are unanimous in condemning the dangerous phenomena. Many of them agree that they are symptoms of socio-economic instability in Argentina and that Alerta Nacional should officially be banned. But so far there has not been developed an organized response to this shameless attack on Argentine democratic institutions part of which is the Jewish community. Neither the non-Jewish nor the Jewish establishment seems to have learned one of the most vital lessons of the Nazi period, i.e., that the people cannot entirely leave the anti-fascist fight to the government and police. Up to now we are

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

Art and the Greenhorning of America

Charles Keller

Variouly called the Ellis Island art invasion, the mongrelization and the Balkanization of American culture, a major aspect of the development of contemporary art in America and its resulting dominance in the world art scene with abstract Expressionism in the 1950s, the exhibition "Painting a Place in America: Jewish Artists in New York 1900 -1945" is a "must see!" Organized by the Jewish Museum, this display of some 150 works by 50 artists continues through September 29, 1991. It represents a unique and historically significant insight into the place of Jewish artists in American culture and society.

The exhibition was assembled as a tribute to the nearly 100 years of continuing activity of the Art School of the Educational Alliance on the Lower East Side. Its history and leading role in the "Americanization" of the thousands of "greenhorns" who passed through its doors is fascinatingly documented in the 208-page catalogue edited by Norman L. Kleebblatt and Susan Chevlowe. The articles by Irving Howe, Milton W. Brown and Matthew Baigell provide lively accounts of the events of those turbulent times.

It is astonishing to realize that major artists such as Max Weber, Louis Lozowick, Abe Walkowitz, William Zorach, Chaim Gross, Mark Rothko, Barnett Newman, Man Ray, Ben Shahn, Louise Nevelson, Moses Soyfer and many others either taught, studied or exhibited within its program. Before discussing the seminal role of the Educational Alliance and the ferment of cultural activity surrounding it, a brief review of the social environment of that era might be useful.

The wave of immigrants from Europe, mostly from the eastern part, reached its highest level in the early 1900s. Immigrants had been welcome at the end of the 19th century when industry was developing and cheap labor was needed in the factories, the mines, the slaughterhouses and on the farms. During and after WWI, however, Jews and other foreigners were seen as a threat to America's culture and economy, so resistance to the influx began to build. America's traditional isolationism, strong until we entered the "war to end all wars," reasserted itself when the "danger" of the infiltration of alien ideas began to threaten our provincial lifestyle. This fear was, of course, contradictory when one considers the kalaidescopic structure of our society

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from its beginnings. Called a melting pot, a mosaic or a mixed salad, the tapestry of Native American, Spanish, English, French, African, German, Irish, Italian, Jewish, Chinese, etc. threads comprised a rich, vibrant society.

What bothered the ruling class, predominantly WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant), was the infiltration of disturbing cultural and religious customs and, most of all, radical political ideas such as socialist, anarchist, women's suffrage and trade-union. And so, beginning with the Haymarket hangings of German anarchists in 1890 and the series of lynchings in the south to the Palmer raids and the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti in the '20's, backlash was on with a vengeance. Laws were introduced forbidding the teaching of any language but English in the schools, and even the speaking of other tongues was often outlawed. Quotas on immigration, particularly of eastern and southern Europeans and "orientals," were strictly enforced.

It was in this atmosphere that in 1893 the great five-story, city-block-square Educational Alliance was established at 197 East Broadway and Hester Street. A merger of three agencies, the Hebrew Free School Association, the YMHA and the Aguilar Free Library Association and, influenced by the settlement house movement of the 1880s, the Alliance "sought to provide the poor with cultural and moral aids that would train them to help themselves." Founded by the "uptown" German Jews, 19th century arrivals now comfortably assimilated in the business and politics of the ruling class, men such as Jacob Schiff, Nathan and Isador Straus, the Lehmans, the Levinsohns et al were determined to "civilize" and Americanize their embarrassingly crude, "unwashed" impoverished eastern proletarian kinsmen.

The condescending and often arrogant solicitude with which the uptowners apportioned their philanthropic largesse was irritating to and keenly resented by the "beneficiaries" who, trapped in their overcrowded tenements and lacking basic resources, were often forced into dependency on their benefactors. As the Educational Alliance was practically the only place where they could learn English, attend classes in sewing-machine operation, carpentry, etc., sit in a warm, quiet library and enjoy concerts, lectures and art classes all within walking distance from their homes, they were hardly in a position or mood to demand re-

spect from their mentors.

Besides, the swarming thousands of newcomers were often unable to communicate among themselves, limited as they were in education, unorganized either professionally or socially, and generally sharply competitive among themselves for the dissipating jobs in the sweatshops, in the filthy streets and waterfront warehouses. They had brought with them the impediments of superstition, the "quaint" customs of the shtetl and the dorf and the archaic trappings of a religion which was more a set of habits than a philosophy of choice.

While the newcomers had a strong sense of identity, of pride in their national origin, their children were vulnerable to the great steamroller of Americanization. They were ashamed of their parents' strange language and accents, and they soon learned the necessity of changing their names and their addresses. The motive for changing one's name cut two ways. Though some found it necessary to down-play their Jewish or foreign origins, others catered to the preference of the elites for European art. Thus, Leo Stokes of Philadelphia became Leopold Stokowsky. Walter Blutkopf ("bloodhead") preferred the Hebrew translation, Damrosch. West End Avenue and the Grand Concourse would be the next rung on the goldene medina ladder, and even as children they quickly learned that manual labor was for "others" and that dishwashing was for women.

In this social and cultural milieu a powerful effort by the Alliance to bring culture in the form of art, literature, philosophy, theatre, dance and manners was having a profound effect (the boys all wore neckties to the art and machine-shop classes). The sense of escape from the grinding demands of daily life and the opportunity to explore and express one's innermost thoughts and aspirations was incalculable. Coming, as most of the immigrants did, from quasi-feudal societies where intellectual creativity was denied their caste, this new American freedom was nothing short of explosive.

Throughout most of these turbulent years Henry McBride, Louis Lozowick and Abbo Ostrowsky successively headed the art program of the Educational Alliance, staunchly opposing the bourgeoisification position of director Julia Richman in defense, instead, of cultural, religious and ethnic roots as the most vital premise of Americanism. Lozowick, in his own work, however, was uninterested in his own Jewish roots. He responded, instead, to industrial and urban forms with his geometrical, Precisionist style. In the '30s he turned to labor and social Realist themes.

The current exhibition is an exhilarating assem-

blage of examples of the virtual deluge of art that was uncorked by the Educational Alliance and which entrenched itself in America's art history.

A nagging question concerning this floodtide of 20th century art is "What is Jewish about it?" Is it the subject matter, the style, the underlying emotional message? For that matter, one might ask the perennial question, "What is the definition of Jewish in the first place?" Nearly 50 of the artists in the Jewish Museum exhibited were Jewish by birth, but most were not religious. As Milton W. Brown notes in the catalogue, "only a few were concerned with Jewish themes. Only Ben-Zion was committed to the biblical past, Max Weber and Ben Benn to Jewish themes on occasion and Mark Rothko to religion, but in some universal sense, certainly not Jewish. Jewishness was not the issue in the '30s, though it did begin to surface during the Hitler years."

Yiddishkeit, the secular sense of being Jewish outside the religious community, the comfort of speaking and reading Yiddish and enjoying Yiddish theatre continued to decrease within the second generation. Again quoting Brown, "Most artists, gentiles as well as Jews, were more concerned with larger social problems and with art as an instrument of social change than as a vehicle of ethnic cultural expression. (It was) the radical social or political stance (that) seemed consistent with the time-honored Jewish tradition of social justice" that, during the Depression years, characterized the works of the Jewish artists.

Harold Rosenberg, the contemporary critic devoted to Abstract Art, denied the existence of a Jewish style and even of a unique Jewish experience, but he did acknowledge that identity was a serious concern. The best that he could come up with was that when Jewish artists "assert their relation to art in an individual and personal way" they are involved in "a profound Jewish expression."

Hutchins Hapgood, in his 1902 book, *The Spirit of the Ghetto* illustrated by Jacob Epstein and Bessar Gussow, observed that Epstein and many like him dealt with life and its actualities. "The typical life of the community is expressed. Of what Gentile American painter can this be said? (They lack the) simple presentation of well-recognized and deeply felt national or even sectional life...and show no warm interest in any one kind of life."

Despite the tribute, Epstein considered orthodox life too traditional and narrow and the ghetto too confining. It was Walt Whitman, the Russian novelists and the avant-garde of Europe that stirred his blood. He decried the constraints of middle-class values, and

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Zechariah The Painter

David Seltzer

This is an excerpt from the author's reminiscences, Scenes and Images of Soroki.

He was a little house-painter with a big talent for painting landscapes and portraits, but his talent was lost in our shtetl and he was never given the recognition he deserved.

He was small and agile, with blond hair and a little red moustache, and perpetually dreamy eyes under the large peak of his Polish cap. His canvas kapote hung on him like a cloak and flapped its skirts when he ran with his mud-stained boots along the shtetl streets.

His assistant, Moyshe Elephant, was a giant of a man with a red neck, a tremendous chest, and round shoulders — no one in Soroki could match his strength. He could lift up a loaded wagon with his back or his two bare hands, hands that were big as shovels. He could hold up a ladder in the middle of a room while Zechariah stood on it, painting a ceiling. And Zechariah trusted him to hold it up as long as necessary. Zechariah didn't make a move without Moyshe, who carried his ladders, his buckets and paint-brushes.

Moyshe would paint or plaster the walls and fill in the outlines of the figures which Zechariah had drawn on the walls with white or colored chalk. In the "best" and wealthiest homes in town, Zechariah would paint landscapes, gardens of flowers and fruits, or he would hang paper, or design a ceiling with an evening sky of clouds and stars, or he would draw a golden border with a monogram of the owners at the corners.

Zechariah's crowning work was on the paintings in the Great Synagogue in Soroki. The original paintings on the walls and high ceiling had been done centuries earlier by a famous Italian artist who had been brought from Odessa. But Zechariah had so artistically refurbished them that they sparkled with new life. The two lions beneath the golden crown over the curtain of the Holy Ark shone with their brown curly hides, blazing eyes and tousled yellow hair that framed their majestic heads. On either side of the curtain, at the eastern wall with its seats for the richest congregants, there were two large panels of pictures. One of them was a scene in Garden Eden with exotic trees and flowers and the Tree of Knowledge, growing taller than all the others, and with the speckled serpent carrying a ripe red apple

in his mouth. Another scene was of Mother Rachel's grave, a white tent with a stone cupola on a crossroads in the desert, surrounded by palm trees, and in the distance stretched a long caravan of camels carrying rare cargo.

On the north and south walls were representations of the Twelve Tribes and Jacob blessing his sons. The figures were so lifelike and so captivating that I often imagined them coming down off the walls and encircling me. For the same reason, however, the wicked serpent terrified me.

In Soroki there was a legend that Prince Aleinikov, who owned practically everything in town, had on his estate a rare portrait of himself painted by a famous St. Petersburg artist during a visit to the crown-city. One night, during a torrential rainstorm, the room in which the painting hung had been flooded and the portrait severely damaged.

Prince Aleinikov was advised to summon Zechariah to see if he could restore the painting. At first the Prince was opposed. Who ever heard of such a thing — a little Jewish nobody, a house-painter, "improving" the masterpiece of a famous Odessa artist? But when his advisers repeatedly reassured him that this Jew was unusually talented, he relented and sent for Zechariah.

Zechariah studied the portrait and the Prince himself and said he would be able to restore it if the Prince would "sit" for him. The Prince agreed. Zechariah went home and brought his paints and brushes, and after he had worked for several hours, the portrait was revived. The eyes again shone penetratingly and the face was alive.

Aleinikov and his family could not stop talking about this skinny little Jew who worked magic with his brushes. The Prince rewarded Zechariah handsomely for his work and commended him to the nobility in the surrounding area.

The finest reward that Zechariah ever received came immediately following the pogrom in Kishinev, when the new Governor, Prince Urusov, on a tour of inspection, stayed at the Aleinikov estate. When Aleinikov showed him the retouched portrait and told him about the unique Jewish house-painter, the Governor grew curious and expressed a wish to see him. So they brought Zechariah to the Prince's study. The Governor stared at the Jew for a moment and then asked:

"Did you ever attend an art school?"

"No, your Excellency."

David Seltzer is the editor of our Yiddish section.

"You taught yourself to paint?"

"Yes, by watching artists work and by copying from books and magazines."

"Can you sketch a face with a pencil?"

"I think so, your Excellency."

"Good. Here is my pencil and a large sheet of paper. Show me how you make a quick sketch of my face."

Zechariah took hold of the pencil, set his luminous eyes on the Governor as if he wanted to transfix him, and began to sketch. In less than an hour the little Governor with the round and ruddy face, blond moustache and scarecrow whiskers was staring up from the sheet of paper.

The Governor was positively enchanted. He took out his wallet and began counting out bills and pushing them toward Zechariah.

Zechariah objected. "No, your Excellency, please accept this sketch as a gift from me — a memento of your visit to the honorable Prince Aleinikov and our beautiful town of Soroki."

The Governor, touched by this selfless act, now pulled a gold watch out of his vest pocket.

"And you, Gospodin Painter, must accept this watch as a gift for your work, which I shall certainly treasure as a memento of your beautiful city and its wonderful people."

For me, Zechariah the house-painter became the magician who could bring the most marvelous fantasies to life.

One day my father engaged Zechariah and his assistant, Moyshe Elephant, to repaint our house and decorate our big "hall" — the showplace of our home.

Zechariah came to our house and examined the room with its large windows on three sides, where the sun poured in all day and tossed golden beams on the red plush sofa, the full-length mirror that reached to the ceiling, the small table that held my mother's combs and bottles of fragrant scents, and my father's little desk with the crystal ink-stand and two black pens, and the veneered boxes for his important documents. After he inspected all this he asked my father what kind of decorations or patterns he would like on the walls.

It so happened that while my parents and Zechariah were standing around discussing various designs, I was in the middle of the room looking up at the ceiling and wondering why it was necessary to repaint such a clean yellow ceiling. As I stood there looking up, my eyes were attracted by movement outside our open window; against the blue sky, among the open cloudlets that looked like little snow-mounds, a playful bevy of swallows flew by in two rows, with a lead-

er at the front. I counted twelve of them soaring and twisting and turning, back and forth, up and down.

Noting my curious looks at the ceiling, Zechariah said jokingly:

"Well, Dudele, and what would you like to see on the ceiling?"

"A blue sky with hills of snow and twelve flying swallows!"

"Really! What a fantastic imagination the child has! Tsippe, I will paint you a blue sky with twelve flying swallows!"

With Zechariah, it was no sooner said than done. He mixed some blue and white paint in a bucket and instructed Moyshe to paint the ceiling — which soon became a sky-blue background. The next morning, Zechariah instructed Moyshe to hold the ladder, and he climbed up, holding a tray of little saucers with black, white, blue, yellow, green, red and gold paint, and began to create little blue-white clouds with golden edges. Like a magic wand his brush flew over the ceiling. Clouds glided by above my head. Silky-blue swallows with red throats appeared among the clouds, and in two rows began floating toward the spot where I stood agape.

My mother and father also stood wide-eyed and open-mouthed as I cried out ecstatically:

"Oh, they're flying like real birds!"

Zechariah perched on his ladder, brush in hand, his face wreathed in sunshine. The sky-blue ceiling grew brighter as his brown eyes and the golden borders of the little clouds smiled on his red moustache.

"Here are your swallows!" he explained.

My mother and father hugged me happily. For years thereafter that ceiling, with its twelve flying swallows, was the jewel of our home. And even today, whenever I see birds cavorting in a blue sky, my heart smilingly conjures up Zechariah's face with the shining eyes and the golden moustache... □

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in 1902 he went to England where he stayed for the rest of his life. Others soon followed but stayed for short periods mostly in Paris: Bernard Karfiol, Sterne, Weber, Walkowitz, Zorach and Samuel Halpert, to name a few. As for the ghetto community there was actually little support of art and certainly no market, though again according to Brown (p.25) "the artists did earn kovid, respect, even reverence. They were honored...as were Talmudic scholars...for their dedication to a vocation more spiritual, if not godly, than purely materialistic."

This article will continue in our next issue.

Strategic Package

continued from p. 15

Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition, and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin tests of fairness and security. The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli conflict."

(2) This appreciation has been translated concretely into cooperation by all parties with the mission of Secretary of State Baker to the Middle East. All have participated in meetings and have made significant concessions as they have sought to make the mission a success.

(3) Nevertheless, they all share a deep and growing concern over the conditions imposed on the proposed peace conference by the Shamir government in Israel. It has been described as a meeting which may be convened but, if the Israeli conditions hold, may not be worth attending.

There is a fear that, in the absence of either prior agreement on land for peace or of an outside central mediator or arbitrating authority like the United Nations, Israel will not agree to any substantive compromise with the Palestinians or agree to land for peace, but will only seek agreement with Arab states on regional issues, thus creating a replay of the Camp David process—of a "separate peace." Hence, there is agreement with Syria's objection to Israeli conditions.

(4) There is a growing frustration with the apparent U.S. unwillingness to press Israel to agree on substantive issues and with the U.S. failure to provide real leadership to apply the President's own principles to the peace process.

(5) There is a fear shared by all that, if real movement is not made by year's end toward a peace settlement for the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, the region and the United States will suffer long-term negative consequences. One prominent Arab leader from a member of the U.S.-led anti-Iraq coalition noted that there is a growing perception in the region that "Saddam's logic is winning." While the United States and its Arab allies agreed that there was no legal or political "linkage," they noted the critical importance for regional stability of solving the Israeli-Palestinian issue, and so a clear commitment was made to resolve this issue after the war. Failure to do so would be a setback for U.S. commitment and leadership.

Furthermore, it was clearly noted that it is not an abstract issue but presents a real security problem within several Arab states, especially where this "Saddam syndrome" (that is, that Saddam was correct and

that the West doesn't really care about the Palestine issue) intersect with new democratic processes, as in Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, and Jordan.

Failure to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian issue will not result in the situation returning to normal. Rather, given increasing Jewish immigration, increasing displays of intransigence by the Israeli governing coalition, and a rise in signs of support by the U.S. Congress and some gestures by the Administration (the recently announced prepositioning of arms and U.S. support for Ethiopian and Soviet Jewish immigration), there is, therefore, a decline in U.S. prestige and a rise in potentially destabilizing radicalization and Islamic fundamentalist parties.

(6) But through all of this concern I found that all the parties with whom I met—Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Tunisia, and the Palestinians, countries from within and without the U.S.-led coalition—expressed a clear readiness to make a real peace with Israel. That is, a full comprehensive peace settlement based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and on the President's stated principles: land for peace; security for Israel; and the legitimate political rights of Palestinians.

They are equally willing in the context of that peace to establish it as full and comprehensive, by means of security guarantees, arms control, and normalization of relations, including ending the trade boycott.

But, while I find significant and total willingness to end the state of war and establish peace, there is an insistence that implementation of Palestinian rights (the other test of the twin tests) cannot be compromised out of the framework.

They were also extraordinarily mindful of, and sensitive to, the intensified repression in the Occupied Territories, manifested by such measures as: curfews and collective punishment; confiscation of land; tear-gassing of demonstrators and large-scale arrests; and isolating localities from one another and requiring passes for movement from one area to another. So, they are looking to the United States for leadership to break the impasse.

A major purpose of my visit was to assess Arab reactions to a proposal for a peace initiative we had prepared in the aftermath of the Gulf war. In general the proposal called for a U.S. initiative that offers a strategic trade-off for a comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian peace.

Our proposal was based on a number of assumptions:

(1) Both twin tests must be passed. Israeli security will not, as the President noted, be guaranteed by retaining the Occupied Territories, or by military force

alone, but by international guarantees, regional cooperation and acceptance, arms control, and economic integration into the region. Palestinian rights must be recognized. The Palestinian people are a distinct political community, both inside and outside the Occupied Territories. They form a national community with rights to land, security, recognition of their country, and independence.

(2) The international peace conference, as envisioned by several countries, will not take place; neither will the step-by-step peace process, leading to an indeterminate end, work. Arabs lack the confidence in the Shamir government's willingness to make peace to be able to make confidence-building measures to that government. The current coalition government in Israel is not only unwilling, but is by its composition unable, to trade land for peace or recognize Palestinian rights.

Hence the Arab answer is that gestures to this coalition only reward its intransigence, as evidenced by the Israeli reaction to both the GCC decision to participate in regional talks and King Hussein's suggestion that he might go to Jerusalem to talk peace.

What the Arabs further suggest is that the Israeli effort to control its Palestinian negotiating partners is an effort to define and limit the outcome of negotiations. The Israeli insistence on no PLO participation and on no participation by outside Palestinians or residents of East Jerusalem are in fact a denial that the Palestinians are a national community and of the necessity of satisfying Palestinian concerns in any negotiation.

And so while there is an agreement to give the Baker mission as much time as it requires, there is a general assessment that the Israeli government will not allow the process to work for anything beyond the clearly unacceptable Israeli control formula for autonomy. This outcome, as I have noted, they find both unacceptable and frightening, and so they look for U.S. leadership and initiative.

There was strong support for the type of initiative we proposed. In a nutshell, our proposal notes that if it can be determined in advance what guarantees Palestinians and Israelis each need in order to make peace, then leadership is required to put forward a comprehensive plan incorporating the concerns of each party.

Rather than await a negotiating process, which in all probability will not occur given the profound psychological and ideological barriers separating the two parties, it would be more useful to elaborate the President's principles into a vision of a peace process spelling out both the stages of implementation and the ends, and presenting such a package to Israel and the

Palestinians for their acceptance.

SPIP would accept the maximum concerns of each community. To the Israelis, it would offer specific and detailed commitments of international security guarantees, economic cooperation, defense assistance, normalization of relations with the Arab states, and funds for economic development. All would be conditioned, however on Israel's commitment to withdraw from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

To the Palestinians, the SPIP would offer, similarly, commitments of independence with international security guarantees, the ability to reunite and reconstruct their national community, economic development assistance, and recognition of their statehood. But they would first have to agree to a phased plan of implementation leading to final-status negotiations with the Israelis.

As I said, I found all the Arab leaders with whom I met supportive of the concept and the details of the trade-off. I was told all of it is in the mainstream of Arab political opinion shared by all parties, including Syria and the Palestinians. They are ready to commit up-front to:

- creation of a peace incentive fund
- recognition of Israel and an end to the boycott
- beginning negotiations on arms control, water, and other regional issues

But they will do so only as part of a package that similarly commits Israel to withdrawal from the Occupied Territories and negotiating to implement Palestinian rights and independence.

I concluded that rather than squander this moment in the aftermath of the war when U.S. prestige and regional security are so much at stake or heed the advice of those who argue to go slow and wait for a more auspicious moment, when all the while settlements are increasing, immigration is increasing, Israel's economic needs are increasing, and repression is increasing, that the United States ought to act to offer the tests for peace to both to lead both parties to peace.

If, as some Arabs suggest, the Arabs accept and the Israelis reject, it would provide an extraordinary opportunity for Israel to debate a real offer—accepted by Arabs with all the confidence-building measures committed to up-front by the Arabs. It would provide a real opportunity for a real debate and real movement toward peace. □

UN Resolutions 242 and 338

For texts of UN Resolutions 242 and 238, turn to p. 22.

Document

Jews in the Anti-War Movement

Irena Klepfisz

This is a letter to Tikkun magazine which it has not printed. The writer is the executive director of New Jewish Agenda.

The March/April editorial on the peace movement failed to mention any organized Jewish opposition to the Gulf War. Since the focus of the editorial is antisemitism and Jewish self-hate in the peace movement, the omission gave support to the editorial's tacit assumption that all Jews participating in the movement must have compromised their Jewish integrity. This is indeed disturbing for those of us who consciously organized as Jews within the anti-war movement, worked hard to challenge antisemitism whenever we encountered it, and promoted our own vision of peace. Tell us you disagree, tell us we're wrong, but don't tell us we're self-hating.

On January 26 we were in Washington as part of the Jewish Peace Contingent led by New Jewish Agenda carrying Jewish stars bearing the slogans "Protect the Iraqis," "Protect the Kuwaitis," "Protect the Israelis," "Protect the Palestinians." All of us did not all endorse the political platform of those who had organized the Washington march. But we were all against the war and were as concerned about safety of Israelis and Palestinians as we had been before the Gulf crisis. We knew that some marchers would promote antisemitic positions and our presence challenged these. Organized Jewish participation is part of the history of American Jews, of the American Left and of the anti-war movement (as documented in the Jewish press and general press all over the country). Our presence may appear to *Tikkun* a minor detail, not worthy of mention, but it is such details or the lack of them that, as the editorial itself states, skews our understanding of Jewish history. Since increasing Jewish involvement strengthens the struggle against antisemitism, I would expect *Tikkun* to spread the word of our existence, provide Jews in the Left with strategies for fighting antisemitism, encourage other Jews to join us, not scare them away.

As to the charge that the anti-war movement marginalized itself; marginality is sometimes—though not always—in the eyes of the beholder. Blacks, Native Americans, Asians are marginalized by the mainstream in every way possible. Yet none of these peo-

ples' movements are marginal. (Ten women dressed in black standing in France Square in Jerusalem protesting their government's response to the Intifada were once dismissed as marginal. History has proven otherwise.)

Antisemitism is alive and well everywhere (let's place the responsibility for its existence on gentile antisemites, not on Jews). That we encounter it in the Left is a cause for pain, for disappointment—and, as always, alarm. We refuse to erase it or ignore it. But we also refuse to be excluded by antisemitism from a movement that belongs to us as much as to anyone else; and we refuse to be pushed towards isolationism or backlash by Jews who want us to wait for a hatred-free world before we commit ourselves to action.

The Left, with all its flaws, is an important sphere for forging alliances, alliances which are critical to Jews. And this was borne out in our coalition work around the country. It is true that we sometimes faced blatant antisemitism; it is also true that at other times we faced insensitivity and plain ignorance. We found, however, that many people could and did listen and could recognize antisemitism when it was explained. Our willingness to remain in the movement resulted in many new, more aware allies. If we only document and respond to those instances in which we failed in our challenges, we erase the many positive outcomes of our coalition work. As a result of our anti-war activism we are now a part of networks which enable us to work more effectively on domestic issues faced by people of color, women, gays and lesbians, the poor and homeless. Our presence among progressive groups also ensures that Jewish concerns, Jewish perspectives, and antisemitism remain on the agenda.

Our experiences tell us that it is wrong to characterize the anti-war movement as antisemitic rather than specifically identifying antisemitic elements in it, elements which none of us take lightly. During the Gulf War, Agenda fulfilled a long-term commitment to publish a *Discussion Bulletin on Anti-Semitism* which includes—among others—essays about antisemitism in the Left, in general, and in the peace movement in particular. Agenda is also organizing a conference on antisemitism and racism scheduled for this November in Philadelphia—a reflection of our concern for ourselves

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Pogrom in Baghdad *continued from p. 9*

But every now and then I remembered the story about the two Gurkhas and eventually I wrote about it in my forthcoming biographical book *Two Years in Hell*. In 1981, 40 years after the events the public was allowed to examine the relevant British Foreign Office documents and I immediately asked a friend who lives in London to look at what they said regarding the revolt of Rashid Ali, thinking that he may find evidence pertaining to Britain's role in the pogrom. The friend read much of what had been available, including formerly top secret documents, but when he inquired about those pertaining to Rashid Ali's revolt and the pogrom, those in charge pointed to two safes, one of which was marked "To become public in 1992" and the other "To become public in 2017." This prohibition only increased my suspicions.

I began to investigate these matters more systematically, motivated not only as a journalist but since two of my friends had been murdered on those days in 1941. And, lo and behold, from the newspapers of the times I discovered that on the 7th and 8th of May, after the British Army occupied the El-Oshar quarter in Basra, there had been robberies and looting in the business district following the earlier massacre and looting of Jews.

This is confirmed by Chaim I. Cohen in his book *Zionist Activities in Iraq* (p. 163). Gurkhas are extremely disciplined units and if they took part in robbery it must have been under orders from above and not just the whim of individuals. The robberies could not have been unnoticed by the military authorities, since the soldiers blew apart the locks on the shops with their weapons.

Still the active participation of British army units in massacring Jews remained without documentary evidence. However, a year later, more precisely on November 12, 1982, incontrovertible evidence came forth from an irrefutable source.

Following the massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps at Sabra and Shatila there was an anti-Israeli wave in world public opinion as all media, including that of Israel's friends, were replete with reports of the atrocity which had been committed in the refugee camps and pointed an accusatory finger at Israel.

Thousands demonstrated, including 400,000 in Israel, demanding that the government resign and an official Commission of Inquiry be established.

The Israeli government yielded and agreed to set up an investigating commission, believing it better to have an investigating commission which would give the government breathing space and time to mend its image than a no-confidence motion that would remove the Begin government from office.

Following the decision to set up an investigating commission the government felt strong enough to start a propaganda counter-offensive. Speaking in the Chatham House hall in London, David Kimchi, the director of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, explained the position of the Israeli government regarding the Lebanon war and said *inter alia*: "In May 1941 there was a bloody massacre against the Jewish population of Baghdad as the British army was just outside the city. The Jews were murdered by the Arab Shabab (young male population, ed.) and British Gurkha units. 500 Jews were killed and 1000 were injured and 1300 shops were looted and not until seven weeks after the pogrom did the British embassy and the Foreign Office release initial details" (*Yediot Achranot*, November 12, 1982).

Kimchi's speech was not speculation. He had evidence to back it up, both documentary and testimonial, since many in the Israeli leadership, including President Chaim Herzog, and Abba Eban had worked for British intelligence in the early 1940's, it is reasonable to assume that they knew about the role of the British in organizing, inciting and directly taking part through British troops in the pogrom of June 2, 1941 in Baghdad. □

Argentina *continued from p.10*

worried at not hearing any appeals to expose all cases of infringement of Human Rights, anti-Semitic actions included. Neither do we hear of any appeals to organize in order to clarify the real aims behind this vicious propaganda and to help the victims of the nefarious deeds fight back. Democratic society cannot and must not minimize the importance of this onslaught on its basic principles; it cannot overlook the fact that this Nazi revival appears simultaneously in several countries.

Those of us who are old enough to have seen the rise of Hitler's crusade that cost the world 50 million lives and indescribable calamities, and younger ones who have correctly learned the history of the 20th Century, must warn against underestimation of these apparently insignificant events. The people, and only the people, can defeat this awesome menace, by organizing, by exposing the renewed effort to drag the world back to the most appalling epoch of all times.

Postscript

Since I wrote the (above) article there have been some new developments. The Biondini gang has been arrested (he himself and six of his followers) and their offices broken into and guns and bombs seem to have been found. The latest news is that the six lesser criminals are now free but Biondini is being brought to trial.

Review

Judith Ramsey Ehrlich and Barry J. Rehfeld. The New Crowd: The Changing of the Jewish Guard on Wall Street, Boston: Little Brown, 1989. 444 pp.

Gerald Horne

This is a book that is fascinating in a contradictory manner. On the one hand, it sketches a virulent anti-semitism emanating from the highest echelons of the U.S. ruling class. On the other hand, it provides a disturbing portrait of Jewish males, who are both members of that same ruling class and objects of anti-semitism, engaging in all manner of exploitation and oppression. The key characters—Felix Rohatyn, Ivan Boesky, Carl Icahn, Michael Milken, et al.—are fawned over slavishly by the authors; however, the details about their wives, children, homes, habits, etc. does give the work a tone akin to a Dickens novel. Indeed, despite the flaws, this is a book that is indispensable for a full understanding of the 1980s in the U.S.

One useful feature of this book is that the principals' own wording are so indicting. For example, millionaire financier Lewis Glucksman has stated that "the people on Wall Street, including himself, were 'the most overpaid people relative to the value of the service provided'" (p. 262). How true. But for a long period of time this filthy lucre was reserved for either the so-called "Wasp" or "white shoe" firms and "Our Crowd," i.e., the mostly German-Jewish predecessors of what the authors term the "New Crowd." The new grouping has mostly Eastern European roots and carries more than an iota of ethnic resentment toward the former groupings, according to the authors.

The authors do not detail with specificity who constituted "Our Crowd," though they do note, "many strove to assimilate. Some Anglicized their names; others married Gentiles; and a few even converted to Christianity" (p. 24). One of the reasons why this "New Crowd" is worthy of study is the influence they wield within the Jewish community. The firm of Alan "Ace" Greenberg, Bear Stearns, was "the largest per capita donor in the country" to United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (p. 285). (Strikingly, Bear Stearns is now a major player in investing in the Soviet economy.) Sandy Weill, who has played key roles in American Express and Primerica, was "Man of the Year" in 1981 by designation of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. "He who has the gold, makes the rules," is the updated interpretation of the

"golden rule" in the U.S.; hence, it becomes easier to understand why the "big giver"-dominated organized Jewish community often has pursued policies incompatible with the interests of the Jewish masses. This also places in perspective the bizarre notion emerging from certain circles within the Jewish community that the "real anti-Semites" are the Blacks and the left—the allies of the Jewish masses and foes of the U.S. ruling class of whatever ethnicity or religion.

It cannot be gainsaid that the "New Crowd" encountered a hostile anti-semitism. When Saul Steinberg, now a prominent investor in the New York Times and a major corporate raider, sought to take over Chemical Bank in the 1960s he was unprepared for the "outpouring of loathing and fury" that hit him. "Steinberg said he received more than fifty hate calls from corporate executives, many of which were openly antisemitic...Lehman (Brothers) had been told that if it continued to support Steinberg, it would lose its commercial paper and bank credit lines and it would be known as an investment bank run for, and by, Jews only," said Steinberg ruefully, "I always knew there was an Establishment...But I used to think I was part of it" (p. 87). when Sandy Weill merged his firm with American Express in the early 1980s, there was not a "single Jew on the...board and certainly not in its upper management" (p. 187).

This was simply a continuation of a historic pattern. Henry Ford was the most noted practitioner of this form of bigotry. "A study that ran in *Fortune* magazine in 1946...found that antisemitism was widespread among the rich in large northeastern and midwestern cities" (p. 21). One of the reasons that the "New Crowd" was attracted to the perilous venture of "risk arbitrage" was the "old nineteenth-century refrain—'Let the Jews have that one'—seemed to apply increasingly as the risks of trading grew." the "Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Opera, and Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center...in the past hadn't welcomed new Jewish money on their boards of directors: (p. 267). Despite the frequency of such patterns, the notion did not become popular in the New Crowd that the "real anti-Semites" were their class brethren.

Arguably the New Crowd has complicated the fight against anti-semitism and not only because of their seeking to convert their narrow class interests in desta-

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bilizing socialism and backing Israeli aggression into the cause of the Jewish community as a whole. Joseph Flom, attorney of choice of the New Crowd, "in 1975...had helped the dental-supply company Sternend resist a takeover bid from a firm owned in part by Kuwaiti investors, by raising the specter of Sternend's many Jewish customers taking their business elsewhere" (p. 228).

The major failing of this book is that in their effort to glorify the ventures of these millionaires, the authors lose sight of the thousands of workers who have lost their jobs in the wake of mergers, corporate raiding and assets shuffling that were the specialities of the New Crowd. These were not "victimless" ventures. The authors' obsequious approach to Felix Rohatyn is revolting; at times it seems that a major purpose of the book is to pump up his ambition to be Secretary of the Treasury. Yet, they only note in passing that when Rohatyn "saved" New York City in 1975, the price paid was "the end of free tuition at the City University, the thirty-five-cent public transit fare, and thousands of city jobs..." (p. 131). Similarly, they neglect the "ironic" racism that all of this was happening as the hue of the city was becoming increasingly darker. They also miss the point that the silent coup that occurred when Rohatyn and the Municipal Assistance Corporation-Emergency Financial Control Board took over vital city functions from elected officials; this too happened as it became clear that African-American and Latino politicians were beginning to wield more clout in City Hall and the City Council. Naturally, they neglect to draw a connection between Rohatyn's role as mastermind of the silent coup in New York and his earlier role in 1973 as a board member and advisor to ITT when this trans-national joined forces with the CIA to overthrow the duly elected Socialist government of Salvador Allende in Chile. It should be noted in this context that earlier in his career, Rohatyn was an intelligence agent for the US Army. Despite this anti-labor dirty work, Rohatyn was a close friend of Victor Gotbaum, then New York City labor leader, who convinced his members to accept wage cuts and layoffs; even the Jewish male bonding, which the authors suggest undergirded their friendship, makes it hard to explain this disastrously odd coupling. Unfortunately, Rohatyn—who might be the most "liberal" member of the New Crowd—has not been alone in his foul play. John Gutfreund has bragged about the fact that as a director of Montefiore Medical Center in New York he "rolled up his sleeves and washed dishes at the hospital during the strike." (p. 17).

While reading this book, it is difficult to escape the parallels with contemporary Afro-America. The

nomination of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court is just the latest example of the effort to substitute the interests of a narrow Black elite for that of the Black community as a whole, as was attempted in Jewish America. The class composition of the African-American community suggests that this will be a non-starter though I'm afraid that stranger things have happened. Moreover, just as historically Black colleges, like Howard University, have been forced to have better records in hiring whites than, say, the University of Maryland, "Wasp firms had few Jews, as was true virtually everywhere else in finance....though such Jewish firms as Goldman, Sachs, Shearson, Bear Stearns, Lazard Freres, and Salomon Brothers now had a number of non-Jews in important positions..." (p. 186).

On the other hand, the New Crowd were able to take advantage of the fact that their "race" was construed as being "white." This meant in part that raiders like Steinberg, Icahn and even Boesky had affluent relatives who could provide them with a hefty stake to get started in business. Racism has hampered such a process taking place in Afro-America.

However, just as the Cold War meant that the U.S. had difficulty winning hearts and minds in the struggle against the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union when darker people were subjected to an atrocious Jim Crow, this same process was a factor in eroding the most virulent aspects of antisemitism and allowing the New Crowd to rise to lofty levels as well. But with the Cold War eroding it can be questioned whether that "historic compromise" still remains valid.

To many, a suggestive answer was provided with the wave of insider trading arrests that have hit Wall Street in recent years. There were those who considered this a direct, antisemitic attack on the New Crowd. "Former U.S. ambassador Sol Linowitz gathered together some of the country's top Jewish leaders for a very private meeting to discuss the Boesky affair....Some expressed apprehension that there might be a backlash of antisemitism" (p. 342). The Republican Party, which many in the New Crowd have backed avidly (Sandy Weill is proud to count himself a good friend of Gerald Ford, for example), has not been averse to linking up with vicious anti-Semites as the 1988 campaign of George Bush showed. Even the New Crowd's support of Democrats can be questioned (Gutfreund and Rohatyn have been major donors to that party), for their influence has been a major factor in driving that party to the right of the GOP on the Mid-East Question—which apparently will happen once again in 1992.

The authors paint the rise of the New Crowd as

some sort of triumph for the Jewish community. However, if this narrow elite continues to be successful in substituting its narrow class interest for the interests of the Jewish community as a whole via their influence in major Jewish organizations, a catastrophe looms for all those who have faced the lash of discrimination. In unwittingly driving us to that conclusion, the authors deserve our heartfelt thanks for producing a book that, finally, forces serious reflection. □

Editorials

continued from p. 4

there Michael Lerner, editor of the U.S. magazine *Tikkun*, "incited Israeli reserve soldiers to refuse duty in the West Bank and Gaza." Lerner attributes this "phony charge" to "right-wingers" incensed at the conference's emphasis on ending the Israeli occupation and supporting a Palestinian state. But the fact that the police have officially accepted this charge and "were trying to decide whether Lerner, an American citizen, violated the law" shows that not just "right-wingers" but Israeli officials are trying to intimidate U.S. Jews from expressing their support of a land-for-peace, two-state solution. Despite such intimidation, which Lerner has admirably stood up to, progressives will continue to advocate this in and out of Israel since it is the only way to peace and justice in the Mideast. □

Letter to *Tikkun* *continued from p. 17*

and for others.

Finally it was disturbing to read the analysis that "...internalized antisemitism is widespread among all Jews. We've tried to look like non-Jews, shaved our beards or had nose jobs or straightened our hair or adopted the right clothes..." However one judges the spiritual condition of contemporary Jews, it is dangerous to blur the real distinctions between reform, secularism and assimilation. To equate being beardless and wearing modern dress with opting for plastic surgery to erase "Jewish" features is to deny that Jewish identity is diverse and that there are deeply committed Jews who are observant, but not Orthodox—or not observant at all. The point is that the norms of this *Tikkun* editorial about Jewish politics and identity are narrow. Divergence from those norms is automatically deemed self-hate and assimilationism. We're no longer talking politics. We're defining the "real Jew."

Yes, many of us need, want to participate in the Left and need, want to be better educated about ourselves as Jews and about Jews with different orientations. We respect those differences and have based our activism on a recognition of them. I have always assumed that *Tikkun* supported this approach and did not want to stifle political/cultural/religious debates as is often the case in the larger Jewish community. □

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UN Resolutions 242 and 338

UN Resolution 242 was approved by the UN Security Council on Nov. 22, 1967, and Resolution 338 on Oct. 22, 1973.

Resolution 242 The Security Council,

Expressing its continued concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all member states in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter.

1. Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict:

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

2. Affirms further the necessity (a) for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area; (b) for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; (c) for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. Requests the Secretary General to designate a special representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. Requests the Secretary General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the special representative as soon as possible.

Resolution 338 The Security Council,

1. Calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision in the positions they now occupy;

2. Calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 in all of its parts;

3. Decides that immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

"פארזוערטס" וועלכע זיינען, ווייט אים דורכגעזאט מיטן אנטיקאמוניסטישן גיפט האלטן נאך, און איינקלאנג מיט די מעטאדן אין די מינעטערע מעקארטי-און געבעלס-צייטן, און לגבי קאמוניסטן דארף מען זיך ניט רעכענען מיט קיין שום סקרופולן און אלא און זעלבלייבט מאראל און און מען וועט אראפאשלינגען אפילו די שענדלעכסטע פעלשונגען און שקרים לגבי קאמוניסטן...

וואס האבן זיי געטאן? אין קלייניקייט, זיי האבן פשוט ביוורוליק אויסגעמעקט אין אנהייב פון אויבנדרמאנט, דאך די ווערטער: "דאס טאדלען..." און דער זאך זיי לייענט זיך, "אז" דאס טאדלען דאס שייטן ראקעטן דורך די איראקער רעגירער אין דער ריכטונג פון ישראל איז א פארשענדלעכע זאך..." ניט דאס שיקן ראקעטס, נאך דאס טאדלען איז א פארשענדלעכע זאך... זיי דאזיקע שענדלעכע ביוורוליקע אטלסיקאציע גרענעצט זיך מיט א פארברעכן. די דאזיקע פארברעכערישע פעלשונג איז דאך ממש א הימלשרייניקע, וואס קען געבריון ווערן, נאר אין אן אויטעקרימין מוח פון אנטיקאמוניסטן, וועלכע שטעלן זיך ניט אפ פאר קיין שום מיטלען, בכדי צו פארקריפליכן דעם אמת.

אין זעלבן נומער פון "דער וועג" איז פאראן דער סוף פון ארטיקל פון גענעראל-סעקרעטאר פון דער ישראלדיקער פארטיי, תפיק טובי, וועלכער שטייט אויטער, אז: "מיר טאדלען די פארברעכערישע ראקעטן-אטאקעס, פארדערנדיק זיי אפצושטעלן..." צי האבן נאך די "סאָרוערטס"-רעדאקטארן ניט געלערנט פון דער ביטערער דערפארונג, און אנטיקאמוניזם, גייט שטענדיק געפארט מיט אנטיידישע העצע, פראגראמען און איז געווארן דער היפט-ארגומענט פון געבעלסן...

צולעצט נאך א באַמערקונג די "פארזוערטס" רעדאקטארן פארעכענען זיך צו די ישראל-פארטיאָן אין ניויאַרק... זיי זיין זיך רואַק אין ניויאַרק און וואָגט צו שפּינען בלוטיקע כּבלים קעגן די ישראלדיקע קאָמוניסטן, וועלכע זיינען געווען אויסגעשטעלט צו זיין קריבונט סיי פון די ראַקעטעס און סיי פון מאַנגל פון שלום ישראלדיקע קאָמוניסטן זיינען רעפּרעזענטירט אין כּנסת אין הסתדרות און נעמנן אַנטייל טאַג-לענגלען אינעם קאַמף צוזאַמען מיט מפּ"ם, ר"צ, מיט אַנדערע סאָרונגפּטיקע כּוחות פאַר אַ פּאָליטיק, וואָס זאָל נאָכן אַ סוף צו די מלחמות, וואָס זיינען גורם קריבונת, לייזן און דערמעגלעכן צו שאַפן אַרבעט, דרות סיי פאַר דער גרויסער אַרמיי אַרבעטלעך און סיי פאַר דער אַריינגעקומענער עליה פון סאָרועטן-פאַרבאַנד און עשאַפּיע מיט אייערע אַנטיקאָמוניסטישע העסלעכע כּבלים קענט איר בלויז פאַרטיפּן די שואה און מיר אין ישראל ווייטיקן זיך קודם כל אין שלום.

וועלט־ראַט אין מאַסקױע. ס׳איז פון פראַנקרייך ניט איינגעלאָרן געװאָרן די ״נייע פרעסע״ און די טאָלאַנטפולע דיכטערן דאַרע טייטלברום, וועלכע װוינע אין ישראל.

געלעכע רעאָגירונגען זיינען אָנגעקומען אויך פון אַנדערע ײִדישע ישובים. אין דער פראַגראַם איז למשל אָנגעגעבן געװאָרן, אַז דער באַװוסטער שרייבער, מרדכי ליטװק, פון פראַנקרייך װעט אויפטרעטן אויף דער דריטער פּענאַרער דיצונג פון דער סעסיע. איך האָב געטראָפּן מ. ליטװק אין חל־אביב, עטלעכע טעג פאַר דער סעסיע. איך האָב אים געװיזן די פראַגראַם, אַז ער טרעט אויף. ער האָט געצױגן מיט ד אַקסלען, ער װייסט פון גאַרניט, קיינער האָט מיט אים ניט גערעדט, קיינער האָט אים ניט איינגעלאָרן. אין דער פראַגראַם איז אויך געװען אָנגעגעבן, אַז דער שרייבער און רעדאַקטאָר פון דער ליטעראַרישער זייט פון ״ישראל שטימע״, י.צ. שאַרגעל װעט אויפטרעטן אויף דער סעסיע. ס׳װייזט זיך אָבער אַרויס, אַז י. קארן האָט ניט צוגעשטימט, אַז איינער פון די ערשטע ײִדישע שרייבער און דיכטער אין ישראל, י.צ. שאַרגעל זאָל נעמען אַ װאָרט װעגן דער ײִדישער ליטעראַטור אין ישראל. װי אַזוי איז דאָס מעגלעך געװאָרן, אַז דער ײִדישער שרייבער און זשורנאַליסטן פאַרבאַנד אין ישראל זאָל זיך ניט באַטייליקן אין דער סעסיע פון װעלט־ראַט אין מאַסקױע? פאַרוואָס האָט י. קארן ניט אָנגעװאַנדן אַלע אָנשטרענונגען, בכדי צו דערמעגלעכן דעם אַנטײל פון שרייבער און זשורנאַליסטן פאַרבאַנד פון ישראל אין דער סעסיע? וועגן דער מאַסקױע? פאַרוואָס האָט מען אַפילו ניט דערמאָנט דעם דערמעגלעכקייט. אַז א. סרעקעװער, דער שפּײַרעראַקטאָר פון ״די גאַלדענע קייט״ זאָל זיך באַטייליקן אין דער סעסיע?

די העצע קעגן ״סאָװעטיש היימלאַנד״ האָט געדאַרפט אַרויסהייבן די געשטאַלט פון פאַרדיצער פון װעלט־ראַט און דערמעגלעכן דאָס ניט צולאָזן פיל קולטור־טוער צו דער סעסיע אין מאַסקױע. אַפילו דער מיטגליד אין פרעזידיום פון װעלט־ראַט פאַר ײִדיש ד. שטאַקפיש האָט אין זיין אַרטיקל װעגן דער סעסיע באַמערקט, אַז: ״עס װאָלט אָבער ניט געשאַדט, װען דער װעלט־ראַט זאָל װערן דעמאָקראַטיזירט. מיט אַנדערע װערטער: אינשטעלן די נייטיקע אָרגאַניזאַציענעלע און געזעלשאַפטלעכע נאַרמעס, װי עס פירט זיך ביי לייטן״ (ישראל שטימע, 2.5.91). דער פאַרדיצער פון שרייבער און זשורנאַליסטן פאַרבאַנד אין ישראל, מ. צאַנין, װייזט אָן צו. אַנד. אויף אַ זייער געפּעלעכע דערשיינונג אין דער אַקטיוויטעט פון י. קארן, אַלס פאַרזייער פון װעלט־ראַט פאַר ײִדיש, אַז: ״ער (י. קארן) האָט ביז איצט געשאַפּן פּערזענליכער און צעמיליקער טעװנטער דאַלאַרן פאַר זיין קרעמל ״װעלט־ראַט פאַר ײִדישע קולטור״. אָבער קיין חשבון, װאָס ער

טוט מיט דעם געלט גיט ער קיינעם ניט אַפּ...״ (סאָװעטיש היימלאַנד״ נומ. 1, 1991). דער מיטגליד פון דער עקזעקוטיווע פון װעלט־ראַט פאַר ײִדיש, יצחק לודען, װייזט אָן צו. אַנד. אַז: ״ער (יצחק קארן) טראַגט ניט קיין אַחריות פאַר קיינעם, איז ניט מחויב אַפּצוגעבן (15 יאָר) קיין קאַסע באַריכטן״ (לעבנס פּראָגן, מאַײִנו 1991). דאָס איז דאָך אַ ניט דערלאָזבאַרע הימלשרייענדיקע דערשיינונג...

איך װיל בשום אופן מיט פאַרמינערן די גרויסע באַדייטונג פון דער צושטאַנדגעקומענער סעסיע פון װעלט־ראַט פאַר ײִדיש אין מאַסקױע. דאָס קען זיין פון אומגעװוּנענער אויסװירקונג אויף שטאַרקן דאָס ײִדיש־געזעלשאַפטלעכע און קולטור־לעבן אין סאָװעטן פאַרבאַנד און אויף דער װעלט. די שלעכטע און ניט דעמאָקראַטישע און מיט געזעלשאַפטלעכע אַרבעטס־מעטאָדן פון די פירער פון װעלט־ראַט דאַרפן אָבער באַװייטיקט װערן. מען האָט פאַר דער סעסיע אין מאַסקױע ניט דורכגעפירט קיין ערנסטע דיסקוסיע װעגן דער פראַגראַם, װעגן די פאַרשלאָגן, װעגן די פּראַבלעמען, װאָס זאָלן באַהאַנדלט װערן אויף דער סעסיע. מען דאַרף איצט פאַריכטן. דער װעלט־ראַט דאַרף ברייט עפענען די טויערן פאַר אַלע אַקטיווע ײִדישע געזעלשאַפטלעכע און קולטור־שאַפּער, אָן דיסקרימינאַציעס. אָן פאַרװירטלין, װייל גאָר אַזוי אירום װעט מען קענען בייקומען די אומגעװוּנענער שװעריקייטן אין די קאַלאַסאַלע אריפגאַנג, װאָס שטערען פאַר די ײִדישע געזעלשאַפטלעכע און קולטור־טוער.

שענדלעכער בלבול־מעלשונוג

פון ״פאַרװערטס״

אַ ליינענער פון ״דער װעג״ האָט אונזר איבערגעשיקט די נאַטיץ, װאָס איז דערשינען אין אַמעריקאַנער ״פאַרװערטס״ (פון 5טן אַפריל 1991). אין װעלכער סײַט זיך איבער, אַז ״דאָס קאָמוניסטישע ישראל־בלעטל ״אונדער װעג״ געװאָרן אַ חרד־צייטונג״. מיר זיינען מוחל די רעדאַקטאָרן פון ״פאַרװערטס״, הלמאי די נאַטיץ איז איבערגעגעבן געװאָרן אין אַזע טאָן. די רעדאַקטאָרן פון ״פאַרװערטס״ האָבן אָבער דערביי געמאַכט אַ שענדלעכע פעלער. ציטירנדיק פון ״דער װעג״ (26.2.91), אַז: ״דאָס שייסן ראַקעטן דורך די איראַקער רעגירער אין דער ריכטונג פון ישראל איז אַ פאַרשטענדלעכע זאַך. די דאָזיקע ריכטיקע שטעלונג איז אַ די אינטערעסן פון ישראל און פון אַלע פעלקער פונעם ראיאן, בכדי אויסצומיידן נאָך קרבנות״. אָן אײַםפּערקומאַרע ליינענער פילט גלייך, אַז עפעס קלעפּט זיך ניט, אַז עפעס פעלאַ דא... די רעדאַקטאָרן פון

יידעשע ענינים

אויפן ראַנד פון דער סעסיע פון וועלט-ראַט פאַר יידיש

פון י. ליפסקי

דערשיינונגן ביים צוגרייטן די סעסיע הודך די פירער פון וועלט-ראַט אין זיבן-אויגוסט, איר זאלט, די סעסיע איז אומפארגעסליכע אויביסעטינג פון פארזיכערט די וועלט-ראַט, צוקן קארין, פאר פאָלקס-ראַט, סאָרטעס הימלאַנג, און דעם שער-דערקאָסאָ, אהרן ווערעליס האָט געהאָט זייער אַ שווערן אָפּלאַנג און אויסוויקונג. אַטלן אין קיינן, איר וועלכע מען קריטיקירט די אָרט. אַנדער דערשינונג אין "סאָרטעס הימלאַנג" האָט מען צוגעזען, אַז דער וועלט-ראַט געשפּילט און שפּילט זייער אַ ריכטיקער ראל און דערמיטלן דאָס יידישע סאָרטעס לעבן אין די שווערסטע יארן אין אַוועקערט פאָרבראָד, ווי אַזוי האָט דער פאָרזיכער, וועלכער פּרעפּענדינג צו מאַגלייך אַלץ כוחות פאַר שטאַלן דאָס יידישע קולטור-לעבן וו. צייטן, די רעכט צו אַקאַזאָרן דעם דאָזיקן ווערטאָל? ס'איז גרייסיק צו באַמערקן, אַז מיט דער פאָרזיכער און מיט דער וועלט-ראַט האָבן נאָך דער אַלגעמיינער קריטיק געבערעט דעם טאָג און אַז אין דער סעסיע אין מאַסקווע האָבן זיך באַטייליקט אַלע מיטאַרבעטער פון "סאָרטעס הימלאַנג" און אַז ס'האָט אירך איר געהערשט אַ פּיבלישע שטרענג פון קאָאָרדינאָציע צווישן אַלע סעקציען.

לאַמיר דערלייבט זיך אונטערגעטרייבן, איר דאָזיקע אַוויטערונג און פאָרזיכער האָט געהאַט אַ פּיל ביי-קערענע נעאַזייערע אַוויטויקונג, פון פאָרזיכערענע לענדער פּרעזענט אַן וידעווע וועגן דיסקרימינאָציעס לגבי יידישע קולטור-טוער, פון מידאַרק ניט מען איבער, אַז צווישן אַנדערע איז צו דער סעסיע אין מאַסקווע גיט איינגעלאָרן געוואָרן אירער פון אַ אַנגעזעענעס און אַקטיוועס יידישע קולטור-טוער, אישישע גאָלדבערג, רעדאַקטאָר פון ווערטאָל "יידישע קולטור", פון סאַנאַטאָ האָבן מיר באַקומען אַ די-קעלענע פון קאָנאָרע-דייטש פּאָליטיק אַרדן וועגן דיסקרימינאָציעס מצד דעם וועלט-ראַט פאר יידישע און פאָרזיכערענע יידישע אַקטיוועס פון דער דאָזיקער אַקטיווע אַראַנזשימענט, און דער קאָנאָרע יידישע געזעלשאַפּטלעכקייט, וואָס פּרעזענט 65 יאָר זינט דער גרינדונג איז גיט צוגעלאָט געוואָרן צו דער סעסיע אין

ס'איז נאָך פּרעזיטיק צו מאַכן וועלכע ס'איז אויספירן וועגן דער 6-טער סעסיע פון וועלט-ראַט פאַר יידיש, וואָס איז פאָרזיכערענע אין מאַסקווע, סוף חודש מאי 1991. ס'זיינען נאָך ניט פאַרלאָן קיין געמיש אינמאָנאַרעס וועגן פאָרלויפן פון דער סעסיע, וועגן די אַנגעזעענע ווערטאָלעס. מען קען אַבער אַן צווייפל שוין אַנטוויקלן אין אים פון פאַרשייער פון פּיל יידישע שויבס און קולטור-אַראַנזשימענט פון סאָרטעס-פאַרבראָד, אַנטוויקלן פון קולטור-טוער פון אויסלאַנג און דער אַנטוויקלן פון יידישע קולטור-טוער פון וועגן און פון גרייסע וועלט-ראַט פון ישראל וועגן געווען און פון אומגעווענע און אומפאָרזיכערע באַרייטונג, דער עצם פאָלקס פון צווייטקומען זיך פון פאַרשייער פון יידישע קולטור-טוער אין מאַסקווע איז אַ געשענדיש פון היסטאָרישער באַרייטונג.

פון די בייזשעטיקע ניט פרעלע אינמאָנאַרעס קען מען אונטערגעטרייבן, אַז אויך דער סעסיע האָט די יידישע געזעלשאַפּטלעכקייט אין סאָרטעס-פאַרבראָד דעסאַטורירט די קאָלאָסאַלע דערגריינגענע פון די יידישע שויבער און צווישן זיי יונגע און פון די פאַרשיידענע דראָמאַטישע און קולטור-קרייזן, דאָס איז דער יידישער שופאַר האָבן באַוויזן די גרייסע מעגליכקייטן, וואָס דאָס יידישע קולטור-געזעלשאַפּטלעכע לעבן אין סאָרטעס-פאַרבראָד האָט שוין דערגרייכט און די קאָלאָסאַלע מעגליכקייטן, וואָס זיי האָבן.

אויך דער סעסיע איז פּרעזענט פּראָבלעמאָריס געוואָרן אַ טאָג פון יידיש, "ארטן" צבסן מאַי יעדעס יאָר און אַ געזעלשאַפּט פון אַ מיליאָן דאָזיקער פאַר שטאַרק דאָס יידישע געזעלשאַפּטלעכע און קולטור-לעבן אין סאָרטעס-פאַרבראָד אין די יידישע שויבס. פאַרבראָד אין די יידישע שויבס. וואָס דער סעסיע איז פּרעזענט געשענדיש וואָס אין די פּיל פון דער דאָזיקער יידישע שויבס פון אַפּוואָרטן די סעסיע אין וועלט-ראַט פאַר יידיש אין מאַסקווע איז גרייסיק אַנצווייזן אויך אַז זיי גענאַטיווע