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JEWISH AFFAIRS

The Longest War

By Herbert Aptheker

Israel Controls Economy of Occupied Territories

By Joyce Asfour

Israel: The View From Warsaw

By Sol Flappan

Sofia: A Lovely City

By Henry Metzger

A Program For Life: New Jewish Agenda Platform

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ADL Red-Baiting Undermines Struggle Against Racism

By Daniel Gruend

Some Thoughts On the Jews in the USSR

By Judith Albert



"The Longest War" in the Mid-East—and the Way to Peace

Herbert Aptheker

Jacobo Timerman—formerly a leading publisher in Argentina—created an international sensation with the appearance of *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, an account of his arrest and torture by the anti-Semitic Buenos Aires regime. For reasons elucidated in this writer's review of that book (published in our issue of July/Aug. 1981), the Reagan Administration and its Jewish Establishment lackeys and penmen viciously, but vainly, sought to besmirch Timerman's character and thus terminate his influence.

Having finally won his release, Timerman—a Zionist ever since his youth—has made his home in Israel. There, during Tel Aviv's aggression against Lebanon, he kept a diary from its beginnings through the September, 1982 massacres in Beirut; it is this diary which constitutes Timerman's latest book.* The diary form may help explain contradictions in the volume to which attention will be called.

The point of the book is its anguished exposition of opposition to the present Begin government. Clearly, this is a difficult position for the new Israeli citizen and his family—including his son, Daniel, who in October, 1982 was sentenced to military confinement for refusing to return to the Lebanese front.

The consequence of the book derives not only from the prominence of its author but also because its opposition to the Begin-Sharon government reflects a widespread (perhaps a majority) development among world Jewry, including those in Israel. From Irving Howe to Alexander Schindler—president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations—to Edgar Bronfman—president of the World Jewish Congress—opposition, in varying degrees, has been resounding.

Indeed, at the latest World Zionist Congress itself—held in Jerusalem, in December, 1982—a resolution was introduced calling for a halt to new settlements on the West Bank. And then, quoting Rabbi David Polish: "The resolution was approved by the delegates, but it was relegated to limbo on the parliamentary grounds that such resolutions are not the business of the Zionist Congress." (*Chicago Jewish Sentinel*, January 6, 1983)

This farcical excuse for utterly anti-democratic behav-

* Jacobo Timerman, *The Longest War: Israel in Lebanon*, tr. from the Spanish by Miguel Acoca, Knopf, 1982, 167 pp., \$11.95

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ior was but one example of the scandal surrounding that Congress, described editorially in the *Jerusalem Post* on the day following its adjournment (December 17, 1982) as "an unmitigated disaster." Indeed, that influential paper concluded its editorial with this sentence: "The present corrupt system is sustained by too many corrupt influences to be reformed."

* * *

Timerman's view of important features of history are asked; this may help account for a certain sense of futility that pervades his book. Thus, he insists quite properly that "there is no military solution" to Israel's "security problems" but then buttresses this idea by remarking that "all the European fantasies of collective security" led to the Second World War; on the contrary, it was the resistance of the pathologically anti-Soviet bourgeois democracies to the collective security urged by the U.S.S.R. which led to that war.

Earlier in his book (p.31), Timerman writes of touring areas in Lebanon captured by Israeli forces. He asks accompanying Israeli officers: "Can anyone in the Middle East oppose or present any opposition to the Israeli armed forces? Nobody, they reply. From a military viewpoint, we can seize all the Arab capitals." Obviously, then, responds Timerman: "If nobody can stop us, that means that nobody can threaten us." This, of course, gives away the entire Tel Aviv racket. Timerman notes that the officers remain mute after his remark. He adds: "They are not allowed to answer political questions: I don't persist."

As the book proceeds and the weeks go by, Timerman's political insights improve. Indeed, fairly early he acknowledges that "the real prospect for Lebanon is that it will become a protectorate of Israel, which will . . . hold the country in the yoke of a *Pax Hebraica*." But what kind of peace that *Pax* would be—could it be achieved, and Timerman pays almost no attention to the needs or the will of the Lebanese people themselves—Timerman apprehends for, "Despite having occupied the West Bank for fifteen years, the Israelis can enter that territory only on armed patrol." "What kind of normality can there be," he asks, "when 3,500,000 Jews are prepared to turn nearly two million Palestinians into second-class citizens, with all the cultural, social and economic degradation this means?" (p.32). Not to speak of seeking the domination—through Quislings—of the 3,500,000 varied peoples of Lebanon.

Early in his work, Timerman's description of the Palestinian people is scandalous; I think Sharon would not change a word. He writes of the "political ignorance

of the Palestinians" and ridicules the idea that the P.L.O. leads a national liberation movement, with "its internal chaos, its lack of a coherent program, its terrorist practices, its stupid brutality, and its negation of history" (p.40). He mocks "the Palestinians [who] believed that several hundred dropouts and neurotics and maladjusted imbeciles [in Beirut] from some twenty countries added up to a revolutionary vanguard that would lead the way to a bright future"—language worthy of the most chauvinist Rightwing Zionist.

This kind of opinion is part of a generally libellous view of the former colonial world as a whole—the so-called Third World which Timerman is sure "doesn't even exist." Splendid news for U.S. Ambassador Kirkpatrick at the U.N. who, alas, knows better!

But as the Palestinian resistance persists and its effectiveness and courage impress even Israeli soldiers, it must be said that Timerman's language alters. Returning Israeli soldiers told of the steadfastness of Palestinian nurses and doctors, the heroism of the very children defending their homes and of "Palestinian youths who, like themselves, did not ask for mercy and did not humble themselves" (104). It is not possible, he knows, to kill all Palestinians nor to "liquidate their national identity." He sees that even when Israel "wins" it, in fact, loses, because: "History tells us that a new wave of fighters will be more radical, better trained, and more desperate" (p. 108).

Timerman even realizes, as his diary moves to an end, the deepest and most damning reality of Begin's invasion: "Despite all our government's efforts, and all the efforts of the official propaganda machine, to hide the fact and to pretend the contrary, the Palestinians were preparing to recognize Israel before we invaded Lebanon" (p. 114). Indeed, it was, in large part, because of the substantive change in the strategy of the P.L.O. that Begin invaded Lebanon.

Timerman records the mounting terror of the Israeli occupation with "dozens of soldiers charged with plunder and acts of extreme brutality" (p. 119). There is no reason why occupation policy in Lebanon should differ from that in the West Bank, where brutality has produced scandal. Trials of Israeli soldiers and officers for beating and torture of prisoners have been proceeding through December, 1982 and January, 1983, witnesses swearing that they were acting in accordance with orders from Sharon and Chief of Staff Eytan. An Israeli Major testified in court that when Sharon was asked how to deal with these prisoners, his response was: "Tear off their

Continued on page 20

Israel Controls Economy of Occupied Territories

By Joyce Asfour

The article below originally appeared in *Peace and Freedom*, 12/82, a publication of the U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. It is reprinted with the permission of the author and the WILPF.

Although the world's attention has been focused on the Palestinians in Lebanon, the Palestinians in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza face an equally bitter future as Israel tightens its economic noose around them. Because the occupied territories contribute well over \$1 billion annually to the Israeli economy, Israel is making every effort to merge the West Bank/Gaza economy with its own.

The economic squeeze takes a variety of forms. For example, Israel receives one-third of its water supply (some 500 million cubic meters per year) from the West Bank through underground aquifers and the 80-mile National Water Carrier, which moves Jordan River water to the Negev region. At the same time, Israeli authorities have limited Palestinian farmers to the amount of water they received in 1967 and barred them from developing new irrigation projects.

This year the Israeli government expropriated the Arab-owned East Jerusalem Electric Company and linked all West Bank electrical system with the Israeli grid. All new electric hookups in the occupied territories must be cleared through Israeli authorities

Israel's Captive Market

The West Bank and Gaza are a captive market for Israeli goods. Palestinians are not allowed to import products from outside Israel without permission from occupation authorities, and such purchases are subject to high tariffs. Consequently, 90 percent of the area's imports are from Israel. They total about \$600 million a year and account for one-fourth of all Israel's exports.

While Israelis may sell their goods at will in the occupied territories, the Palestinians may only sell their products in Israel with one-time permits selectively issued by Israeli authorities.

The Israelis have even found a way to control most West Bank and Gaza commerce by requiring a permit for transshipment through Israel. This restriction even includes commerce between the northern and southern sections of the West Bank because the only road con-

necting them goes through East Jerusalem, which Israel has annexed.

Arab Economic Base Eroded

Investment in Arab agriculture and industry has declined to almost nothing, lessening the area's potential to function outside the Israeli economic sphere. The West Bank-wide Agricultural Research and Extension Department shrank from 600 employees in 1968 to less than 200 in 1982.

A few years ago, Israel began subsidizing Israeli chicken farmers and bakers. As a result, the cheaper Israeli products undercut the market for Palestinian chicken and, culturally more important, their traditional bread. Since most Palestinians cannot afford to boycott Israeli products, many Palestinian bakers have gone out of business.

Arab chicken farms gain some strength through the cooperative system, a fundamental part of the economic infrastructure in the West Bank and Gaza. However, Israel has not granted permission for new cooperatives, and existing ones may not take members from other districts. For more than two years, Israeli authorities have blocked over \$1.3 million in U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) funds earmarked for cooperatives and other self-help projects.

The Israeli "open bridge" policy allows the West Bank and Gaza to export about \$100 million a year in fruits and vegetables to Jordan and the Gulf states. This policy benefits Israel, which often invoices Jaffa oranges and other produce from Israel proper as West Bank produce. Jordanian officials claim that Israel demands this privilege as a condition for continuing the "open bridge."

The income from these exports is an important source of hard currency. So is the inflow of monies from wage-earners outside and from the Jordanian government that is still paid to West Bank residents who were its employees or pensioners as of 1967, the last year that the West Bank was part of Jordan. The recipients are required to convert these monies into Israeli shekels.

Unless a village or town joins a League, its residents are denied all the official documents necessary in the occupied territories: identity cards, building permits, birth certificates, permits to receive money from the outside, permits to cross the Jordan River, permits to teach or attend college.

Israel will undoubtedly claim that the true representatives of the Palestinians are the Village Leagues rather than the Palestine Liberation Organization, and it may

Israel: The View From Warsaw

By Sol Flapan

The Warsaw Ghetto and the Beirut Massacres

WARSAW — "We Polish Jews, miraculously saved from the nazi holocaust, cannot remain silent in light of the massacre of innocent Palestinians . . . aged, women and children . . . in West Beirut."

Thus reads the opening of a declaration issued by the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland. It is front page in the Yiddish and Polish language sections of *Folks Shtime*, the organization's bilingual weekly.

We are deeply shocked, continues the statement, over the murder of thousands of civilians by the (Lebanese fascist) Falangists. This shame and crime, it is charged, was carried out in the presence of Israeli soldiers who were supposedly there "to safeguard peace and order following the withdrawal of Yasser Arafat's armed forces." The Society derisively quotes Israeli Chief of Staff, General Rafael Eytan. Arafat heads the progressive oriented Palestine Liberation Organization.

Together with peace loving peoples, says the voice of Poland's World War Two decimated Jewry, we deeply feel the consequences of that monstrous tragedy which was triggered by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Under no condition can the explosive Israeli-Palestinian question be resolved by military measures, continues the statement. We've said it before and we declare anew, it avers, peaceful negotiations is the only road to settling the issue.

This declaration of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland popularly known here by its Polish acronym TESKAZET then points out "We have underscored and we continue to stress that the (Premier Menachem) Begin-(Defense Minister Ariel) Sharon clique's strategy of naked expansion, annexation and invasion has led to

try to negotiate an Israeli-designed autonomy plan with League leaders.

Boaz Evron, a leading Israeli columnist, defined this version of autonomy in *Yediot Ahararonot* (June 11, 1982). It is, he wrote, ". . . the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza to Israel, but without granting to their inhabitants Israeli citizenship, which would enable them to influence the government by means of their own elected representatives and defend their own civil rights. Instead, they will be able to confiscate their lands and harass them with impunity [and] use them as a cheap labor force . . ."

January-February, 1983

the shedding of blood of thousands of innocent people: it has caused death and suffering of Palestinians and Lebanese on the one hand, and has brought death and pain to Israeli soldiers on the other."

The militaristic adventure of the Menachem Begin government has not settled a single Israeli-Arab problem, argues TESKAZET. The only fruit of this mad policy has been the "besmirching of the good name of the Israeli people." It "has led to Israel's global isolation," which TESKAZET warns "menaces Israel's very existence."

"As true friends of the Israeli people," continues TESKAZET, "we voice our profound concern over such a situation which also threatens the entire Jewish people."

Hence, TESKAZET's support for the United Nations Security Council's call for an immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon, for the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry which would carry out a wide-ranging and deep-going investigation of the role of Israeli soldiery in the murder of Palestinian civilians in Beirut, and for the punishment of the perpetrators of that heinous crime.

"Together with the several hundred thousand Jewish and Arab demonstrators in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and other Israeli towns, together with millions of Jews the world over, together with mass Jewish organizations in many lands we demand: out with the Begin government whose policy has compromised the Israeli people, Israel must sit down to peace negotiations with the Arab states recognizing the Palestinians' rights to self-determination including the right to independent statehood with U.N. and Big Power guarantees for Israel's security. Only along that road will the Jewish state be able to regain the sympathy of the nations and take its rightful place among the nations of the world."

Especially meaningful is it that this is expressed by

Palestinians have almost no way to protest against economic exploitation. They may be detained, imprisoned or deported at any time without charge. Their homes and land may be confiscated, their crops burned.

The de facto merger of the West Bank and Gaza with Israel is almost complete. Realization of the Palestinian dream of self-determination, in even a part of their original homeland, becomes ever more remote. If the Reagan Administration really means that it "will not support annexation or permanent control by Israel of the West Bank and Gaza," then it will have to move quickly and decisively. □

that tiny community of Jews who survived the German fascist nightmarish occupation of Poland. And significantly, too, this same *Folks Shtime* issue carrying the TESKAZET declaration headlined "We Cannot Remain Silent" features another in its ongoing series of reminiscences recalling the Polish people's sympathy, solidarity and succor accorded Jews who were subjected in nazi-occupied Poland to something similar to what the Palestinians have been suffering at the hands of terrorist Begin and his fascistic cohorts.

Furthermore, all the more honor is due the Poles who were themselves victims of a methodical racial, cultural and physical genocide by the invaders. And, within this general context, any sympathy shown or assistance given to Jews here was punishable by death. This also included the despicable policy of so-called "collective responsibility" also applied by Zionist ruling circles vis-a-vis the Palestinians.

The series appears under the wise and humane Talmudic exhortation "Whoever saves one life is as though he has preserved the existence of the entire world." This particular case concerns Aniela and Andrzej Dobrucki and their 15-year-old daughter, Maria.

During the occupation, this family lived in Czortkow where they had many Jewish friends who were eventually herded into the local ghetto. Quite a number of ghetto escapees, prewar friends as well as strangers, found a haven and way station in the Dobrucki home. Among these were attorney Margules, Gelberowa and her music teacher daughter, bookkeeper Szora Rozenewajgowa and others.

A particularly daring episode in this whole dangerous undertaking was the rescue from the ghetto of three and a half year old Izabela, daughter of Frieda and Solomon Hauser.

Maria is quoted as recalling "A certain dusk in the autumn of 1942 . . . I put on a yellow Star of David armband and stole into the ghetto through a secret passage . . . Mr. Hauser gave me his child . . . and I led her by the hand to my home . . . through the same passage . . . We called her Inka, and she remained with us until liberation (by Soviet and Polish forces) in February 1945."

Little Izabela-Inka was eventually reunited with her mother who survived the ghetto gehenna. Her mother, now Frieda Lustig, is quoted as writing to the Jewish Historical Institute here in Warsaw that: "After my return to Czortkow, I went straight to the Dobruckies at 3 Browarowa Street where I found my child alive and well

. . . I've never lost contact with my saviors . . . I must add here that not only I and my daughter found a haven at the Dobrucki home. It was open house day and night for every Jew in need . . ."

Clearly, just as the Polish people have nobly earned the collective title "Righteous among nations" so the Israeli Jews are being denied that honor by their present obscurantist leadership.

An Interview With the P.L.O. Ambassador

As "We shall overcome" is the militant pledge by oppressed U.S. Blacks, other racial and ethnic minorities and progressive Americans generally, so "We shall return to Palestine one day," is the rallying cry of the embattled Palestinian Arab people.

Both these inspiring themes of "returning" and "overcoming" pervade a wide ranging interview given the popular Warsaw city paper *Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw Life) by Ambassador Fouad Jassine of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The PLO's mission here was accorded embassy status this summer in an act of heightened solidarity with the Palestinian people's just freedom aspirations.

In his introductory remarks, Ambassador Jassine recounts his people's many decades long liberation struggle. The Palestinian Arabs launched their first armed uprising already back in 1920, recalls the PLO official. That was against British imperialism which occupied Palestine as a consequence of the Allies' victory over their Central Powers imperialist rivals in World War One.

Then came the running battles with the occupiers and the Zionist settlement movement, relates the PLO spokesman. The struggle of the past 35 years, however, is a period of direct confrontation with that movement as embodied by the state of Israel, he continues.

Ambassador Jassine then underscores his compatriots' determination and readiness "to overcome" despite "sacrifices, persecutions and territorial dispersion," a Palestinian diaspora.

Every generation, he told *Zycie Warszawy*, passes on to the next the torch of the freedom struggle. And each generation presses on with heightened devotion to the cause.

"I stress this fully aware that there is no lack of hope in Israel and elsewhere that with the passage of time Palestine will become an ever more vague, remote and abstract idea for each upcoming generation of Palesti-

nians." A vain expectation, that.

"To return to a free homeland, the nation is prepared to wait and fight not only 35 but 100 and more years, Poland's experience is the best example."

That is a reference to the 123 years of Poland's partition among Czarist Russia and imperial Prussia and Austria. This wrong was righted in November 1918 with the reemergence of an independent Poland thanks in large measure to the peace and national self-determination oriented policy of newly born Soviet Russia.

According to this PLO statesman the prospect of setting up a Palestinian state is near and real. Various stages and phases of the liberation struggle still await the Palestinian people, however.

"The point is," he emphasizes, "that our people be able to return to their hearths from exile, that they be acknowledged the right to self-determination, and that they be allowed to play their rightful role in restoring peace to the Middle East."

He then notes the Palestinian people's awareness of the importance of the political struggle (and not only of military operations). In this connection, among other things, the PLO is striving to make world opinion cognizant of the true, aggressive character of the state of Israel, its colonialist policy, and its anti-peace posture.

"We also want to show the world that Tel Aviv's policy is in fact activity aimed against world Jewry."

To the question of "raison d'etre" (reason of justification for existence) PLO Ambassador Jassine replies thus: "Israel negates the existence of Palestine so as to negate the Palestinian people's national rights. Persistently reminding the world of the existence of a separate Palestinian nation which has a right to its own state is one of the cardinal tasks of our political battle. Indeed, to this very day one often runs into the widespread idea of considering the Palestinians as a part of the Arab nation and which ought to dissolve itself into this over 100-million strong Arab mass inhabiting 23 countries. . . ."

Conceding the need and importance of political give and take, Ambassador Jassine enumerates three "fundamental questions on which there can be no talk of compromise. These are: the Palestinians' right to return to their homeland; their right to self-determination; their right to statehood."

Comes now the sensitive question of the eventual recognition of Israel by the PLO to which Ambassador Jassine countered with his own question on Tel Aviv's recognizing the Palestinians' inalienable rights to an independent homeland.

Even, eventual recognition of each other, he continues, could be the final state of relevant accords but not their precondition. Recognition, he argues, must be a consequence between two equal states.

"Israel denies us that right while, at the same time, itself lacking the prerequisites for statehood." Every state, he maintains, "must possess strictly delineated frontiers, a definite number of inhabitants within its confines, and finally, must have a Fundamental Law of the land by which the country is governed. Israel fails to fulfill any of these three conditions."

Zycie *Warszawy* then touched on the widespread talk of discord over tactics in the PLO leadership. In a three point reply Ambassador Jassine Avers the existence of differences is a natural thing.

"I'll say more," he adds. "We are even pleased . . . though we would not like these differences to transcend the present level." Different views "indicate that a democratic spirit pervades our movement."

Secondly, "can one expect a single voice representing a monolithic viewpoint from a people dispersed throughout a score countries with different political orientations?"

And finally, the PLO complaint is raised of occasional meddling into PLO's internal affairs by certain Arab states. This is not always to the benefit for the Palestinian cause "even if this interference by Arab brothers is inspired by good intentions."

And then, "The cardinal issue is that the various attitudes and ideas are discussed within our movement on the principle of dialogue . . . Democracy serves us well. It will remain the bedrock of PLO activity." □

Sol Flapan is Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

Jewish Affairs

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Sofia, a Lovely, Lively City

by Henry M. Metzger

The article below was originally published in the *Chicago Sentinel*, 11/18/82. It is reprinted with their permission.

After touring the Balkans for several days, I decided to spend a few days in Sofia, the capital of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and one of the oldest cities in Europe. Sofia, a modern and lively city with a population exceeding one million is the center of all political, economic and cultural life in Bulgaria. A great number of impressive historical and architectural monuments is offered to the visiting tourist.

One of the most remarkable architectural monuments that remains of the recent past is the Synagogue of Sofia, designed and constructed in Spanish-Moorish style between 1905 and 1909 by the Viennese architect Gruenanger who modeled it after the Sephardic synagogue in Vienna which was destroyed by the Nazis during World War II. With a seating capacity of 1170 persons, it is considered the largest Sephardic synagogue in the world. This impressive structure is presently undergoing restoration with funds provided by the government.

As I entered the synagogue, located at the corner of Exarch Josif and George Washington streets, I was welcomed and received by Josif Benbassati, vice president of the Central Israeli Ecclesiastic Council, who was kind enough to let me visit the interior of the Synagogue and to answer some of my questions concerning Jewish life in Bulgaria.

Here is a summary of what I found out in the brief conversation with Benbassati:

Today there are about 5500 Jews in Bulgaria of whom some 3200 live in Sofia and the surrounding areas. The rest live in other provincial towns.

Shortly after World War II, the Jewish community in Bulgaria amounted to about 50,000 citizens.

Weekly Shabbat services are conducted on a small basis. There has been no rabbi for the last 10 years. The High Holy Day services are attended by 300 to 400 persons.

The community publishes a bi-weekly newspaper "Evreiski Vesti" and also a yearbook.

The council, headed by Dr. Israel, a professor of medicine, is responsible not only for maintaining the synagogue but also the permanent exhibition, "The salvation of the Bulgarian Jews, 1941-44."

Benbassati concluded our conversation by emphasizing

that anti-Semitism is no problem in Bulgaria today. According to him, the Jews are fully integrated into the Bulgarian society and enjoy full civil, social and political equality in all spheres of life.

I also had the opportunity to visit the impressive exhibition located on the top floor of a new, modern five-story building on Stambulijski Blvd. The main purpose of the exhibit is to explain by means of photos, pictures and copies of documents how the Bulgarian Jews were saved from the Nazi Holocaust during World War II. It tells the story of the plight of the community, particularly after the historic discussion between King Boris III with Hitler in 1943 in which the king had given his agreement to deport several thousand Jews from Thrace and Macedonia — the annexed territories from Yugoslavia — and only a few thousand from the old parts of the country, and how this plan had been averted not only by the efforts of a number of influential civil and church leaders but also by the masses of Bulgarian people, many of whom participated actively as partisans in the heroic struggle for complete defeat of fascism and anti-Semitism.

Thousands of Bulgarian Jews participated in this struggle and many of them perished. □

Eleventh Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner

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A Program for Life: New Jewish Agenda National Platform

Lewis M. Morozo

We publish below large sections of the New Jewish Agenda National Platform adopted on November 29, 1982.

In our Jan/Feb 1981 issue of *Jewish Affairs* in which we announced the founding of NJA and its program we said: "New Jewish Agenda and its program deserve the wholehearted support of all who are determined to turn the U.S. around. New Jewish Agenda is an important coalition in that historic struggle. New Jewish Agenda deserves the support of all progressive U.S. Jews."

The rich history of NJA in the first two years of existence proved the correctness of the estimate. NJA immediately threw itself into the key struggles of the day.

The new NJA platform is brimming with life, reflecting growth and deepening of the democratic aspirations and tendencies among the mass of the Jews in the U.S. NJA now has vibrant chapters in most key cities throughout our land. It is destined to grow and play a most vital role in the people's struggles ahead.

The new platform places NJA four square with the growing people's coalitions in the country for a nuclear freeze and world peace and detente, for a just peace in the Middle East, for a vigorous struggle against the rise of racism and anti-Semitism and for an all-out offensive against every aspect of Reaganism and Reaganomics.

The new platform should be carefully studied, appraised, widely disseminated and acted upon.

Regarding principled differences on one or another plank or formulation, continuing discussion combined with day to day efforts to achieve the commonly held goals are the best routes for effecting corrections. To meet our publication deadline we shall comment more fully at a later date.

NJA Statement of Purpose

We are Jews from a variety of backgrounds and affiliations committed to progressive human values and the building of a shared vision of Jewish life.

We call upon all Jews who share our vision to join us in working to achieve our goals in the Jewish and wider

communities. To those whose visions differ from ours — let us discuss these differences. Authentic Jewish unity grows from respect for an understanding of diversity. New Jewish Agenda's national platform upholds progressive Jewish values and affirms that the goals of peace and justice can be achieved.

Jewish Communal Life in the U.S.

NJA affirms the vitality and vast creative potential of Jewish life in the U.S.

We call for the transformation of (Jewish communal institutions) and the creation of new ones to represent the whole spectrum of views of U.S. Jewry and meet our changing needs.

Open discussion of a broad range of views must be encouraged, not squelched. . . . Democratic participatory structures will enhance the strength and depth of our communities.

Women

NJA supports the complete equality of women and men. . . . Women's exclusion from power in society has resulted in pervasive economic and social inequalities.

Women in Work Force and the Family

Women in the work force have historically faced poor conditions and inequitable compensation. We continue the struggle of our grandmothers as we fight for the issues of our day.

We oppose all government policies limiting reproductive freedoms and affirm the right of children to be adequately cared by the society and their parents. In order for prospective parents to be truly free in their choice, society must provide quality child care, adequate incomes and housing.

Lesbians and Gays

NJA supports the struggle of Lesbians and Gay men to lead lives of freedom and dignity.

The Disabled

As part of our commitment to include all Jews in the life of our community, we in NJA call attention to . . . those in our midst who have physical, mental, emotional

or learning disabilities. We draw from that part of our tradition that affirms the unique worth of all individuals. . . . We recognize the importance of overcoming stigmas about disabilities.

Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is prejudice against or persecution of the Jews as a people.

Racist hatred against Jews fueled the Nazi rise to power, culminating in the Holocaust. We mourn our dead and the psychic scarring of our people. Understanding the causes and lessons of this ultimate act of anti-Semitism involves educating ourselves and others — without sensationalizing, trivializing, or focusing on it as the only significant event in Jewish history, or as the basis of our Jewishness. We are proud that our people survived, and celebrate Jewish heroism and resistance.

As the world economic crisis deepens, we are confronted with a rise of overt anti-Semitic incidents. Bombings have occurred in Paris and Rome. Swastikas have appeared in college campuses, synagogues and Jewish-owned businesses in the U.S. Anti-Semitism is also evident when Israel is judged by standards different than those used for other countries, or when all Jews are held responsible for Israeli government actions.

As a key to ending Jewish oppression, we in NJA ally with other oppressed groups on the basis of mutual respect and struggle. We devote ourselves to building a strong, proud Jewish identity.

Racism

NJA strongly opposes institutional and individual racism. Our ongoing struggle against racism, both within and outside the Jewish community, stems from our own experience of racial bigotry, our traditional commitment to social justice, and our awareness that any division of peoples is harmful to all.

Racism has been used by those in power to maintain their own economic and political positions, and to divide their opposition. It is an integral part of the functions of our economic system. For example, people of color have provided a cheap and exploitable work force, drawn from a pool of underemployed and unemployed labor.

In the 1980's, as the U.S. faces continuing economic deterioration, people of color are among those hardest hit by rising unemployment and cutbacks in social services. At the same time, there has been a dangerous resurgence of Klan and Nazi violence, and other forms of racism such as police brutality, harassment of undocumented workers, violation of Native American rights, and opposition to school integration.

We are also concerned about stereotyping and dis-

crimination against Arabs and Arab-Americans which is widespread throughout the U.S. The Arab-Israeli conflict does not oblige Jews to accept this negative view of Arabs and Islam.

There has been a growing rift between Jews and Blacks which is both painful and important to confront. Short range economic and social conflicts of interest have opened the door to all forms of bigotry. Both Jews and Blacks are hurt by this rift which weakens the fight against anti-Semitism and racism.

We resolve to build broad-based coalitions in which Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, other ethnic minorities, labor groups, and progressive political organizations work together to fight racism. In building these alliances we will seek to end Jewish isolation and foster mutual respect for the goals of all people.

Affirmative Action

We support affirmative action as one method of redressing the discrimination against women, people of color, the economically disadvantaged and disabled people.

The system of minimum quotas is fundamentally different from the system of maximum quotas that has been used against the Jews. Maximum quotas established a ceiling on the participation of Jews and others in social and economic life. They are a barrier to social equality. Minimum quotas are part of the struggle for equality. We would oppose any mistaken interpretation of minimum affirmative action quotas as maximum hiring quotas.

Affirmative action directly affects more than 50% of the Jewish community: women, Jews of color, economically disadvantaged and disabled Jews.

While we support affirmative action programs, we also acknowledge their limitations, as they do not focus on the right of every individual to a job, to full access to educational institutions, and to better living conditions. Affirmative action is only one aspect of the broader movement for social and economic equality.

Civil Liberties

Having suffered the devastating effects of persecution and prejudice, Jews can play a special role in defense of freedom and democratic rights.

New Jewish Agenda opposes efforts to increase government secrecy, reinstitute Congressional inquisitorial activities, limit personal privacy or sanction political spying by intelligence gathering agencies. We challenge the view that "national security" is more important than the Bill of Rights.

NJA opposes the misuse of legitimate issues like

national security, law and order, and morality, to institutionalize conservative social and economic policies. In this time of economic crisis, the Right's attack on civil liberties deflects attention from the fundamental need to reorder society.

Economic Justice

NJA calls for a program of economic democracy to benefit the majority, not just the wealthy minority. We support full, fair and safe employment and provision for the needs of the elderly, people with disabilities, and all those unable to work. This can only be accomplished through a system of democratic planning. Under today's conditions we support thorough reform of the tax system to eliminate loopholes and subsidies for the rich and massive transfer of resources from the military to civilian needs. Public programs should support urban reconstruction, public transportation, education, health, child care and the arts.

The Labor Movement

NJA includes among its constituency many Jews for whom the American labor movement is of primary political and economic importance.

The quality of our lives is closely tied to the success of the labor movement. Social programs such as public education, social security, and subsidized housing owe their existence to the efforts of organized labor. At the workplace, the collective bargaining agreement remains the only real protection workers have. We look to organized labor as a vehicle of potential power for initiating and implementing broad social and economic change.

Energy and the Environment

U.S. energy and environmental policy should promote full employment, affordability, protection of the environment, conservation of natural resources, health and safety and democracy. . . . We advocate a transition to a publicly owned, community-based, energy system relying on renewable energy resources, conservation and recycling. . . . The U.S. Government also must work with other nations to ensure the proper protection of the international environment.

Relations Between Israel and North American Jewry

Israeli and North American Jews share a concern for each other's secure future and ethical character. Decision about Israel's life and policy must be made by the Israelis, just as we must make decisions affecting North American Jewish life.

We affirm the right and necessity of Jews everywhere to engage in democratic debate and open discussion

regarding Israeli policies. As progressive Jews, we in New Jewish Agenda identify with the Jewish historical emphasis on peace and social justice and support those in Israel who are working toward these goals.

Internal Social Life in Israel

We want to work towards an Israel based on the best of Jewish tradition and ideals of social justice.

We support the progressive forces in Israel who, in this spirit, are working to achieve the following goals:

1. Elimination of social and economic discrimination against the Sephardi-Mizrachi majority and Arab, Druze, and other minority groups;
2. Equal educational opportunities regardless of cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds;
3. Equal rights for women, including equal pay for comparable work and full reproductive rights;
4. An end to the Orthodox monopoly on religious organization and to religious control in civic affairs;
5. An end to discrimination against Lesbians and Gay men;
6. Insuring the freedom of the press and expression, and easing of military censorship laws;
7. The adoption of a Constitution, incorporating a Bill of Rights . . . and extend to all individuals living under Israeli law the basic rights delineated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
8. The development of a dialogue between Arabs and Jews as a prelude to reconciliation of the two communities; and
9. An end to the continued occupation and drive to annex the territories. The annexation is polarizing and corrupting Israeli society, undermining its democracy, and has led to repression and an increasing infringement of basic rights of those living in the territories.

Israel, The Palestinians and Arab Neighbors

After decades of hatred and bloodshed, it is clear that there can be no peace in the Middle East without a political resolution of the conflict among Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab States.

Israel and the International Community

The continued hostilities among Israel, the Arab countries and Palestinians are fueled by the rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. . . .

While an adequate defense force is necessary for Israel's security we are alarmed at the increasing militarization of Israeli society, the use of U.S.-supplied arms for territorial expansion and the interference in the internal life of neighboring countries.

Israel also violates our sense of Jewish ethics when it sells arms to repressive dictatorships in Latin America,

South Africa, and elsewhere. Such policies increase Israel's isolation. We urge Israel to stop all such arms sales.

We believe that lasting peace in the Middle East can only be achieved through mutually satisfactory agreements among all parties directly involved in the conflict. We call upon the U.S. to take the initiative with the Soviet Union in working toward an international agreement on arms reduction in the region.

Policies which strive to base Israel's security solely on a strategic alliance with the U.S. increase Israel's isolation, threaten detente, and are, therefore not in Israel's long-term interest. A comprehensive peace settlement is a necessary first step to returning Israel to a position of non-alignment in the super-power conflict.

World Jewry and Threatened Jewish Communities

NJA believes that the continued existence of diverse Jewish communities is essential to a flourishing Jewish life. Our common bond demands our moral, economic and organizational commitment to the welfare of all Jewish communities.

Militarism and the Nuclear Arms Race

The injunctions "Choose Life" and "Seek Peace" have long been central doctrines of Jewish ethics. Their fulfillment is threatened by the escalation of militarism throughout the world.

School for Yiddish Editors

By N. Gorbachov

The article below first appeared in *Sovietish Heimland*, #10, October 1982. N. Gorbachov is a State prize winner of the Russian Soviet Federation of Socialist Republics.

For the opening of the second academic year of the Jewish Group of the Higher Literary Courses under the aegis of the Gorky Literary Institute, we are publishing a selection of work by the students — the third running since the group began attending lectures. We are including new verse by Lev Berinsky, a novella by Boris Sandler, "When Day Comes," a short story by Moishe Pens from his cycle "Hershel tells the story," a critical article by Alexander Brodsky on the magazine's poetry section and an article by Bladimir Chernin on the ethnography of the mountain Jews. Nikolai Alexandrovich Gorbachov, deputy rector of the Gorky Literary Institute and rector of the Higher Literary Courses, de-

The U.S. and the Soviet Union have initiated and shaped current global military policy thereby causing diversion of human and material resources from socially constructive purposes to the development and acquisition of weapons.

In the effort to maximize profits, the U.S. weapons industry has been a powerful force in shaping a foreign policy that supports political repression in the Third World, promotes belligerency between neighbors and causes economic deprivation in the U.S. and abroad.

Draft registration and induction serve as preparation for war and should be opposed. We support all those who refuse involvement in actions which further military activities.

We call for universal nuclear disarmament as a step towards establishing world peace.

We call upon all nations to renounce the concept of a limited nuclear war which serves to justify the development of first-strike weapons. We support proposals to create nuclear weapons-free zones, particularly in the Middle East.

We strongly support the efforts of those working for nuclear disarmament in the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and throughout the world. We call on the entire Jewish community to join us in the campaign to reverse the arms race so that human needs will be met, and we can realize the goal that "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall we learn war anymore." □

scribes the work of the study group.

There is always a great deal of excitement at the timetable board in the teaching block of the Higher Literary Courses. The student writers, poets and dramatists are looking at these timetables to find out what awaits them in the classrooms and lecture amphitheatres for that day. During the last academic year, a timetable was pinned up on the board for students of the newly organized group known briefly as "Yiddish" or "the Yiddish Group." In a Decree marking the 20th Anniversary of the magazine "*Sovietish Heimland*," The Secretariat of the Writers' Union of the USSR, among other measures, instructed the rectorate of the Gorky Literary Institute to organize a Jewish Group on the Higher Literary Courses in the 1981-1982 academic year. This meant creating, within the framework of the Higher Literary Courses, a school of Jewish editors — naturally a new and unusual step in the history of this unique educational establishment.

This was a difficult task at the outset. However, the rectorate of the Literary Institute and the management of

Jewish Affairs

"Sovietish Heimland" took effective measures to overcome the obstacles. The first candidates for studentships were selected and instructors carefully chosen to teach the Yiddish language and conduct special courses on the Jewish classics, and also practical seminars adapted to the special requirements of the monthly, "*Sovietish Heimland*."

The structure and traditions of the Higher Literary Courses, as practice has shown, also proved acceptable for the study activities of the newly founded group, and they became a firm foundation for it.

Like other students in the courses, the future editors are given serious ideological, philosophical, social and aesthetic training, and Yiddish. They broaden the horizons of their philological "vision," systematically attend lectures on the philosophy, aesthetics and history of Soviet, Russian and foreign literatures and visit, apart from specifically national courses, special courses on the work of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Gorky and Mayakovsky, and also lessons on the theory of literature, the psychology of creation and the language of works of art.

Special importance in the teaching plan of the Yiddish Group is attached to the basic disciplines: "Soviet Jewish Literature (20s-40s and 60s-70s of the Russian and Jewish literature"; and special courses on the great Jewish writers Mendele Mocher-Seform, Sholem Aleichem, I.L. Peretz and D. Bergelson.

Writers, critics and literary historians are being invited to read lectures and conduct the seminars. There is, in the practice of the future Jewish editors, a vital and complex factor demanding special efforts from teachers and students alike: this is mastery of the finest subtleties

of the Jewish language, its polyphony and its depths and, relying on this as a firm foundation, the subsequent mastery of the "secrets" of literary editing. Such is the principled objective, introduced from the first day of the Yiddish Group's existence, for lessons in Yiddish and for exercises in editorial work.

In order that the future editors should become more familiar with their professional work, seminars are being held in the editorial offices of "*Sovietish Heimland*" on two days of the week. The students discuss the problems of contemporary Jewish literature (Soviet and foreign), analyse the manuscripts of the editorial portfolio and prepare them for publication.

The members of the Jewish Group are themselves creative people. Some of them have already published their work in "*Sovietish Heimland*" and other periodicals. Recently, they have been collectively contributing short stories, verse cycles and literary essays to the magazine.

All the students in the Yiddish group have had some experience both of literature and of life. Alexander Brodsky is a professional translator and a member of the Writer's Union of the USSR. Lev Berinsky, himself a graduate from the Gorky Literary Institute, is well known as a writer and translator. Moishe Pens is a teacher, Boris Sandler is a musician and Vladimir Chernin is an ethnographer. All have higher qualifications. This encourages the hope that in the nearest future, Jewish literature will gain a new team of editors who can be entrusted with an important and responsible task and will take part in the creative process of our multinational Soviet literature. □

In memory of

MARVIN TOBMAN

Leo, Iola, Joseph, Barbara

In memory of

IDA GAFFIN

Leo, Iola

In loving memory of

ISSIE LEVY

(Died Jan. 21, 1983)

**Dear Friend and Supporter of Jewish
Affairs**

Our deep sympathy to his sister

DEBBIE BASS

Albert & Ceil Paula

A.D.L. Red-Baiting Undermines Struggle Against Racism

Daniel Gruend

"Violence, the Ku Klux Klan and the Struggle for Equality," an informational and instructional kit published by the National Education Association, the Council on Interracial Books for Children and the Connecticut Education Association, 72 pages, 1981.

"Extremist Groups in the U.S.," a curriculum guide published by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'Nai B'Rith, 315 pages, 1982.

When teachers, joining in the growing concern about the disturbing resurgence of the KKK, neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism, began to discuss these developments in their classes, they found that there was not nearly enough material, especially on the KKK, geared for classroom use.

Responding to this need, the National Education Association (NEA), the largest teachers' union with 1.7 million members, the Council on Interracial Books for Children and the Connecticut Education Association, in 1981, put out a valuable 72 page informational and instructional kit, "Violence, The Ku Klux Klan And The Struggle For Equality" for the secondary schools. It has 2 pages of background information on the Klan and 11 lesson plans. Four of them bring the history of the Klan up to date, including one on why a former Exalted Cyclop of the Durham, North Carolina chapter quit the Klan. The other plans deal with Reconstruction, white supremacy, the civil rights era, the struggle for racial equality and two with "Myth vs. Reality" covering social perceptions and process of scapegoating. The topic of the last one is "Countering the Klan."

Each lesson has a pedagogical section to help the teacher plan with suitable reading material, newspaper clippings, book excerpts, graphics, etc., to supply the factual background for the topic to be discussed.

In 1982, as a counterweight to the NEA kit, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith published a 315 page Curriculum Guide, "Extremist Groups in the United States" also with lesson plans and reading materials. The Guide is divided into three parts. In the first, "Bigotry and Violence — The Hate Groups of the Extreme Right." There are nine lessons. These include: hate groups, prejudice, white supremacy, two on scapegoating, three on the KKK and one on the neo-Nazis. Part Two, "Anti-Americanism and Totalitarianism — The Marxist-Leninist Groups of the Extreme Left" has four lessons. These are: Extremist

left groups, totalitarianism, terrorism and the common elements of the right and left extremists. The third and last part is devoted to the question: "How Does A Democratic Society Cope With The Threat Of The Hate Groups Of The Extreme Right; The Marxist-Leninist Groups Of The Extreme Left."

Also at this time the Klanwatch staff of the Southern Poverty Law Center of Montgomery, Alabama, issued a 64 page booklet on the history and activities of the Klan for high school use. Early last year they scheduled a mailing of a free copy for every high school social studies class in the country.

Albert Shanker wrote separate views of the NEA and ADL material. They appeared in his weekly advertisements in the Sunday *New York Times* which are paid for by his union, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT).

Shanker is president of both the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the second largest union of teachers with about 500,000 members and its New York City affiliate, the UFT, which, with its 55,000 to 60,000 members, is the largest local union in the country. He is also a vice president and an executive board member of the AFL-CIO where he is aligned with Lane Kirkland, Sol Chaiken and right wing social democrats with their 100% Zionism and die-hard anti-Sovietism.

While claiming he supports affirmative action he opposes every effective means of achieving it, such as numerical goals, quotas and any form of what he calls "reverse discrimination." Despite the opposition of all major Black organizations and many civil rights groups, he supported Bakke in the medical school case and Weber in the steel union case. He was, in large measure, responsible for the polarization of the Blacks and Jews in New York City which, only recently, has begun to recede.

Under the headline, "How Not to Teach About the K.K.K.," Shanker first praised the NEA kit: "It's just the kind of thing most teachers would like to have to help them deal with an important subject in the classroom." Then, making an 180 degree turn, he proceeded to attack it as biased, false and harmful.

He charged that the material did not adequately present the "great progress" Blacks have made in some areas and that its favorable treatment of the use of racial quotas in affirmative action programs was one sided.

Have the Blacks made "great progress"? Not even according to any available government reports and figures.

The U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census report: "The Social and Economic Status of the

Black Population in the U.S., An Historical View 1790-1978" found that in 1978, the 25.4 million Blacks in this country remained far behind whites in almost every social and economic area." At the end of 1981 the government national unemployment rate for all 16 to 19 year olds was 24.1%; for Blacks, 47.4%. Today the disparity is even greater. Some "great progress."

Shanker, agreeing with the Anti-Defamation League of the B'Nai B'Rith, finds "false and harmful" the NEA's statement that "the violent nature of the Klan feeds on a climate of general acceptance of racism" and that "the Klan is only the tip of the iceberg, the most visible and obvious manifestation of the entrenched racism in our society."

In keeping with his whole approach, the purpose of Shanker's criticism is to minimize the role of racism in our society and to hide its source, not to expose it.

The truth is that the K.K.K. and the other hate groups are nurtured by and used as a battering ram by the U.S. ruling class to divide our multi-national, multi-racial people in order to increase their profits and to hold on to their dying system.

If the metaphor, "the tip of the iceberg" is to be employed to describe the depth of racism in our land, it must be added that the base of the iceberg is the capitalist system. It is the system that enslaved millions of Africans to enrich the coffers of the plantation owners and their contemporary capitalists.

For Shanker and the ADL all the Klan represents is an "aberration," a position that the NAACP characterized as "appalling" and "incredibly insensitive or incredibly naive."

Stating that "The public schools should not be used to propagandize for one particular ideology," he called for the modification or withdrawal of the NEA lesson plans.

Indeed, there is too wide an acceptance of racism in our land but there are also forces combating racism and they are growing in numbers and strength — witness and mass demands of whites as well as Blacks to make the birthday of the martyred and beloved Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. a national holiday. Witness also the growing numbers who are seeking to elect more and more Blacks to office on all levels of government.

When Shanker reviewed the ADL's "Extremists Groups in the United States" his headline was "ADL Does it right on the KKK." He gave it the imprimatur of his seal of approval without any reservations. After repeating his previous criticism of the NEA handbook, he went on to assure his readers that there now is "an extremely useful tool" for fighting the KKK, neo

Nazism and anti-Semitism. And proceeded to tell them where to get it.

Obviously there are more important items on Shanker's and the ADL's agenda than the KKK which they insist is being relatively effectively countered. They have other more pressing targets, particularly, Maxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union and the Communist party.

Let's start with the title, "Extremist Groups" in the U.S. The nearest thing to a definition or rather description of "extremist" is the statement that "Their ideas and conduct go beyond the bounds of recognized behaviour." (My emphasis). What is "recognized" behaviour? Nowhere is it defined. Who will be the arbiters of what is or is not "recognized"? The Pentagon? The Moral Majority? The Reaganites? Congressional Un-American Committee? B'nai B'rith? The Shankers?

The ADL's use of the label "extremist" is nothing more than an attempt to encroach on and deny the constitutional rights of those with whom they disagree. And these are the very rights enunciated in a most "extremist" document of its time, our Declaration of Independence. Let us not forget that the American revolutionaries, the abolitionists, the civil rights marchers, the anti-Vietnam war demonstrators were all called extremists in their day.

We are told by the ADL that "Right extremism is associated with nativist bigotry and with the scapegoating of minorities. Leftist extremism is associated with anti-Americanism and with the scape-goating of business, the middle class and the military. Both meet and overlap in their hostility to democratic ideas . . . and in their use of violence and terror to achieve their ends."

Is the ADL proposing to deny the right to advocate changing our economic system from capitalism to socialism?

Since when has our military establishment been placed on a pedestal beyond criticism? Since when has "business" been placed beyond criticism?

Significantly only leftist extremism, not the rightist variety, is "anti-American." As in case of the term "extremism" we are not told what exactly "anti-Americanism" is. Just how does it differ from the anti-Americanism of the McCarthyites? Those on the extreme right are not tagged "anti-American." They are labelled "hate groups." This includes the KKK and the neo-nazis. They are guilty of "bigotry and violence." Are they a lesser evil in the eyes of the ADL?

The ADL uses the label of totalitarianism to peddle the biggest lie of them all. That is, to equate the Soviet

Union and communism with nazi Germany and fascism in order to hide the truth that the two are diametrically opposed philosophically, politically, economically, socially and culturally and in every other way that makes life worth living.

The ADL deliberately hides the fact that one of the major raisons d'être of the Nazi party and fascism and a key element in their program was the violent all pervasive hatred of communism and the Soviet Union. Not even once is the anti-communism of the Nazis and fascists ever mentioned, not a word. Instead, every effort is made to portray them as allies.

It wants to hide the fact that the Soviet Union is conclusively demonstrating that a socialist economy can function successfully without private ownership of the means of production and the profit motive, without exploitation, oppression, recessions and depressions and without unemployment.

Following the lead of the Reaganite ideologues, such as Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the ADL is now differentiating between authoritarian and totalitarian. It classified the neo-Nazis as merely authoritarian, not totalitarian. It seems it quite can't make up its mind whether Nazism is totalitarian or not. On page 1 nazism is labelled totalitarian. But on page 215 we read that "Hitler's regime in Germany was moving toward a full totalitarian (emphasis mine) control system . . ." Apparently it never quite got there according to the ADL.

To the B'nai B'rith all leftist guerrillas fighting for national independence or liberation or to overthrow feudalistic dictatorships are automatically terrorists. However, any armed group claiming to be fighting communism is hailed as freedom fighters.

"Whatever its political objectives, however, an armed group or organization which deliberately targets civilians and non-combatants for shooting, bombing, kidnapping, murder, or assassination — or all of them is engaged in terrorism, nothing more, nothing less." writes the ADL. The ADL does not apply this criterion to Vietnam, Beirut and its Palestinian camps; Begin's bombing of the King David hotel; Der Yassin; the U.S. armed death squads in Central America.

In pursuit of their anti-Soviet objectives there is a three page selection of excerpts from an AFL-CIO pamphlet, "Solzhonitsyn: the Voice of Freedom" in which he "describes the Soviet Union." This is the same Solzhonitsyn who criticized the allies' war against Nazi Germany; supported the war in Vietnam; defended Nixon and Watergate; still yearns for the return of pogrom ridden Russia under the czars; wants to restore the

glory of the pre-1917 Russian Orthodox church and has openly expressed his contempt for any kind of democracy, bourgeois or socialist.

In the ADL's vicious and unprincipled campaign to smear the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA — with the brush of anti-Semitism, no holds are barred. It disregards the incontrovertible historical fact that it was the Soviet Union and its armed forces, at a cost of 20,000,000 lives, who prevented a Nazi dominated world and saved the European Jews from extinction by the Nazis. It ignores the fact that the Communist Party in the Soviet Union transformed the czarist prison house of more than 100 different national and racial groups into a union where all forms of racism, discrimination and exploitation have been replaced with political, economic and social equality for all. It hides the fact that anti-Semitism is illegal in the Soviet Union. That does not mean that there are not some individuals who harbor chauvinist or anti-Semitic ideas. But these hangovers of czarist Russian history are not condoned. They are put down. It hides the fact that it was the Soviet Union which played a leading role in winning UN support for the creation of an independent Jewish state in part of Palestine. It deliberately misinterprets opposition to political Zionism and to the policies and programs of the Israeli government as anti-Semitism even though it is acknowledged by Jewish leaders that most Jews all over the world and many in Israel itself are not Zionists and also disapprove of many of the government's actions. In the face of this history and the Soviet Union's undeviating support of the existence of the State of Israel, we find brazen lies such as "In Palestine the communists incited pogroms by the Arabs against the Jews." and ". . . in the eyes of the Kremlin today (1981) Israel is totally expendable."

The B'nai B'rith, in obeisance to U.S. ruling class foreign policy, is now in the forefront of an all-out campaign to whip up an anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist hysteria. It is basing its efforts on the unprincipled and demagogic use of three factors: (1) Soviet policy in the Middle East, (2) The Marxist-Leninist approach to religion and (3) Soviet emigration laws. The ADL's "Extremist Guide . . ." is just an attempt to enlist the growing anti-KKK movement in its vicious and very dangerous anti USSR plans.

Both the NEA and the ADL, in their introductions, are explicit about how they propose their material should be presented in class. The NEA says "The subject matter of

Jewish Affairs

Some Thoughts on "Jews in the U.S.S.R."

By Avtandil Rukhadze

For people like me, and I strongly suspect that our number is legion, who have not made any extensive study of the "Jewish Question" or of Jewish history, this concise little booklet is crammed with figures, facts and explanations that fill in a great many gaps. First issued in 1978, there is now a second revised edition published by the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House in 1982.

Starting with an overview of the history of the Jews in Russia, going as far back as the period of the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, the author traces, in the space of a few pages, the growth of Jewish settlement through succeeding centuries, leading up to the restrictions imposed by the czars in establishing the "Pale" (Jewish ghetto) in the late eighteenth century. He outlines clearly the ways in which the czars used anti-Semitism to deflect the oppression of the Russian peasants by directing their frustration and anger towards the Jewish scapegoats through unleashed periodic pogroms. He also points out how the enforced isolation of the Jewish population effectively restricted economic, professional and educational opportunities, thus perpetuating widespread ignorance, poverty and inability to integrate, even by language.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the lines of struggle against anti-Semitism, as well as other forms of oppression, were emerging clearly. While Zionism, promulgated by bourgeois nationalists, was capitalizing on the "sorry isolation" of the Jews and while the Bund (an organization of Jewish-nationalist social democrats) was advocating that Jewish workers fight their own nationalistic battles apart from other workers, it was only some prominent Russian intellectuals like Maxim Gorky and the Bolsheviks who openly and actively exposed, protested and fought against anti-Semitism and pogroms. Repeatedly, in leaflets, speeches, official documents (including some in Yiddish), Lenin pointed out that the Bolsheviks firmly opposed all forms of national oppressions, including oppression of the Jews. Lenin exposed the social-nationalism of the Bund and the bourgeois nationalist class nature of Zionism.

Despite the strong appeals to Jewish consciousness, it is worthy of note that not all "enlightened" Jews were drawn to the Bund or to the Zionists. Many were promi-

nent in the early revolutionary ranks, and many more fought in the October Revolution. Among them was Yakov Sverdlov, friend and comrade-in-arms of Lenin, who became the first President of the Soviet Union. Sverdlovsk, the big industrial center, is named in his honor — just one of dozens and dozens of other sites which honor Jewish heroes.

One of the earliest official acts of the fledgling Socialist Revolution was the *Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia*. It enunciated: 1) the equality and sovereignty of all peoples of Russia; 2) rights of self-determination (including secession and formation of independent states); 3) abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; 4) free development of national minorities and ethnic groups in Russia.

This was followed in February, 1918 by a decree separating church and state which gave Jews, among others, the legal status of a nationality.

For the first time in history, criminal codes in all the Republics of the Soviet Union specifically provided that people fomenting racial or religious strife or committing an outrage against national dignity would be severely punished.

What Herculean efforts on behalf of the rights and equality of all! Despite the fact that anti-Semitism had not yet been rooted out of all hearts and minds, hundreds of thousands of Jews began to move into the mainstream of a new life. They left the "shtetlach" of the "Pale" for the big cities; they moved into industry; they entered schools and universities; they went into agriculture, forbidden to Jews under the Czar.

Inevitably, these new opportunities led to widespread assimilation. That was a natural, historical development and true in the United States as everywhere else. Nevertheless, the 1979 census showed that even now 14.2% of Soviet Jews regard Yiddish (or the language of their Jewish ethnic group) as their native tongue. In the U.S. less than 15% of Jews even know Yiddish, while in Great Britain and France the figures are 10 to 12%.

The total integration of Jews into the new society could be found in the patriotism and zeal of Jewish participation in the defense of the Soviet Union during World War II. By now the heroism of the resistance

fighters in the nazi ghettos of Minsk, Bialostok, Vilnius, Sobibor is well known, as are the outstanding partisan heroes — Hirsch Glik, Itzik Vittenberg, Tatyana Markus and countless others. Less known are the facts that there were more than 100 Jewish generals, and almost 160,000 Jewish soldiers who received military decorations. Of these, 117 were honored with the highest award, Hero of the Soviet Union.

The census of 1979 shows that there were 1,810,876 Jews in the USSR at that time, compared to about 6,000,000 in the U.S. This amounts to 0.7% of the total population. While it must be remembered that hundreds of thousands were either evacuated or died during World War II, the fact remains that Jews constitute less than 1% of the Soviet people, yet are 16th in size among more than 120 nations and nationalities. Also, American Jews, who are overwhelmingly descended from Ashkenazi forebears, tend to think about Eastern European Jews as similar in background to themselves. However, among Russian Jews there are four other distinct groups which differ ethnically, culturally, linguistically, and in life style from our usual concept. These are Georgians, Tats (Highlanders of Daghestan), Bukharans (of Uzbekistan), and Crimeans (Tatars).

In addition, there are many Jews living in the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan which was established in 1934 in accordance with Lenin's national policies on self-determination. While most Jews preferred to remain in the large cities to which they migrated after the Revolution, many took the opportunity to pioneer in the first Jewish state to come into existence in 2,000 years. Together with a variety of other nationals, there is presently a population of about 200,000 in an area larger than Belgium. There are about 50 large modern factories, many state and collective farms, hunting and fishing cooperatives, and other flourishing economic enterprises.

Birobidzhan is flourishing culturally, as well. It publishes two newspapers — one in Yiddish, one in Russian. Radio broadcasts are given in Yiddish and Russian. Yiddish literature is published and Yiddish theater is produced. The Region was awarded the Order of Lenin in 1967, the order of Friendship in 1972, and in 1980, greater local autonomy was granted, thereby "extending the rights and powers of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Jewish Autonomous Region in the fields of state, economic, social and cultural development."

Speaking of cultural development, some of the most prominent cultural artists in all fields are Jews. These include musicians, ballerinas, singers, actors, filmmakers, composers, and writers. Among them are Rich-

ter, Gilels, Oistrakh, Plisetskaya, to mention but a very few. All of these artists have been awarded the highest honors by that self-same government. Some critics may argue that although they are Jews, they do not work in the field of Jewish culture. This is true of some, but by no means all.

There is widespread participation by creative artists in the field of Jewish culture. Since 1967, there have been 271 different Yiddish book titles printed in 1,800,000 copies. At the same time, there has been a conscious effort to acquaint non-Yiddish readers with Yiddish literature. Hundreds of Yiddish classics, such as those by Sholem Aleichem, Mendele and Peretz, as well as writings by other more contemporary Yiddish authors have been translated into other Soviet languages totalling 29,200,000 copies.

The magazine, *Sovietish Heimland*, published by the Union of Soviet Writers in Yiddish for more than twenty years (since 1961) has had more than 100 contributors since its founding. It has published 55 novels, 75 stories, 1075 short stories, 25 plays, 63 long poems, 5606 short poems and ballads, 235 feature articles, and 1098 articles of literary criticism. In the same period, about 50 works by Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussia, Moldavian, Georgian and Lettish authors, as well as works by U.S., Israeli, French, Argentinian and Canadian writers have appeared in the magazine.

These detailed figures are significant in view of the copious crocodile tears shed over the alleged suppression of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, based on the theory that Jewish culture is restricted to and synonymous with religion. By using that yardstick, "memeh loshn", Yiddish language can be discounted or ignored altogether, and the claim made that Jewish culture doesn't exist. Where else in the world is there so much Yiddish cultural activity taking place?

In addition to many amateur theatricals all over the country, there are professional Jewish theatre companies in Moscow, Birobidzhan, Vilnius and Kaunas. There is also a Chamber Music Theatre (operetta company) whose productions have become quite well-known outside the Soviet Union too. These operettas, as well as old and new Jewish songs have been issued on phonograph records and are widely available.

As the Jews moved from the "Pale" into the cities, the old segregated schools gradually withered for lack of students. Many families deliberately sent their children to mainstream schools as an affirmation of their newfound equality and because these schools offered broader educational opportunities to their children. Besides, how many Jewish children in New York receive a

so-called Jewish education? The answer is — about 6% of the approximately 2,000,000 Jewish inhabitants, and what they get most often is religious (bar-mitzvah training), or Zionist oriented.

Statistics show that there is a higher proportion of Jewish students than among any other nation or nationality. In 1978-9, there were 329 students per 10,000 Jewish inhabitants, while the average for the USSR as a whole was 196 per 100,000 inhabitants. Nearly 25% of Soviet Jews have a higher education. This is a higher ratio than exists in all western countries, and in Israel, too.

From 1941 to 1980, 10.8% of Lenin and State prizes in science, and 12.1% of prizes in technology were awarded to Jews. Six members of the USSR Supreme Soviet are Jews, and several thousand serve in the legislative bodies of Union, autonomous republics and local governments.

Just as there were reasons why religion played an important role in pre-revolutionary ghetto life, there are equally important reasons why these bonds gradually weakened more and more after the revolution — dissolution of the "Pale," rising educational and cultural opportunities, advancement of science and Marxist teaching, involvement with other pursuits, etc. Incidentally, the weakening of religion is a world-wide phenomenon, among Jews as among other religious groups.

In the USSR today a very small percentage of Jews attend services and these are mostly elderly people. There are also more devout believers among the Georgian, Bukhara and Highland Jews than among Ashkenazim. But for those who wish to observe religious ritual, there are 92 functioning synagogues as well as numerous smaller minyans. More than 100 tons of matzos are baked for Passover. Kosher slaughtering and kosher butcher shops exist. The Moscow Choral synagogue is informally recognized as the ecclesiastical Jewish center of the country. The Humash was published at state expense in 1979, a Sidor (prayer book) in 1980 (the third edition in 10 years). Other ritual items — tallitim, tfilin, mezuzahs — are provided at low cost for all who desire them.

The overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews are ordinary citizens, honest workers, and sincere patriots for whom the age-old reasons for emigration (e.g., unemployment, poverty, lack of social or political rights) do not apply. Thus, the remaining valid reason for emigration applications is reunification of families. The Soviet government recognizes that many Jewish families were separated during World War II and the period of Nazi occupation. It has therefore permitted about a quarter of

a million Jews to leave the USSR in the years between 1945 and 1981. In this regard, the Soviet government has conformed to all provisions of the Helsinki Agreement and to the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, which was endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly on December 16, 1966.

In this connection, it is not widely known that many Russian Jews receive "invitations" or "summons" to come to Israel from non-existent Israeli relatives. In any case, these efforts are deliberate provocation. The fact is that there is a marked decline in emigration to Israel on the part of Jews everywhere. People not only do not wish to settle there but are leaving in droves. What with wars and constant threat of wars, the grave economic situation, the runaway inflation, sky-high taxation, is it any wonder that people are fearful and insecure? This is an accepted rationale where world-wide Jewry is concerned, yet is used to incite public opinion against the USSR.

Another fact which the anti-Sovieters try to suppress is that large numbers of people who left the Soviet Union petition for the right to return. The "land of milk and honey" they were led to envision doesn't materialize and people who grew up under socialism are faced with problems they never experienced before — unemployment, lack of jobs in fields for which they were trained, the need to pay for education and medical costs, alienation due to language and social differences, etc.

In a way, that brings us full circle, re-emphasizing the complete integration of Jews into Soviet life. The breadth of subjects covered in this little booklet makes it a most valuable reference to be used again and again in refuting the constant barrage of lies about Jews in the USSR. It is imperative to be able to cite concrete names, facts, figures. The compilation of such data is skillful, prodigious, yet complete.

One final thought. What would all the people who are misinformed about Jews in the Soviet Union say if they knew the truth? Maybe we ought to try to give them copies and see! □

Judith Albert is a public school teacher

In Memory of

AARON CARROLL

this handbook and the contents of the background information and the suggested lesson plans are inherently controversial . . ." The ADL puts it on the line: "Extremism, however, is *not* a controversial issue."

Translation into laymen's language. The NEA is telling teachers to educate, to expose students to the facts, to show them how to dig them up themselves and to train them to evaluate the arguments pro and con about the issues being discussed. Then let them come to their own conclusions. This is the traditional teaching procedure with political and social questions about which there are different points of view. The ADL by denying that "extremism," as they define it, is controversial, is telling teachers not to teach but to distort, that is, to impose on the students the ADL point of view on all the issues

under discussion. And, of course, the ADL, that self-proclaimed paragon of the defender and protector of all our democratic rights and virtues, could not possibly be wrong.

Shanker engages in outright falsehood in his charge that the NEA is trying to use the schools to propagandize its point of view and by praising the ADL for doing it "right."

Shanker has obviously done his thing for the Right. Teachers and parents can help set things right by calling for the widest dissemination and use of the NEA instructional kit: "Violence, the KKK and the Struggle for Equality." □

Daniel Grucnd is a retired high school teacher.

testicles" (U.P. dispatch from Tel Aviv, in San Francisco *Chronicle*, December 30, 1982; see also *Jewish Sentinel*, January 13, 1983).

Timerman is appalled at the shift to the Right in Israeli politics. He notes that back in the 1940's "we considered Menachem Begin . . . a fascist" (as did Einstein, one might add) and he finds this view confirmed in the 1980's. He thinks Begin is "unbalanced"—quite mad, but that may be another way of saying he is a fascist.

Timerman retains throughout his book a spiteful view of Arafat. He equates him with Begin which is like equating a staunch opponent of Hitler with Hitler. This, and Timerman's delusions about the Third World and his Goebbels-like concept of the Soviet Union, give the volume a kind of sombre, unrelieved quality that belies the fact that though Israel "won," it, therefore, lost. As this writer had occasion to remark, in June, 1982 at the Tenth Anniversary Dinner of our magazine, "It is easier to get into Beirut than to get out."

Meanwhile, Begin's dreams are hinted at in this piece of news offered by Timerman: "The army's chief rabbi, General Gad Navon, is distributing a map on which Lebanon is marked as the territory that was occupied in antiquity by the Israelite tribe of Asher. The city of Beirut has been Hebraized, appearing as 'Be'erot.'" "

An insane Rabbi is serving a lunatic Prime Minister.

Timerman concludes—while watching Arab workers beautifying Tel Aviv—that "This is South Africa" and that even "a Palestinian genocide" is something actually contemplated. (pp.161, 167).

• • •

As *Jewish Affairs* has insisted from its birth, a reactionary, aggressive, expansionist policy by Israel—a Tel

Aviv government which permits itself to serve U.S. imperialist interests in the Middle East—is signing its death warrant, and is endangering global peace.

This policy must be abandoned for one which makes of Israel a bona-fide member of the world of the Middle East, a nation occupying no other peoples' lands, and a nation existing in peace and friendship with all its neighbors—in the first place with a Palestinian people in their own state, thus confirming the historic function and duty of the Palestine Liberation organization. □

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נייע איבערזעצונגען פון סאוועטיש-יידישע שרייבער

אין מאסקווער פארלאג „סאוועטסקי פיטאיעל“ זענען לעצטנס דערשינען, אין א טראזש צו 30.000 עק-זעמפלארן דריי נייע איבערזעצונגען פון יידישע ביכער אין רוסיש. דאס זענען:

י'סוף ראב"ן: „אין פארשידענע יארן“ א ראמאן וואס באהאנדלט דאס יידישע לעבן אין גראדע, אין די יארן פון 1812 ביז סוף פונעם 19'טן יארהונדערט. דאס בוך האט 456 זייטן. קינסטלערישע און סאפארמירונג פון ניקאלאי קארסקי.

שמואל גארדאן: „אן אייביקע מאס“, א ראמאן, נאך וועלן, דערציילונגען. דער ראמאן שילדערט די מלחמה יארן און דעם קאמף מיט די הילטעריסטן. דאס בוך האט 512 זייטן. קינסטלערישע הילע פון לעוו טאקאטאוו.

יעקב ריוועס (1886—1975): „דער וועג צום זיג“, א ראמאן וועגן קאמף פונעם באלשעוויסטן אונטערערד מיט די דייטשע און פוילישע אקופאנטן אויף דער טערי-טאריע פון ווייסרוסלאנד און ליטע. אין דער הקדמה צום ראמאן באראקסערזיירט משה ביעלענקע דעם שפעריש וועג פון י. ריוועס. באצייכענענדיק אים אלס תלמיד פון י.ל. פרץ, דרך אגב: ריוועס איז אין די צוואנציגער יארן געווען טעטיק אין ווארשע אלס מיטגליד פון די צענטראלע אינסטאנצן פון דער פוילישער קאמפארטי. דאס בוך האט 264 זייטן. קינסטלערישע הילע פון חיים סקאקאוויסקי.

פינף הונדערט נאצי-פארברעכער געפארשט אין אמעריקע

מער פון פינף הונדערט נאצי-פארברעכער, וואס ווערן באשולדיקט אין פייניקן און מארדן יודן, זענען גע-פארשט געווארן און ווערן ווייטער געפארשט דורך דער ספעציעלער אפטיילונג. וואס איז געשאפן געווארן ביים יוסיטי דעפארטמענט אין וואשינגטאן — האט דער די-רעקטאר פון דער אפטיילונג אלען ריינע, דערקלערט ביי א פארוואלוונג פון יידישן וועלט'קאנגרעס אין ניו-יארק, אין וועלכער עס האבן זיך באטייליקט פארשטייער פון דרייסיק גרויסע אמעריקאנער אידישע ארגאניזאציעס. דער דירעקטאר פון דער אפטיילונג האט געשילדערט די שוועריקייטן ביים פארשן די נאצי-פארברעכער און האט אויסגעדריקט א באזונדערע אנערקענונג דעם יידישן וועלט'קאנגרעס.

1.000 נאצישע קריגס-פארברעכער אין קאנאדע

דאס קאנאדישע וואכנבלאט „סודעי“ גיט איבער אין אן ארטיקל, אז היינט צו טאג לעבן אין קאנאדע ארום 1.000 נאצישע קריגס-פארברעכער.

דאס וואכנבלאט ברענגט ארויס דעם פאקט, אז די קאנאדישע רעגירונג זאגט זיך אפ אצונעמען שטימ קעגן זיי.

גאסטראלן פונעם בראבדזשאנער יידישן מוזיקאלישן טעאטער אין דער דייטשישער דעמאקראטישער רעפובליק

דערפאלגרייך זענען דורכגעגאנגען די גאסטראלן פונעם בראבדזשאנער יידישן טעאטער אין דרז' שטעט פון דער דייטשישער דעמאקראטישער פאלקס-רעפובליק — ליפציג. ערפרט און ראטאק. די געסט פון דער יידישער אויסגא-נאמער זענען האבן באקאנט די ליבהאכער פון מוזיקאלער קונסט מיט מוסטערן פון דער היינטיגייטער יידישער מוזיקאלער און דראמאטישער שפאנונג. די פרעסע שטרייכט אונטער, אז די ארטיסטן פון טעאטער האבן מולשענדיק באהערשט די קונסט פון גע-זאנג און טעץ. די „ליפציגער פאלקסצייטונג“ מערקט באזונדערס אפ דעם דערפאלג פונעם באלעט „די לעצטע ראג“.

א פילם וועגן טערעזין

דער בארימטער פראנצויזישער פאנטאזימער-קינסטל-לער מארסעל מארסא. האט באזוכט טשעכאסלאוואקיע. וואו ער האט געברייט א פאנטאזימער-פילם וועגן לעבן און מארטירערטום פון די קינדער פון טערעזיענשטאט אויפן סוף פון וועלט-באקאנטן אלבאם. „דאס לעצטע מלאטערל“ אדער „די קינדער פון טערעזין“.

דער קינסטלער האט זיך אויסגעדריקט אזוי: „אויב מיר וועלן באווייזן קאנסערווירן אדער אינטיילסלעך בולטער צו מאכן די פאעטישע שטריכן פון טראגישן גורל פון די נאצי-פארפייניקטע קינדער פון טערעזין, וועט דער פילם זיין א ווערק וואס וועט קיינמאל נישט פארלירן זיינע קינסטלערישע ווערטן. אלע דארפן מיר אריינדרייגען אין דעם געשיכטלעכן אמת. אין דער ווירקלעכקייט פון שוידערלעכן קינדער-גורל. זיי, די קינדער, האבן נישט געהאט די מעגלעכקייט צו דערגרייכן זייער ריפייקייט. אבער זיי האבן באנומען זייער גורל ווי דערוואקסענע.“

In memory of
ERLING OLSEN

Editorial Committee, Jewish Affairs

דעם פראצעס פון באַננאונג פון דער סאָציאַליסטישער מלוכה. זי האט זיך סאָלידאַרירט מיט די כוחות, וואָס האָבן געקעמפט קעגן כאָאָס און אַנאַרכיע, פאַר איינשטעלן אינעם לאַנד רו און אַרבעטונג, אַרטיסטיקער פון דער נאָחה, אַז נאָר אין אַזאַ אַטאָמאָספּערע קאָן פאַרויכערט ווערן אַ נאַרמאַל לעבן פון אונדזער ישוב און אויף דעם האָבן באַוווּן פאַקטן, זענען כאָאָס און אַנאַרכיע אַ באַדראַאָונג פאַר אונדזער קיום. פון דער העכער 36 יאָר־יקער דער פאַרונג האָט די יידישע באַפעלקערונג דעם באַוואוסטטיין, אז איר שרייבונג, מיט זייערע פאַרטיידיקער אין אַלע צייטן און ביי אַלע באַדינגונגען איז געווען די פּוילישע פּאַלקס־מלוכה. ווען נישט אירע סברדיקע מאַטעריעלע און מאַט־אַלישע הילף וואָלט אין פּוילן היינט צו טאָג נישט געקוים־מירט קיין אַרץ יידישע אינסטיטוציע, פונעם מלוכהשן ברודשעט ווערן אויסגעהאַלטן דער קולטור־געזעלשאַפטלעכער פאַרבאַנד פון די יידן אין פּוילן און אַלע 14 יידישע קלובן איבערן לאַנד; דאָס יידישע מלוכה־טעאַטער א״נ פון אַסתר־רחל קאַמינסקאַ; דער יידישער היסטאָרישער אינסטיטוט, אַ דאַנק מלוכהשע סובסידיע־דערשיינט אין פּוילן אַ יידישע צייטונג, דאָס זענען אַלע פאַקטן, וואָס מיטאַר קיינמאַל נישט פאַרנעסן! די פּוילישע פּאַלקס־רעפּובליק האָט גלייך נאָך דער באַפֿרייאַונג באַערט מיט די העכסטע מיליטערישע שלאַכט־אויסצייכענונגען 50 אויפשטענדלעך פון וואַרשעווער געטא־אויפשטאַנד און אַ צאָל טרויאַטאָניש יידישע פאַרטייגער, לויט דער אינ־ציאָסטיק פון די נאַציאָנאַל־ראַטן אין אַ ריי שטעט זענען גאַסן און פּלעצער אַנגערופן געוואָרן אַינזאַמען פון די העלדן פון וואַרשעווער געטא; מרדכי אַינלעוויטש און יוסף לווואַסטוואַנסקי. ביי דער זעלבער אַקטיווע מיט־הילף זענען רעמאַנטירט געוואָרן אַלע יידישע בית־עלמינס און רעסטאָוירט געוואָרן חרובע סינאַגעגס; דער פּוילישער אַראַיאַ האָט איינגעפירט לכבוד יידישע יום־טובים ספעציעל אידזיצעס.

אָודאי זענען מיר נאָך שטאַרק אַרעם. מיר לעבן איבער אַ טיפן קרויס און דעריבער האָבן מיר זיך גע־ענדן צו אונדזערע ברודער אין אויסלאַנד וועגן מאַטע־ריעלע הילף און גוטבאַדערפטיקע יידן באַקומען זי רעגולער פון אַמעריקאַנער „דוּשאַיאַנט“.

אין 1982 האָבן מיר געסאַן אַ וויכטיקע אַרבעט ביים פאַראייביקן דעם אַנדעקן פון דעם פאַרשייטענעם יידישן פּאַלק בימי היטלער. מיר האָבן וורבנעפירט אינדרוק־פולע געטא־פּיערונגען אין די קלובן און טעאַטער־וואָלן, אויף די יידישע בית־עלמינס און עקזעקוציע־פּלעצער, ביי די דענקמלעך און אין די געוה. נאַצישע לאַגערן; מיר האָבן פאַרשפּרייט די יידישע קולטור־ווערטן, געפירט אַן אינטערעסאַנטע קלוב־אַרבעט, אַפּגעמערקט מלוכהשע דאַטעס און טראַדיציאָנעלע יידישע יום־טובים, געזאָרגט דערפאַר, אַז עס זאָל באַרייכערט ווערן דאָס געדורקטע יידישע וואָרט.

אין אונדזער אַרבעט טרעפן מיר אַן אויף אַביעקסיווע

שוועריקייטן, אויף אַ מאַנגל אין קאַרערע, אָבער מיר טוען אַלץ, לכּבדי צו שפּען פון די נאָר־פאַראַנענע מענטשן־רעזערוון צווישן דער יידישער אינטעליגענץ.

לויט דער אינציאָטיוו פון פרעזידיום פון דער הויפּט־פּאַרוואַלטונג פון קולטור־געזעלשאַפטלעכן פאַרבאַנד פון די יידן אין פּוילן איז געשאפן געוואָרן אַן אַרטיסטן־בריאַדע ביים יידישן מלוכה־טעאַטער, וואָס טרעט אויף אין אַלע יידישע קלובן מיט קאַנצערטן, וועלכע פאַרשאַפן גרויס פּרייד און ברענגען אַריין יום־טובדיקייט אין דער יידישע מביבה.

אויפן נייעם 1983 יאָר האָט די פּלענאַרע זיצונג פון דער הויפּט־פּאַרוואַלטונג אַנגעצייכנט אַ רייכן טעטיקייט־פּלאַן, וואָס זעט פאַר באַאַנד מיט דער נאַרמאַלער קלוב־טעטיקייט, בינאַנד מיט די וואַקאַל־מוזיקאַלישע אַונטן, פאַרלעזונגען אויף פּאַליטיש־געזעלשאַפטלעכע און קול־טורעל־ליטעראַרישע טעמעס, בינאַנד מיטן אַפּמערקן די מלוכהשע נאַציאָנאַלע דאַטעס און טראַדיציאָנעלע יידישע יום־טובים, אויך צו באַערן דעם 110 געבוירן־טאָג פון גרויסן דיכטער חיים־נחמן ביאַליק, איינער פון די גרונט־לייגער פון דער נייער העברעישער ליטעראַטור; דעם 100־טן געבוירן־יאָר פון טעכעיש־יידישען שרייבער פון יידישער אַפּשטאַמונג פּראַנץ קאַפּאַ, דעם 90־סטן געבוירן־טאָג פון באַוואוסטן יידישן שרייבער אַפּר׳ס קאַגאַנאווסקי; די 40־טע יאַרצייט פון גרויסן יידישן חר־מאַריס מטה נאָר; די 40־טע יאַרצייט פונעם קדוש שמואל זינגלבוים־אַרטור.

אַבער די גרעסטע פון אַלע פּיערונגען, אין קומענ־דיקן יאָר, וועט זיין געווידמעט דעם 40־סטן יאַרסטאָג פון אויפשטאַנד אין וואַרשעווער געטא, וואָס וועט דאָס מאַל טראַגן אַ מלוכהשן כאַראַקטער און האָבן אַ ברייטן אינטער־נאַציאָנאַלן פאַרנעם. מחמת דעם, וואָס אין וואַרשע, וועלן צום מאַדערנעם כּוּח־מַנְרֵב־ — צום דענקמאַל פון די געטא־אויפשטענדלעך, עולה־רגל זיין, אין די געדענק־פּולע אַפּריל־טעג, יידן פון דער גאַנצער וועלט, אינדי־ווידעלעך שליחים פון גרויסע יידישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס און עקסטרעמיסע, בכּדי צו פאַרנייען זייערע קעפּ פאַרן אַנדעקן און אונדזערע גיבורים, פאַרן טראַדיציאָנעלעם פּאַלק און אַפּנעבן אַ שבוּעה: קיינמאַל נישט פאַרנעסן! קיינמאַל נישט מחול זיין! די היסטעריטישע פעלקער־מנדורען!

די יידישע געזעלשאַפטלעכקייט שפּרייט אַריין אין נייעם 1983 יאָר צוזאַמען מיטן פּוילישן פּאַלק מיט טיפן גלויבן און בטחון אויף אַ בעסערער צייט!

וידרשע ענינים

באריכט פון פוילן

וואָס דערוואָרט אונדז אין 1983 יאָר?

אויסצוגן פון דער טעלעוויזיע־רעדע פון
גענעראל וואַיטשעך יאָרוועלפסק

דאָס יאָר, וואָס איז פאַרלאָפֿן, איז געווען אַ גרויסער עקזאָמען. מיר האָבן באַלייגט דעם דאָיקן עקזאָמען, עס האָבן אים באַלייגט די פֿאַרטיי, די פֿאַלקס־מאַכט, אַלע בירגער, וואָס האָבן פֿאַרשטאַנען די וויכטיקייט פֿונעם קיום פֿון דער מלוכה. די כוחות אין פוילן, וואָס האָבן געליטן אַ מפּלה זענען פֿאַראַן אַ סך — אינערלעכע און אויסערלעכע. אָבער דער זינער איז נאָר איינער: דאָס פּוילישע פֿאַלק. אַט דאָס אין קורצן גענומען איז דער אמת וועגן פֿאַרלאָפענעס יאָר.

דאָס ערנסטע האָבן מיר שוין הינטער זיך, אָבער דער וועג פֿאַר פּוילן איז נישט קיין לייכטער. פֿון אַזאָ טיפֿן קרויס קאָן מען גלייך נישט אַרויסגיין. מיר באַמערקן אָבער אַ העלערן האַריוואַנט, מיט דעם געדאַנק שטיצען מיר אויפֿן שוועל פֿון נייעם יאָר.

עס זענען אויסגעברייטערט געוואָרן די פּולמאַכטן פֿון סייס אד"ג.

צום ערשטן מאל אין דער געשיכטע פֿון דער פּוילישער פֿאַלקס־רעפּובליק האָבן מיר אַ דערשיינונג. אַז דער שפּח פֿון דער רעגירנדיקער עקזעקוטיוו האַלט פֿאַר זיין פּליכט אָפּצוגעבן אַ באַריכט וועגן דער רעאַליזירונג פֿון די גענומענע אויף זיך אויפגאַבן.

אויך די יידישע געזעלשאַפֿטלעכקייט אין פּוילן ציט אונטער אַ סך־הבל פֿון דער טעטיקייט אין 1982 יאָר און צייכנט אַן אַן אַרבעטס־פּלאַן אויפֿן 1983 יאָר.

אויפֿן צעזעמבער־פּלענעם פֿון דער הויפּט־פֿאַרזאַמלונג טונג פֿון יידישן קולטור־געזעלשאַפֿטלעכן פֿאַרבאַנד איז אונטערגעשטראַכן געוואָרן סײַ אינעם רעפּעראַט, סײַ אין דער דיסקוסיע, אַז נישט עקזאָקט אויף אַלע אַביעקטיווע שוועריקייטן, האָט אונדזער אָנגאַניזאַציע בעסער ריאַט־ליזירט אירע אויפגאַבן. אויב עס גייט אויפֿן פּאַליטיש־געזעלשאַפֿטלעכן געביט, האָט די יידישע געזעלשאַפֿט־לעכקייט, ווי תּמיד, געהאַלפֿן ווי ווייט מעגלעך רעאַליזירן

פֿון אַן אַרטיקל געדרוקט אין „פֿאַלקס־שטימע“ (1031) דעצעמבער, 1982) אָרגאַן פֿון קולטור־געזעלשאַפֿטלעכן פֿאַרבאַנד פֿון ייִדן אין פּוילן.

מיר גיבן איבער אויסצוגן פֿון דעם לענגערן באַריכט וואָס איז געדרוקט אויף דער ערשטער זייט פֿון „פֿאַלקס־שטימע“, אַיִן אַ שטאַרק פֿאַרקירצטן פֿאַרמאָט. מיר גיבן איבער די וויכטיקע שטעלונגן פֿון דעם אָנאַליז און די דערקלערונגען פֿון רעגירונגס־פירער. די וויכטיקע אָפּשאַצונג ווי אַזוי אַרויסצוקריכן פֿון איצטיקן קרויס. — אַלעקס קאַלפּין.

די גרעסטע דערגרייכונג אין 1982 יאָר, דאָרף מען זאָגן, איז דאָס אַרויסציען דעם לאַנד פֿון כאָאָס און אַנאַר־כיע, וועלכע האָבן געהערשט אויף אַלע געביטן פֿון לעבן — און באַוונדערס אין דער ווירטשאַפֿט, וואָס האָט גע־דראָט מיט אַ הונגער־קאַטאַסטראַפע, און דאָס איינשטעלן אין אונדזערע שטעט — רו און אַרדענונג — די גאַראַנטיע פֿאַר דער רעאַליזירונג פֿון דער באַזונג פֿון דער סאַ־ציאָליטישער מלוכה.

עס איז דאָך אַ באַוואוסטע זאַך, אַז אין אַן אַטמאָספֿער פֿון אָנגעצונדערע שפּאַנונג און עמאַציעס, פֿון אירפֿר־נגו און צערייצטיקייט איז שווער צום לעבן און אַפילו צו אָטעמען. דעריבער האָט דאָס פֿאַלק אויסגעוויילט דעם וועג פֿון דיאַלאָג און פֿאַרשטענדיקונג און נישט דעם וועג פֿון געזעלשאַפֿטלעכן שטורם און קאַנפֿראַנטאַציע... מיר מיינען דאָ די דערקלערונג פֿון גענעראַל יאַרוועלסקי, אַז די רעגירונג איז אַריין אין דער פּאַנע פֿון רעפּאַמירן דאָס ווירטשאַפֿטלעכע לעבן און עס וועט פֿאַרגעזעצט ווערן דער פּראָצעס פֿון סאַציאַליטישער באַזונג.

און טאָקע די דאָיקע דערשיינונג באַקווייט צום בולט־סטן וועגן דער אויטענטישער שטרעבונג צוריק איבערצו־בויען דאָס פּאַליטיש־געזעלשאַפֿטלעכע לעבן אויף נייע, געוונטע סדרות... דער סאַציאַליטישער מלוכה און פֿאַרווירקלעכונג פֿון דער דעמאָקראַטיאַציע איז אויס־געברייטערט געוואָרן די געזעלשאַפֿטלעכע געביטע געזעלשאַפֿט־לעכקייט פֿון דער טעטיקייט פֿון די נאַציאָנאַל־דאָטן און טעריטאָריעלער זעלבסטפֿאַרואַלסטונג.