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JEWISH AFFAIRS

**U.S. Deployment in Middle East
Undermines Peace**

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**Bridges and Boundaries: African
Americans, Jewish Americans**

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REVIEWS:

Devils in Amber

לא תעמד על-דם לעד
"THOU SHALT NOT STAND IDLY BY..."



בן שלום
1992

Ben Shalom

לשנה טובה
תיבתבו ותיחתמו!

An Appeal to Our Readers

The Communist Party USA takes this opportunity to appeal to the readers of Jewish Affairs to join in an intensive fundraising campaign to help further stabilize the financial base of the Party at this historic moment.

Throughout the years one method by which the Communist Party, USA, consolidated its financial base and financed its work is through advance gifts from donors while they are still alive and by bequests in Wills. Such funds are placed in secure investments and the income they produce is used to support our work. The current campaign is for the purpose of increasing the income-producing base of our investment funds.

In issuing this CALL to assist in the building of our Party's financial base, we do so with the full knowledge that throughout history the oppressed class has had the support of other sectors of society in the struggles mounted by the workingclass for their liberation.

Since its inception the CPUSA has won the financial support of the workingclass and its friends and allies. We were able to win this support because our Party is a Marxist-Leninist working class revolutionary Party. It gives the workingclass and its allies a scientific base for struggle.

In this current period of ever deepening and widening of the capitalist crisis, which does not respond to the usual capitalist doctors' therapy and medication, U.S. state monopoly capitalism finds it necessary to pull out all stops to prevent our Party from playing its historically destined role in the struggle today to put the cost of the crisis on the rich and the corporations.

An objective historic review of the McCarthy period reveals that the Communist Party played a decisive role in mobilizing the people against the nuclear war aims of U.S. imperialism, against home grown fascist developments and threats to our democratic rights and Constitution and of the rights of the trade unions and the working class.

Our Party, its personnel, its scientific analysis of events today and its organizing contributions are welcome allies in ever larger sections of the trade union movement on all levels, in the equality movement, in the peace movement and the movement for socialism.

These are the concepts and contributions the ruling class and the opportunists put under attacked inside the Party in the past two years. The opportunists

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Jewish Affairs

JEWISH AFFAIRS

Vol. 212 No.2

September/October 1992

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CPUSA sues Dr. Herbert Aptheker to regain legacy

NEW YORK - A suit has been filed in New York County Supreme Court to compel Daniel Rubin and Bernice Linton of Brooklyn, N.Y. and Dr. Herbert Aptheker of San Jose, Calif. to return the money they received as legatees of the will of Rachel Friedenberg. The money was specifically earmarked for use by the Communist Party USA by Rachel Friedenberg. The suit charges that the bequest was "converted to their own use."

A letter addressed to the legatees by Rachel Friedenberg in 1966 instructing them to turn the money over to the CPUSA is printed in full as follows:

Dear friends:

I have this day made a Last Will and Testament in which I have named you jointly as my residuary legatees.

I am sure you will understand that I have taken this means of making the said legacy available to the progressive movement. It is my desire that the proceeds of this bequest be used for the Communist Party of the United States or such other purposes as the officers thereof may advise you.

I take this means of thanking you for assisting me in carrying out my last wishes.

*Cordially yours, (signed)
Rachel Friedenberg*

Four legatees were to carry out her wishes. In addition to the three named above, Emil Shaw, then residing in Brooklyn was the fourth. Shaw immediately carried out her wishes and turned the money over as instructed.

Describing the actions of those who did not, as instructed, turn over the money entrusted to them, Shaw said, "On Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1992, I was witness to a mugging of the Last Will and Testament of an oldtime comrade, Rachel Friedenberg. What took place was nothing but an arrogant denial of the hopes and wishes of an aging and long time ailing comrade." Feb. 25 was the date on which the funds from the estate were turned over to Shaw, Rubin, Linton and Aptheker.

Shaw stated that "their pledge and promises have become counterfeit."

The suit charges that "...the CPUSA would, from time to time, ask certain trusted and faithful members of the CPUSA, including the defendants herein, to accept bequests or legacies to the CPUSA with the agreement and understanding that these trusted and faithful

members of the CPUSA would give such bequests or legacies to the CPUSA."

On or about April 29, 1992, Rubin, Linton and Aptheker received checks in the amount of \$18,133.75 each. The suit states that: "At various times and dates in April and May, 1992, plaintiffs demanded that defendants...turn the money over to the CPUSA as they had promised Rachel Friedenberg they would do."

Appeal to readers continued -

put under attack inside the Party in the past two years. The opportunists opposed our working class and class struggle line. They surrendered themselves to state monopoly capitalism because, they say, capitalism cannot be defeated. In any event, they say socialism does not work.

The revisionists differ with Browderism only in the fact that Browder's theory was that capitalism had reformed. The revisionist splitters today say it can't be beaten. But both groups of opportunists surrendered to capitalism.

Having failed to split the Communist Party at the Convention, having been rejected by the Party membership, these dissident elements have now turned to keeping money from Wills meant to go to the Party. They have sunk so low in the quagmire of corruption that they are calling Party supporters to change their Wills. They have been rebuffed again.

Now more than ever, we must all put on our seven league boots and take those necessary giant steps to build our financial base. We must plan and execute the campaign the same way we carry out our recruiting campaigns, election campaigns, strike struggle support, etc.

We can now continue the fundraising work of the Party which the ruling class and opportunists tried so hard to block for the past two years.

We call upon all members, friends and supporters to help assure the success of this campaign, to strengthen the financial base of our Movement which the ruling class and opportunists are trying so hard to disrupt. With your support we can do so successfully.

OUR CAUSE IS JUST!

U.S. in the Middle East undermines true peace aspirations

By Hans Lebrecht, Tel-Aviv

Starting after World War II, and at an increased scale during and after the 1956 British-French-Israeli aggression to reconquer the Suez Canal and to topple the progressive Egyptian regime of Abd-el-Nasser and his "Young Officers," the U.S. strategies in the Middle East were guided by the stratagem to achieve hegemonial superpower rule in this oil and mineral rich region.

In order to name just some of the designs which failed to achieve this target, The Truman Doctrine (1947) together with Winston Churchill's Fulton Speech, outlined the "Cold War" strategy to eliminate the Soviet Union and its worldwide postwar influence, the Eisenhower doctrine (1957), the Baghdad Pact (CENTO) design (1957-59), and last but not least, the close U.S.-Israeli relationship which developed from Israel's joining the Truman Doctrine (1949) gradually into the signing of an accord on strategic and political alliance (1984). This alliance was upgraded 1987 with Israel's joining Washington's Star War projects, and in January 1991, significantly one week after the "desert storm" assault on Iraq, with Israel allowing to establish on its soil, bases for the U.S. "rapid deployment forces" and harbor facilities for the U.S. Navy. The officially published object of this alliance, which was raised to a far more extensive level after the loss of U.S. anti-Soviet bases in Iran, was Israel's political and strategic involvement in U.S. designs against the southern "belly" of the USSR, as well as upgrading the worldwide cooperation between the Israeli and U.S. intelligence and anti-Communist undermining operations in the USSR, the East European socialist states, and against the anti-imperialist national liberation movements in developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and especially in the Arab world. In this respect, we have to apprehend also the recent several times repeated promise of President Bush to safeguard the military supremacy of Israel over all its Arab neighbors. One aspect, a relatively small one of this worldwide cooperation, was the Iran-Contra-Gate affair, the repercussions of which still are lingering in the air.

The Gulf War of February/March 1991 and its aftermath have demonstrated the enormous quantitative and qualitative changes in the global superpower deployment in the wake of the elimination - at least for

the time being - of the Soviet Union as a superpower, upon the Mideastern affairs and worldwide international relationships. U.S. imperialism has been established - again for the time being - as the sole superpower in the world, although not unchallenged by other capitalist powers, such as the (West) European Community and Japan.

On this subject, the final document of the Meeting of Communist, Socialist, Workers and Progressive Parties in East Mediterranean, Near and Middle East and Red Sea countries which convened in Athens from May 22 through 24, 1992, states:

"In the Middle East, independently of the fact that the pretext was given by the Iraqi regime by its catastrophic invasion of Kuwait, in the Gulf War all negative changes and tendencies in the international situation were combinedly manifested. Due to the great strategic importance of the region, particularly its oil resources, and the enormous military, political and economic mobilization of all Western powers and their allies under the direct U.S. guidance, the disastrous consequences and effects of the war on the peoples and popular movements have assumed not only regional but also international dimensions. The Central Command of the U.S. with its "rapid deployment forces" carried out the expansionist and occupationist role they were planned and created for. They have also shown the role which the NATO "rapid reaction forces" and the forces of the newly activated West European Union (WEU) are destined for. U.S. military bases and large military contingent's are being further deployed in the Gulf Cooperation Council States (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Gulf Emirates). Using their military superiority and controlling the enormous oil resources of the region, the USA is blackmailing not only the peoples of the region and the world, but also their own 'partners' and allies. The aggressiveness and expansionist tendencies of the ruling circles, both in Turkey and Israel, have been consolidated."

In the annual report of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at the Tel-Aviv University for 1990/91 (p. 121), published this month (July 1992), it is said with open satisfaction that:

"Perhaps most significantly, the entire Gulf Crisis sent a strong signal to Middle East leaders with regard to the changes taking place in global superpower deployment. The crisis made clear to pro-Soviet leaders

HANS LEBRECHT is the Israel correspondent of the People's Weekly World

like Syrian President Hafez el-Asad, that their super-power sponsor, the Soviet Union, had ceased to play a leading role in the Middle East, while American military and political accomplishments in the Gulf gave the United States a new image of credibility and dedication to purpose, and reinforced impression generated by global developments that we live in a world in which American arms and diplomacy have bested those of the Soviets, and American interest is prime determinant....”

It may be maintained that the U.S. strategists used their power supremacy, gained by the collapse of the Soviet Union, to let it appear as if the United Nations and its Security Council have managed the highly questionable armed intervention in the Gulf with its “bombing Iraq into a stone-age situation,” and are still supervising the implementation of the armistice agreement, dictated by the U.S. in a shameful way in order to topple the Iraqi regime by starving out the popular masses and destroying the economic infrastructure of that country, and to boost the interests of U.S. oil monopolies. It may be remembered that it was not the first time in history that the U.S. and its cold war allies have exploited Soviet absence from the participation in the Security Council, when it was decided to abuse the U.S. flag in order to camouflage the U.S. interventionist aggression against Korea in 1950. Now, in the wake of the contra-revolutionary changes in the former USSR, the CIS states joined the anachronistic cold war strategy of the U.S. and its Western allies, against developing nations.

The above mentioned document of the Athens meeting of the communist, workers, and national liberation parties of the area, states that the new international situation brings forward more urgently the issue of establishing regional security systems, which should be based not upon imperialist supremacy, but on just and viable solutions of interstate and other problems, of nationalist conflicts and war conflagrations according to the U.N. Charter and supervised by U.N. control organs. The current conflicts inside and between several of the Republics and autonomy regions of the former USSR, the sanguinary warfare in the dissolving Yugoslav Federation, regional conflicts in other parts of the earth, show that the buildup of such regional security systems has become very urgent.

Such new U.N.-sponsored regional security systems have to be established by agreement of the nations of the world, and especially those in whose region conflicts are flagrant, or liable to break out. It has to be based on the provisions of the U.N. Charter and rules of international law, transforming, inter alia, the respective regions into zones free of weapons of mass destruction, especially of nuclear arms. The systems should be based on strict respect for the national rights

of the peoples and nations concerned, their sovereignty and right to self determination. The recognition and respect for internationally recognized frontiers and territorial integrity of every state and the non-use, and threat of use of force have to be part and parcel of such regional security systems.

Despite the Mideastern peace process which started almost a year ago in Madrid, and shows, so far, little progress because of the stalling tactics of the former Shamir Government in Israel, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict still causes daily loss of life and inhumane violations of human rights. With the rise to power of the Labor-led coalition in Israel, which promises to advance the peace process at an accelerated rate, and a promise for concluding the phase of a temporary interim solution of the Palestinian question within a year at the utmost, nobody should speculate that this means going along according to the above mentioned lines of such a regional security system, free from imperialist patronization.

As a matter of fact, Israel's old-new Prime Minister Rabin, as well as his left-Zionist coalition partners of MERETZ, look upon the U.S. as their savior whose tasks should be to finance further Israeli military supremacy, and to blackmail and press the Arab countries and Palestinians into submitting themselves to the “peace initiative” worked out in spring 1984 in common by Shamir and Rabin (the latter was at the time Minister of Defense). During the recent election campaign, Rabin and his new coalition partners pledged to iron out the differences with the U.S. Administration, caused by the stubborn anti-peace policy of the now defunct Shamir regime, and to close ranks with the U.S. designs for the “New World Order” in the region and the world over.

In order not to err, the Zionist sectors of the Israeli peace camp, represented by the MERETZ three-party alignment and some of the Labor “doves,” while speaking of the need to recognize and to take into consideration the national aspirations of the Palestinians, they too precondition their demand for Israel's withdrawal from Arab territories and making peace with the Palestinians by oncsided demands from the Palestinians that they should give up their in-practice already long ago defunct, 1964 PLO “covenant,” in which the existence of the “Zionist State” was ruled out, that they should give up “terrorism” under which term also these peace champions specify the legitimate uprising of a people living under the yoke of foreign occupation, the Palestinian intifada.

Of course, we still have to wait to note which way Rabin will implement his pledges to beef up the peace process sponsored by the U.S., which, most certainly will serve the U.S. hegemonial “New World Order” in

the Middle East. Well, in spite of U.S. and Israeli power supremacy in the area, not all will be decided by them alone. The other peoples in the region with whom peace has to be achieved, have also a say in the matter.

Let me quote again what is said in this respect in the above mentioned document of the Athens meeting:

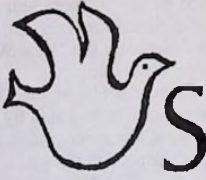
"The new very serious problems that emerged in our region as a consequence of the change in the world balance of forces and the Gulf War, do not differ, as to their essence, from the long existing ones. However, what the new international and regional situation imposes to change is the ways and methods of their solution. But no matter which these methods are, including any forced concessions, it remains necessary that the respective solutions be viable, that is, to meet the will of the peoples concerned and not to be below a certain minimum. Otherwise they will be transformed into the beginning of new problems and conflicts."

The document condemns the continued Israeli occupation of the Palestinian West Bank, including Eastern Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip of the southern part of Lebanon and the Syrian Golan Heights. In sharp terms the parties at the meeting condemn the inhuman persecution of the civil population and violation of Human Rights, as well as of the requirements of the Fourth Geneva Convention (on the defense of the civil popula-

tion in a country occupied by a foreign power). The document condemns the terrorist raids of the Israeli air, naval and ground forces against Lebanese territory. The parties unanimously expressed their support for achieving, on the basis of the U.N. resolutions, particularly the Security Council resolutions No. 242 and 338, of a mutually acceptable just, comprehensive and peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem, that would secure the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the dismantling of all Israeli settlements in these occupied areas, the realization of the right for an independent Palestinian national state alongside Israel, and the peaceful co-existence of all states in the region. That would further - so the parties estimate - secure the transformation of the region into a zone free from all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and their systems of delivering them, and particularly the destruction of Israel's nuclear arsenal, up till now, the only one existing in the region.

(Information the parties which participated in the Athens meeting were: The Greek CP, AKEL Progressive Working People's Party of Cyprus, the CP of Israel, the TUDEH Party of Iran, the CP of Iraq, the CP of Jordan, the Palestinian People's Party, the CP of Sudan, the Socialist Union Party of Turkey, the Syrian CP, the National Front for Liberation of Bahrain. Representatives of the Socialist Party of Bulgaria and the newly formed Italian Communist Party who took part as observers.)

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Israelis protest Neo-Nazi outrages in Germany

By Hans Lebrecht

TEL AVIV - Israel's anti-fascists and victims of Nazism have protested neo-Nazi outrages in Germany. They have also strongly condemned the arrest and imprisonment of Erich Honecker, the former German Communist leader, as an effort by the German authorities to attack socialism.

Israeli's Anti-Fascists and Victims of Nazism Organization, together with the Young Communists, held a vigil outside the German Embassy in Tel Aviv recently. The vigil was to protest against the wave of neo-Nazi attacks in Germany on hostels for foreigners.

"The latest neo-Nazi riots in Rostock and other German cities have shown that hatred of foreigners, racism and ultra-rightist gangsterism have reached dangerous proportions," participants in the vigil said in a letter delivered to the German ambassador. "The question is not related to the matter of foreigners seeking asylum - as some are trying to make out - because this

is only a pretext the neo-Nazis are using in their drive toward dangerous political goals."

"We will never forget that in the history of Germany there is the terrible example of Jews, Gypsies, anti-fascists and other so-called 'un-German alien elements' being used as scapegoats in order to further the goals of the Nazi scum," the protest letter said. "This led straight to the death camps at Auschwitz and Treblinka, to a new world war and to genocide."

"It is not Erich Honecker - himself a political prisoner of the Nazi regime - who belongs behind bars in jail today," the Israeli protest letter stressed, "but rather the right extremists, those carrying out a pogrom in Germany, using racism, anti-Semitism and hatred of foreigners."

The Anti-Fascists and Victims of Nazism Organization also sent a separate protest to Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the case of Erich Honecker. With the title "Hands off Erich Honecker!", the letter emphasized that "we, anti-Nazi resistance fighters and victims of Nazism will never forget that because of his work in the anti-Nazi underground, Erich Honecker spent 10 years in Nazi prisons."

The protest said a trial of Honecker would be an attempt "to defame a state and its anti-fascist regime," not a trial of an individual. Noting that Nazi "justice" sent thousands of people to their deaths, the protest said that "the German justice system must be particularly careful today not to be manipulated for political goals."

The letter demanded "categorically [Honecker's] immediate release. Justice would be much better served in your country if you brought to trial all the Nazi criminals who are still free and up to their old tricks."



Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans & American Jews

By Charles Keller

BRIDGES & BOUNDARIES: African Americans and American Jews” is a remarkable exhibition of pictures, documents, artifacts and video-tapes sponsored primarily by the National Association for the advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Jewish Museum of New York City and the Philip Morris Corporation. First shown at the Jewish Museum (March 22- July 19), it moves on to San Francisco, Rochester (N.Y.), Baltimore, Wilberforce (Ohio), Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Chicago over a period of three years.

BRIDGES & BOUNDARIES is the story of the efforts of two historically persecuted peoples brought together by their common plight of oppression – racism, slavery and anti-Semitism – split into angry confrontation by economic and social competition compounded by the unequal advantage of a white skin enjoyed by Jews and by the built-in frictions of nationalism and the hostility bred by the class structure within both peoples. For people of color the struggle has been for survival itself; for American Jews it has been against a discrimination which deprives them of some of the benefits accorded to white gentile Americans.

Around 1915, when Black migratory workers from the South poured into the industrial cities they were described – not by the white “good old boys” – as having “habits of life little better than (those of) Hottentots,” but by the African American middle-class newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*.

In that same period, when thousands of Eastern European Jews descended on the Lower East Side of New York City they were characterized as “boisterous, quaintly dressed bumpkins unfamiliar with soap and toothbrushes and with heads filled by superstition and revolution.” It was not the Christian pillars of society but rather Jacob Schiff and the Uptown German Jews and the newspaper, *Jewish Messenger* which described them in this manner. What bothered the Jewish industrialists the most, however, was the newcomers’ predilection to organize unions.

Both groups of “peasants” were sources of fear and embarrassment to the “refined, educated, well-to-do, assimilated minorities of the two “outsider” peoples. For them a low profile and good manners were the key to the American Way. A light complexion and hair-

straightener for the Blacks and a little cosmetic surgery and a change of name for the Jews could be mighty helpful. Acculturation was the passport.

Historically, alien minority groups throughout the world have faced the dual choice of opposites; to assimilate and disappear as a culture into the dominant society or to “stick out like a sore thumb” by asserting their religious or national identity by means of the strict discipline of ghetto life, the customs and behavior of their religion and ideology. Familiar examples are the life styles of the Orthodox Jews, Muslims, the Amish farmers and the Black Nationalists. The yarmulke, the kaftan, the Afro hair-style, and the dashiki have become the symbols of group identity, if not the chip on the shoulder of national defiance.

BRIDGES & BOUNDARIES traces the history of the conflicts between the descendants of the German-Jewish immigrants in the 18th and late 19th century with the Eastern European Jews in the early 20th century. It also traces the efforts of the descendants of Black slaves to achieve upward mobility through assimilation.

For some the establishment of a homeland offered a solution. In 1914 Louis Brandeis became the country’s leading Zionist, seeking a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. Around the same time, Marcus Garvey – dubbed “Black Zionist” – and his followers, sought dignity and strength through national pride and identity with Black roots in a homeland in Africa. Their efforts were reinforced in 1976 by Alex Haley’s book, “*Roots*,” and its dramatization on television.

The exhibition is extensive and is divided into five historical crossroads both real and symbolic “at which the paths of African Americans and American Jews have crossed in the twentieth century.” It seeks to examine “society’s most enduring dilemmas about how ethnic groups can successfully interact and share power and prosperity in a multicultural nation.” (*Bridges and Boundaries* catalog, p. 154)

The first crossroad is titled, “Let My People Go” and deals with the shared spiritual affinity based on the biblical accounts of oppression, Exodus, Diaspora, the Prophets and salvation.

“Obstacles of Opportunity,” the second crossroad, focuses on negative perceptions about Blacks and Jews held by many White Americans – perceptions which both groups sought to change in the early decades of the 20th century.

CHARLES KELLER, a painter, cartoonist, teacher, critic and political activist since 1938.



Sanctuary, Wilmer Angier Jennings - 1946 courtesy the Jewish Museum

The third crossroad – “Working for Social Justice” – deals with the involvement of the two groups in union activities and in progressive politics from the 1930s to the 1950s.

The fourth – “A Grand Alliance” – chronicles the teamwork of the Blacks and the Jews during the Civil Rights movement in the courtrooms and demonstrations; and the fifth – “What’s Ours is Ours” – spotlights the frictions of community control, affirmative action and ethnic succession.

At each of these “Stations of the Cross” the visitor is confronted with alternate vistas of positive and negative impact, the gamut of “comforting” to “shocking” evidence of our nation’s split personality – big-hearted, sentimental and brutally violent.

This exhibition is hardly the 1990 Brooklyn Museum show, “Facing history: The Black Image,” of an oppressed people humbly seeking acceptance by the white “massa.” Bridges and Boundaries challenges us, at the entrance, with artist Robert Arneson’s painting – a two-faced American shouting “Don’t call me Hymie, don’t call me Nigga.” Walking past a toy – two tin “darkies” dancing a jig – and a life-size Klansman in full regalia, we come upon a picture of Samuel Liebowitz of the Communist party’s legal arm, the International Labor Defense. He is conferring with nine young African Americans, the 1931 Scottsboro, Alabama defendants in their infamous rape trial frame-up. There is also a picture from the ‘30s of the Harlem Labor assembly with delegates from the United Hebrew Trades, the ILGWU and the women’s Trade Union League.

More pictures, photo blow-ups in gruesome detail, are first-hand witnesses to the burning bodies of lynched Negroes. We are reminded of Lewis Allen’s (his protective pen name) eulogy, “Strange Fruit,” sung by Billie Holiday. Allen’s real name was Abel Meeropol. He was the Jewish adoptive father of Robert and Michael, the orphaned children of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg – martyrs of the 1953 McCarthy campaign to “save America from the communists.”

“The Communist Party of the United States was in the vanguard of American Whites in promoting the quality of the races.” (Bridges and Boundaries catalog, p. 207) “Between 1919 and 1940 it was the Communist Party that pushed for the inclusion of African Americans in organized labor. It supported the black-led rent strikes and eviction protests in northern cities.”

Said *The Messenger* (Sleeping Car Porters periodical), September 1920: “If Bolshevism can stop the massacre of Jews in Russia – would it not be able to stop race riots and lynching in the United States?”

A number of white artists, Jewish and non-Jewish, many of whom were Communists and whose works

support racial equality appear in the exhibition. They include: Robert Minor, Hugo Gellert, Harry Gottlieb, Robert Gwathmey, Ben Shahn, Louis Lozowick, Harry Sternberg, Philip Guston, Harry Warsager, Boris Gorelik, Julius Block, Seymour Lipton, Philip Evergood, Harvey Dinnerstein, Robert Arneson, Susan Silas and Gary Leibowitz.

Black artists who saw the connection between Jews and African Americans or who demanded Black Power, or who simply stated the problem, some of whom were Communists, include: John Wilson, Aaron Douglas, Ernest Crichlow, Charles White, Jacob Lawrence, Charles Alston, Cliff Joseph, Dana Chandler, David Hammons, Adrian Piper, Gary Simmons and Charlotte T. Sligh.

Between 1882 and 1900 more than 3,000 Blacks had been lynched. 1915 – a critical year in Jewish-Black history – was chronicled by Bridges and Boundaries. More than sixty Black people had been lynched with no public outcry. Leo Frank, a Georgia Jewish businessman was also lynched. He had been accused of murdering a young white woman employee.

Fear of growing anti-Semitism and the indignation of the Jewish community from coast to coast sparked the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith – organized the year before – to move into high gear to have an anti-lynching bill passed. (As of today, no anti-lynching bill has become law). “*New York Age*” – a Harlem based newspaper – commented: “Now that a white man, a Jew with thousands of dollars behind his cause is the victim, there is action to make lynching a federal crime....”

It was in 1915 that D.W. Griffith’s film, “The Birth of a Nation,” was issued, which inspired William J. Simmons, the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, to reactivate the Klan with the burning of a cross on Stone Mountain, Georgia on Thanksgiving eve. (Along with other documents pertaining to these historic events, excerpts from the film were displayed at the Bridges and Boundaries exhibition).

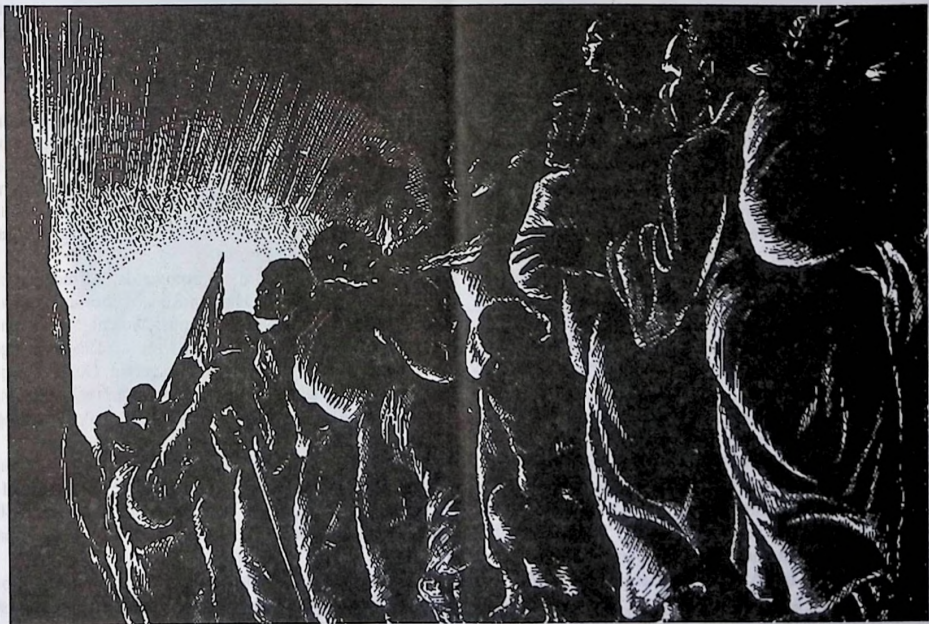
Simmons had rekindled hatred and intolerance when he swore reprisal against “Koons, Kikes, Catholics, Kommunists and unions.” His outrageous epithet struck a sympathetic note among some northern workers who saw the influx of Blacks from the South and immigrants from Eastern Europe as threats to their jobs. It was also then that the Palmer Raids in the North cracked down on alien “radicals and anarchists,” among whom were the hapless fish peddler and the shoemaker, Sacco and Vanzetti, framed for murder and executed (vindicated fifty years later by Governor Dukakis).

President Wilson, who had enthusiastically endorsed Griffith’s film, saying that it was...history writ-



Newspaper Clippings, William Gropper - 1936 (above) courtesy the Jewish Museum

Exodus, Issac Friedlander- 1931 (below) courtesy the Jewish Museum



ten with lightning!", was not the only leader ambivalent on the message of the film. Only a few years later Hugo Black, future Supreme court Justice, and Harry Truman, grandson of slaveowners, and future President, had both joined the Klan.

1915 was also the year Moses Alexander, elected in Idaho, became the first Jewish governor in the United States. It was not until 1988 that the first Black Governor, Douglas Wilder of Virginia, was elected.

In 1916 Louis D. Brandeis became the first Jewish Supreme Court Justice. He was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson, who in 1913 had remarked, "Segregation is not humiliation but rather a benefit, and ought to be so regarded." It was not until 1967 that Thurgood Marshall became the first Black Supreme Court Justice – appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Class had generally determined social attitudes, and neither Jews nor Blacks were exempt. It was class interest that had enabled Leo Frank's grandfather to become a Confederate general and for slave-owner, Judah Benjamin to accept the office Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis, the Confederate President.

I return to the subject of the history of both close and strained relations between the Jews and the African Americans, and the opposing strategies within both groups. In 1900 Booker T. Washington, President of Tuskegee Institute, initiated the founding of the National Negro Business League. (Tuskegee has been established by the Alabama Legislature during Reconstruction in 1881.)

Washington was a firm believer in education and business as the best road to Black independence and respectability. He disapproved of intervention in politics and the white man's world. His position was at odds with the elitist northern, college-educated African Americans who called themselves the "Talented Tenth." They shared with Franz Boas, the Jewish anthropologist, the belief that the only way to eliminate racism was to "disappear" as "Negroes," and the only way to "disappear" as Jews was to become absorbed into the dominant white, gentile society.

Walter White, an executive of the NAACP – founded in 1909 – expressed the view that the "greatest handicap the Negro experiences is that he is not permitted to forget that he is a Negro....The economic and social structures do not play...so large a part." In 1928, James Weldon Johnson, Dean of African American letters and an executive of the NAACP, considered racism as a "mental attitude" and saw racial invisibility as the promised land. And yet, the same Mr. Johnson in 1917 could observe that the only truly American arts were the creations of the African Americans. He could also believe that the alleged preference of Black profession-

al men for light-skinned women was consistent with Darwin's theory of preservation of the species through natural selection.

The ambivalence and contradictions in the attitudes of the "Talented Tenth" and among the German-Jewish financiers continued. The renowned scholar, W.E.B. DuBois extolled the superior cultural attributes of Africans, and yet, according to Bridges and Boundaries he could enthuse about the virtues of assimilation. And though Felix Adler could found the non-denominational Ethical Culture Society, neither he nor Louis Marshall nor Julius Rosenwald of Sears Roebuck would ever consider themselves to be other than Jewish. They did see the advantages of joint philanthropic support – with the WASPS – of Black "do good" organizations, (NAACP, the New National Urban League...) and the Black colleges, such as Howard, Fisk, Hampton Institute and Virginia Union. In all of these organizations and colleges, the leading administrative positions were usually assumed by white gentiles and Jews.

With the socioeconomic crises raised by the Great Migration, 1915 to 1917, the socially conservative Jewish elite were ready to form an alliance with the "Talented Tenth" and the radical and militant associates of W.E.B. DuBois. (It was they who in 1905 had initiated the race-proud Niagara Movement and its magazine, Crisis.). The concern of the Jewish philanthropists for the success of the Black organizations was motivated by the belief that a strong anti-racist position would also serve the campaign against anti-Semitism. This same unity would also serve to contain the "unruly" working class in both groups.

A burgeoning of Black activity in 1911 gave rise to the Harlem (cultural) Renaissance with the support of middle class money. In the same year both the National Urban League, and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association were founded. With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Louis Brandeis became the country's leading Zionist.

The Guggenheims, the Rosenwalds, Alfred Knopf et al, helped finance the Harlem Renaissance as a showcase for Black artists, writers, musicians and entertainers and as a playground for rich whites. The jitterbuggers, dancer Pegleg Bates, Ella Fitzgerald, Duke Ellington, writers Langston Hughes and Zora Neel Hurston, and artists Aaron Douglas, Romare Bearden, among many others, made history in American culture.

The Communist Party was the first to run African American candidates for national as well as local offices: James W. Ford for Vice President in 1932-36-40 and Benjamin J. Davis Jr. for New York City Council in the 1940s.

The system of proportional representation was subsequently revoked to remove the two NYC Communist



A Man was Lynched Yesterday, Photograph, courtesy the Jewish Museum
September/October

Councilmen from office. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. became the first Black Congressman from New York with strong Communist support (Much of this information is reported with photographs and statements in B and B).

Charlene Mitchell was nominated for the Presidency in three states in 1968 and Jarvis Tyner, both African Americans, for Vice-President in 1972 and 1976. Angela Davis was the Communist Party candidate for Vice-President in 1980 and 1984. The C.P. was first to place a Jewish candidate on the ballot for Vice-President, Ben Gitlow, in 1924 and 1928.

A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen organized the first Black trade union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in 1925, with support from the predominantly Jewish International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The Sleeping Car Porters were also backed by the United Mine Workers for admission into the AF of L. Success came nine years later.

Shown in photographs are shops in Harlem, mostly Jewish owned, like Blumstein's, which were picketed for their high prices and employment discrimination. The ILGWU strike drew thousands of African American workers into the union. Jewish drug clerks in the Bronx and Harlem founded Local 1199 and appointed Black organizer Ted Mitchell and Jewish organizer Elliot Godoff to bring hospital workers into the union. Support came from the NAACP, the Urban League, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X and from Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee and others - a great leap forward in racial working class solidarity!

The Spanish Civil War in 1936, World War II, the existence of apartheid in South Africa and the emergence of the State of Israel, in 1948, both united and polarized Blacks and whites, including Jews.

In 1955 Rosa Parks sat down in a bus seat reserved for whites, thereby compelling the supreme Court to declare segregated buses unconstitutional. In 1964 James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, who worked on voter registration and education programs for Blacks, were murdered in Mississippi.

The '60s saw the rise and fall of the Black Panthers and SNCC (the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee). It was Israel's Six Day War with Egypt in 1967 that ruptured SNCC. The expulsion of the Jewish members of SNCC hastened its demise. James Baldwin, Stokely Carmichael and Bayard Rustin gained prominence in this period.

The Black Panthers also rose and fell in this period, its leaders either jailed or killed by the FBI. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated for his stand against the Viet Nam War and Malcolm X was murdered for his break with Muslim Supremacy. Patrice Lumumba and Jack and Robert Kennedy were assassinated, with implications of CIA involvement.

It was in 1965 that Rabbi Abraham Heschel stated: "The whole future of America will depend upon the future of Dr. King."

The season of rage and confrontation was in full swing - the riots in Watts, the fires in inner cities, the fight over decentralization of schools in Brooklyn's Brownsville in 1968, the racial and anti-Semitic attacks in Howard Beach, Crown Heights and elsewhere.

High scores for the "Talented Tenth," "New Orleans, Birmingham, Detroit, Philadelphia and Gary, Indiana elect their first Black mayors in the '70s. Harold Washington becomes Chicago's first Black mayor and is accused by Black aide Steve Cokely of collaborating with international Jewry and is depicted as a transvestite by a Black artist.

In this summer of our discontent - the hot election season - there is a contest for the votes needed to retain or win control of our lives. With class, ethnic and racial influences assuming major importance, extravagant promises are made, partisan interests courted and prejudices manipulated.

In 1990 President Bush appointed Colin Powell to become the nation's first Black Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. With his other hand, Bush vetoed the Civil Rights Act.

How does one summarize a topic so broad in scope (over 300 items in the exhibition and 271 pages in the catalog), an exhibition with unity among artists and division among power-seekers? What can one say about the future of race relations in the United States in a world torn with wars, many of which were instigated and supported by the U.S.?

Only when the working class and the oppressed ethnic minorities recognize our common status and our class oppressor, and unite to form a political party of our own, can we begin to take control of our government and establish a humane society.

All pictures in this issue and on the frontpiece of the May/June Issue were reproduced with the permission of the Jewish Museum.

A full chronological account of Bridges and Boundaries can be found in the well-documented and illustrated catalog available at the Jewish Museum and in the better bookshops.

Lithuania: Rehabilitating a mass murderer

The following article was published in the Winter 1991 issue of Response: The Wiesenthal Center World Report

The failed coup against Mikhail Gorbachev was the final signal to the former constituent republics of the Soviet Union that they could really pursue their own national destinies. Nowhere was this development more welcomed than in the fledgling Baltic countries which had endured more than a half century of Kremlin rule. Not surprisingly, every effort has been made to expunge the memory of the hated Communist regime. Statues of Lenin have been toppled, Soviet town and street names erased, and laws passed to rehabilitate the good name, property, and social standing of people falsely convicted by Soviet tribunals. In Lithuania alone, since May 1990, some 35,000 people have been officially rehabilitated.

But information provided to the Wiesenthal Center by Jewish activists in Vienna, gave rise to concerns that among those cleared under amnesty were previously convicted Nazi collaborators and war criminals.

At an initial meeting in Vilnius in June, between Procurator General, Artutas Paulauskas, and the Center's Israel's Director Efraim Zuroff, the senior Lithuanian official assured him that no such pardons occurred and that none were being contemplated. Evidence uncovered by the Center proved otherwise. In written submissions to Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, the Center provided proof of rehabilitation of former members of the infamous 11th and 12th Lithuanian police battalions who actively participated in the murder of Jews during the Holocaust. Among the eleven dossiers submitted were two people who also volunteered to serve as guards at the Majdanek death camp in Poland where some 350,000 Jews were murdered.

Historical Background

Sol Littman, the Center's Canadian Representative, provides this perspective on Lithuanian Nazi collaborators:

"On June 22, 1941, Hitler launched his surprise attack on the Soviet Union. Two days later the Germans occupied the Lithuanian capital of Kovno. But well before the first German troops entered the city, the massacre of Jews had begun.

Lithuanian "activists" - largely drawn from the ranks of anti-democratic, pro-Nazi Lithuanian organizations - donned white arm bands, armed themselves with clubs, axes and pistols and seized Jews at random on the streets and in their homes.

They mocked and murdered pious Jews in the suburb of Slobodka, a famous center of Jewish learning. They seized 70 Jews on downtown streets and dragged them into a garage where they were battered with tire irons and ball hammers. Historians recount how the hose used to wash cars was thrust down the throats of some of the victims and water poured into their gullets until their stomachs burst.

When the Germans arrived a day or two later, they commended the local boys for their initiative, but insisted that the killing of Jews had to be conducted on a more thorough, more systematic basis.

To achieve this purpose, they organized the armed locals into uniformed police battalions, placed them under German command and assigned them the lion's share of the killing. The combination of Waffen-SS and locally recruited police forces succeeded in wiping out over 90 percent of Lithuania's 220,000 Jews by 1944.

It should be noted that none of the men who served in these battalions were drafted or coerced. All were volunteers. In all, over 40 murderous pogroms took place prior to the German army's arrival - a situation unmatched anywhere else in Europe.

Of all the Lithuanian police battalions organized by the Germans, the 12th Battalion proved the most cruel. One German general found their behavior so disgusting that he demanded they be removed from the territory under his command. "Lithuanian units were not alone," Littman concluded. "Latvian, Estonian and Ukrainian units also joined enthusiastically in the destruction of their Jewish populations."

A Single Day's Work in the 12th Battalion

The testimony of Aloizas Juodes confirms the murderous cruelty of the 12th Battalion. He recalled in his trial one incident in which, on a single day, the 12th Battalion killed 700 to 1,000 people at a village near Minsk: "The Jewish population, including old men, were driven into graves, alive, and then groups of our battalion approached and executed them by shooting. I personally approached several times, and executed by shooting from the rifle I had. It is hard to say how many persons I executed by shooting." During his trial, two witnesses confirmed Juodes' account.

Among the others whose rehabilitation is being questioned by the Center are Ignas Asaduskas, who served as a police chief in a rural region of Lithuania during the early 1940s. Witnesses said he supervised the execution of nearly 200 Jews in the village of Oran on a summer morning in 1941.

And a third individual identified by the Center, Julius Nevera, testified that he joined a "German punitive body" in August 1941, and took part in the killings of Jews and others. "I personally participated in executions of Soviet citizens by shooting about 20 times," he testified during his 1948 trial. "With my personal participation, close to 800 Soviet citizens, most of them of Jewish nationality, were executed by shooting."

Worldwide Outrage, Congressional Protests

Lithuania's failure to act promptly to reverse the exonerations led to an international outcry from Holocaust survivors, Jewish organizations and Israel's Speaker of the Knesset, Dov Shilansky. In Washington, Congressmen Levine (D-CA), Beilenson (D-CA), and Schumer (D-NY) led the protests which poured into Vilnius. Said one Congressional letter:

"...granting rehabilitations to proven Nazi collaborators would only undermine the progress western democracies have made...and would have a negative effect on failure relations between our two countries..."

The U.S. Helsinki Watch Group in Moscow held a human rights conference which witnessed a plea from Yuri Orlov, a former political prisoner in the Soviet Union, to the Lithuanian Procurator: "The annihilation of the Jews of Lithuania was done with the connivance of Lithuanians and Poles who resided there....Why are

you so reluctant to undertake investigations?" he asked.

Dialogue with the President

In an October 9th correspondence from Rabbi Marvin Hier, Dean of the Wiesenthal Center, and at a meeting between Mr. Zuroff and President Landsbergis in Vilnius, the Center reiterated its support of a free and democratic Lithuania while emphasizing the need for Vilnius to promptly (1) provide access to the list of 35,000 Lithuanians rehabilitated so as to be able to cross-check against lists of known criminals; (2) commit to assist investigations of former residents of Lithuania now living abroad who are under investigation for Nazi war crimes; (3) establish an independent commission to review all cases involving alleged crimes during the Nazi period.

As Response goes to press, some progress has been made on these points. But a central question remains unresolved: Lithuanian officials are seeking to limit the definition of a war criminal to individuals who actually "pulled the trigger." All others, including death camp guards and those who forced their neighbors to the killing fields of Eastern Europe, will have their exonerations stand. Center officials point out that this position, should it remain unchanged, would have a devastating impact on the prosecution of Nazi war criminals worldwide.

A U.S. Senatorial candidate speaks

By Gerald Horne

To run for the U.S. Senate in the state of California costs over \$10 million. In June 1992 I was selected by the voters of California in the Peace & Freedom Party primary to challenge the GOP incumbent John Seymour and his Democratic challenger, Diane Feinstein, for this important post. Though it does not appear at this point that we'll raise the millions necessary to buy TV and radio time so necessary for U.S. political campaigns, fortunately the voters of California do have a clear choice of which direction they want their increasingly embattled state to travel.

Senator Seymour, who was appointed by the unpopular Governor Pete Wilson, has tried to refurbish his image as it becomes clearer that traditional GOP conservatism is losing appeal. Yet, the record shows that he supported the insane balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which could have led to the gutting of Social Security, Medicare and other social programs. He has supported the line-item veto for the President, which would have accomplished the same task. He opposed the desert Protection Act, has sought to weaken the Endangered Species Act, opposes the bill raising auto fuel efficiency and voted for the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court. In the effort to perform a form of "political plastic surgery" on his record, he has flip-flopped on gay rights and a woman's right to choose (he's now for both – for now) and offshore drilling for oil (now he's against).

His Democratic opponent, the former Mayor of San Francisco, has reinvented herself as a feminist, but this is a bit of "plastic surgery," every bit as drastic as Senator Seymour's metamorphosis. In 1983, while mayor, she would not sign a resolution supporting Roe v. Wade and also opposed pay equity for women. She is for the death penalty although it clearly impacts disproportionately African Americans and Latinos; she has crossed picket-lines helping to break strikes; she backed the genocidal Gulf War of 1991. Her record has been so abysmal that the San Francisco Bay Guardian of 20 May 1992 was forced to concede (though they endorsed her in the Democratic primary), "No mayor in history has done as much as [Feinstein] to ruin San Francisco. She presided over a vertical earthquake far worse than anything the San Andreas Fault could deliver... [She] sold off the city to real estate speculators and high rise developers who hauled away more gold than the 49ers ever imagined... structural budget deficits, the crowded streets; the dark, empty high rises; the small

business taxes; the stiff rent and high Muni [mass transit] fares; the overpaid bureaucrats; the legions of homeless – these are all, to a significant extent, a legacy of the Feinstein years."

Now she plans to do for the state what she did for San Francisco.

Needless to say, neither Seymour or Feinstein have addressed what may be the twin pressing issues for this state and nation: taxing the rich and slashing the military budget at least 85 percent. And how could they? Seymour is the candidate of agribusiness and Feinstein is the candidate of the real estate moguls.

Our campaign, on the other hand has been supported by Local 1199 of the Health and Hospital Workers Union, Assemblyman Roger Green (former chair of the Black & Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus in New York), the eminent Chicano scholar Dr. Rodolfo Acuna, Women for Racial and economic Equality and a host of others. They recognize that the issues we are raising – though not supported by the plutocrats – are just the prescription for the improved health of this state.

For example, we are proposing that the minimum wage be at least doubled, that anti-scab legislation be passed forthwith, that plant closing legislation be strengthened, that the National Labor Relations Board be subjected to far-reaching reform and renewal, that the tax rates on millionaires be raised sharply.

This senatorial effort is part and parcel of a larger surge toward political independence as signified by the independent presidential campaign of Ron Daniels and his Campaign for a New Tomorrow, the 21st Century Party initiated by the National Organization for Women, Labor Party Advocates initiated by the trade union movement, the Green Party initiated by the environmentalists (already it has ballot status and 100,000 registrants in California, compared to Peace & Freedom's 61,000 registrants) and the New Party initiated by left progressive forces.

This unparalleled surge of political independence has been sparked in part by the inability of the Democrats and the Republicans to address the pressing problems of this nation. Indeed, of late the Democrats have mirrored a post-Cold War anxiety and confusion by staking out positions to the right of the GOP on foreign policy matters. This has been the case of the anti-Cuban Revolution bill introduced by the democratic Congressman, Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, which seeks further to isolate and strangle Havana instead of seeking to improve relations. Unfortunately, presiden-

tial hopeful Bill Clinton has given this regressive legislation an enthusiastic endorsement. The Democrats also have been to the right of the White House on the question of military intervention in the Balkans. And, per usual, the Democrats have staked out a position to the right of the GOP on the Middle East.

While the white House was seeking to postpone the matter of the \$10 billion loan guarantee to Israel as long as the Shamir government refused to halt settlements in the Occupied Territories, leading Democrats disagreed vehemently.

On the other hand, our campaign says that instead of placing a job destroying free trade agreement with Mexico on the "fast track," it is Palestinian statehood that should be placed on the "fast track."

It is suspected that electing a Democrat to the White House will lead to an improvement in U.S. policy toward Southern Africa. However, given that the neo-conservatives who have run the GOP ship aground are now leaping off and climbing aboard the Democratic ship — one thinks particularly of Martin Peretz and the crowd at the New Republic — even policy toward apartheid may not change, absent the kind of mass struggle that led to the "Free South Africa Movement" of 1984 and sanctions in 1986.

Certainly one cannot expect the pressing urban ills revealed graphically by the conflagration that swept Los Angeles this spring, to be abated without radical transformations of U.S. domestic and foreign policy. The beating of Rodney King and the subsequent acquittal of the four officers charged illuminated the simple fact that the ugly face of bigotry has not been eliminated.

The face of bigotry in California is even more complex given the demographic changes that have swept this state. This state is 30 percent Latino and exploitation of their labor — particularly in the fields — is a pressing question that the two major parties have chosen to neglect or obscure. Though one would not know it from scanning the mass media, gang violence in L.A. claims more Latino than African American lives. Similarly, the Asian American/Pacific Islander population is now about 12 percent of the state's population and continuing to grow. This growth, combined with the effort to replace Moscow with Tokyo as the enemy of choice of U.S. foreign policy, has caused anti-Asian violence to proliferate. The African American population is 8 percent in this state where the "minorities are the majority" and this sector continues to be scapegoated a major source of ills via the familiar demagogic targets of welfare and affirmative action.

Simultaneously, California's role in determining the shape of the nation continues to grow; population here is now 30 million, which dwarfs the 17 million in

the second largest state, New York. This gives the Golden State added importance during a presidential year, given the operations of the Electoral College; 52 of the 435 members of the House of Representatives come from California.

It has long been recognized in the Jewish community that Judaism itself does not thrive in a sea of bigotry. In part this is what motivated the significant Jewish contribution to the civil rights movement. There has been a concerted effort led by Commentary and those of that ilk to forget conveniently this important lesson. Yet, increasingly their ideas are being called into question. Los Angeles has been blessed with a number of far-sighted Jewish leaders, e.g. Stanley Sheinbaum — a man who played a pivotal role in curbing police brutality during his tenure as head of the L.A. Police Commission, a man who contributed financially and otherwise to the presidential campaigns of Jesse Jackson, a man who has not hesitated to meet with representatives of the PLO. However, L.A. and, in fact, this state needs more courageous leaders of this caliber if we are to move forward. My U.S. Senate campaign is an essential vehicle in this necessary process of political transformation in the state of California.

Gerald Horne, a frequent contributor to Jewish Affairs, is the author most recently of Reversing Discrimination: The Care For Affirmative Action, New York: International, 1992; contribution to this U.S. Senate Campaign can be sent to PO Box 20824 LA, CA. 90006.

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The New Alliance Party: A Study in Deception

The study was made public by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

Abraham H. Foxman, ADL's national director, said the report examines the party, its mode of operation, its recurrent themes and doctrines and the "manipulative methods it uses to advance its goals." It also includes an insider's view of the organization through the eyes of Dennis Serrette, who ran for President as a New Alliance Party candidate.

The report, prepared by the Research Department of ADL's Civil Rights Division, revealed that New Alliance politics are "an amalgam of eccentric 'therapy' theories, revolutionary rhetoric, Black nationalism and sexual references. The group is tainted with anti-Semitism and intense anti-Israel bias."

Although the party – created in 1979 – claims to be led by Blacks and other minorities and by women, the report said its leadership is actually centered in one man: New Yorker Fred Newman.

Newman – a one-time college teacher whose therapeutic theory and practice have inspired the formation of several small, cult-like organizations over the past decade – was a philosophy instructor at the City College of New York when he first surfaced in the radical political community in 1968, the report said. The New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research, set up in 1978, became the headquarters for Newman's therapy practice and its profits, according to ADL, and appears to be the major source of funding for the party. The institute is also used to recruit patients into NAP, the report said.

The report noted that "while there are probably not many more than 100 hard-core members of the New Alliance Party, several thousand people may be involved in its front groups.

The NAP claims to have 13,000 members who pay dues and 100,000 readers of its weekly newspaper, *The National Alliance*. However, the newspaper has a paid circulation of 6,167, according to the report.

Newman directs a group of eight so-called "medical and therapeutic" centers in the New York area as well as centers in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, DC, Denver and Jackson, MS, the report said. The party claims to have regional offices in 26 states and attempts to be politically active in areas where these therapy centers are located.

Occasionally, NAP candidates for public office have received a substantial vote. Serrette and Nancy Ross, the NAP's presidential ticket in 1984, were on the ballot in 33 states and the ticket received 47,209

votes. Serrette broke with the party shortly thereafter, and, testified in a May 29, 1987 deposition that the NAP was "a therapy cult that used Newman's brand of therapy as a means of controlling its members." Serrette went on to characterize the groups as "an organization that portrays itself as a Marxist-Leninist organization when, in effect, it was nothing more than a power play by an individual to just exercise control over a large number of people."

In 1988, Dr. Lenora Fulani – the party's most visible and effective representative – was the NAP Presidential candidate, running in all 50 states and receiving 201,430 (or less than one-quarter of one percent) of the total vote. She was certified by the Federal Election Commission to receive matching funds of \$205,565. Fulani, of New York City where the party's center of activity lies, is a psychologist and "director of social therapy" for the organization's medical centers.

The report noted that the NAP candidate for City Council President in New York City's primary election in September 1989 received 193,842 votes, about 25 percent of the total vote cast, and the party's candidate for Manhattan Borough President received 31,968 votes, about 16 percent of the total vote. While these results might be construed by some observers as representing a "protest vote," the report called the party's performance in the primary "impressive" – its most significant garnering of votes thus far.

Following are examples of NAP's anti-Semitism and anti-Israel views as cited in the ADL report:

– In the *National Alliance* of June 21, 1985, Newman referred to Jews as "the storm troopers of decadent capitalism," and said they had "sold their souls to the devil – international capitalism."

– A special issue of *Stono*, a new NAP publication, entitled, *What of the Jew?* appeared in August 1989. In an editorial, it said: "The deal with the Devil forged in the wake of the Holocaust was quite explicitly made; the survivors had the scylla-and-Charybdis choice of doing the bidding of capital or dying." The publication also stated: "Our anti-Zionism needs little explanation: We oppose the Jewish colonization of Palestine."

– Referring to Jews at a 1985 NAP convention, Newman showed his disdain for Jews and his support for Farrakhan by saying:

"...we'll do in the devil in any way that we can. Whatever Minister Farrakhan can do by way of helping us in doing in the devil – we don't turn anybody away!"

“United Front against Fascism” from the vantage point of 1992

By Emil Shaw

It has been fifty years since the end of World War II. A mighty symphony of world forces sent fascism as a world power to its doom. Over six million Jews died in concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers perished in the battlefields. For a brief moment in history all the democratic forces of the world combined their resources to stop the bestial national madness known as fascism that threatened to engulf all countries. National class struggles were put on hold. National liberation struggles were deferred, with a promise of peaceful liberation and independence after the war. A “brave new world” was supposed to be dawning. Teheran convinced even American Communist leaders that the wartime alliance of capital and labor would continue in peacetime.

In the aftermath of the end of the Eastern European Socialist World, standing on the threshold of George Bush’s “New World Order” (that might outlast its initiator), seeing national conflicts flare up in the previous socialist world, having gone through various struggles against racism in the United States, seeing the Israeli government act like racists against the Arab population of the West Bank, seeing client governments of the United States in Mexico and Latin America act like fascists towards their own people – it would be well to review George Dimitrov’s report on “The United Front Against Fascism” to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern of 1935.

There was a time, from about 1964 through the 1980s, if one spoke of this work in Communist circles such a discussion was frowned upon. As though the sins of the abusers of Dimitrov’s work made the author responsible. His works practically were “lost” on our shelves.

This was just after the split in the world Communist movement between most of the Communist world and China on the concept of the world being able to survive a nuclear war. The Maoists and their youthful adherents in the United States (Black Panthers, SDS etc.) had seized on Dimitrov’s conclusion about the inevitability of a World War in the 1930s to transfer it to the 1960s about being able to win a nuclear war between the West and the socialist world. This stood in sharp contrast to the international Communist analysis that it was now possible to avoid such a war because of

the changed relationship of forces in the world.

The consensus was that between the might of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, the anti-imperialist power of the Third World countries, and the class struggles in the capitalist world, the hands of the imperialist war makers could be restrained from unleashing a nuclear war.

What was it that Dimitrov said in this report? Was it just a simple statement defining fascism as “the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital” or was it much more than that?

First and foremost, Dimitrov was a partisan of the interests of the working class throughout the world, and through all his writings he placed the working class in the center of and leading the various coalitions or “united fronts.” He saw the Soviet Union not just as a national entity, but as the foremost representative of the interests of the workers of the world. These concepts shine like jewels throughout all his writings. This is a far cry from the distorted united front ideas of the far left of the 60s and the social democratic ideas of the faction that tried to win control of the CPUSA at the 25th convention in Cleveland, December 1991. Both denied the importance of the working class being at the center of all major anti-imperialist struggles. Both came up with the strategy of a united front between nationally oppressed peoples of color and the petty bourgeoisie rather than with the “reactionary,” “dull-witted,” “racist,” “mostly white” working class. In their mindset these groupings were “hopeless” (the 1960s ultra-left thinking), or had lost their “importance” because of a shift in their composition from predominantly productive workers to a larger segment in the service industry (the faction thinking of the 1991 Committee of Correspondence).

Somehow all these forces “forgot” that every major march to Washington, D.C. for peace and domestic improvements, every progressive legislator that ever won an election, every major piece of legislation that was ever fought through the halls of Congress, had to have the support of substantial sections of the labor movement in order to be successful. They also seemed to ignore the fact that the industrial working class never was all white. That over the years there was a great influx of Black and Mexican/Latino peoples into the working class, so that today one must speak about a multi-racial

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working class in the United States.

Dimitrov continues:

Fascism is not – some estate power standing above all classes; nor the power of the petty bourgeoisie over finance capital.

Fascism is – the power of finance capital; the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and its allies; jingoism in foreign policy “fomenting bestial hatred of other nations.” (Could he have been describing the conditions in Yeltsin’s Russia and Eastern Europe?)

Fascism develops and assumes different forms in different countries according to historical, social, economic conditions, national peculiarities and international position.

“In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no broad mass base...(it) does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows other bourgeois parties...to retain a modicum of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an early outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all rival parties and groups.” (How well he describes the political character of the David Duke and Ross Perot campaigns in this country and the death squad rule in Latin America.)

When fascism comes to power it is not just the substitution of one bourgeois government for another but a substitution of a terrorist dictatorship (a la Pinochet in Chile) for bourgeois democracy. Before fascism can come to power bourgeois governments usually adopt a number of preliminary reactionary measures “which directly facilitate” the rise to power of fascism. The fight against these reactionary measures helps to block the rise of fascism. (The fight against all the reactionary measures of a Bush Administration helps to block someone like Ross Perot from being “elected.”)

While placing the people at the mercy of the most corrupt elements, fascism comes before them demanding “an honest and incorruptible government.”

“It is in the interest of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses who desert the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses these masses by the vehemence of its attacks on the bourgeois governments...” (This statement was made 57 years before the appearance of Ross Perot on the political scene.)

From this point on, Dimitrov’s speech becomes a historical polemic about various questions pertinent to 1935. He discusses the intense demagoguery of fascism in order to entice the masses to its cause. He raises a question about the ability of the democratic forces to defeat fascism. This question was resolved on the battlefields

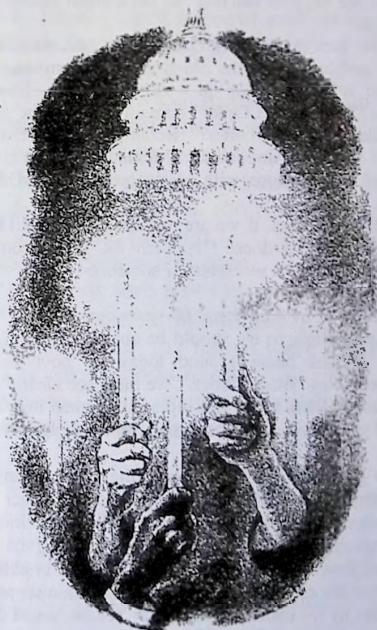
of World War II.

An analysis, possibly pertinent to today, is made as to the causes for fascism’s success: (1) the working class was split and politically and organizationally disarmed; (2) the working class was isolated from its natural allies; (3) fascism was able to penetrate the ranks of the youth; (4) Communists made mistakes by (a) underestimating the fascist danger, (b) failing to fully reckon with wounded national sentiments, (c) debating about fascism, in some instances, in the abstract.

Many of these preconditions prevail in our own country, and in the light of over 12 million unemployed seem to have been the fertile soil for some of the fascist adventures taking place now. The fact that Ross Perot withdrew from the election campaign does not diminish his impact on the campaign, nor the fact that the Bush Administration is threatening war adventures in Iraq and Yugoslavia in order for the American people to rally around the flag and George Bush.

The speech concludes by analyzing the various tactics of the “United Front,” not the least of which was his description of Communists working within the ranks of the fascists in order to undermine them.

Here is a political work that many of us should re-



read and study. As Jewish progressives we know that the national chauvinism of the Gentile fascists always tends to use the Jews as one of their scapegoats. The rise of fascistic national chauvinism in the former socialist world is accompanied with a proportionate rise in anti-Semitism. On the other hand, the racist methods of the Israeli Government against the Arabs of the West Bank can not but have an anti-Semitic effect on this population.

Perhaps Hitlerism as a world force perished in the bunkers of Berlin at the hands of the Red Army. But its fungus spores can be seen to take roots within the ranks of a new generation of German youth, whose fascist leaders scoff at the films of six million persons being cremated in the German World War II death camps. Its fungus is also reaching some of the Russian youth, who in their disillusionment can be seen wearing the uniforms of the fascist Palmyat. Nor are we in the United States immune. Even though the "skin heads" are scorned in the media, the fact that they exist gives us pause for reflection.

By re-reading and re-studying Dimitrov in the light of today's conditions, we tend to see the capitalist class content of fascism in a much sharper light. We move away from the sentimentality about the old fascism and tend to see the new fascism "92" in a much clearer perspective.

The fact that millions are aware and show contempt and hatred for the old type of fascism does not prevent it from arising in a different form. Doesn't Bush's "New World Order" contain some of the seeds of Hitler's "World Order?" Behind the fascist death squads in Latin America and Mexico stand the multinational corporations with headquarters in the United States.

To some of us, if we are not directly affected by a problem, then it doesn't concern us. If someone is working then it's a recession. If someone is out of a job then it's a depression.

Those of us who some 60 years ago saw the Nazi boots grinding into us, should be able to identify with other peoples being ground today by boots being stamped "New World Order." We must see clearly that U.S. imperialism today has replaced German imperialism of yesterday as the force that seeks to dominate the world.

In particular we should sound the alarm, to any of our friends, about what is happening in the former Soviet union: (1) its working class is split and politically and organizationally disarmed; (2) the working class is isolated from its natural allies; (3) fascism is able to penetrate the ranks of the youth; (4) Communists made mistakes by (a) underestimating the Yeltsin-fascist danger, (b) failing to fully reckon with wounded democrat-

ic-national sentiments, (c) debating about fascism, in some instances, in the abstract.

The petty bourgeois elements, now in control of the former socialist countries, are the tools of international finance capital. They act in the same manner as their class ancestors did in Germany and Italy of the 1930s. For a few shining trinkets they are ready to sell their country, their people and their national honor to the multi-national corporations.

The right wing Social Democrats ideologically softened up the German working class to fascism in the 1930s. The Gorbachev/Yeltsin group, with their non-working class approach, tried to do the same thing in the former Soviet Union. While the danger is great the parallel stops here. The unerasable ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of historical and dialectical materialism, have taken hold in enough members of the former Soviet working class that a slow and painful return to Socialism is possible.

By re-reading Dimitrov's work it will help some of us stop our ideological "free fall" since the demise of the former Eastern European Socialist world, and get our feet pointed once more in the direction of full assistance to the working class in their ongoing struggle against world imperialism.

Poems

By Henri Percikow

The Grinding Monster

Clean, ready for the grind
I dash
Through early golden rays,
Into thundering tunnels.

Sucked into steel jaws
I stand upheld
By walls of human flesh.
Here I meet the workers of our city
And hear the tongues of all my nations
Snatching a broken tale
Of woe and laughter.

Steel against steel -
Pierced with sounding daggers
Until the human wave
Carries me onto city streets.

Mother of the Free

Mother of liberty, of whom the poets
Eternally will sing -
Your magic name is stamped
Across our teeming land.



September/October

Rejected, you stand
Amidst turbulent waves
Alone in the harbor,
Grieving that those who brought
To your flame, their fire,
Are cast from your shores.

Weep not Mother of the Free
Let not your flame falter -
In the storms to come, you will stand
Our source of light.
Freedom smoldering in our veins
Will burst forth over the land.

My Hands

My hands, once straight and strong
Raised girder upon girder,
brick upon brick.
These now awkward trembling hands
Anchored cable along river,
over mountain
Laid rail and wire, that circle the land.
My hands, welded, molded,
Seeded and plowed,
Picked cotton and corn,
My hands tore from the earth
Coal, copper, iron and gold.
Faster, faster, my hands were driven.
They were good hands,
Wanted at the market of hands.....
Small hands, big hands,
Fine hands, calloused hands,
White hands, Black hands,
All powerful hands,
All hands for sale,
Now my mutilated hands are refused,
No more market for my hands!!!

Review Phillip Bonosky, *Devils in Amber - the Baltics*

By Harold Heller

I myself never really knew of amber until quite late in life when our much loved Lithuanian friend, Sonia Karos, presented my wife with some really stunning amber jewelry as a deep and meaningful token of her love for us. We cannot do better than to let the author himself tell us what amber is:

"Amber is the petrified resin from the pine trees of prehistoric times in which, reading the insects, fragments of leaves and even coins caught in it, one can detect the presence of Man before he himself knew how to record his existence."

On page one the author says further that amber is the frozen past of the nation. With the most eloquent and sensitive writing and amazing eye-opening scholarship, the author unfreezes that past with much heat, passion and pain, but also with much love. Says the author:

"Indeed, in many ways, Lithuania seemed to be working out since the war a kind of contemporary version of a utopian dream of socialism. Lithuanian socialism was characterized by an advanced civilized approach to humanity. It lacked no spiritual riches. It did

lack automobiles, a stock market and fat bank accounts."

But the stinking corpse of capitalist perfidy that Bonosky was exhuming necessarily, brought the autopsy down from that high esthetic plain to the crawling worms unleashed upon it by our own Oval Office, to strip the flesh from the murdered carcass of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian socialism.

The author never shirks from this painful dissection in the sure knowledge that if we know the truth it shall make us free.

And so the great names of 20th Century bourgeois history mingle in the grave with the evil that lives after them. There were no angels, even on the head of a pin, only murderers and torturers of millions of poor people trying to make a better life for themselves.

Phillip Bonosky wants the world to know the full and true history of the three Baltic Republics: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and so he has put it all down in this beautiful and poetic book. It makes excruciating reading and exhilarating too.

