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JEWISH AFFAIRS

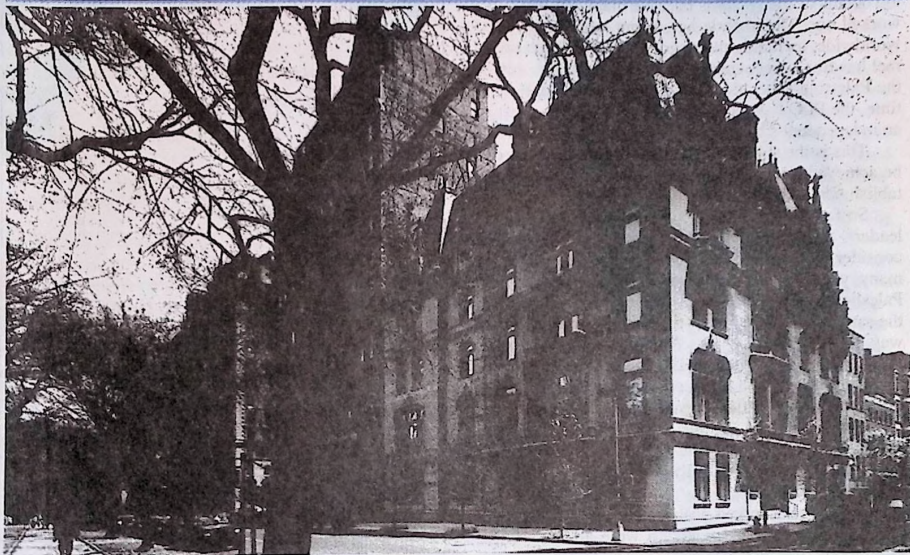


Photo by Peter Austin

The Jewish Museum, New York

The Peace Agreement
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Der Veg

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Jewish Leaders Meet with PLO

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Nothing to do with Democracy
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A New Look at Ancient History
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Capitalism in Gridlock
Bernard Forer

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Editorial

The Path to Peace in the Middle East

"Perhaps the most significant historic world development at the present moment is the first agreement signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization," said Gus Hall, National Chairman of the Communist Party USA, in his keynote address to the Party's recently held Mid-Term Conference in Chicago, Illinois on September 18, 1993.

The great significance of this agreement is not in the details of the Accords because many are still to be worked out. The historic agreement has been greeted worldwide, including throughout the USA, because Israel has finally recognized the legitimate leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and at the same time, the PLO has recognized Israel's right to exist as an independent state.

This is the sole basis on which a lasting peace can be achieved since a lasting peace also calls for the establishment of a Palestinian State.

So far most leading Jewish religious and political leaders, along with the American Jewish community, consider the agreement a good beginning. After so many years of oppression, it will take time for the Palestinian people to believe that peace, along with the establishment of a Palestinian homeland are on the way.

Moved by the profound historical significance of the Accords reached between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the United Jewish Appeal revised, at the last moment, the Rosh Hashonah (New Year) Liturgy by adding a prayer: "For Harmony in the Daily Relationships Between Arabs and Jews."

The impression had been spread that Jewish organizations and Jewish leadership were all opposed to agreements with the Palestinians. The facts reveal the contrary.

The Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations welcomed the reports that significant progress in the peace process may be imminent, reporting: "While decisions on the specific points of agreement belong to the democratically elected government of Israel, we support it in the quest for a just and lasting peace."

Lewis M. Moroze

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The Peace Agreement

By Hans Lebrecht

The Agreement: General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, Muhammad Nafa: "During the last few years these slogans (slogans for peace), were taken up by more peace forces in Israel. Now we greet the Israeli government for having taken the first step in the direction of recognizing the national rights of our Palestinian brothers and sisters and talking peace with their leadership, the PLO. It is only a first step, but it heralds a breakthrough in the relations between our peoples."

The Tel-Aviv-Jaffa District declared in a resolution that the agreement's significance "lies in the principle change of the government's position towards recognition of the Palestinian people and its representative, the PLO. The resolution warned that many obstacles lie ahead "In order to achieve the peace," it said, "The Israeli government must recognize the national rights of the Palestinians, including their right to self-determination and independent statehood in the Palestinian West-Bank, the Arab part of (Eastern) Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, side by side with the state of Israel (in its pre-1967 borders.)"

On September 5th the Central Committee of the Palestine People's Party (PPP, formerly Palestine Communist Party), unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the Declaration of Principles. "Although the agreement falls short of achieving Palestinian national rights, it nonetheless does not hinder the struggle forwards for such rights, and constitutes an acceptable first step for a negotiating process that will translate the principles into reality and eventually into a final and just settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," the resolution stated.

The PPP emphasized that the initial withdrawal is "only a first step toward a total withdrawal of Israel from Palestinian land."

The organization called the provisions on

Jerusalem's status "a way to counter Israeli attempts to exclude Jerusalem from a peaceful solution." It noted that the agreement lets the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem participate in the elections to the anticipated Self-Rule Council and guarantees that the issue of Jerusalem will be a priority during negotiations on the final settlement.

The PPP also said that the PLO's success in bringing to life the principles of the agreement was interdependent with the PLO's ability to carry out comprehensive democratic reforms in all its organizations and institutions to improve relations with the people, and to develop better coordination with the other Arab States and peoples.

"The Declaration of Principles, as agreed upon, is not a solution to our problems, but constitutes one made to achieve this solution. It is endowed with positive and negative elements. By unity, perseverance, and solidarity with our Arab Brethren and a solid stand against all pressures, we can make a reality of the majority of the positive elements and translate them into realities serving our goal of national liberation," the PPP's resolution concluded.

Israel demands that before the Declaration of Principles is signed, the PLO must abolish all articles in its charter calling for Israel's destruction. The PLO leadership maintains these articles have long been defunct because its leading bodies had agreed to a political solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and called for a "two-state" solution. Even so, in order to seek peace the PLO leadership seeks to convince its leading bodies to formally abolish the articles, despite the opposition of minority parties.

But the question remains whether Israel's government will reciprocate by abolishing the 1972 law claiming Israeli sovereignty over "ERETZ-ISRAEL" - the Biblical land of Palestine. □

"Historic Advance to Peace"

The following is a translation of an editorial that appeared in the Israeli Communist newspaper, "Der Veg," of September 1993

The signing of the agreement regarding the mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO by the signatures of Rabin, Perez and Yassir Arafat is a significant historic development in the lives of both peoples, the Israelis and the Palestinians. As a result there is

opened a new page in the history of both peoples, the Israelis and the Palestinians. Thereby there has been opened a new page in the relationships between both peoples. This is the first and most important step in presenting direct proposals between representatives of the Israeli government and representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization for a just resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Is History Repeating Itself?

By Uri Avnery

When I think at night about Germany, I cannot sleep, I can close my eyes no longer, and the hot tears flow....

Thus wrote Heinrich Heine, the greatest of the German-Jewish poets, 150 years ago. Long before the rise of the Third Reich. Before the rise of the Second Reich. He dedicated this poem to his mother, but he was not thinking only about her at the time. He was prophesying and he knew about what.

What is happening today in Germany is not the same as what happened in Germany in 1932/1933? Today's skinheads resemble the Nazis and other nationalist groups that roamed Germany then, killing politicians, beating Jews they encountered in the streets, loudly preaching murder and destruction. These things are recounted with pride in Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Yet no higher power has decreed that these things must repeat themselves. The year 1922 did not, of necessity, lead to 1933. Still, the past must serve as a warning for the future.

Demographic Time Bomb

When the wall dividing Germany fell, feelings that had been suppressed within the heart of the German people for two generations erupted. The reunification of Germany took place in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and exaltation. But as always, the intoxication was followed by the morning after. Sixteen million East Germans, with no viable infrastructure suddenly joined 63.5 million rich and complacent West Germans. From an economic point of view, these were 16 million refugees. In the eyes of the "Westerners" this was an insufferable burden. The "Easterners" viewed the reunification as an annexation by a state not their own.

Forty-five years earlier, at the end of the Second World War, West Germany had absorbed 15 million Germans who had been deported from the eastern territories (which had been annexed by the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia), or who had fled from East Germany. Later millions of "guest-workers" were invited and brought their large fami-

lies with them. They helped to rebuild the country out of its ruins and create the renowned "economic miracle."

To this demographic time bomb new asylum-seekers have recently been added: the great majority are economic refugees fleeing from the increasing misery of their own countries. The German economic miracle beckons to those dying of hunger in Africa, to the desperate in Russia and Poland, to the frightened in Bosnia and Croatia. Germany is in no way prepared for this influx.

Unlike immigrant countries such as the U.S., Australia, and Canada, Germany views itself as a closed homogeneous society, uni-national, uni-cultural and uni-lingual.

The refugee problem in Germany is unique - and this too is connected to the past. In reaction to the Nazi horrors, the Germans included a clause in the Federal Republic's constitution that grants every persecuted person the absolute right to political asylum. Like the compensation payments to the State of Israel, this clause has become one of the symbols of a "different Germany." But in their wildest dreams the legislators never imagined a situation like the present one.

Hundreds of thousands of "asylum-seekers" are streaming into Germany. In 1991, 10 times as many came to Germany as to the U.S. (in proportion to the number of citizens), 3.3 times as many as to England, 4 times as many as to France. Everyone who comes is entitled to housing and a monthly stipend until his request for asylum is handled - an average of 15 months. With unemployment rising throughout the country, reaching some 40 percent in certain East German cities, this situation creates a sense of rage and bitterness among the German population.

An Israeli will rightly say that the present immigration to Israel is proportionally larger than the immigration to Germany, yet in Israel the immigrants are warmly received despite the difficult economic conditions. There is a huge difference: the immigrants to Israel from Russia and Ethiopia are perceived as returning brothers, Jews for whose sake the state was established. How would Israelis relate to them if they were Christians from the Ukraine or Moslems from Bosnia?

These are real problems. They confuse, disturb, and frighten the German public. But other countries too have problems, even more serious ones. A

Uri Avnery is a veteran Israeli journalist and peace activist. The above article is reprinted from New Outlook. It is a shortened version that originally ran in Der Spiegel

healthy society copes with such problems. There are stormy debates, noisy controversies, demonstrations. New political forces arise, sometimes repulsive and ugly. In the end, decisions are made, for better or worse. All this is natural. This is the way a normal society reacts.

Germany is different. Is this connected to its Nazi past?

Yes, of course.

Confronting the Past

Germans talk about "the past that has not been overcome." This is not a correct characterization. Of course the Germans have not overcome their past, but the truth is they have never even confronted it seriously. On the face of it this is understandable. The very monstrosity of the Holocaust deters honest self-criticism. It is easier to repress it. Easier - and more dangerous.

the crimes of the Nazis were unique, not only in their dimensions, but in their very essence. They were the fruit of an anti-human ideology which was raised to the level of state religion. Every German attempt to confront this past must begin with the acknowledgement of its unique nature. Otherwise it will have no value.

It seems to me that many decent people in Germany have not yet understood why it is so critically important that they confront their past. They believe that this is a moral obligation, and of course it is. But it is much, much more than that. Not only the German past lies here in the balance, but the future as well.

When I returned to Germany for the first time - 27 years after my family emigrated from there, 15 years after the end of the war - I noticed that young Germans did not know the first thing about their country's history or literature. They simply did not want to know. Together with Hitler and Himmler, they repressed captains and kings like Wallenstein and Frederick the Great, writers and poets like Goethe and Schiller. I had the impression that the open wound in the German psyche - the 12 years of the Nazi era - made every contact with the past so painful that a line was drawn through hundreds of years of history. Their history begins in 1945.

But no people can cut itself off from its past. A people without a history is like a person who has lost his memory in an accident. He is able to go on living, but cannot function normally. If the German youths were familiar with the past, they would know that not only Jews and Gypsies were the victims of Nazi Germany. Jews and Gypsies were innocent victims, and there is no parallel to the crime committed

against them. But the Germans too were victims - victims of themselves.

Four million German soldiers were killed in the war that their revered leader Adolf Hitler began. Not only were all the cities of Germany from Hamburg to Dresden destroyed because of the Nazis - German culture, German democracy, German freedom, and German self-esteem were destroyed as well. If every German knew this from childhood, they would understand that the revival of Nazism constitutes a danger not only to "others," but first of all to the Germans themselves. And it is precisely this that they do not understand.

The repression of the Nazis past has meant that the Germans did not understand the meaning of the new pogroms. They shrugged them off as marginal phenomena instead of understanding them as possible symptoms of a recurring disease.

But this repression has even graver consequences. The things I am about to say I have said many times to German audiences, who were often surprised to hear them from an Israeli.

We live in an age of nationalism. Neither religion nor communism has succeeded in overcoming it. Whether we like it or not, the individual feels a need to belong to a people, to identify with it and be proud of it. If this were not the case, Zionism would never have arisen. A "healthy" national consciousness should make people aware of their nationality, history, culture, and language, while respecting the nationality, history, culture, and language of other peoples. However, a sick national psyche leads to chauvinism, to the insanity of a "master people" and a "chosen people," to arrogance and a contempt for other peoples, to oppression, to fascism - and beyond any human realm, to Nazism.

Since the Nazi era no "normal" German nationalism has been able to exist. No German has been able to be proud of his people after Maidanek and Treblinka. No German history has been able to outflank Auschwitz. No one since has been able to sing "Deutschland, Deutschland Uber Alles" - even though originally it was a progressive, democratic song. No one has been able to honor the national flag, even though it was hated by the Nazis and replaced with the swastika. How can a people exist over time without national feelings?

A true confrontation with their past would enable Germans to look at their entire history. It would enable them to adopt the good and the beautiful in their history as a basis for the future, without denying its terrible and monstrous aspects. It would allow them to try and understand the events of this century as an inseparable part of German history, to try to lo-

cate the factors that led to Nazism, to isolate them and vaccinate the national body against them.

This is not an academic exercise for learned professors, but a task for parents, teachers, writers, poets and journalists, so that every child will receive an injection against the disease already at an early age. This did not happen, of course. Not in the Federal Republic, and even less in communist East Germany and Austria. The methods of repression were different, but the results were the same. Today we are witnesses to the consequences.

The Israeli Voice / The German Choice

Yet even today I am not pessimistic. I do not believe that Germany is destined to repeat its mistakes, that a Fourth Reich is in the making. But the danger exists, and it would be shocking irresponsibility to ignore it.

Only the Germans themselves can undertake this struggle, and to do this they must at last confront their past. But the voices coming from Israel, the "country of the victims," are important for strengthening the positive forces among the German people.

The Israeli voice carries resonance in Germany today, and it is a voice that must be heard.

Let us hope that the events of recent months will appear in retrospect as simply a transnational phase. Let us hope that these were simply the birth pangs of a different Germany, that Germany democracy is

strong enough and determined enough to eradicate the roots of the new Nazism.

There are encouraging signs of this. After the "official" demonstrations organized from above, today real and spontaneous demonstrations against the hatred of foreigners and anti-Semitism take place throughout Germany. Even in the smallest towns cores of activists have grown up who give expression to the protest of countless decent people. And after a long delay, politicians, the government, and the media have finally mobilized to fight against these phenomena.

Behind everything stands the great mystery of the German people, a people who created masterpieces of culture and the Nazi ideology; who gave rise to geniuses like Kant, Goethe, and Beethoven, and criminals like Hitler and his cronies; who reached the heights of morality and beauty and sank to the depths of national crime.

Perhaps one of the solutions to this mystery lies in the German character, which is systemic, thorough, consistent. For good and bad, the Germans tend to "go all the way" in everything, unstopped by common sense or humor. When a certain theory takes hold of them they stick to it uncompromisingly, unconditionally. This can take them to the gates of heaven or to the fires of hell.

The choice today is in the hands of the Germans themselves □

Jewish Leaders all over the Globe are meeting with PLO

LONDON (JTA) - The first-ever public meeting between the lay leader of the Anglo-Jewish community and the Palestine Liberation Organization representative to the United Kingdom took place in London with both men giving a ringing endorsement of the self-rule accord recently signed in Washington by Israel and the PLO.

In an echo of the historic moment between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader, Yasser Arafat met at the White House on Sept. 13 the president of the Jewish Board of

Deputies here. Judge Israel Finestien, and PLO diplomat Afif Safieh sealed their meeting with a handshake. Their meeting, under the auspices of a multi-faith group, was one of several first-ever encounters between Jewish leaders and PLO officials that have been held in various countries since relations between Israel and the PLO began to thaw.

Foreign Minister Douglas Hogg was expected to invite Arafat to visit London, the London Jewish Chronicle has learned. Hogg and Arafat were expected to meet later in Tunis. A visit to

London would boost Arafat's standing in the administered territories, where his supporters face opposition from Palestinian militants.

In London, Safieh told the audience of Jewish leaders and Arab diplomats that recent polls indicate there is overwhelming support for the self-rule accord among Palestinians. A survey taken in Gaza, he said, revealed that more than 70 percent are in favor of the accord, while 11 percent oppose it.

Yeltsin Coup: Nothing to do with Democracy

By Gus Hall

Democracy is possibly the most maligned word and concept in the world's political vocabulary. Under its banner the most heinous anti-democratic acts and crimes are committed. Everything undemocratic, including the use of the military and brute force, is permissible to "restore order" - that is, as long as the demagogues hold out the promise of democratic reforms to take place sometime in the future.

That is precisely what Boris Yeltsin did during the battle of Moscow. He took over Moscow by armed force and then imposed a de facto military dictatorship on the Russian Federation. With his criminal acts Yeltsin set a new stage in the struggle between the forces of democracy and socialism on one side and the anti-democratic forces of capitalism on the other.

Democracy is not - and can never be - divorced from the class structure of society. In today's world you can either have capitalist democracy guaranteeing the rights of private property, or working class democracy under socialism guaranteeing social ownership and workers' rights.

Yeltsin declared a state of emergency, suspended the constitution, dissolved the Russian government and the Constitutional Court and fired the prosecutor general. He shut down many newspapers and the main TV and radio stations. He banned political parties. The day after Bloody Sunday, he secured his military coup by dissolving the Moscow City Council and dismissing two regional governmental bodies.

Yeltsin was not able to call on support from the Russian people; he relied solely on armed force to smash socialism at the point of a gun, so that he could get on with the business of capitalist privatization, by any means necessary. His ultimate aim is to eliminate all opposition to his "fast track" toward capitalism.

The murderous brutality of Yeltsin's elite troops was a big shock to the Russian people. The ferocity and violence of Yeltsin's attack will give people pause to consider what a Yeltsin dictatorship will mean.

The battle of Moscow was the culmination of a struggle that started when Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost jumped off the socialist track onto the road of capitalism. At that time there was a power struggle between Gorbachev's so-called reforms, with their slow descent backward to capitalism, and Yeltsin's fast track.

The greatest significance of the current events is that they end a period in Russian history and begin a

new one. There will now be a sharp struggle over democratic and human rights. Hopefully, these terrible events will push the Communists in Russia to unite and give leadership to these struggles. The working class and its unions will have to move into the battle with all the strength and influence they command.

Imagine people's reaction in our own country if the president were to dissolve Congress, suspend the Constitution and Bill of Rights and send Green Berets and elite forces with heavy artillery to rout the opposition barricaded in the Capitol.

Imagine if he then set fire to the building, shot and killed officials and citizens, arrested the speaker of the House and other opposition legislators, banned newspapers, took over TV and radio stations and outlawed political parties, including the Communists.

Imagine a military dictatorship imposed on the United States. Needless to say such criminal actions would provoke great condemnation and even rebellion.

To prevent the American people from sympathizing with the embattled people of Moscow, the U.S. mass media has been turning the events upside down and inside out. While Americans were watching beatings and shootings of civilians, TV anchors were giving the spin that it was the people who were rioting and the soldiers and police who were "besieged."

Although the majority of media commentators and editorial writers in our country are loyal to their capitalist handlers, there are some telling reports that reveal disagreements within ruling circles. Some are worried about whether Yeltsin can get away with his strong-arm tactics and violations of civil and human rights. Even the headline anti-communist sovietologist Stephen Cohen has to admit that "it is hard to imagine how the coming elections will be free."

We in the United States must condemn President Clinton for his unqualified support of Yeltsin's military dictatorship that will put Russia on the capitalist fast track. His statement that "if I were Yeltsin I would have done the same thing" shows the lengths to which Clinton is willing to go to see socialism completely destroyed.

We must demand that Clinton, the State Department, the CIA and the forces of capitalism inside and outside Russia end their overt and covert support for Yeltsin's military dictatorship.

The battle of Moscow signaled the end of one state and the beginning of a new one in the struggle for democracy and socialism. It is a struggle to save socialism that only the working class can wage and win

Gus Hall is chair of the Communist Party USA

September/October 1993

A New Look at Ancient History: the Modern Jewish Museum

By Charles Keller

The Jewish Museum of New York City is now the largest Jewish museum in the world. After more than two years of refurbishing and enlarging its headquarters at Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street, it opened its doors to the public on June 13. Founded in 1907 as part of the Jewish Theological Seminary it has since 1974 occupied the former Felix Warburg mansion at its present address. This elegant French Gothic structure was designed by C.P.H. Gilbert in the early 1900s as a private family residence. Its many bedrooms, grand dining salon and dark brown wood-paneled halls and stairway had provided a less than ideal setting for the museum's vast collection of historic artifacts, furniture and artworks.

Architect Kevin Roche designed the newly expanded building incorporating the adjoining 1963 brownstone while retaining the French Gothic style overall, tastefully blended with the necessary modern installations. The stonecutters from the construction crew of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine were employed to assure the authentic style of the masonry inside and out.

Three exhibitions are now on view through December. The first, titled "From the Inside Out: Eight Contemporary Artists," is an assemblage of conceptual works, not traditional pictorial presentations. The artists who come from the United States, Canada, France, Israel and Russia, express their thoughts regarding their Jewishness, though for some of them religion had never been a conscious factor in their artworks.

In multimedia installations, most of which were created for the exhibition, the works address questions of personal identity as well as issues of a more universal nature. In form they range from Moshe Garshuni's urns and Hebrew calligraphic wall images symbolizing life, death and knowledge, to Eleanor Anti's surrealist stage-set titled "Vilna Nights." One is drawn to the latter by the sound of distant church bells and the faint barking of dogs. A jagged hole in a stone wall enables the viewer to see the snow-covered rubble of a house in a bombed-out ghetto courtyard in wartime Lithuania. The wailing wind adds to the bleakness of the scene.

Three dimly lit windows reveal the only life remaining in the area. In one a shawl-draped woman is frantically leafing through a handful of letters and stuffing them into

a stove. In another window a boy and girl are celebrating Chanukah at a festive table. One by one the ritual foods and finally the Menorah candelabra rise from the table and disappear in the air leaving the children alone in the empty room. In the third window an elderly man with beard and prayer shawl prays and rocks disconsolately while clutching his prayer books. Throughout these episodes the sound of train wheels drumming on the tracks grows more persistent, and the windows darken one by one.

Barbara Steinman's three multimedia concepts in a darkened room also deal with the holocaust of WWII. In the middle of the floor stands one of them, a deep well nearly filled with wedding rings. Electronic effects simulate the sight and sound of more gold rings falling onto the pile.

The other artists, Christian Boltanski, Clegg & Guttman, Ilya Kabakov, Nancy Spero and Lawrence Weiner also "illuminate the various ways artists can externalize their individual experiences of Judaism. "...unique and idiosyncratic...creating work that also deals with issues of relevance to all humanity," says Susan Goodman, the museum's chief curator.

The suite of four new galleries on the second floor features an exhibit, "Collecting for the 21st Century: Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts," a display of more than 100 works. They range widely from paintings and photos to ceremonial art and artifacts of popular culture and offer a surprisingly unsterotypical view of the Jewish experience. It includes not only the works of Marc Chagall, Chaim Soutine and Max Weber, but the contemporary works of non-Jewish artists such as Alice Aycock, Ronald Jones and R.M. Fischer, ceremonial art metalwork from the Bauhaus (Germany), and post-modern mixed media constructions.

The permanent exhibit "Culture & Continuity: The Jewish Journey," is the conceptual centerpiece of the museum and occupies the 3rd and 4th floors. It displays much of the museum's collection of 27,000 artworks, ceremonial objects and electronic media materials. Included also are significant loans from collections in the U.S., Europe and Israel, a summary of the essence of Jewish history of over 4000 years. On a vast floorspace the exhibit comprises four principal themes. FORGING AN IDENTITY traces the evolution of the Jews, their customs, rituals and institutions. INTERPRETING A TRADITION explores the vitality and diversity of Jewish life in the Diaspora. CONFRONTING MODERNITY evaluates the renewal of Jew-

Charles Keller, artist-teacher, was *New Masses* art editor, 1945-47 and *People's Daily World* staff cartoonist, 1978-88.

ish concerns and identity in the fragmenting world of today. This current aspect of developing Jewish history is further considered in the fourth theme, **REALIZING A FUTURE**. Here, a variety of techniques is used to explore contemporary social, cultural and philosophic issues. An interactive computer program, for example, helps relate Jewish life to people of all cultures.

Some of the finest treasures in the collection, such as furnishings of ancient synagogues, are housed in a dramatic, soaring two-story space. An early 20th Century cafe evokes the atmosphere where Jews "gathered and debated the changes of modern life." Audio-taped programs of readings (letters, diaries, poetry and music) capture the spirit of those times.

The museum's National Jewish Archive of Broadcasting which contains the most comprehensive body of electronic media materials in the world on 20th Century Jewish culture, is accessible in the Resource Center near the permanent exhibit. A children's exhibition gallery, classroom and studio spaces, will enable the Education Department to offer a variety of activities as an adjunct to the N.Y.C. school system and the multicultural society of the city. Its first and current exhibition, "The Best Day of the Week: An Exhibition for Families," geared to children age 5-10, focuses on the Sabbath, its significance, its observance in the home and its universal recognition as a day of rest and reflection.

In the present world of growing hostility, a world in which nations, religions, philosophies, sects, tribes, age groups, genders, family, ethnic and racial differences are fragmenting the fabric and structure of societies everywhere, there is a pressing need for clarity of identification, roots and place in society. People the world over are concerned with establishing their status - their source of power - by reaffirming their identity with a group, be it a nation, a religion, a family or a gang.

Today, many Americans, including middle class Jews, are "returning to the fold," seeking security in a world in turmoil, or to find explanations for - and defense against - the resurgence of anti-Semitism here and abroad.

There are also those who may ask whether any institution dedicated to the preservation of a religion or a culture cannot but emphasize differences, and whether it might not polarize rather than promote universality among sects, nations and classes.

Michael Kimmelman, in his excellent article, "A Museum Finds its Time," about the Jewish Museum (NYT, June 13, 1993), quotes Susan Goodman, the Jewish Museum's chief curator, who, in writing about the rise of artistic pluralism during the 1970s states: "It seems that the greater the loss of order in the larger society, the more acute is the need to get in touch with one's personal heritage and tradition. The use of the Jewish experience as a metaphor for political or human situations, and an ac-

knowledge of the self as part of a group, represents methods to connect rather than disengage."

Kimmelman also quotes Kinshasha Conwill, director of the Studio Museum of Harlem, who says, "Ethnicity is used to divide nowadays, but I would never define ourselves in opposition to others. We are at a crossroads, and there is serious conflict about what American culture is, its boundaries, who is American. In many ways the idealism of the '60s has not been fulfilled and ethnicity has become an excuse for hateful, virulent actions. I think the Studio Museum, far from polarizing, is therefore more important than ever in defining diversity."

The history of the Jews - like that of many other peoples - is the world's own story of assimilation, alternating with ethnic and cultural separatism, forced or voluntary. The museum's 1991 exhibition, **PAINTING A PLACE IN AMERICA, JEWISH ARTISTS IN NEW YORK 1900-1945** (see Jewish Affairs, July, Aug. 1991, Sept-Dec. 1991: "The Greenhoming of America" I & II; May, June 1992 "Radical Politics, Radical Act" by Charles Keller), was a remarkable account of the acculturation of Jewish artists and the diminishing of Jewish identity brought to a halt by the precipitous rise of fascism in Europe.

A review of the series of exhibitions sponsored by the Jewish Museum reveals its breadth of cultural concern: the non-Jewish focus of the avant garde shows of the '60s, such as **TOWARDS A NEW ABSTRACTION** (Robert Rauchenberg, Jasper Johns, Kenneth Noland), the introduction of Minimalism in the show, **PRIMARY STRUCTURES**, and the non-Jewish focus of art produced between the two World Wars, the 1988 exhibition, **JEWISH ARTISTS OF MONTPARNASSE** (Chaim Soutine, Elie Nadelman, Hanna Orloff, Amadeo Modigliani, Jules Pascin). Other significant shows include the exhibition of posters and periodicals dealing with **THE DREYFUS AFFAIR: TRUTH & JUSTICE**, 1987, the infamous Dreyfus case of the 1890s, a virtual volcano of anti-Semitism which nearly split France in half, the 1992 exhibition, **CONVIVENCIA**; The Interaction of Muslims, Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain and the recent exhibition: **BRIDGES AND BOUNDARIES: The Relations of African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century**, 1992, (see Jewish Affairs, July-Oct. 1992, "Bridges & Boundaries" by Charles Keller).

The Jewish Museum, in its nearly 100 year history, has greatly contributed to the preservation of the rich, diverse history of Jewish religion and culture and to the recognition of its relationship to other religions and cultures. It is clearly evident that cultural, social, historic interdependence is the Jewish Museum's fundamental message to the world □

Michael Hanusiak's 80th Birthday Celebration

Letter from the Communist Party, USA

October, 1993

Heartiest greetings and best wishes to you on your 80th Birthday!

On this special occasion, we want to congratulate you on your many years of outstanding contributions in the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, as well as other progressive organizations.

You have given so much of yourself to the movements and causes we all so fervently dedicated our lives to - peace, equality, justice, internationalism and socialism. Through the ups and downs, ebbs and flows, the setbacks and even crises, you were always solidly on the right side.

Today we also want to take note of your special, unique role in the progressive Ukrainian movement and its press, as well as your activities with many other language groups, which are all part of the people's movements.

Through the many years you have never failed to rise to the occasion - with a full heart, with confidence and optimism in the Party and in its ultimate goal, socialism, USA.

Because of your positive outlook, you took part in and contributed to raising the funds to buy our national headquarters, which now houses, in addition to the national center, our press, our library, our bookstore, our publishers, the Young Communist League, the New York State Communist Party, and of course the Winston Unity Hall.

Likewise, you helped to guarantee the success of the "high tech" campaign for the People's Daily World and People's Weekly World.

You have always stood firm in defense of the working class and the people of our great country. We wish you many, many more rich, happy and productive years.

With warm comradely greetings,
Gus Hall, National Chair,
For the National Board, CPUSA

Remarks by Lewis M. Moroze

It is indeed both a privilege and an honor to be present here with you today and to address you at this warm assemblage gathered to honor one amongst us, Comrade Michael Hanusiak, Mike the selfless, skillful, dedicated editor of *The Ukrainian News*, on his 80th Birthday.

We salute Mike for his long and fruitful years of service in guaranteeing the publication of *The Ukrainian News*, the source of truthful, significant news about current developments and about the Ukrainian people living in the United States and the Ukraine.

It was in my role as editor of the bi-monthly magazine *Jewish Affairs* that I came in close contact with our honored guest, an exemplar of internationalism, from whom I learned so much and from whom I received significant assistance and advice.

Mike's deeply rooted internationalism and deeply rooted love for the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people are models to be emulated.

I will be forever grateful for the guidance and assistance given me by Mike during my editorship of *Jewish Affairs*. It was after becoming editor that I had the privilege of working closely with Mike, for this was the period when I learned most about the correct balance of nationalism and internationalism. I appreciate greatly what I learned from my association with Mike.

My wife Dora and I have a dream that in the not too distant future the Soviet peoples will restore socialism to the Soviet Union, and the Morozes and the Hanusiaks will join hands in a walk side by side down the Kristchatik in the City of Kiev in the Ukraine.

FAITH IN MAN

By Volodimir Zabashtansky,
Ukrainian Poet
(Read by Lewis Moroze at
Michael Hanusiak's
Birthday Celebration)

Men need metal and clothing and bread,
Art and music, and books to be read.
But perhaps most of all, like air
Faith in man, people need everywhere.

What is man without faith in man
With his sorrows, his joys - their whole span;
With his eyes, with his thoughts and his roads
Unimpeded, far-reaching and broad.

For this faith men may chastise a man -
He may even be sentenced to hang,
They may take a man's freedom away,
Yet his faith will live on anyway.

From that, like strength out of health
Every day grows belief in one's self,
In one's mother, one's friend and one's wife.
Faith in man is the mainstay of life.

It's the root which until the end
Through a tree trunk live juices will send,
If a tree, though, is cut from its root
It will stand, but won't live or bear fruit.

If you chance on a soul gone away
To whom people all faith deny
Do believe in him, give him your faith
And thereby you may save him from death.

Through all weather, through all his years
Proud and firm, his great faith man bears.
Remember, from faith in man
Starts belief in one's native land.

ADL reports rise in anti-semitism in Western Europe

In its report "Anti-Semitism in Western Europe: A Focus on Germany, France and Austria," the ADL concludes that anti-Semitism is a most serious threat.

Abraham Foxman, director of the Anti-Defamation League observed that: "Although the accent today is on hostility to the foreigner, anyone who looks and acts differently and who holds or competes for scarce jobs is at risk. Jews fit easily into this category.

Foxman observed that "It is no accident that Jewish cemeteries and monuments in these countries are attacked by the same skinheads and other extremist groups that attack foreigners... Jewish communities have a stake in combating ultra-nationalist, anti-foreign violence wherever it breaks out."

The International Report of the ADL, prepared by Robert Goldman, ADL's European Representative, stated that the current scene in Western Europe "calls for new strategies, above all, for partnership with agencies of government with responsibility for the safety and rights of all citizens, and with many human rights groups with shared interests. Today's work against anti-Semitism cannot be successfully fought as if 1933 had come back. It is a different climate with a different array of both targets and allies, and strategy must be shaped accordingly."

German law aimed at asylum seekers disturbs Jewish leaders

Persistent attacks on foreigners living in Germany without any response from the government leaders leave German-Jewish leaders deeply troubled.

Alissa Fuss, the Jewish President of the International League for Human Rights in Berlin, has sharply protested the establishment of a new policy placing a limit on asylum seekers attempting to enter Germany. She also returned an honorary medal awarded to her from the President of Germany.

Holocaust survivor, Jerzy Kamal, head of the Jewish Community of Berlin arranged a news conference at which he reported that Germany's Jewish population felt "uneasy."

Alissa Fuss sent a letter to the German President, Richard Von Weizaker on June 8 urging him not to sign the new asylum law. Gunther Grass had already made a similar request. She said very sharply that, "Such a restrictive asylum policy left free to countless Jews in the past only the gas chambers."

In returning her medal Alissa Fuss stated sharply that she would not serve the state as "an alibi for hu-

man rights." In her appeal she called upon others to join in her protest.

It was Fuss who was granted the "Bundesterdienstkrenz," the Federal Cross in December of 1992 for her "activity in the service of the human and the civil rights for the victims of persecution."

Alissa Fuss, who resided in Israel in 1937 and 1976, and who possesses an Israeli passport, has fought in behalf of the rights of foreigners ever since 1990 when a wave of violence erupted against them. Fuss collected funds for the widow of the first neo-Nazi victim, Amadeo Antoniko from Angola.

A protest demonstration was organized by Alicia Fuss after the Jewish barracks in the former concentration camp of Sachsenhausen was burned to the ground.

Jerzy Kanal stated at a news conference that Germany's democracy is appraised by how Jews feel. "They feel uneasy," he said bitterly. It was his deep feeling that today German society is, in the main, apathetic to the current neo-Nazi violence, and in many cases they are sympathetic. During the past three years approximately 3,500 Jews arrived in Berlin. It was Kanal's feeling that many Jews hesitated to come to Berlin because of the "current situation."

It was Kanal's feeling that greater emphasis must be applied to existing laws against neo-Nazis than to write more stringent laws.

ADL and NAACP organize joint task force

Stepping up plans to bring about a reduction of racial tensions among young Americans, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has joined with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a pronounced effort to bring about the reduction of racial tensions among Americans, youths in particular.

This step was spurred on by the increasing number of disturbing reports of racial polarization throughout the USA. The ADL and the NAACP will explore the creation of a multiracial task force which will gear its outlook and activities toward reducing racial prejudice and acts flowing from such prejudice.

In a joint statement issued recently, leaders of each of the organizations indicated that this step "demonstrates that our two communities are serious about working together to change racial attitudes of young Americans before they become ingrained." NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Chavis, Jr. and ADL National Director Abraham Foxman reported that their organizations would seek other groups with which to develop educational programs on the high school and college levels.

In a report recently issued by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith it was reported that the sev-

en states with the greatest number of the neo-Nazi skinheads are: New Jersey with 400; Texas with 300 to 400; Oregon with 300 and Colorado, Florida, Michigan and Virginia with approximately 200 skinheads each.

Skinhead activities have been reported in nine New Jersey counties. A Jewish resident of Bergenfield, N.J. recently reported that he was shocked when he noted that the word, "Jews" was spray-painted across the back bumper of his brand new car. The word "Jew" was spray-painted on homes and on playground equipment.

Bergenfield joins Teaneck on the North where the anti-Semitic tracts of the brazen Lyndon LaRouche were distributed. The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith reported the crimes to the bias crimes investigator in the Bergen County Prosecutor's office

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Capitalism in Gridlock

By Bernard Forer

We have all seen photos of a so-called freeway in which so many cars are lined up that a gridlock has resulted. No one can move. The jam-up is so great that expensive limousines are as helpless as beat-up jalopies. Lost tempers and angry arguments may surface, even fist-fights, but traffic remains immobilized. Such is the nature of the capitalist system as we approach the 21st century.

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union as such, the worst features of capitalism have become evident. Ethnic hatreds and fierce religious differences have blossomed into civil wars, with appalling loss of life. Moreover, the extreme form of capitalism that we call Fascism has been resurrected in many places, in new forms. Front-page stories in newspapers record violence in Germany, India and other nations, including our own.

With the ascendancy of the military-industrial complex, even the tenure of large capitalist enterprises has become vulnerable. For a time, one automobile manufacturer may gain a major share of the market, or an airline seem to be dominant. Then the relative positions are reversed. Bankruptcies proliferate.

History describes feudalism as having been barbaric in many ways, yet nothing has been so cruel as the advent of modern free-enterprise. By now, we have the science and technology to provide for the human beings on this planet. On a worldwide basis, we have enough crops and foodstuffs to prevent starvation or malnutrition, but we have millions who are starving. With all our medical knowledge, we allow children to die who might have become future dramatists, writers, scientists, artists or political leaders. The waste of human potential is staggering.

The basic philosophy of capitalism is simple - the making of as much money as possible by almost any process, fair or foul. As a result, we have witnessed a widening array of corruption, involving corporate and government's figures. The phenomenon is worldwide, from the U.S. to Italy and Japan.

The amount of homelessness and poverty, crime and violence in this country staggers the imagination. Each of these social problems is solvable by social

means, through the correct application of our intelligence. We have the science and technology necessary, plus the resources at our command. In a genuine democracy concerned with the worth of each individual we would not be expending our wealth on police and courts and prisons - nor on military ventures around the so-called Third World nations.

When we visited the Soviet Union some 20 years ago, we saw another kind of society. We saw no bag ladies. Everyone had some kind of job. We were not afraid to walk the streets at night, and we heard of no holdups or muggings or carjackings. Disturbers of the peace might be a few drunks and that was all. Of course, we saw no examples of conspicuous wealth, but the people seemed to be dressed comfortably and to be well nourished. Living quarters may have been cramped, but the government had an ongoing process of new construction. In addition, medical care was free, as was higher education. Basic foods received government subsidies.

Socialism, with all its flaws in execution, under duress, embodies social aims more applicable to our modern times. The program that was enunciated outlawed discrimination on account of race or sex, and spoke of the brotherhood of man. Basic industries were under public ownership, of course, and there were no millionaires and billionaires to be recorded in Forbes magazine. Nevertheless, crime and homelessness and unemployment and suffering were under control. Today, these evils have reappeared in Eastern Europe while a small minority rides around in luxury limousines. Corruption has mounted.

The Soviet government was not perfect, especially when a leader like Stalin lapsed into periods of paranoia. His fears, it might be emphasized, did not result from internal problems. Rather, they were occasioned by a campaign of hostility and threats from the capitalist powers. Within a few decades, communism had to evolve from a semi-feudal society to a modern nation, and it made significant progress in science and technology. The more it succeeded, the greater it appeared as a rival to the Western powers - who used all their ability to impede its development. Leading the effort, of course, was the United States.

Our country will go down in history as the Great Intruder. It has used its wealth, backed by military superiority, to send its spies and saboteurs to every continent. We have the largest intelligence apparatus in the world, with the ability to bribe and undermine govern-

Mr. Forer, a retired teacher and journalist is a contributing editor who lives in Sarasota, Florida. This article originally appeared in The Human Quest, July-August, 1993 and is reprinted with permission of the editors.

ments. Our ethics give way to what might be called "practical considerations." After we had defeated Hitler's Germany, we imported former Nazis by the thousands through such devices as Operation Paperclip. In fact, some of these ex-Nazis were given posts in Washington, where they helped shape our tactics in the Cold War. Anyone interested in this shameful program need only read *Blowback* by Christopher Simpson. The startling revelations are well documented.

Our country's leaders have been much less hospitable to our own people. With all the "soft" money that is given to our politicians, Congress has become a new form of SPCA - a Society for the Protection of Corporate Ascendancy. If a huge automobile company is going under, public funds are to be used to revivify it. After the multi-billion-dollar savings and loan scandal emerged, the U.S. Treasury was called upon to absorb the losses. Bankers guilty of fraud and diversion of funds and other illegalities were handed out fines instead of prison terms. "Overall, the Justice Department has recovered only 4.5 percent of the \$846.7 million in fines and restitution assessed in 2, 603 S&L criminal cases," says the news. But let a hungry man steal a loaf of bread and see what happens!

Government agencies likewise kowtow to corporate wealth. The General Accounting Office has discovered that of 3,400 business firms suspected of leaking toxic waste, only 43 had "comprehensive" cleanup measures ongoing. After almost a decade, only 12 had completed the task. As for the Environmental Protection Agency, it has refused to tighten its air quality standards against that scourge of the cities's smog. Health of the ordinary citizen must wait.

The list could go on. Pork-barrel projects submitted by congressmen are passed at the same time that politicians pontificate about our growing deficit. It's the American way!

Now and then the curtain over some of our secret maneuvers is raised, but long after the fact. What happened in Poland is a case in point. Although the Reagan administration, like others, had worked to undermine our labor movement, it seized upon the opportunity to champion Solidarity in Poland. The aim was to weaken Eastern Europe, of course, in the campaign against the "Evil Empire." I have read that Solidarity received its impetus from the work of a Catholic men's club made up largely of former army officers. At any rate, Lech Walensa became the darling of the U.S. media. Now we are told, via the same media, that "tons of equipment - fax machines, printing presses, transmitters, telephones, shortwave radios, video cameras, photocopiers, telex machines, computers, word processors - were smuggled into Poland via channels established by priests and American agents and representatives of the AFL-CIO

and European labor movements."

Obviously, Solidarity was not the "spontaneous" movement of the workers against their government, as advertised in our press. It was nurtured very carefully from abroad, with funds diverted from the needs of their own citizens. I have not heard of such gifts from Washington to our own unions, of course. Our leaders are more intent on breaking the AFL-CIO by establishing low-wage havens abroad for our corporations through dubious free trade pacts.

Secret accounts in the Vatican were used for funding Solidarity. Money also was provided by our National Endowment for Democracy. (Ah, that magic word that is used to cover intrigue!) The National Economic Department was established by Congress, and funded by it, for the purpose of exporting "democracy," meaning intervention in other countries. Interestingly enough, the NED has four subordinate "foundations" which are tax-free and which draw funding from it. This arrangement amounts to genteel bribery, in that the foundations include the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the AFL-CIO, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. ("We cover the waterfront.") Money and the ability to hand out jobs provides power.

Inclusion of the official labor movement was a master touch, in line with the overall plan. Why the AFL-CIO would cooperate with the forces arrayed against it, that have been engaged in anti-union activity of the most virulent sort for decades, is no surprise. Top leaders have been bribed in various ways for years, and the officials responded to the call for a spurious patriotism. Democracy, it must be noted, is spelled with a small d, as in dollar.

It seems that the U.S. is incapable of fighting what is called a "cold war." The term implies ostracizing a nation and refusing to deal with it, without military action. Insofar as the Soviet Union was concerned, however, no holds were barred. In 1993 we learned of our intrusions during preceding decades via a dispatch from Associated Press: "The report, based on recently declassified documents, found that there were as many as 1,000 espionage flights over the Soviet Union in the 1950s, with the figures nearly tripling in the next decade." Over 250 of our airmen were shot down. "U.S. airmen who flew the spy planes knew they were expendable." AP also stated that a task force would be going to Russia "to ask about the missing airmen."

Defensive measures undoubtedly distorted the whole economy of the Soviet Union. Perhaps this was the rationale behind our aggressiveness. The two economic systems could not compete under normal conditions.

This strategy has been the crux of our foreign policy. The U.S. has intruded, openly and clandestinely, in

countries around the globe. We have supported dictators, army juntas, and oppressors of many types, from the Shah of Iran to the Duvaliers of Latin America. The fear of people-power has been evident. The kind of "democracy" espoused by the State Department is perhaps best exemplified in our neighbor, Mexico, where it was revealed recently that 25 millionaires had each contributed \$25 million to the ruling party which has held power for decades. This type of corruption is acceptable. It's capitalism!

Perceptive writers have pointed out that the U.S. has adopted what might be called a permanent war economy, in which the alleged requirements of the Pentagon have first priority, and through which we maintain our policy of having military bases around the world. With the USSR no longer the convenient enemy, it appears that military establishments will be pared down. The president speaks of special training for those employees displaced, to prepare them for new jobs. The question is - what jobs? As it is, more and more corporations are in the process of "downsizing," food stamp rolls are at their highest, and unemployment is still high, even though skilled workers have been forced to take low-paying jobs.

The woeful lack of long-range planning for conversion to a peace economy is obvious. We need a full employment program, plus a superior national health plan to reduce the suffering of millions of Americans. The greed and power of a small minority must give way to the needs of the majority of our citizens. That's what a democracy is supposed to be about.

Otherwise, the gridlock will persist. Violence and crime will increase, not to mention the desperation of many families. And the purveyors of hatred and racism and neo-Nazism will be in their glory. Then the vision of Thomas Jefferson will be obliterated

Occupation = Disaster, Peace = Security



Slogans appearing on the wall of Tel-Aviv

The Cage

By Henri Percikow

Ournation, which at birth
Became the carrier of Freedom
Has now become the world
Strangler of Liberation.
Since my childhood
I'm living in your cage
With the toiling people
Not knowing the taste of Freedom.
The cage remains locked
It is here that we live and die
Behind your iron laws
That drag the people through
The valley of torture
That devastates human sanity
Leaving a trail of human wrecks.

Many of the caged people
Who live with hope
To walk through the locked portals
And escape hunger and despair
Live day to day
In their inertia and silence
With their false hopes
That years have proven
Time and again
That only when people unite
To protest and move to action

Can there be hope
To escape from the cage,
Until then, we endure the pain
With the polluted ideas
Infested with racism and
anti-semitism
That can only be exposed
In the daily struggle for bread and Free-
dom.
When people once again
Become true brothers and sisters.
It is in struggle that the revelation
Of friend and foe takes place.

The ruling class, when in fear
Of losing their hold upon the people
Will unleash its waves of terror
To subdue the revolt
And will seek to maintain
The freedom for their class
Who continue to honor stones
And never stop plundering the people
But we shall overcome
For unity, the key to our Freedom
Will unlock the criminal cage
From which we will march with song
For the day of reckoning.