

Sept.-Oct./Nov.-Dec. 1991  
\$1.50

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

**African Americans and Jewish Americans**  
*Herbert Aptheker*

**Black-Jewish Relations and  
the "New World Order"**  
*Gerald Horne*

**Art and the Greenhorning  
of America II**  
*Charles Keller*

**Reprint**  
Opposition to Israel's  
\$10 Billion Loan Request  
*A.D.C. Times*

**Reviews**  
**Klanwatch and Katharine the Great**  
*Gerald Horne*

**Documents**  
Statement on Crown Heights  
*Brooklyn Chapter New Jewish Agenda*

Unpublished Letter to  
New York Magazine  
*Richard Brown*

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# JEWISH AFFAIRS



Vol. 21, Nos. 4-5

Sept-Oct/Nov-Dec. 1991

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Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Act of August 12, 1970; Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Title of Publication: JEWISH AFFAIRS
2. Date of Filing: September 25, 1990
3. Annual Subscription Price: \$7.50
4. Location Office of Publication: 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10011
5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor and Managing Editor: Publisher: JEWISH AFFAIRS PUB., INC., 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.  
 Editor: DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
7. Owner: JEWISH AFFAIRS PUB., INC., 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
8. Bondholders, Mortgages and other Security Holders owning or holding 1% or more of total amount of Bonds, Mortgages or other securities: None.
9. The purpose, function, and non-profit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months.
10. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Avg.	Latest
A. Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)	1,500	1,500
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales.	200	200
2. Mail Subscription	1,170	1,168
C. Total Paid Circulation	1,370	1,368
D. Free Distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier delivery or other means	60	60
E. Total Distribution (sum of C and D)	1,430	1,428
F. Copies not Distributed		
1. Office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	70	72
2. Return from newsd agents	None	None
G. Total	1,500	1,500

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Alfred J. Kutzik, Associate Editor

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*Jewish Affairs* is published by the Communist Party, U.S.A. at 235 West 23rd Street, N.Y., NY 10011, 7th floor (212) 989-4994, ext. 207. Subscriptions: \$7.50 per year (bi-monthly). Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, NY. ISSN: 0021-6305. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Jewish Affairs*, 235 W. 23rd St., N.Y., NY 10011

## Editorials

### *The Real Danger of Crown Heights and Dr. Jeffries*

The following letter by our associate editor that appeared in *In These Times* (Oct. 30, Nov 5, 1991) expresses our editorial position.

Daniel Lazare's "The New World Disorder" (*ITT* Oct. 2) quotes me as follows regarding the Crown Heights situation: "I now have altered my views somewhat [about black anti-Semitism]. I now think a new and dangerous situation has arisen." Aside from Lazare's interpellation "about black anti-Semitism" where I would use "about antisemitism among African Americans" this is an accurate quotation. However, being preceded by Lazare's statement about "fears of rising black anti-Semitism" and followed by his statement about a "near-pogrom in Crown Heights," it inaccurately implies that I consider the recent increase in antisemitism among African Americans in and out of Crown Heights to pose a serious danger for Jews. I do not. Actually, as I tried to explain to Lazare, I believe the increase in antisemitism of the Crown Heights street variety and Jeffries' pseudo-scholarly variety among relatively powerless African Americans does not pose a serious threat to Jews – but to African Americans. For this antisemitism and the reaction to it of abhorrence and increased racism among Jews and other whites is creating a significant obstacle in addition to those already impeding the achievement of the African American community's agenda for equality and justice.

It is doing so by reducing support for the agenda in the white population, particularly among Jews, who have until now been its strongest supporters. Further, this antisemitism that designates Jews as the enemy, if not the main enemy, of African Americans diverts the latter from struggling against the political and economic establishment that is the real source of their deprivation and in which Jews even in New York City, much less at the state and national levels, play a minor role. This antisemitism and the reaction to it also poses a danger for the nation as a whole, since most African Americans and Jews are part of the liberal and progressive sector, and a war between their communities would split and weaken it.

The undeniable recent increase in antisemitism among African-Americans should not be exaggerated as most journalists, like Lazare, tend to do. It is spreading, but it is not deep-rooted. If counteracted by condemnation from political, religious and academic authorities and other prominent personalities – which has thusfar been minimal – in combination with social and political action by coalitions, including Jews and

African-Americans, for equal police protection and protection from police, for transferring funds from the military to government programs providing jobs, health care, etc., antisemitism can be contained at the fringes of the African American community, where as with other U.S. ethnic groups, it has long festered.

### *Revising the Curriculum: Another Dimension*

Our last issues's editorial supporting a fully multicultural curriculum that teaches about "white" European ethnic groups as well as as those from other continents called for it to 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." It should also include, in addition to the traditional focus on men, the experience and achievements of women which have been virtually excluded from the traditional curriculum. While there has been some progress in higher education in the last few decades in developing women's studies courses and integrating the contributions of women into general courses, this has practically not occurred at the high school and elementary levels. Progressives should insist that the so-called "curriculum of inclusion" include substantial components on women in U.S. and world history and culture.

A.J.K.

### *The Peace Process Finally Begins*

We welcome the start of the long-awaited international Middle East peace conference. We congratulate the Palestinian Liberation Organization for making this possible by refusing to let the Israeli government's outrageous conditions – dictating the make-up of the Palestinian delegation, ruling out "land for peace," etc. – from preventing Palestinian participation without which the conference would be a sham. We also congratulate the Israeli people, especially the organized peace forces, on helping to get its misleaders to the conference table. But we recognize that the major factor in getting them there was the U.S. holding back financial assistance on which Israel depends. As *Jewish Affairs* has long maintained, only the threat and actuality of reducing or eliminating the billions of U.S. tax dollars that go to Israel each year can make its establishment negotiate a peace settlement. As a first step in this direction progressive Jews should actively oppose granting the housing loan guarantees which the U.S. government has delayed. (For the huge cost to the American people of this supposedly costless measure, see the article on this subject in this issue.) □

## Letters from readers

I cannot get excited about working on Black-Jewish relations. I realize that this is one of the top priority issues of progressive Jews such as The New Jewish Agenda, of which I am on the steering committee in Queens. However, I myself feel conflicted in this area.

I always cringe when I hear racism and antisemitism linked together as though the two are equal. They are not. Racism is a disease that is destroying the Black community. It is the root cause for the horrible economic condition of the majority of Blacks. Black poverty is decimating their community, killing thousands by poor nutrition, inadequate health care, drugs, and crime. It also destroys family life, education, and leads to the anger that some Black leaders and youth feel to the white community and to the Jews.

Antisemitism has little, if any, adverse effect on economic opportunities for Jews. Read Charles Silberman's book *A Certain People* to verify that no economic field is closed to Jews and although we Jews constitute less than 3 percent of the U.S. population we make up approximately 25 percent of the elite in the following fields: richest 400 Americans, lawyers, doctors, Wall Street, movies, TV, professors in the elite universities, publishing, real estate, etc. (Of course, I realize that I open myself to the charge of being myself an antisemite for citing the above statistics.)

Because of our past history and the Holocaust it is hard for Jews not to be frightened by any sign of antisemitism. It is evil and we should fight against it. But for Jews in the U.S. the battle is won — only mopping up remains. We can relax. It can't happen here. Yes, isolated incidents of antisemitism will continue, but statistically we must keep in mind that they are isolated and to consider every incident of antisemitism as the start of a new Holocaust is counter-productive. The battle is now against those reactionary Jews who use antisemitism to further their own agenda. Rabbi Kahane's main argument was American Jews were just a step away from a new Holocaust....

It seems to me that Black congresspeople should be the main group in fighting against giving billions away every year to grease Israel's war machine while the poor and hungry in this country have no decent homes to live in. But that is not the case. Blacks know that the way for them to get elected to office is to have the backing of the Jewish community and the way to get that backing is to follow the AIPAC line on Israel. So Jews give those Blacks money and Mayor Dinkins goes to Israel and supports the \$10 billion loan guarantee....

We progressive Jews can work with mainstream Jewish organizations on these issues because we both

recognize antisemitism as evil. However, when we deal with this problem we should take an entirely different approach. A major aspect of mainstream Black-Jewish work is we Jews should condemn Rabbi Kahane and Professor Levin while Blacks should condemn the anti-Israel/Jewish statements of Jesse Jackson, Mandela, Bishop Tutu and the ranting of Farrakhan, Sharpton, Maddox, Mason, Fulani, Rev. Daughtry, Spike Lee, Professor Jeffries, Colin Moore and Sonny Carson (and any Black leader who does not condemn them, like Rev. Timothy Mitchell, Mayor Dinkins, etc.)

I listen to the Black station WLIB (1190 AM) and I hear the anger emanating from it. For many Black unemployable teenagers the only pride they have is a macho image of their "black family unity" and if that means some antisemitic rhetoric comes out it is unfortunate, but I believe the best way for progressive Jews to handle it is not to permit mainstream Jews to use this as an excuse to attack the Black community.

Just as the Israelis should not be telling the Palestinians who their leaders should be, we should not be telling Blacks who their leaders should be and whom they should condemn. We should be working against racism separate from antisemitism. New Jewish Agenda should not be having a national conference this November in Philadelphia on "Antisemitism and Racism." I would have preferred a conference on "Racism in the U.S. and the Occupied Territories."

Stanley Halpern  
Bayside, NY

*This reader raises a number of problematic issues that we hope other readers will respond to. Aside from other questionable contentions, we must challenge his unfounded charge that Mandela, Rev. Jackson and Bishop Tutu are either anti-Israel or anti-Jewish and the equally unfounded lumping of Rev. Daughtry and Spike Lee with the likes of a Rev. Farrakhan and Dr. Jeffries. We feel obligated to respond here to his central point that progressive Jews "should be working against racism separate from antisemitism." On the contrary, we think that, while not equating them, progressive Jews should whenever possible link action against racism with action against antisemitism. For not only are racism and antisemitism linked by organized hate groups but the defense of the rights of African Americans and other ethnic minorities strengthens the rights of Jews and all other Americans. The struggle by Jewish progressives against racism in the Jewish community, which the letter properly calls for, can not be effectively conducted on the basis of humanitarian concern for the victims of racism but only*

*continued on page 15*

# *African-Americans and Jewish-Americans: Common Aspirants for the Good Life*

Herbert Aptheker

Our nation is rocked again with debate over multi-cultural education, politically correct instruction and similar catch-phrases making headlines and best-sellers. This is a continuation of an ancient contest in our country and the world, between reaction and progress. At the moment, reaction is in the saddle, but this will be – in the long reach of history – quite temporary. The forward march of humanity, while at times impeded, cannot be halted permanently. The needs and yearnings of people for adequate food and shelter, for good health, satisfying employment, spiritual refreshment, beauty and learning, for peaceful, egalitarian and compassionate living together cannot be extinguished.

I have stated that this question of an education rejecting racism and embracing multi-culturalism is quite old. To substantiate this very briefly (for the proof of it is voluminous) note for instance Lydia Maria Child's book published in 1833, *An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans*. Here, Mrs. Child, one of the numerous white women in the great Abolitionist movement, insisted upon the equality of African peoples with all others. She noted that their enslavers "have been their historians;" naturally, then she continued, their so-called history served to justify their tyranny. The former was as fraudulent, she insisted, as the latter was unjust.

As one might expect, African-Americans themselves were foremost in rejecting the canard of inferiority and demanding a truthful presentation of history. Here, for example, are the relevant words in a work entitled *A Vindication of the Capacity of the Negro Race for Self-Government and Civilized Progress*. Originally a speech delivered in New Haven in 1855, repeated in Ohio, Michigan and Canada in 1856 and published in the first-named city in 1857. Its author was the Rev. James Theodore Holly, rector of St. Luke's Church in New Haven. "I wish," said the Rev. Holly one hundred and thirty-six years ago, "by the undoubted facts of history, to cast back the vile aspersions and foul centuries, by our unprincipled oppressors, whose base interest, at the expense of our blood and bones, have made them reiterate from generation to generation, during the long march of ages, every thing that would prop up the impious dogma of our natural and inherent inferiority."

The demand for an education which challenges the status quo, which demands consideration of the accomplishments, contributions, traditions and strivings, and

the evidences of resistance to oppression, of the peoples of our multi-national and multi-racial nation goes back to the eighteenth century. The battle for the education of working people, of African-derived people, of women, has rocked this nation from its beginnings. That battle is an important component of the anti-elitist, anti-racist, anti-male supremacist essence of democratic strivings. The dominant classes in this country made education the preserve of the upper-class, white, Christian, especially Protestant—men. African-American people were forbidden education, women were denied education, Jews and Southern Europeans were significantly impeded in efforts at education, working people could not afford education.

To the limited extent that prohibitions and obstacles were overcome, that came about through onerous struggles lasting centuries and continuing today. It is in this context that the present turmoil about multi-cultural education appears. It is this present turmoil which has been seized upon by reactionaries from William Bennett to George Bush to their servants like Dinesh D'Souza. The shoddiness and falsifications of their speeches and books – exposed in telling essays by Maurice Isserman, Catherine R. Stimpson, Jon Wiener and others – mirror the metriciousness and viciousness of their argumentation. By the way, Mr. D'Souza now gets a minimum of \$5,000 per lecture.

African-Americans and Jewish-Americans have played leading roles in combatting this mis-education, as Carter G. Woodson, the African-American pioneer, called it some seventy years ago. The grossest manifestations of racist, elitist and sexist historiography, anthropology and sociology were directed against the African-American people because their oppression was the most intense, the most prolonged and the most decisive in United States history. Naturally, then, their greatest scholars from Woodson to William Edward Burghardt Du Bois to John Hope Franklin, have contributed fundamentally to this effort. Today, too, in offering resistance to such travesties, African-American scholars like the aforementioned Professor Franklin and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Houston Baker, Jr., are in the forefront.

Given a history of discrimination and persecution and a tradition of rejecting injustice—a tradition going back to the prophets – Jewish-Americans have played a notable role in combatting the dominant racist education. In anthropology the work of Franz Boas is deci-

sive, of course. He was assisted by such disciples as Gene Weltfish, who, being a Jewish woman, never achieved proper professional status. In anthropology the work also of Melville J. Herskovits is to be noted and in psychology that of Otto Klineberg. In sociology one must recall the pathbreaking work of Bernhard J. Stern, some of it done in collaboration with Alain Locke, a father and politically of the Left, never received proper professional standing. In history, a profession especially marked by elitist, racist, male chauvinist and antisemitic features, the contributions of Jewish men and women have been notable. Included, for example, are the Foners, Philip, especially, and his brother Jack and Jack's son, Eric. The work of Leon Litwack, Lawrence Levine, Ira Berlin, Jesse Lemisch, Herbert Gutman, Gerda Lerner, Dorothy Sterling, Elizabeth Lawson, Sidney Kaplan, Louis Ruchames, William L. Katz, Herbert Shapiro, to name a few, has been vastly consequential.

The liberation struggle of the African-American people played a decisive role, of course, in combatting slavery and Jim-Crow which corroded all American life. And their struggles inspired all democratic efforts – of students, for women's rights, for labor's rights, for civil liberties, for peace. Further, the work of African-Americans was decisive in all areas of scholarship – history, economics, psychology, sociology. They have made outstanding contributions in science, invention, medicine, religion, music, art, literature. Above all, their labor has been and is fundamental to the resources of this country.

In the effort at Black-white unity and African-American and Jewish-American unity no one is doing anyone any favors. This is not a matter of philanthropy; it is a matter of joint necessity. Without this unity, all efforts at building a Good Society, a meaningful politics, will fail. Naturally, this is a mixed record. While among African-Americans one has John Hope Franklin, one also finds George S. Schuyler; while there is a Thurgood Marshall, there is a Clarence Thomas; while there was Du Bois there also was Booker T. Washington. Similarly, while the Jewish-Americans I have named are among the bright lights in the heaven of scholarship, one also has Norman Podhoretz and the *Commentary* gang, and Eliot Abrams and Roy Cohn, while the professor who produced the Bible for those combatting affirmative action is Nathan Glazer of Harvard.

At this moment one is confronted by two fiercely negative examples from African-Americans and Jewish-Americans, both, as it happens, teaching at the same university in New York City. One is Dr. Leonard Jeffries, Jr. and the other is Dr. Michael Levin. The former has embraced concepts of a Jewish conspiracy

in history and has chosen to excoriate especially Jewish merchants for having participated in the African slave trade. Of course, this is garbage: the African slave trade was a basic business of nascent capitalism, involving the bourgeoisie of Western Europe and the United States for four hundred years. It was, as Marx pointed out, a significant source for the accumulation of capital early in history of what Bush calls the "free market." This was a capitalist, not a Jewish phenomenon, of course. Queen Elizabeth I held a one-fourth interest in the Royal African Trading Company; was Her Majesty Jewish?

And Michael Levin has insisted upon what he calls the "lower average intelligence" of African peoples—as he brazenly puts it again in the *N.Y. Times* of September 26, 1991. This canard of the intellectual inferiority of African and African-derived peoples has been effectively and definitively refuted. No one calling himself a scholar or a scientist can for a moment effect belief in it anymore than he or she can in astrology. Let me add that a recent excellent book on this is *The IQ Mythology* by Elaine Mensh and Henry Mensh (Southern Illinois University Press, 1991).

The competence of Professor Levin is called further into question since in the cited essay he presents a serious misreading of John Stuart Mill. But letting that go for lack of space (see my *Nature of Democracy, Freedom and Revolution*, International Publishers, 1967, 1975, pp. 13-20), Levin further insists that the kind of speech in which he – and Dr. Jeffries – indulge in results in no "harm" to use his word. What nonsense, what ignorance – holding that antisemitism and racism in their most vulgar form cause no harm! Such vicious verbiage refutes itself. That one who calls himself a professor denies this reality is so gross that it deserves hardly more than contempt.

Let me say something further on this question of racist – and sexist – language. Here one who objects to it is usually confronted with the First Amendment. The confrontation, however, is false. In our own country those who understand its constitutional law know much speech is not protected. This includes speech forming a criminal conspiracy; speech that is obscene, that is libelous and defamatory, that induces a hostile place of employment, that plagiarizes, that provokes violence. (See the essay by Professor Richard Delgado in *Northwestern University Law Review*, Winter, 1991.)

Private rights are limited; thus, one may not place an antisemitic or racist advertisement; one may not limit the use of public conveyance or establishment on the basis of race, gender or religion. The Potsdam Treaty forbade Nazi speech or print or emblems or organizations in Germany; is this healthy only for Ger-

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# Black-Jewish Relations and the “New World Order”

Gerald Horne

If the Black-Jewish relationship in the United States is to improve, a precedent condition is the resurgence of the left in both communities. For it was precisely the attack on the left in the crucial year of 1956 that set the stage for the present crisis in relations. This resurgence of the left is even more important in light of the so-called “New World Order” that involves a swaggering US imperialism and an increase in narrow nationalism globally. Yet, to understand the present it is necessary to examine the past, particularly the era of the Cold War. This extended conflict had a paradoxical impact on people of color in the US, particularly African-Americans. On the one hand, it wastefully burned up tax dollars on nuclear weapons and murderous wars that could have been better utilized to address pressing health, housing and education needs. On the other hand, the dynamic of the Cold War helped to create favorable conditions for the erosion of Jim Crow. How could Washington prate about human rights violations in Eastern Europe when Blacks here were treated like third class citizens? It is hardly a coincidence that *Brown v. Board of Education*, which undermined the juridical basis for Jim Crow, emerged during the height of the Cold War. Similarly, Earl Warren, who ten years earlier was the architect of interning Japanese-Americans, emerged as the avatar of human rights in his successful effort to get a unanimous US Supreme Court to endorse the *Brown* decision.

However, these civil rights concessions were not without cost; a *de facto* trade-off that led to the purging of African-American leftists from positions of influence in their community. Before the onset of the Cold War, the organized left had significant influence among African-Americans. Ben Davis, a Black Communist leader and graduate of Harvard Law School, was elected to the New York City Council from Harlem in 1943 and re-elected in 1945. But by 1949 he had been ousted unceremoniously – and perhaps illegally – from the Council and by 1951 he was in prison for violating the Smith Act provision concerning the teaching and advocating of Marxism-Leninism. Paul Robeson was awarded the Spingarn Medal – the NAACP’s highest honor – before the onset of the Cold War but by the 1950s this pre-eminent organization was hesitant to associate with him at all. W.E.B. Du Bois helped to found the NAACP in 1909 and was invited back to work with this organization in 1944; but by 1948 he

was ousted, in part because he sought to bring human rights violations against African-Americans before international forums.

This was not all. COINTELPRO was launched by the FBI in 1956 initially to disrupt the activity of the Communist Party. This harassment and persecution involved, *inter alia*, an attempt to ferment discord and rancor between and among Black and Jewish Communists in the wake of the Suez War. These hammer blows against the left were not without impact. Similar to the process now taking place in Eastern Europe, the erosion of left influence among African-Americans created favorable conditions for the rise of neo-conservatism and narrow nationalism. The beginning of the rise in influence of the “anti-white” notions of the Nation of Islam is precisely during this period. In Watts, Los Angeles in August 1965 a rebellion against terrible conditions erupted that had decided “anti-white” and even anti-Jewish strands. When the left idea of uniting across ethnic lines on a militant basis was beaten down, it was replaced in part by a similar militancy but without class content; indeed, the notion that the degree of “melanin” in one’s skin should be a basis for unity was – and is – discussed seriously. The promotion by the ruling class of Shelby Steele and other neo-conservatives is seen as the final act in this drama of the ideological destabilization of Afro-America.

The Cold War had a similar paradoxical impact on Jewish-Americans. Historically it had been recognized in more sober circles in the Jewish community that a decline in bigotry against African-Americans would benefit Jewish people; this proved to be true. This post-war erosion of Jim Crow helped to facilitate an increased entrance of some Jewish-Americans into the ruling elite. This changing socio-economic composition was reflected in major Jewish organizations, as the influence of “big donors” increased. This took place as Zionism attained a growing influence among many Jewish-Americans, which was a considerable turnabout from the pre-World War II era. One can trace this development in the pages of *Commentary*, the highly influential publication, as it evolved toward neo-conservatism. This was fueled by the need to support the aggressive foreign policy of Israel, which was portrayed as a “strategic asset” of US imperialism. Thus, in 1967, a number of Jewish-Americans who had been highly supportive of the Student Non-Violent Co-

ordinating Committee (SNCC)—the shock troops of the civil rights movement—broke with this organization in the wake of the Six Day War. This growing neo-conservatism and narrow nationalism was reflected in the flap over the sacking of Andrew Young, former aide to Martin Luther King, Jr., from his post as Ambassador to the United Nations because of alleged unauthorized contact with the PLO. Though leading Jewish organizations may have been blamed wrongly for the ouster, there is little question that this episode accelerated Black contact with the just cause of the Palestinians and caused bitterness in certain Jewish circles. This was followed by the controversy over affirmative action, as a number of leading Jewish intellectuals and organizations took the lead in complaining that goals and timetables designed to include African-Americans, other minorities and non-minority women (many of whom happened to be Jewish), were the functional equivalent of the quotas of old designed to exclude the Jewish community. Again, *Commentary* played a pivotal role in this process.

Unfortunately, I have a personal experience that is relevant to this topic. In the 1980s I was a leading member, then executive director, of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. A maiming blow to NCBL took place in the mid-1980s when we dispatched a representative to a Palestinian National Council meeting. She was photographed embracing Yasir Arafat, in a photo that reached the front page of the *New York Post* (note that this paper also played a key role in the Young affair and in the exacerbation of the recent Crown Heights tragedy). As a result we received death threats; we were forced to request police protection and a fund-raiser that involved a Black woman federal judge was harmed irreparably. Shortly after that I was singled out for attack in a book sponsored by a leading Jewish organization, *Far Left of Center*. It was suggested that some sort of anti-Jewish animus sparked my concern that the campaign to entice Soviet Jewry to Israel may have been motivated in part by a desire to change the demographic situation in the Occupied Territories. History has absolved me on this point but at the time I suffered grievously – as did NCBL – as a result of such unfair attacks.

It is striking that this broad assault in progressive organizations like NCBL backfired against the attackers. Alton Maddox and Vernon Mason were stalwart members of NCBL during this period and there is little question that the organization and the concomitant association with the left had a positive influence on them. With NCBL's decline, this positive influence was removed and now they are viewed by some in the Jewish community – wrongly I think – as dangerous provocateurs, particularly in light of the Crown

Heights tragedy. The point is, however, that just as the attack on the PLO has helped to facilitate the rise of Hamas and other narrow nationalists, a similar process has taken place right here. Indeed, the global struggle against Marxism and socialism – which was backed by a number of leading pro-Zionist organizations – has promoted the rise of antisemitism especially in Eastern Europe, and a form of antisemitic Islamic fundamentalism that is spreading in Western Asia.

This process is a partial result of the end of the Cold War and the rise of the "New World Order." The CIA and Pentagon are now searching for a new justification to bolster their multibillion dollar budgets. In the eyes of many, Japan already has replaced the Soviet Union as the major "threat" to US hegemony. It also seems that the East-West Cold War is being replaced by a "North-South" version with Cuba and China cast in leading roles. Though Russian-Americans did not suffer during the Cold war, a different result can be expected for Asian-Americans during this "New Cold War." During the last downturn in Tokyo-Washington relations – the Pacific War of 1941-45 – Japanese-Americans were interned though German-Americans did not suffer to the same extent.

The magnifying of the race factor on the international level is occurring as its importance domestically also seems to be increasing. As the potency of anti-communism decreases as relations with Moscow improve, the Republican Party is left with few weapons besides racism. It appears that President George Herbert Walker Bush will run in 1992 on the three "K" issues, all of which have a racial tinge – Kuwait, Crime and Quotas. This competition with Japan necessitates an improvement in economic prospects for the US, which demands more spending on education along with affirmative action so that this nation's "human capital" can be deployed more effectively. But the GOP reliance on the race card tends to rule this out, thereby harming further the economy and complicating further the relationship with Tokyo. Moreover, foreign capital, which has played such a pivotal role in this economy over the past decade, increasingly will be repatriating, as Washington no longer needs to be propped up to confront the "big bad bear" in Moscow. As the double-dip recession becomes triple-dip, then quadruple-dip, the search for scapegoats will increase. Both Jesse Helms and David Duke have provided us with an idea of how sectors of the Euro-American population can be swayed by the racist appeal that their economic prospects are worsening because of affirmative action and "inferior" Blacks taking their jobs. If this scenario proves accurate – and let us insure that it does not – the Jewish population will dis-

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# Art and the Greenhorning of America II

Charles Keller

*This concludes the article in our July/Aug. issue.*

The material need for wider public recognition and markets was a major concern of the Jewish artists of the '20s and '30s and promotion of their works beyond the settlement house audiences was essential. An uptown middle-class Jewish professional of Eastern European background, Dr. John Weichsel, was a prime mover in bringing the many talents of the ghetto into the mainstream. Though opposed to the materialistic commercialism of the dominant bourgeois museum-gallery system, Weichsel, an anarchist, was determined to bring the best artists, Jewish and non-Jewish, together in an art movement that would strengthen the ethnic roots and heritage of the creators. This, he believed, was the true basis of American culture, as opposed to the homogenization and conformity produced by assimilation.

Beginning with Friday soirees in his lavish Bronx home, where discussions about relationships between art and politics replaced the more customary sabbath observance in the ghetto, Weichsel moved the feast to its new setting, the People's Art Guild which he founded in 1915.

The P.A.G. was the natural outgrowth not only of the soirees but of the fertile ground tilled at both the Educational Alliance and the Ferrer Center (also called the Modern School), which had opened its doors in 1911. Directed by Will Durant, this non-sectarian, anarchist cultural association was attended predominantly by East European working-class Jews. Its mostly gentile teachers included "Ashcan School" founder Robert Henri and George Bellows. Anarchists Alex Berkman and Emma Goldman were lecturers as were Margaret Sanger, Upton Sinclair and Lincoln Steffens.

In the interest of making "art more social and life more artistic" and in instilling pride in the Jewish cultural heritage, Weichsel devoted himself to the educational as well as the promotional aspects of the People's Art Guild program. He was a supporter of print-making as a medium affordable to workers. Prints were featured in the more than sixty exhibitions in the brief three years of the existence of the P.A.G., most of them in community centers. In 1917 the largest of the shows was held at the offices of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, a

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landmark event featuring 300 works by 89 artists of whom more than half were Jewish, a number of them previously unknown. Reinforcing Weichsel's aim of combining "Yiddishkeit with general culture" the exhibition included prominent figures such as John Sloan, Bellows, Henri, McDonald-Wright, Alfred Maurer, Marsden Hartley, Thomas Benton, John Marin and Everett Shinn. Like the defiant Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painting held the year before the *Forward* show, it rebuffed the conservative critics of the famous 1913 Armory Show. It also sought to challenge the image of the supremacy of European art.

To the critics the Armory Show was a Trojan Horse filled with the alien concepts of modern art, synonymous with "foreign art" which to many meant "Jewish art" that attacked authority and traditional values. When the Armory Show moved to Chicago, art students there hanged Matisse and Brancusi in effigy.

Despite the furor against the Armory Show which had included more than 1,000 works, hundreds of them entries by Americans, it was attended by more than a half-million visitors when it closed in Boston. According to Barbara Rose in her *Critical History of American Art Since 1900*, (1967), "the Armory Show established the hegemony of European art for another thirty years" but it also "marked the beginning of American collecting" of American as well as European art. It also encouraged the opening of museums and galleries of modern art and inspired American artists to adopt a more conceptual approach and "the aesthetic message of form."

Both the People's Art Guild and the Ferrer Center dealt seriously with theories of art and politics and brought together many Jewish artists with prominent non-Jewish artists such as Stuart Davis, Rockwell Kent, Robert Minor, John Sloan, Niles Spencer, William Glackens and a number of the painters sponsored by Alfred Stieglitz' Gallery 291 such as Georgia O'Keeffe, Arthur Dove and Marsden Hartley. For the younger artists such as William Gropper, Man Ray (Emanuel Radnitsky) and Philip Evergood, (ne Blashki born in England he had adopted his mother's name to enter art school there) the teaching of art from life was a welcome antidote to the training in the traditional schools uptown.

For Weichsel the triumph of the Armory, the Forum and the *Forwards* shows was the coming together of the two pioneers of American art, Robert Henri, so-

cial realist, and Alfred Stieglitz, avant-gardist, who could agree that the stodgy, conservative, traditional bourgeois Academy route was a dead-end. They were both radicals, more culturally than politically. It was "Aschcan School" Henri who dignified the common people and German-Jewish European-trained Stieglitz who "understood modernism as an experimental laboratory making research into all human life, thought and emotion...." (Barbara Rose), seeing with the *inner* eye. It was they who paved the way for what was to become the democracy of styles of American art. The last significant P.A.G.-sponsored exhibition, "Advanced Painting and Drawing," in Greenwich Village showed the work of 33 mostly American artists, including O'Keeffe and Morton Shenberg, and Europeans Picasso, Derain and Picabia. This further established modern art as both American and universal.

As opposition to foreign art grew in the '20s, its counterpart, antisemitism, thrived. Though a few romantic critics such as Hutchins Hapgood and Hamilton Field could enthuse over the works of Epstein, Sterne and Karfiol, their ecstasy was not shared by the majority of non-Jewish critics. By 1932, when the question, "Nationalism in Art-- Is It an Advantage?" was debated at the Whitney Museum, the darkening clouds of prejudice were threatening internationalism and ethnic provincialism. During the years of WWI Henry Ford had openly espoused antisemitism and attacked trade unionists as "Bolsheviks." Around WW II Father Coughlin fanned the flames. The rise of Nazism according to Sterne, "produced a Jewish consciousness which transcended national boundaries."

However, while Max Weber explored Jewish themes, Lozowick rejected Jewish references of any kind. Leon Kroll and Jonas Lie maintained their assimilationist stance while many others joined Jewish-American art organizations. Back in 1916-17 the short-lived magazine *The Seven Arts*, edited by Waldo Frank and Louis Untermeyer, was viciously attacked by critics Mary Austin and Royal Cortizzos for daring to assume the right to interpret the meaning of Americanism. These and other critics also vilified "alien" artists, Jews and non-Jews alike, such as Stieglitz, Italian-American Joseph Stella, French Jewish Jules Pascin, Japanese American Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Louis Feininger and a host of others. Among these critics, Forbes Watson and the arch-reactionary Thomas Craven were the most vocal.

World War I had revived American isolationism and shut out any further influx of European art. The breakdown of puritanism and exclusively middle-class audiences gave way to the Jazz Age and anti-establishment literature and art. Dadaism emerged as a form of attack on bourgeois culture and values with

Marcel Duchamp as its high priest. At the same time the artists of the ghetto were moving into many of the modes featured in the Armory Show's Cubism (Weber), Surrealism (Bloom), Expressionism (Benn), Dade (Man Ray), etc. A number of Jewish artists united with "expressionist" poets in literary groups, *Di Yunge*, *Shrifn* and the Introspectives, which focused on subjective, personal and imaginative fantasy and away from literal depictions of ghetto life and personages. Painters Jennings Tofel and Ben Kopman led the movement, founding yet another exhibiting organization, the Jewish Art Center, in Greenwich Village in 1925.

Tofel, also a writer on art, contributed to Yiddish literary periodicals and avant-garde publications. He dedicated the J.A.C. to "the Jew - the worker." He was opposed to painting "the rough, the cynical, the ugly" which depresses the observer, but favored, instead, "beauty, order and the faculties of imagination and fancy." Tofel's "expressionism," derived from the classic Europeans: El Greco, Rembrandt, Millet and others and the romantic Americans: Fuller, Ryder and Blakelock, was symbolist in spirit. But another mood was to prevail. Tofel identified with Yiddish writers David Ignatoff and Mani Leib, both with backgrounds of European working-class poverty and activity in the revolutionary movement of 1903. It was their proletarian themes that were shared by artists with similar origins who were drawn to the spirit of the new Art Center. Among them sculptor Aaron Goodelman, painters Ben Shahn, Minna Harkavy, Louis Ribak and others chose themes of social injustice, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, lynchings, etc. At least 35 artists, many from the Guild and the Ferrer, showed in the Jewish Art Center's exhibitions between 1925 and 1927, including Ben Benn, Abe Harriton, the Zorachs, Joseph Suib, Saul Berman, Joseph Biel, Lena Gurr, Halpert, Abe Manievich, Abbo Ostrowsky, Concetta Scaravaglione, Walkowitz and Theresa Bernstein (still exhibiting today at 101). Young Raphael Soyer and Chaim Gross first showed at the J.A.C. Soyer's drawings also appeared with Lozowick's and Maurice Becker's in the *New Masses* magazine (1927).

By 1929, in response to the Great Depression and the militancy of the trade-union movement, many artists and writers were identifying with the workers across the land who were organizing and demanding protection and jobs for the unemployed. It was in this spirit that another organization was born. The John Reed Club, with 18 chapters throughout the country attracted leading artists and writers nationally. The New York branch included writers Louis Mumford, Richard Wright, Van Wyck Brooks, John Dos Passos,

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## Opposition Gears Up for Israel's \$10 Billion Loan Request

Reprinted from *ADC Times*, publication of the Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

Need a low interest loan to buy a new house? Maybe a debt-consolidating loan? How about a guaranteed loan for a job recreation program? Or perhaps your community needs to secure financing to build roads and schools, or to develop water, electric and other services. Well, just ask Uncle Sam! He'll guarantee your long-term loan at the lowest rate of interest available – that is, if you are the State of Israel.

At a time when U.S. cities are going bankrupt, young Americans are suffering from cuts in educational programs, American families are unable to find adequate and affordable housing and health care, and banks and savings and loan companies are folding daily, Israel is preparing to request that the United States government guarantee \$10 billion in loan guarantees to "resettle" Soviet Jewish immigrants.

The loan guarantees would be spread out over five years, and would be at lower rates and for longer terms than loans available to U.S. cities and municipalities. Israel is expected to make the request when Congress reconvenes in September. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is planning to bring hundreds, if not thousands of members to Washington on September 12 to lobby Congress in support of the loan guarantees.

This request is part of the estimated \$40 billion Israel says it will need to absorb a projected one million new immigrants over and above total annual U.S. aid to Israel which totaled \$5.6 billion for Fiscal Year 1991. That amount includes \$400 million in U.S. loan guarantees for Soviet immigrants and an additional \$700 million in military transfers made to Israel since the invasion of Kuwait. In addition, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens said Israel would also request a 40 percent increase in its current military budget, thus bringing U.S. military aid to Israel from \$1.8 to \$2.5 billion per year. Since the mid-1980's Israel has received U.S. economic and military aid in the form of outright grants from the U.S. government. And, thanks to the Cranston Amendment passed in 1985, U.S. economic aid to Israel should not fall below the amount Israel needs to service its debt to the United States.

ADC and concerned groups nationwide have rallied to oppose these loan guarantees outright. With

Eastern Europe in need of development assistance, hunger plaguing the nations of Africa, and scores of pressing problems in the U.S., ADC believes the Israeli request is totally out of line. Currently, the United States provides more than \$1000 per Israeli. Israeli's gross national product ranks ahead of Ireland, Spain and Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, while the Shamir government pads its commitment to join a Middle East peace conference with countless conditions, it seeks a reward for its intransigence.

ADC Chairman James Abourezk told the *Washington Post* in a recent interview that he was not optimistic about prospects for peace in the Middle East given longstanding Israeli intransigence. He expressed the belief that Israel will go along with the peace process long enough to secure the \$10 billion in housing loan guarantees and then would abandon the negotiating table.

Israeli is free to apply for loans from U.S. lending institutions without the guarantees. However, given its questionable credit-rating (BBB, the lowest rating given by Standard and Poor's, and "D" on a scale of A to F by the Export-Import Bank), Israel would not be able to secure low interest rates or optimal terms. U.S. assurances would allow Israel to get lower interest rates and longer-term loans. In fact, with the full faith and credit of the United States behind the loans, Israel would pay less for its loans than would U.S. cities and municipalities, whose obligations are not backed by the U.S. government.

Most important to U.S. citizens, should Israel default on its payments, the U.S. government – i.e., U.S. taxpayers – would foot the bill.

While proponents of the loan guarantees contend that there will be no cost to the U.S. taxpayer, a special report by Parker Payson in the August/September issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* tells a very different story. According to Payson's study, the administrative costs of the loan will total \$40 to \$140 million per year, over the life of the loan. If the loans are given for 30 years, total administrative costs will run between \$1.2 and \$5.2 billion. Additional fees for "servicing and secondary placement" are expected to bring the total cost of the guarantees to between \$3.1 and \$7.1 billion – if Israel pays back the entire loan and its interest. Should Israel default, the U.S. will pay a whopping \$112 to \$117 billion to cover the original

\$10 billion loan, its administrative costs and interest.

Supporters of Israel are quick to say that the loan guarantees are merely a humanitarian effort to support Soviet immigrants, and are eager to avoid linkage with ongoing and increased Israeli settlement activity in occupied Arab territories.

**I**n fact, Israeli officials admit that the loans will not be used for housing alone, and there is no limit to their use for "absorption" costs, which include the development of infrastructure such as roads, utilities and jobs. According to an article in the August 8 *Washington Jewish Week*, only 20 percent of the money requested would go towards housing new immigrants and an additional 20 percent would be used to create job opportunities. The remaining 60 percent would be allocated to build the necessary "infrastructure," i.e., roads, schools, sewage projects and other services for Israeli Jewish municipalities.

The U.S. should consider the fact that by underwriting Israel's loans, it will be subsidizing segregated housing and other services. Palestinian villages and municipalities in Israel, which already receive less per capita than their Jewish counterparts, will not benefit from these loan guarantees. In general, budgets allocated to Arab municipalities in Israel are less than one-half of the allocations to similar-sized Jewish communities. In addition, many Israeli Arabs fear that the loans will also be used to raze Palestinian villages scheduled for demolition.

Furthermore, the Israeli government has offered no assurances that it will not use the loan guarantees or other funds to make Israeli settlements more permanent in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. By enabling the Israeli government to expand housing inside, the loan guarantees will allow Israel to continue offering subsidized housing to settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. According to reports published by the Foundation for Middle East Peace, Israelis who settle in the West Bank receive between \$35,000 and \$45,000 in interest free housing loans, as well as other financial incentives. The government of Israel also subsidized infrastructure costs which amount to \$15,000 per housing unit.

While U.S. citizens must contend with rising unemployment, increased utility costs and crumbling roads, our government is being asked to guarantee loans to develop such resources for a country that has seen fit to thumb its nose at U.S. concerns over continued settlement activity and has taken every opportunity to slow the Bush Administration's current peace initiative. In May, Secretary of State James Baker charged that Israeli settlements are the biggest "obstacle" to peace.

Recent reports indicate that only ten percent of

Soviet immigrants choose to go to Israel, and that the cost of resettling them is five times more than the cost of resettling them in the United States.

At this point it is uncertain what form the \$10 billion loan request will take. It could come directly from the Israeli government to the U.S. Department of State or from supporters of Israel to Congress. While the Foreign Aid Authorization bill has passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, it is reported that the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Appropriations Committee is in the process of drafting legislation.

The Bush Administration has made it clear that it is opposed to issuing the loan guarantee without oversight or conditions. Reports in the Jewish press indicate that the pro-Israel lobby is ready to fight administration efforts to link the guarantees to Israel's position on the peace conference or its policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

An article in the August 22 issue of *Washington Jewish Week* revealed that under new budget rules, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) must assess Israel's credit-worthiness, and determine what percentage of loan guarantees must be "scored" against the federal deficit. In other words, the U.S. government will have to factor an amount into the federal budget to cover the loan guarantees in the case of default. According to the article, that amount would total between \$500 and \$800 million over the allocation span of five years. Since OMB officials have expressed concern about how Israel will use the loans as well as how it plans to pay them back, many in the pro-Israel lobby fear that the Bush Administration might also link the loan guarantees to Israeli economic reform.

ADC is tackling this request on a number of fronts. An Action Alert sent to all members in early August encouraged them to contact their senators and representatives to oppose the loan guarantees. Members were also urged to contact the White House and State Department.

**T**he National Office (of ADC, ed.) has drafted a position paper on the loan request that will be sent to all members of Congress, key coalition organizations and other opinion makers. ADC representatives have also participated in a number of strategy sessions with Arab-American organizations, as well as with the church community. The Episcopal Diocese of Washington is planning its annual "Call on Congress" in late September and is focusing its lobbying efforts on opposition to the \$10 billion request.

ADC has contacted a number of members of Congress to discuss the possibility of holding oversight

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## Statement on Crown Heights

### Brooklyn Chapter of New Jewish Agenda

*This statement has appeared in full in N.Y. City in the Amsterdam News and Caribbean Voice.*

The Brooklyn Chapter of New Jewish Agenda, a progressive national Jewish organization, agrees with New York City Mayor David Dinkins that the tragic events that have occurred in Crown Heights provide an "opportunity now to right old wrongs - to heal old wounds - and to make our city a better more just place." But we also believe that these events have created the potential for inflicting lasting harm on both the African and Jewish-American communities, not only in our city but throughout the country. Such harm can only be prevented by increased understanding in each community in Crown Heights of the well-founded grievances and legitimate interests of the other side; an end to violence, insults and stereotyping; and a beginning of dialogue as a prelude to working together to remove these grievances and meet these interests.

We express our deepest sympathy to the families of Gavin Cato and Yankel Rosenbaum, and our hopes for the full and speedy recovery of Angela Cato. We underscore that it was an accident that took Gavin Cato's life and critically injured Angela Cato, and that there is firm evidence that the police ordered Hassidic ambulance personnel to take the Hassidim involved from the scene while EMS (*Emergency Medical Service, ed.*) personnel gave medical attention to the injured children. There is no foundation to the rumor that the children were purposely not attended to by the Hassidic ambulance personnel, nor to the slander that this shows that "the Jews" do not have regard for the lives of African-Americans.

The events in Crown Heights and the reactions to them have led many Jews and African-Americans not only there but throughout the city and the country to strengthen their mistaken belief that most members of the other group hate them and wish them ill. Such beliefs can only weaken further the historic alliance of African and Jewish Americans that brought about fair employment, fair housing and other progressive legislation, and that helped elect progressive politicians irrespective of their race, religion or nationality. The further weakening of this alliance would be a calamity not only for African and Jewish but all Americans, since all benefit from a just and humane society.

As an organization of progressive Jews, we are greatly concerned by the racism and antisemitism that

has been expressed in Crown Heights in recent days. The physical and verbal violence in Crown Heights has been precipitated by, but not caused by, the tragedies of the Cato children and Yankel Rosenbaum. It is the result of long-standing misunderstandings and conflicts between two racially and culturally disparate communities. African Americans living in Crown Heights have long complained that the police and public housing administrators give the Hassidim preferential treatment; and the Hassidim have long complained about insufficient police protection to prevent their being mugged and robbed by African Americans; each side complains of lack of respect from members of the other group.

We believe there is truth in all these complaints. But we do not believe, as too many in and out of Crown Heights do, that the Hassidim are given preferential treatment because they are Jews, that the criminals commit such crimes because they are African Americans, or that the lack of respect is due to most Jews being racists and most African Americans being anti-Semites.

The Lubavitcher Hassidim of Crown Heights get preferential treatment because they are well-organized and politically active. They vote as a bloc and their leader, the Lubavitcher rebbe, can and does deliver thousands of votes to the politicians who give him and his followers the police services and other favors he requests. While most of the street crime in Crown Heights is committed by African Americans, those who commit such crimes do not do so because they are African Americans. The causes are social and economic-not racial or ethnic-and range from drugs to joblessness.

Finally, despite the antisemitic and racist expressions heard in Crown Heights in recent days, including blood-curdling shouts of "Heil Hitler" and incredible accusations of a "pogrom," numerous studies disclose that there is less antisemitism among African Americans than in the general non-Jewish population, and that there is less racism among Jews than any other white ethnic group.

The Brooklyn Chapter of New Jewish Agenda urges an end to stereotyping, an end to attributing the prejudice of a few to communities as a whole, and an end to the violent language and deeds in Crown

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many? The U.N. Charter and several of its resolutions condemn racism and urge its outlawry. Nations as varied as Great Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Holland, Sweden and New Zealand have anti-racist laws which criminalize such speech or printed words.

I am not neutral on this question of racism or sexism or antisemitism. I remember after a lecture on slavery at Johns Hopkins University, a professor coming to me and saying: "Your presentation disappointed me." I expressed regret and asked wherein I had failed. Came the response: "You were too one-sided; you said nothing favorable about slavery." I replied: "Suppose the University's medical school had invited me to speak on cancer; would a quite hostile approach have troubled you?" I added: "I can say something positive about cancer – it just killed Senator Bilbo of Mississippi."

Du Bois at the NAACP insisted that the organization call for banning of the movie "Birth of a Nation" just after World War One. That disgusting film was whipping up racist hysteria in the midst of a whirlwind of lynchings. Some on the Board of the NAACP advised against such a position as violating the First Amendment. Nonsense, said Du Bois, fostering or excusing lynching has nothing to do with the First Amendment. Du Bois carried the majority of the board with him and personally participated in picket-lines protesting that movie and some cities did ban it. That was a victory, not a defeat, for freedom.

When Joseph Epstein, who has been editor of *The American Scholar* (organ of Phi Beta Kappa) since 1975, writes as he did recently in *The Hudson Review* of a so-called joke equating a feminist with a pit bull, and when he refers to lesbians as "Dykes on Bikes," Mr. Epstein has read himself out of decent society, let alone editorship of something called "The American Scholar."

Finally, permit some remarks evoked by the events of the recent period so devastating to us of the Left and by no means unrelated to the present attack upon multi-cultural education and the rise of racism and antisemitism. Anguish is followed by celebration. In the 1850s the slavocracy seemed supreme: the racist Buchanan was president, his Supreme Court rendered the Dred Scott decision which insulted the African-American people and in effect nationalized slavery, John Brown was hanged, a reign of terror covered the South, Frederick Douglas found it wise to flee the country since U.S. marshalls were seeking his arrest. But within three years Lincoln was in the White House, Douglas was in the Oval Office being consulted by the President, two hundred thousand

Black men were fighting in the Union Army and Navy and singing "John Brown's Body" while trampling out the vintage of the Lord's wrath from Virginia ro Texas.

I vividly remember June 22, 1941 when the forces of all Europe, conquered by Nazism, hurled its legions against the USSR and the generals of England and the United States announced Hitler would be in a conquered Moscow within, at most, six weeks. And I was in Paris on May Day 1945 when the Red Army had reached Berlin's outskirts and the Red Flag of the Communist Party of France – the Party of the Resistance – flooded the City of Light while millions marched in ecstasy through its streets. It is not possible that the set-backs and catastrophes of the recent past – mixed as they have been with flashes of light – indicate the end of those efforts and hopes which have marked humanity's finest moments.

One thing alone I charge you, said Du Bois in his Final Message: Do not despair, though the journey is hard and long. Do not despair, he told us, out of ninety-five years of unparalleled experiences. Do not despair, for remember the dawn does rise. That for which we in this hall—this hall named for Henry Winston – have striven and marched and organized and picketed were just causes and remain just causes. We were righteous and are righteous now. Of course, we had our failings and faults and made errors, but what we helped bring about was right, not wrong and is right and not wrong.

Come back with me again to Du Bois who cried aloud in 1906 out of the indignities of Jim Crow and the fires of lynchings: "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all Americans." "Courage," he cried out, in that year of the Atlanta pogrom when monsters invaded his own home, he continued: "The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. The morning breaks over bloodstained hills. We must not falter, we must not shrink. Above are the everlasting stars."

Yes, and there are the everlasting needs. Therefore we now dare envision a world of Peace, Decency, Plenty, Beauty—a world brought before our eyes by Sean O'Casey, Pablo Neruda, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, and W.E.B. DuBois. There will be such a world. The finest traditions of the African-American and Jewish-American peoples throb with this vision. Commitment to its achievement is the finest task of a thinking human being. □

## Black-Jewish Relations

cover once again that there is a correlation between the rise of bigotry against African-Americans and the rise of bias against the Jewish population.

Certainly the "New World Order" is of special moment for Israel. This was suggested by Thomas Friedman in the September 19, 1991 *New York Times*, where he pointed out how Israel has lost much of its value as a "strategic asset" and outpost against "Communism" in light of the turmoil in the Soviet Union. This helps to explain the brouhaha between the White House and Israel over the \$10 billion loan guarantee. Even before these recent development there were troubling signs that the US ruling class was reconsidering its position on both Jewish Americans and Israel. In the wake of the conviction of Jonathan Pollard, the Jewish American tried for selling secrets to Israel, there was something of a witch-hunt against Jewish Americans in sensitive diplomatic and military posts in Washington; they were suspected of the old canard of "dual loyalties," as Wolf Blitzer points out in his book on the Pollard case, *Territory of Lies*. Throughout the hearings on the Iran-Contra scandal, right-wing senators like James McClure of Idaho tried to scapegoat Israel for this affair. It has been suggested that the wave of insider trading arrests should be viewed in the same context. It is unnecessary to carry a brief for Michael Milken — a billionaire whose actions have thrown thousands out of work; yet, it is interesting to reference the fact that he was useful in helping to arrange the capital for Reginald Lewis to take over the Beatrice Food Corporation and become the first African-American to head a Fortune 500 corporation. Lewis was also a key contributor to the presidential races of Jesse Jackson in 1984 and 1988. Milken also sought to raise funds for Bill Tatum, publisher of the *New York Amsterdam News*, to take over the *New York Post* and become their first Black publisher; certainly this development would have transformed both this paper and New York City politics. In any event, it is well to be concerned about a rise of antisemitism in the US.

And, yes, African-Americans are part of this country and are thereby influenced by these broad, negative trends. The mistake would be to see them as the prime carriers of this virus, the carriers of the "real antisemitism" as it was once put. For example, when one raises the question of antsemitic portrayals in recent film, a search of newspaper indexes would show that Spike Lee's "Mo Better Blues" would arise more than any other recent work. Yet, few would mention — or even know of — antisemitic characterizations that are much worse in "White Palace," "Miller's Crossing" or "End of Innocence" or Mike Nichols' "Re-

garding Henry" or Brian DePalma's "Bonfire of the Vanities." Inevitably a psychologist would argue that a process called "displacement" is taking place here, i.e., rather than focus on powerful and formidable foes in Hollywood, it is easier to release this pent-up fury on a filmmaker who emerges from a mostly powerless African-American community.

The tragedy in Crown Heights should also be contextualized. In the October 5, 1991 *New York Times* Henry Schwarzschild, who was in Berlin on November 9, 1938, objected strenuously to the terming of the event of August 19 in Brooklyn as some sort of *Kristallnacht* — which was the contention of certain Jewish organizations and leaders. Certainly we must be concerned if minority youth — even a few — are shouting "Heil Hitler," which was reported by the press; if it is proven that Yankele Rosenbaum was murdered because he was Jewish, this contemptible act cannot be downplayed. Yet, violence is done to the memory of Rosenbaum and Gavin Cato when anti-Jewish expressions among Blacks are somehow portrayed as analogous to the acts of Nazi storm troopers, who were acting on behalf of a powerful state.

Still, the Crown Heights tragedy should serve as a firebell in the night awakening us to the fact that the "New World Order" is a new period requiring new initiatives. Most of all, we must revive the influence and strength of the left. For it was the attack on the left during the Cold War that laid the basis for the present crisis in Black-Jewish relations and it is the revival of the left that will help to assuage this crisis. The left is the most sincere and forceful and resolute force that fights against national chauvinism, narrow nationalism and other roadblocks. Why is there a need for a renaissance in Black-Jewish relations? One need look no further than the KKK, the Nazis, David Duke, the Order, the Aryan Brotherhood, Lyndon LaRouche, the Identity Church and forces that have a special hatred for African Americans and Jewish Americans. At minimum we must unite to confront this common foe. Repelling them also serves to undermine the ultraright which is the bedrock opposition to affirmative action, as well as improvements in housing, health care and education for all people. □

## Statement

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Heights. We urge the beginning of dialogue and collaboration between Jews and African Americans in resolving their grievances and attaining their legitimate goals.

We agree with the slogan chanted in Crown Heights these past few days: "No Justice, No Peace." But we also believe that without peacefully talking and working together there can be no justice. □

## Greenhorning

*continued from p.10*

Mike Gold and Theodore Dreiser among others and artists Henry Billings, Elizabeth Olds, the Soyers, Lozowick and dozens of the prominent names from the Alliance and other organizations.

Two questions of particular interest and importance raised in the Jewish Museum exhibition demand attention: the seeming "special appeal" to Jewish artists of Abstract Art and the attraction of radical politics for them.

Abstract art has always been attacked by unsophisticated viewers as a dehumanizing theoretical exercise, an elitist sign-language not intended for communication with the common man. A number of possible explanations about the "special aptitude of Jews for abstraction" are presented in the catalogue of the recent Jewish Museum exhibition. Among several theories, one is that all immigrant artists including Jews being unconstrained either by the traditions of "genteel" American values or by the inhibitions of Victorian propriety, were therefore free to invent and to experiment.

Another theory is that religious Jews "have no feeling for the pictorial in nature" which explains "the lack of empirical descriptions in the Old Testament." Thus, since Jews are believed, by some experts, to be genetically cerebral, Cubism and Futurism, arts of reason and synthesis not dependent on the real appearance of life and substance, have a special appeal to the Jewish intellect. The fact that two of America's most respected pioneer abstract artists, Stuart Davis and Burgoyne Diller, were both WASPs, does not phase the devotees of the "racial conduct" theory. (They also have contradictory theories which explain why some Jews are figurative artists; Jews are romantic dreamers, neurotic, guilt-ridden and melancholic.)

A more rational explanation, of course, is that Jews, like other people, respond to the influences of environment and social forces and are sensitive to the ideas of their time. Some of the social conditioning which provoked thoughts about abstraction was, first of all, travel abroad and the influence of foreign artists in America such as Marcel Duchamp, Fernand Leger, Gaston Lachaise and, of course, the avant garde works in the Armory show. Psychologically, what set the stage for abstraction was both the search for an alternative image to the conservative traditional academic and to the realist narrative "illustrators" and for a form in tune with industry, of which the shiny mechanical structures of "art deco" were examples. This was also reflected in the Precisionist paintings of Charles Sheeler and Charles Demuth (both of them Protestants).

And there was also lots of heated discussion. Parallel to the soirees at John Weichsel's home in 1915 focused on labor and political art were the salons of the same period in the elegant up-town home of German-Jewish scholar-collector Walter Arensberg on Thursday evenings. He and his wife hosted radical artists of a different stripe, expressionists, abstractionists and Dadaists (much in the spirit of the Paris salons of German-American Jews the siblings Leo and Gertrude Stein). Arensberg's guests included Stieglitz and his circle, Hartley, Marin, Dove, etc., Duchamp, Picabia, Man Ray, Stella, Demuth, Sheeler, Shamberg as well as Isadora Duncan, William Carlos Williams and Edgard Varese.

The pioneer abstract group, "The Ten," was formed in 1935 (the tenth member varied by invitation). The founders were: Bolotowsky, Ben-Zion, Adolph Gottlieb, Louis Harris, Jack Kufeld, Marcus Rothkowitz (Mark Rothko), Louis Shanker, Joseph Solman and Nahum Tschacbasov. In response to Hitlerism abroad references to oppression and religious symbolism emerged in many of their works. In 1938 they exhibited as the Whitney Dissenters in protest against that museum's partiality toward regionalism. The eventual dissolution of the group coincided with the breakup of the American Artists' Congress in 1939 and some of its members joined the Society of American Abstract Artists.

When WWII began many Jewish artists turned to depictions of destruction and the holocaust. The abstract artists set out to explore universal themes both "tragic and timeless" without reflecting any narrative detail. Three of the artists, Rothko, Gottlieb and Barnett Newman wrote a letter to Edward Alden Jewell, art editor of the New York Times. Dated June 7, 1943, it enumerated the motives and methods of the new movement in art which came to be known as Abstract Expressionism, a decidedly Jewish contribution to American art. □

*The Professor Edgar H. Lehrman Memorial Foundation for Ethics, Religion, Science and the Arts, Inc. announces a contest for a poem honoring Ilya Krichevsky, the 28-year-old Muscovite Jew killed by a tank, defending the Russian parliament from the army in the recent coup. The winning entry will be set to music by composer Leonard Lehrman and performed by soprano Helene Williams at two concerts sponsored by Composer Concordance next February 13 at C.W. Post College on Long Island and February 21 at CAMI Hall in Manhattan. Send poems or lyrics to The Professor Edgar H. Lehrman Memorial Foundation, 10 Nob Hill Gate, Roslyn, NY 11576. Deadline: Dec. 1, 1991.*



## Reviews

**Bill Stanton, *Klanwatch; Bringing the Ku Klux Klan to Justice*, New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991, 277 pp. and Deborah Davis, *Katharine the Great: Katharine Graham and her Washington Empire*, New York: Sheridan Square, 1991, 322 pp.**

Gerald Horne

Like other phenomena, the Ku Klux Klan has not remained stagnant over the years. After arising in the 1860s in order to terrorize African-Americans, it evolved in the 1920s by adding anti-Catholicism to its agenda. It is well to pay attention to these bandits because the Reagan-Bush years apparently have added wind to their sails. A striking aspect of the engrossing story that unfolds in this worthwhile memoir is how law enforcement too often has abdicated the responsibility to bring the KKK to heel. As a result, courageous attorneys propelled by mobilized communities have sought to fill the breach.

The author worked closely with one such courageous attorney, Morris Dees, and the Southern Poverty Law Center based in Montgomery, Alabama – the cradle of both the Conferancy and the civil rights movement. One of their most highly publicized cases arose in 1981 when Michael Donald, a 19 year old African-American student, was randomly abducted, savagely murdered, then left hanging from the bough of an elm tree. In a sense, the KKK thugs in Mobile who committed this heinous crime were simply emulating the authorities. The lynching of Michael Donald had been preceded in 1976 by the "mock lynching" of Glenn Diamond, yet another African-American youth; the "600 Squad," a "special detail" of police officers charged with fighting urban crime in Mobile, sought to force Diamond to confess to crimes he had not committed by placing a "noose around his neck," throwing it over a tree and hoisting him up "so that his feet barely touched the ground." The officers were "acquitted by all-white juries" despite a mass outcry. As we read today about gangs sprouting in the Los Angeles Police Department with bizarre white supremacist pretensions, one shudders at the "criminalizing" of Black youth and what such can bring.

In 1987 Dees and SPLC won a \$7 million judgment on behalf of the mother of Michael Donald. Yet, this significant victory, which certainly hampered the operation of the KKK, has not alleviated concern about these terrorists. For unfortunately, the Donald lynching and the attitude of the authorities toward such a horrendous crime, was part of a larger pattern and practice. The Mobile police never viewed the KKK as serious

suspects though all signs pointed to their culpability for this lynching. John Mays, KKK attorney, "by coincidence" served as a "high ranking officer in the Alabama National Guard." When the KKK began to organize armed and trained "Special Forces ... the Alabama attorney general declined to do anything..." Contrast this passivity to the wild attack that befell the Black Panther Party. The FBI also took a passive approach to the Klan Special Forces. After the KKK had attacked and harassed civil rights demonstrators in Alabama, it appeared that both the judge and the prosecution were colluding with the racists. Even weighty allegations that the KKK was financing its activity through cocaine smuggling were greeted with veritable yawns, despite the hysteria about the "war on drugs." Judge William Acker, a federal judge appointed to the bench by Reagan in 1982, seemed to have joined the Klan's defense team during a particularly outrageous criminal trial in that his rulings were not only biased but outlandish. The author also states, "More than one assistant US Attorney in more than one Southern US Attorney's office had confided to us that he was dismayed by the lack of commitment to the prosecution of civil rights cases he had encountered in some quarters of the federal law enforcement bureaucracy, from the field offices of the FBI to the top echelon of his boss's staff" (p.170).

Particularly in light of the changed correlation of forces globally, one would be remiss to ignore such troubling signals blithely. Notably distressing in this regard has been the response from certain circles in the Euro-American community. The author laments "the failure of the white majority to take a stand against KKK vigilantism. A serious leadership void existed at every level of society." The Donald lynching, unfortunately, engendered similar sentiments, according to the author. "It was as if whites couldn't bring themselves to acknowledge that racism might be at the root of the crime, for fear of what that might say about Mobile race relations in general." What the psychologists call "denial," is one of the more disturbing aspects of contemporary race relations. Perhaps worse is the fact that when African-Americans and their allies seek to mobilize against racism, this too is often viewed with a

jaundiced eye. A SPLC poll taken in Morgan County, Alabama revealed that "nearly three out of five white residents of the county opposed the right of citizens to hold peaceful demonstrations" – an abject liquidation of the First Amendment. Of course, in this federal system one should be hesitant to generalize unduly about racist attitudes, especially when Alabama is the reference point. Still, all this serves as a stark reminder that this is no time to claim victory and to move on in the struggle against racism.

Naturally, antisemitism accompanies this racism. Indeed, it is easy to imagine an upsurge in this virus in light of increasing tensions between the US and Israel. Texas KKK leaders Louis Beam refused to own a television since "he believed the Jews owned the media." According to Reverend J.M. Drummond of the Huntsville klavern, "blacks were an inferior race but Jews were the real enemies..." The growing amalgamation of the Nazis with the KKK and other fascist-minded elements has accelerated these ideological trends in recent times.

One has to indict Republican Party and like-minded politicians for their role in this scenario. The tens of thousands of votes garnered by "former" Klansman David Duke in statewide races in Louisiana has been on a platform not dissimilar from standard GOP fare: allegations that affirmative action causes "reverse discrimination against whites" and blaming welfare mothers – presumably Black – for rising taxes. The only difference is that the standard GOP politicians tend to be more allusive in their rhetoric. The author leads us to the conclusion that if this rising tide of bigotry is to be reversed, mobilized communities and independent political action must be on the agenda.

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Katharine Graham has a personal fortune of over \$1 billion and has been termed the most powerful woman in the country. Her mass media empire includes the *Washington post*, *Newsweek* and a number of television stations in major markets. Her father, Eugene Meyer, was one of the most powerful Jewish-American active in the Zionist movement. He too was quite wealthy; in the 1930s he served as head of that epitome of state monopoly capitalism, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and later as first head of the world bank. His prominence in Washington helped to convince the antisemites to call the New Deal the "Jew Deal." Deborah Davis' remarkable biography of Katharine Graham and her family is an enthralling tale of power, sexism, anti-unionism, antisemitism and the CIA. This is also a bracing story for those naifs still marveling about the "free press" in this country. The original edition of this worthy book was shredded in the 1970s after enormous pressure was placed on the

publisher, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich by Graham. A copy of this book has been difficult to find since and has just been republished by a small left-wing publisher.

The story begins with Eugene Meyer born into a "cultured Jewish mercantile family in the pioneer village of Los Angeles." The Meyers were related indirectly to the famous Alfred Dreyfus, subject of the famous antisemitic scandal in France, the Levi Strauss fortune and Zadoc Kahn, Grand Rabbi of France. Meyer went on to help form the "Anglo-Palestine (bank)" which "became the largest bank in Israel..." (p.42). As he grew older, his commitment to Zionism became even deeper. He gave money to the Jewish Agency and supplied arms and medical supplies for the armed underground. In the 1930s he bought the *Washington Post*. Despite his wealth, this purchase was not preordained since "Washington was a city where people were suspicious of the Jewish influence in finance, government and the news..." What is most riveting about this book is the way in which it traces how the *Post* managed to emerge as not only pre-eminent in the Washington market but one of the leading papers in the country as well. This process was inseparable from the post-World War II admission of more Jewish-Americans into the ruling elite and the rise of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Meyer's daughter Katharine married Philip Graham, who had been involved with military intelligence during the war ( his brother, Bob, latter became a US Senator from Florida). It was ironic that the *Post* was assisted to prominence by Allen Dulles of the CIA, in that the intelligence chief had been a director of the Schroeder Bank which helped to finance the rise of Hitler. Certainly the *Post* was not alone in cooperating with the CIA. Approximately 500 journalists associated with such prominent organs of the "free press" like the *New York Times*, CBS, etc. were on the CIA payroll during various stages of the Cold War.

Still, it did seem that the *Post* was more eager than most to assist. This loyalty helped the Graham empire in circumventing anti-trust regulations when purchasing T.V. stations and other assets. This added capital proved to be useful in driving the completion out of business, particularly the *Washington Times-Herald*, whose alliances with the FBI did not save it from extinction. What developed was a revolving door between the executive suite of the *Post* and US intelligence. Managing Editor Al Friendly apparently worked with Air Force intelligence at the same time he was toiling for the *Post*. *Post* executive John Hayes went on to lead the wildly anti-communist Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Graham's son, Donald did,

a stint with the intelligence bureau of the D.C. police. Long-time *Post* Editor Ben Bradlee, best known as a propagandist for John F. Kennedy, collaborated with the CIA in Paris in turning out propaganda against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. He sought to show that they deserved the death penalty and that allegations about antisemitism in the US were a fabrication.

All the while the *Post* was masquerading as part of the "free press," totally "independent" from the government and narrow class interests – which allegedly showed how different it was from press organs in the then socialist camp. Any doubt about their impartiality on basic class questions should have been removed when the *Post*, under Katharine Graham's leadership, moved to crush the unions at the paper in the mid-1970s. Her strategy was blunt and served as a model for her class: "Use rewards and punishments to divide the union men against one another. Take union officers into your confidence, give them responsibility, a taste of the privileges that come with management. Ask them to understand your problems during contract negotiations. If they remain militantly prone, tell the men that their leaders are not bargaining in good faith, which will create dissension between the leaders and their men. Make plans to automate, as the unions have asked you to do, thinking that new equipment will make their work easier; but instead of retraining them as they expect, bring in nonunion workers to run the new machines" (pp. 189-90). With such deft tactics she provoked a strike that led to the breaking of the union, criminal prosecutions and suicide.

Graham's rise in ruling-class circles did not bar Vice President Spiro Agnew from blasting the "Jewish dominated , left-leaning" press. She felt her T.V. licenses would be lost. This was during the time when the Watergate scandal erupted, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Nixon administration and the burnishing of Graham's undeserved reputation for political independence. What actually was involved was a bit more complicated. Like this year's best-seller *Silent Coup*, the author suggests that what actually led to Nixon's resignation was grave concern in the CIA and the Joint Chiefs of staff about a number of White House policies, including detente with the Soviet Union. Bob Woodward, who had been a briefer at the White House of Alexander Haig and deeply involved in secret intelligence, somehow materialized at the *Post* where he became the recipient of administration secrets from a mysterious "Deep Throat" (believed by many to be Haig, though Davis points the finger at the CIA man Richard Ober) and wrote stories that led to impeachment hearings. Arguably, Watergate was just another chapter in the CIA's long associ-

ation with its favorite paper.

And what about Graham herself? There is little question that she was subjected to sexism at various points in her life though this did not provide her with any added pro-union or progressives traits – she has been loyal to her class throughout. Similarly, she was subjected to antisemitism though this has not stopped the *Post* from becoming one of the most anti-Black papers in the country, despite – or perhaps because of – being located in a city that is 70% African-American. *Katharine The Great* is a sober story about gender, class, bias and power and is essential reading for any seeking to understand the evolution of this nation. □

### **An unpublished letter to the Editor of *New York Magazine***

Dear Editor:

"Kids with Guns" by Eric Pooley, featured on your August 5 cover, is the most obnoxious display of blatant racism I have ever seen in the so-called "responsible" press. As a Jew, whose people have also known the sting of ethnic prejudice even in the United States, I am deeply offended by this loathsome attack on people of color – an attack no less virulent than that of the Republican Campaign's exploitation of white fear in its Willie Horton commercials. And to characterize the subjects of the article as "sociopathic by nature or by training" (p.25) appears to come directly from a Nazi textbook on racial inferiority.

Rather than picture on your cover a black youth in a menacing pose and repeat it four times on the pages of the article, as if readers might not otherwise get the message, your investigative journalist might have included photos of those servants of the people in the Reagan-Bush White House, who have systematically depleted Federal funding and programs for housing, health, education, and welfare that has produced the poverty, inferior education, and limited opportunity on which social pathology breeds.

With respect for the surfeits of guns in our society, let us not forget the National Rifle Association which lobbies against gun control and handsomely supports congressional campaigns. Let us neither forget the profit-motivated, violence-promoting media which not only induces aggression, but, as the article does mention, also teaches the use of weapons.

The late Lee Atwater, head of the Republican National Campaign Committee, at least had the grace to apologize for its racism. Will *New York Magazine* do any less?

Richard J. Brown, M.D.  
Member, Executive Board  
National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

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*In loving memory of*

**KAREN ELLEN WERNER**

1950-1986

*activist, unionist, comrade  
and dear daughter*

Anne and Leo Werner

hearings on the loan guarantees. and ADC is also cooperating on a number of local and regional initiatives to draw attention to Israel's request in light of budget problems in the United States.

This summer, ADC interns did extensive research on domestic spending cuts for a project spear-headed by George Moses. The final report of the Budget Priorities Project was just published by the American Educational Trust. This report outlines the budgetary problems of select cities and counties for each of the fifty United States.

The report also estimates the number of years U.S. families could live rent-free if they were given an interest free housing subsidy of \$35,000, the average amount the government of Israel gives to families settling in apartments in the occupied West Bank. At the high end, a family in Alabama could live rent-free for 15.33 years with such a subsidy, while a family in Massachusetts could live rent-free for 5.33 years.

According to the Child Welfare League, 100,000 American children go to sleep homeless every night. The report calculated that at \$2 billion per year, 338,200 apartments could be subsidized for families living in substandard housing, or without housing at all.

This project is a valuable resource for mobilizing opposition to the \$10 billion loan guarantee in your local community. It should be sent to local housing advocates, school boards, city councils, mayors and municipal leaders, state legislators and governors. ADC members are encouraged to contact the American Educational Trust to obtain copies of the Budget Priorities Project and the August/September issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* by calling (202) 939-6050, or writing to them at P.O. Box 53062, Washington D.C. 20009.

cern for the victims of racism but only on the basis of self-interest, by insisting that the fight against racism is at the same time a fight against antisemitism, that it is "good for the Jews."

A.J.K.

דורכנעפירט און אירנדיקן און אויפטרייסלענדיקן אונט צום אנדענק פון 40 סאָוועטישע עולים, וועלכע זיינען באַאָנגט זעלבסטמארד צוליב די שווערייקיטן אויף וועלכע זיי האָבן דך אָנגעשטרעט אין ישראל. דערביי האָבן זיך געהערט רופן פאַר אַרבעט און כּהיט.

ס'איז דערמאָטקנדיק, אַז ס'שטייגן די קרייזן, וועלכע זענען אין די פאַרבינדונג צווישן דער פּראָגע פון שלום און דער פּראָגע פון שאַפן אַרבעט. דירות, פון קענען אויפנעמען די נדיסע עלייה און איינאַרדענען ביי אַרבעט און אין דירות. ס'דערעפנט זיך דאַס נייע שוליאָר און מען וואָלט געדאַרפט מער קלאַסן, אַבער די איבערגעטריבענע אויסגאַבן אויף מיליטער דערמעגלעכן ניט צו פאַרגרעסערן דעם כּדושעט אויף ברען שולן. אויך די פּראָגן פאַדערט אַ פּאָליטיק פון שלום. ס'שטייגן דעריבער די כּוחות, וואָס פאַדערט צו צוימען די עקסטרעם-דעכטע אַנטי-שלום כּוחות. ס'איז דעריבער אויך דערמאָטקנדיק, אַז אין רעוולוטאָן פון לאַנגיאַריקן קאַמף פון די ייִדיש-אַראַבישע דעמאָקראַטישע כּוחות און פון דער אָרגאַניזירטקייט פון דער אַראַבישער געזעלשאַפטלעכקייט האָט די רעגירונג באַשלאָסן אָפּצושאַפן די דיסקרימינאַציעס אין די כּדושעטן לגבי די אַראַבישע מוניציפּאַליטעטן. ס'איז דערביי כּאַראַקטעריסטיש, אַז די רעגירונגען פון דער אַרבעטס-פּאַרטי און פון מפי"ם האָבן ניט אָפּגעשאַפן די דאָזיקע שענדלעכע דיסקרימינאַציעס און דווקא די ליכוד-פירער האָבן זיי אָפּגעשאַפן. ס'איז ניט וויכטיק, אַז די ליכוד-פירער האָבן דאַס געטאָן, כּכּדי צו קענען באַקומען אַראַבישע שטימען ביי די כּנסת-וואָלן, דאַס איז אַבער דאָך אַן צוויפל אַ וויכטיקע דערגרייכונג פון לאַנגיאַריקן קאַמף אין דער ערשטער ריי פון די ייִדיש-אַראַבישע שלום און דעמאָקראַטישע כּוחות.

מיט האָפענונג נעמען מיר אויף דאַס נייע יאָר, אַז ניט קוקנדיק אויף די שווערע קאַמפּליקאַציעס און שווערייקייטן וועט דאַס יאָר השנ"ב אונדז דערגענטערן צום געגאַרטן ישראל-פּאַלעסטינער און ישראל-אַראַבישן שלום, וואָס וועט עפענען כּריטע מעגלעכקייטן אויסצורייטערן אונדזרע פאַרבינדונגען אין ראַיאָן, אויף דער וועלט און פאַר אַנטוויקלונג און כּראַונג. ס'איז איצט נאָך מער ווי פּרער נויטיק די קאַפּפּעראַציע פון אַלע שלום און דעמאָקראַטישע כּוחות אינעם קאַמף פאַר שלום, וואָס איז לעבנסוויכטיק פאַר ישראל.

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Address \_\_\_\_\_

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פאלעסטינער, סיי וועגן גולן און סיי וועגן מורה ירושלים. די באוויסטע געווי. שפּעך־רעדאקטאָרין פון "דבר־חנה" זמר קריטיקירט די אַזויקע שטעלונג סיי פון ליכוד און סיי פון די פירער פון דער אַרבעטס־פּאַרטיי. זאַגנדיק: "וואָס פאַר פּאַרהאַנדלונגען קענען אַזוי אַרבי מען רוקט אַרויס אַזעלכע שטעלונגען. דאָס באַדייט דאָך זאָגן דעם סירישן פּרעזידענט, אַז ער זאָל זיצן אין דערהיים, אַז ער האָט ניט וואָס צו זוכן ביים פּאַרהאַנדלונגס־טיש, ווען ער וועט אַפּלאַן צושטימען צום פּולן שלום" ("דבר", 21.7.91). אויך דער געווי. זיכערהייט־מיניסטער עזר וויצמן (פון דער אַרבעטס־פּאַרטיי) איינער פון די. וועלכער האָט אָנגערעדערשפּיכן דעם שלום־אַפּאַקאָ מיט מצרים האָט אָנגעוויזן דערויף, אַז דעם שלום מיט מצרים האָט מען געשלאָסן, ווייל מ. בענין האָט צוגעשטימט צוריקצוציען זיך פון גאַנץ סיני...פּאַרוואָס זאָל מען אַזוי ניט האַנדלען אויך גלבי סיריע, לבנון, גלבי די פּאַלעסטינער...?

דערווייט האָט מען זיך רעגירונג — און און די עקסטרעם־רעכטע קרייזן אויפגענומען מיט צופרידנקייט די געשעענישן אין סאַרעטן־פּאַרכאָר, אין רעזולטאַט פון וועלכע די שלום־קאָנפּערענץ פאַרן מיטעלן מורה וועט אפּשר אָפּגענועלייגט ווערן...

אויפן ראַנד פון די דאָזיקע אַנטוויקלונגען קומט פאַר אַ דיסקיסיע וועגן רעגירונגס־ברודשעט פאַרן יאָר 1992, וואָס דאַרף באַטרעפן קנאַפע 95 מיליאָרן שקלים. דער זיכערהייט־מיניסטער און דער שפּען פון גענשטאַב פאַדערען צו פאַרגרעסערן באַדייטנדיק דעם בחודשעט פאַר מיליטערישע צוועקן. אַנזוויינדיק אויף דער נויטיקייט צו פאַרגרעסערן די אויסגאַבן אויף אויסהאַלטן אַן אַרמיי אויף די אַקופּירטע געביטן צום אָנטערדריקן די "אינטיפּאַדאַ" און מיט דער געפאַר פון נאָך אַ מלחמה, אַנזוויינדיק דערביי אויף די שווערע איבערלעבונגען אין דער צייט פון דער מלחמה, אין גאַלף, ווען "סקאַדס" האָבן אָנגעמאַכט גוואַלדיקע פּאַרדנס אין צענטער פון לאַנד. אפּשר וואָלט דאָס געדאַרפט זיין שטאַרקער באַוועגן צו טאָן אַלץ פאַר דערגרייכן שלום און ניט כּוּען אויף נאָך אַ מלחמה...

דער פינאַנס־מיניסטער ווייזט אָן מיט רעכט, אַז די אַרבערטלאָזיקייט האַלט אין וואַקסן, מען דאַרף כּוּען דירות פאַר דאַכלאָזע און פאַר עילם און מען דאַרף שאַפן אַרבעט, צוגעבנדיק, אַז: "מיר וועלן ניט דערלויבן די זיכערהייט־אַמטן אויסצונען די דערשיטערונג, וואָס די געזעלשאַפט האָט איבערגעלעבט אין דער גאַלף־מלחמה, כּדור צו פאַרגרעסערן דעם זיכערהייט־ברודשעט" ("דירות אַחרונת", 30.9.91). אַבער אויך דער פינאַנס־מיניסטער ווייזט ניט אַן אויף אַ פּלאַן פון אַנטוויקלונג און בראַונג, וואָס איז לעבנסוויכטיק פאַר דער איינגעזעסענער באַפעלקערונג און אין אַנבליק פון דער גרויסער עליה פון סאַוועטן־פּאַרכאָר. די לגאַע פון צענדליקער טויזנטער עולים איז ממש קאַטאַסטראַפּאַל.

די צייטונג "העיר" (30.8.91) גיט איבער די באַראַקטערשטיש כּילד אָונטער קאַפּ: "אַ שטאַט אָן אַראַבער". צוגעבנדיק אַז: "אין יאַנואַר (91) האָבן געאַרבעט אין תּל־אָביב 30 טויזנט אַראַבער און היינט אַרבעטן בלויז 8 טויזנט און זייער צאָל פּאַרקלענערט זיך שנעל. די וועלכע זיינען געבליבן זאָרגן וועגן אויסבאַהאַלטן זיך. זייער אָרט פאַרנעמען סאַוועטישע עולים, וועלכע רייניקן די גאַסן, מאַכן די שוואַרצע אַרבעטן אין האַטעלן, רעסטאָראַנען פאַר ניערדיקע געהאַלטן. די עולים, צווישן זיי פּיל קאַדעמיקער באַוויינען זייער גורל און די אַראַבער זיינען אויסגעשטעלט צו אַרבעטלאָזיקייט און הונגער..."

ווען מען פּירט אַ שלום פּאַליטיק, וואָלט מעגליך געווען צו ווידמען פּיל מער גענעדיק פאַר כּוּען דירות און פאַר שאַפן אַרבעט. די עקסטרעם־רעכטע קרייזן זענען אַבער פאַר צו סאַבאָטירן יעדן פאַרשריט צו שלום און ווען י. שמיר זאָגט "אַ" צו אַ שלום־קאָנפּערענץ אַנטוויקלט דער העלר פון דער ווייטער לבנון מלחמה אַ פיכערהאַפּטע אַקציע פון כּוּען דירות רוקא אויף די אַקופּירטע געביטן, וואָס רופט אַרויס צאָרן אין די אַראַבישע לענדער און אין דער וועלט־עפּנטלעכקייט, פּראָוואַצירנדיק דעם אויפרייס פון דער שלום־קאָנפּערענץ. ס'איז דאָך אומעגלעך צו זאָגן "אַ" צו פּאַרהאַנדלונגען און גלייכצייטיק כּוּען דירות אויף די אַקופּירטע געביטן, דערביי ווערן די דירות אויף די געביטן פאַרקרעמט פאַר ביליקע פּרייזן און אין גינסטיקע באַדינגונגען. אַבער דער עיקר איז דאָס אַן אַפּענע פּראָוואַקאַציע קעגן יעדע מעגלעכקייט צו דערווענטערן זיך צו שלום.

דערביי איז וויכטיק אַנזווייזן, אַז די עקסטרעמע רעכטע קרייזן האָבן אויסגעברייטערט זייער היסטערישע ווייטע קאַמפּאַניע קעגן די ייִדיש־אַראַבישע שלום־כּוחות כּי דער האַלב־אַפּענער טאַלעראַנץ פון די מאַכט־אַרגאַנען. זיי באַצייכענען אַלע אָנהענגער פון שלום־פּאַרהאַנדלונגען אַלס אַשִׁמיטן, אַינער פון זיי איז און דער טעלעוויזיע באַפּאַלן דעם סטודענט־דרור, אָנפירער פון סטודענטן־פּאַרכאָר אַלס "טעט קאַלומנע" און "שונאים פון דער מדינה", צומאַרגונט זיינען די זלעבע פּאַשיסטישע כּהליגאַנטס באַפּאַלן די קאַמוניסטישע כּנסת־דעפּוטאַטן חמר גאַזשאַנסקי און מיט עטלעכע טעג צוריק אין שטאַרק באַליידיקט געוואָרן דער אַראַבישער כּנסת־דעפּוטאַט פון מפי"ם...מען וויל צעפּלאַקען, אַן אַנטי־אַראַבישע, אַנטי־פּאַלעסטינער, אַנטי־שלום, אַנטי־דעמאָקראַטישע און אַנטי־קאַמוניסטישע היסטערישע קאַמפּאַניע, כּדור אַפּצוציען די אויפּמערקזאַמקייט פון דער שטייגנדיקער אַרבעטסלאָזיקייט, פון פּאַרטיפּריקער נויט סיי צווישן די אַרבעטנדיקע, אַרבעטסלאָזע, עולים און דערביי ניט דערלאָזן צו פּאַרהאַנדלונגען וועגן שלום.

די טעג האָבן הונדערטער סאַוועטישע עולים

דערמעגלעכן אַנצהייבן און פאַרצוועצן מיט די פּאַהאַנדלונגען.

די דאָזיקע עקסטרעם־דעכטע קרייזן האָבן שוין באַוווּן צו מאַכן די ערשטע פּראָדוקציעס קעגן דער שלום־קאַנסערענץ. אין מאָמענט ווען שמיר האָט געגעבן זיין "אָ" האָ א. שרן אויפגעשטעלט אַ נייע קאָלאָניאַליזע אויף די אַקופירטע געביטן מיט נאָמען "אשכּרליות", אַנאַגנדיק אויפגעשטעלט נייע קאָלאָניאַליזעס. ס'איז צו שווען, הלמאי מען קען פון איין זייט זאָגן "יאָ" צו דער שלום־קאַנסערענץ און גלייכצייטיק מאַכן שריט. וואָס קענען דערפירן צום אויסרייסן זי נאָך פאַרן דערעפענען זי. אָדער אויסרייסן זי גלייך ביים אָנהייב.

די עקסטרעם־דעכטע קרייזן אויך דער רעגירונג און אויסער דער רעגירונג שווערן זיך אויך ביי באַרד און פּיאַות, און זיי שטרעבן צו שלום, זייענדיק לייכצייטיק קעגן דער פּאַרמולע "שטחים פאַר פּרייז פון שלום", דאָס הייסט אַז די סיריע, די פּאַלעסטינער, לכּוונער זאָלן צושטימען צו שלום מיט ישראל פאַרן פּרייז פון צושטימען צו בלייבן אונטער דער ישראלדיקער אַקופּאַציע. פּאַרשטענדלעך, אַז אַז איז אַן אַבסורד און דאָס קען פירן צו נאָך אַ שוועקלעכערע ווי פּרעזענט מלחמה...

אַפילו דער אָנגעזעענער טוער אין דער אַרבעט־פּאַרט, ערו וויצמן, וועלכער איז געווען פון די אונטערשרייבער דעם שלום־הסכם מיט מצרים, לויט וועלכן ישראל האָט זיך צוריקגעצויגן פון גאַנץ סיני, האָט די טעג זיך אַרויסגעזאָגט פאַר פּאַהאַנדלונגען מיט פּאַלעסטינער, וואָס וועלן אויסגעוויילט ווערן דורך די פּאַלעסטינער, פאַר צוריקציען זיך פון רמת הגולן, בכּדי צו שליסן שלום מיט סיריע, ניט אויסשליסנדיק דאָס אויפגעשטעלט אַ פּאַלעסטינער זעלבשטענדיקע מדינה ביי דער זייט פון ישראל. עז וויצמן דערבטיי דרך־אגב קריטיקירט די פירער פון דער אַרבעט־פּאַרטיי וועלכע האָלטן זיך נאָך ביי אָפּגעלעבטע באַגריפּן וועגן "דיכערהייט־גרענעצן"... אַנאָווינדיק דערבטיי אויף די נייע אַנטוויקלונגען אויף דער וועלט פון לייען סכּסוכים ביים

### פּאַהאַנדלונגעס־טיש.

די דאָזיקע אַרויסטרעטונג פון עזר וויצמן און פון אַנדערע ווייזט אויף דער שטאַרקונג פון דעם באַוווּסטיין, אַז ס'איז פאַראַן מיט וועמען צו ערדן. אַז ס'איז מעגלעך צו דערגרייכן שלום, אַפּוואַנדיק זיך פון די אַקופּירטע טעריטאָריעס אויף וועלכע עס וווינען קנאַפע צוויי מיליאָן פּאַלעסטינער, סיריע, לכּוונער. זי שלום איז ממש אַ לעבנס־פּראָגע פאַר ישראל. די צאָל אַרבעטלאָזע האַלט אין איין שטייגן, צענדליקער טויזנער אַריינגעקומענע עוולד האָבן ניט קיין אַרבעט און קיין דירוח. די טעג האָט די פּרעסע פּאַרעפנטלעכט אַן אויפטרײַסלענדיקע פּאַרשונג, אַז ישראל געפינט זיך אויפן העכסטן שטאַפל אין די מערבדיקע מדינות פון אַרעמקייט צווישן קינדער, אַז יערעס טעט קינד אין ישראל לעבט אונטער דער ליניע פון אַרעמקייט (%21 ישראל קינדער, "דבר", 31.7.91).

ס'איז דערביי וויכטיק אַנצווייזן, אַז די מעגלעכקייט פון אָנהייבן זיך שלום־פּאַהאַנדלונגען האָט באַוווּגן אַ גאַנצע ריי אַפּריקאַנער מדינות צו באַנייען דיפּלאַמאַטישע באַציאונגען מיט ישראל. מען זאָגט שוין אַן דאָס באַנייען פאַרבאַנד, מען זעט פאַר דאָס באַנייען זיך פון די באַציאונגען מיט כינע און מיט צענדליקער אַנדערע מדינות, בלדו דער אָנזאָג פון דער מעגלעכקייט, אַז ס'וועלן זיך אָנהייבן פּאַהאַנדלונגען פאַרבעסערט די אויסבײַטערונג פון די באַציאונגען צווישן ישראל און די וועלט.

דווקא איצט איז אַ הייליקע פליכט, אַז די שלום־כּוחות זאָלן קאָרדינירן זייערע אַקטיוויטעטן קודם כל פאַר פּאַראַלליזירן די שריט פון די עקסטרעם־דעכטע קרייזן צו טאַרפּעדירן די שלום־קאַנסערענץ, פאַר אויסאיבן אַ שטאַרקן דרוק אויף דער רעגירונג אַז זי זאָל אויסזעצן אַן ניט פּאַרטאַכלעווען די היסטאָרישע געלעגנהייט פאַר דערפירן צום גענראַטן ישראל־אַראַכישן און ישראל־פּאַלעסטינער שלום.

## אויפן שוועל פון תּשנ"ב

### י. ליפּסקי

קאַמפּאַניע קעגן עצם צושטימען צום אַנטייל אין דער קאַנסערענץ. זיי דראַען מיט פּאַרלאָזן דין רעגירונג, אויב.י. שמיר וועט צווישטימען צום אַנטיילנעמען אין דער קאַנסערענץ. אָבער אויך.י. שמיר רוקט אַרויס באַוואַרענישן לגבי דעם אַנטייל פון די פּאַלעסטינער, לגבי דער פּראָגע פון מורח־ורוּשלים און דער רמת הגולן. אַפילו די פירער פון דער אַפּאָזיציאָנעלער אַרבעט־פּאַרטיי, וועלכע האָבן באַגריסט דאָס צושטימען פון.י. שמיר צום אַנטיילנעמען אין דער קאַנסערענץ רוקן אויך אַרויס סיי וועגן

אויפן שוועל פון יאָר תּשנ"ב פּאַרצייכנט מען די פּאַזיטיווע מעגלעכקייט, אַז אין אַקטאָבער 1991 זאָל זיך דערשענען די שלום־קאַנסערענץ, וואָס איז אַנגעזאָגט געוואָרן אויף דער שפיצן־קאַנסערענץ אין מאַסקווע. די אַראַבישע רעגירער און די שמיר־רעגירונג האָבן געגעבן זייער צושטימונג צו דער קאַנסערענץ מיט געוויסן באַוואַרענישן. ס'עפנט זיך אזוי אַרום די מעגלעכקייט אָנצהייבן פּאַהאַנדלונגען בכּדי צו דערפירן צום עקסטרעם־דעכטע קרייזן האָבן אָבער גלייך אויפגעהויבן אַ

# יידישע ענינים

## פאַר באַזייטיקן די שטרויכלונגען צום שלום

י. ליפסקי

א ריצעק, אז י. שמיר איז אריין אין א פאסטקע און אז די קאנפערענץ וועט אים דערפירן צום אָננעמען דעם דיקטאַט פון אונז, זיכערהייטס־דאָט און פון די פּאַלעסטינער. די דאָזיקע פּראָקעציעס אין דער רעגירונג "התחיה", "צומת", "מולדת" האָבן געדראָט מיט פּאַרלאָזן די רעגירונג. זיי האָבן זיך אָבער באַרעכנט און באַשלאָסן צו בלייבן אין דער רעגירונג און צו סאַבאַטירן יעדן פּאַזיטיוון שריט. וואָס זאָל

מיט גרויסע שוועריקייטן איז דער רעגירונג פון שמיר אָננעקומען דאָס געבן די "יאָ" צושטימונג אָנטילצונעמען אין דער שלום־קאָנפערענץ פאַר מיטלען מזרח וואָס ווערט גערופן אירף אָקטאָבער האַיאָר. וועגן דער קאָנפערענץ איז באַשלאָסן געוואָרן אויף דער שפּיצן־באַגעגעניש אין מאַסקווע צווישן די פּרעזידענטן פון פּש"א און סאָוועטן־פּאַרלאָנר. דער "יאָ"־ענטפער פון י. שמיר ווערט באַגלייט מיט אַ גאַנצע ריי "אַבערס". ניט קוקנדיק דערויף, וואָס די אַראַבישע און פּאַלעסטינער פירער שטימען איין צום פירן דירעקטע פּאַרהאַנדלונגען מיט ישראל האָט י. שמיר אַרויסגערוקט "אַבערס". ס'האָט אַרויסגערוםן אַן איבערשאַונג, אַז אויך די סירישע רעגירער האָבן צוגעשטימט צו דירעקטע פּאַרהאַנדלונגען. די איבערשאַונג איז געווען אַזוי גרויס, אַז אַפילו י. שמיר האָט פּאַרגלייבן דעם סירישן פּרעזידענט צום מצרישן פּרעזידענט וועלכער איז געקומען קיין ירושלים.

### אלע, אלע זיינט איר מינע

#### לייב קוויטקאָ

אלע, אלע זיינט איר מינע  
די פאַרפייניקטע,  
און די מיט בלאַנדזשענדיקע אויגן,  
אין מיין נשמה שאָטנט אייער שאָטן,  
אין מיין בלוטיק לייב  
בלוטיקס, עקבערט אייער וויי.  
וואָס קאָן איך טון פאַר אייך?  
ס'ווערט צעקלאַפט מיין יונגער קאָפּ  
אויף אייער שוועל,  
אויף אייער וויסטן מזל.

...אן אומגליקלעך פאַרבלעבענער  
וועט איבערצייילן די הרוגים.  
ער וועט מיין טויטן נאָמען  
גלייך מיט אַלעמענס פאַרשרייבן מיט קליינע  
אוי, זאָל ער כאָטש ניט פאַרגעסן דאָרט  
פאַרצייכענען אין לאַנגן צעטל  
וויפל איך בין אַלט געווען!  
זאָל ער כאָטש דערמאָנען דאָרט,  
אַז בלוטיק־יונג מיין האַרץ געווען,  
אַז שטאַרק, ווי שרעק, געווען מיין ווילן לעבן,  
שטאַרק און משוגע,  
ווי מיין לעצטער טאָג.

די שמיר־רעגירונג האָט כסדר אונטערגעשטראָכן די נייטיקייט צו פירן דירעקטע פּאַרהאַנדלונגען מיט די אַראַבישע פירער און אַן פאַרויסיקע באַדינגונגען. אָבער אַליין ווקט זי אַרויס אַ גאַנצע ריי באַדינגונגען: סיי וועגן דעם וועלכע פּאַלעסטינער קענען צוגעלאָזן ווערן צום פּאַרהאַנדלונגס־טיש, צי מען זאָל בכלל באַירן די פּראַגע פון מזרח ירושלים, צי מען זאָל רעדן וועגן רמת הגולן און אַווערע... מיט דעכט באַצייכנט מען אין פּאַרנונפטיקע קרייזן די דאָזיקע באַדינגונגען אַלס מינעס וואָס קענען אויסרייסן אויסן וועג צו דער קאָנפערענץ. די שמיר־רעגירונג פּאָדערט אַפילו פון די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער, אַז זיי זאָלן איר אין אַ פאַרשטענדליקונגס־אַפּמאַך גאַראַנטירן. אַז זיי דאָזיקע פּאַדערונגען פון י. שמיר זאָלן רעספּעקטירט ווערן...

אויב די וועלט־עפּנטלעכקייט און די ברייטע ישראלדיקע ייִדיש־אַראַבישע פּאַרנופטיקע קרייזן האָבן אויפגענומען שמירס "יאָ" צו דער קאָנפערענץ מיט צוויי־דריטל, אַלס אַ וויכטיקער שריט צום לייזן דעם סכסוך, אַז ס'שאַפט זיך אַ היסטאָרישע געלעגנהייט צום איינשטעלן שלום אין ראַיאָן, האָבן די עקסטרעם־רעכטע, טראַנספּעריסטישע קרייזן אין דער רעגירונג אויפגעוהרבן