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JEWISH AFFAIRS



To Save Humanity
Herbert Aptheker

For An International Peace Conference
on the Middle East
Gus Newport

Pro-Israel PACs Support Reaganites
Lewis M. Moroze

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Johnny Immani Case

Saving Soviet Jews
Florence Fox

An Advocate's Robe, A Palestinian Scarf

Shadows of the Past on the Political Scene
Walter Windischbauer and Rupert Herzog

To Save Humanity by Herbert Aptheker

The world is at an historic turning point. The question of avoiding omnicide is before humanity. This is **not** a question of World War III, for a major nuclear conflict bears no resemblance in conduct and in consequence to warfare as hitherto known. Nuclear conflict means extermination.

The world-wide Marxist-Leninist movement for over twenty-five years has projected the theory of peaceful co-existence. This theory holds that — for the first time in modern history — the multiple forces opposed to imperialism possess greater overall power than do the forces of imperialism and that this shift will continue. The theory holds that because of this shift — **not** because the inherent war-making proclivity of imperialism has changed; it has **not** — it is now **possible**, with struggle, to **prevent** (not merely postpone) the outbreak of general war.

This theory is, in effect, the concept of **class struggle on a global scale**. But it pivots on **struggle**; united struggle by all forces rejecting nuclear catastrophe. It does **not** project certainty or even probability in avoiding global conflict; it advances the possibility of such a monumental achievement if enough forces are involved and **actively** involved in the battle for peace.

With the Reagan Administration and its enthronement of the most chauvinist components of monopoly capitalism, the world has witnessed a U.S. government which has adopted the most colossal military budget in history. It is an administration which from Angola to Grenada, from Nicaragua to Lebanon, from Afghanistan to Libya, has engaged in military intervention or has openly flaunted its financing and arming of fascist-like gangster groups and regimes for their counter-revolutionary purposes.

Meanwhile anti-war forces — with the imaginative leadership of the U.S.S.R. and the Warsaw-Pact Powers in the lead — have managed to create a mighty armada for peace. This peace fortress has succeeded for several decades in thwarting the Forrestals, Dulleses, Kissingers and Reagans from the ultimate disaster.

Flash-points of special danger are dispersed widely — in Central America, in South Africa, in the Mid-East and elsewhere. Open intervention by U.S. armed forces impends in Nicaragua, has been (again) threatened in Libya. The armed forces of the United States are dispersed throughout the globe — particularly in Western Europe — with their presence, especially given the viewpoint of the Commander-in-Chief,

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**The Urgency of
Creating the Conditions
For the Convening of
the International Peace Conference on the
Middle East
in Accordance with
United Nations General Assembly Resolu-
tion 38/58 C
A Global Perspective**

Address delivered by Gus Newport — Mayor of Berkeley, California, at the United Nations North American Regional Symposium on the question of Palestine, June 11-13, 1986 at the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

Given the particularly explosive and volatile situation in the Middle East at the present, it is both fitting and very important that this North American Regional Symposium be held at this time. In the wake of the Reagan administration's criminal attack on Libya, the continuing and tragic crisis in Lebanon, and the growing tensions between Israel and Syria, it may be easy in some circles to ignore the central issue in the Middle East. The singularly most important source of the instability in that region is the lack of resolution of the Palestinian question — that people's national rights, including their rights to a homeland.

Without the resolution of this question there can be no peace in the region: at best we can only witness a low-level war with the potential for an immediate and bloody escalation that threatens to bring an international conflict of truly horrendous proportions.

All schemes, military or otherwise, all so-called "peace initiatives" that deny the fundamental national rights of the Palestinians, including their right to self-determination, have brought us not closer to peace, but closer to yet another war. Most recently, in February of this year, the Reagan administration-backed Jordanian initiative, which sought to establish King Hussein of Jordan as the representative of the Palestinian people, suffered an inglorious and predictable defeat. Similarly, the Reagan administration's much publicized Reagan Plan, announced in September 1982 for so-called Palestinian self-governance in the occupied territories through an association with Jordan, resulted in no progress towards peace.

Both schemes sought to deny the legitimacy of the

Palestine Liberation Organization and to create an alternative leadership, undermining the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon itself was designed to destroy the PLO as effective political entity, and to create through military action and political intrigue a government in Lebanon to its liking. While thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese, among others, lost their lives as a result of that invasion, and despite the fact that PLO fighters as well as their political and diplomatic headquarters were forced to leave Lebanese territory, the voice for Palestinian self-determination has not been stilled, nor has the need for recognition of these national rights been removed from the agenda. The much touted Lebanese-Israeli security accord, the second Camp David, which the Reagan administration, and in particular Secretary of State, George Shultz, worked so hard to bring about, lies irretrievably in shambles.

Equally bankrupt have been the repeated attempts under different Israeli administrations, to suppress the political will of Palestinians under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. Despite ever-increasing Israeli settlements, attempts at expulsion, and schemes for Jordanian citizenship, despite terrorist attacks on elected representatives and mayors, and government repression, Palestinians in the occupied territories remain, in their overwhelming majority, allied with the PLO and committed to a **homeland** and self-determination. I said earlier that it is very important this North American Regional Symposium is taking place now; it is also important because of the particularly onerous role played by successive U.S. administrations in frustrating attempts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Indeed, there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East without a just resolution of the Palestinian people's plight. Denial of this fact is the denial of the march of history and the realities and dangers of the present situation in the region. The role of the U.S. government, a role played by the Reagan administration at present, has only served to confuse, distort, and to obfuscate the real issue of Israeli expansion and occupation which now includes not only the West Bank and Gaza, but Syrian territory in the Golan, and Lebanese territory in South Lebanon. Further, it has only served to escalate the military tension with continuing arms sales, the result of which is an arms race with dangerous proportions.

For those people of goodwill who have been seduced into thinking that such schemes as the separate Camp David peace plan, the Jordanian plan, the Rea-

gan plan, or such military adventures as the bombing of Tunis and the invasion of Lebanon can lead to a peace, a cynicism has developed — a cynicism that asserts no peace can be achieved in the Middle East; that the region is destined to be engulfed in a never-ending cycle of violence to which there is no solution.

It is for this reason that the United Nations and the initiatives taken by the General Assembly, UN inter-governmental and non-governmental bodies, and its secretary-general are of such importance. In 1979, in the wake of the signing of the Camp David accords, the UN General Assembly condemned "all partial agreements and separate treaties which constitute flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people." But two years earlier, the United Nations itself formally recognized that any international conference on peace must include representation of the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. The United Nations and its related agencies have devoted, justifiably so, much attention to the question of war and peace in the Middle East and the central issue, the Palestinian question. Through many years it has developed a definitive framework; a framework for a just and lasting peace, and for hope; hope for all peoples of the region weary of war and the never-ending threat of war.

The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held in Geneva August 29-September 7, 1983, formulated not only the guidelines by which peace could be attained in the region but also the mechanism for their implementation, and called for an international conference with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, as well as the United States and the Soviet Union, without whose joint participation, on an equal footing, no agreement could be reached and no guarantees established.

The actions taken in Geneva in 1983 are wholly compatible with the United Nations decades long search for peace in the region, with the decisions of the twelfth summit conference of the Arab League states held in Fez, Morocco in September of 1982, and with the proposal put forward by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev one week later, and reaffirmed in 1984.

Our task is to popularize the deliberation of the Geneva Conference, to awaken the peoples of the world and in particular the people of the U.S. to the promise held in these proposals, the promise of peace and security for all peoples and states in the region; the promise of justice, self-determination, and a homeland for the Palestinian people which is in the interests of all the peoples of the world.

I have had a particularly unique experience with the tremendous difficulties of awakening the U.S. people to the critical issues in the Middle East and breaking through the fog of disinformation and outright distortion so successfully promoted by the supporters of Israeli expansionism. In 1984, at the initiative of members of Berkeley's Jewish and Arab communities, a measure was placed on Berkeley's June 5 ballot. A historical first, it called upon the voters in Berkeley to send a message to the President and Congress calling for a reduction in U.S. aid to Israel by an amount equal to what the U.S. government determines to be what Israel spends annually on its settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights.

Very quickly this ballot initiative became the focus of an all-out national assault for merely affirming the determination by the United Nations and other international bodies that such settlements in the territories of occupation violated the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Convention and international law. A ballot measure, known as Measure E, in a city of little more than 100,000 people became a focal point of a media campaign organized by a high priced public relations firm, paid for by from \$ 100,000-\$ 150,000 raised throughout the country, and supported by politicians and elected representatives opposed to Measure E that included U.S. Senator Alan Cranston (Democrat) and Pete Wilson (Republican). Even Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, Santa Monica Assemblyman Tom Hayden, and Speaker of the Assembly, Willie Brown, among others, publicly jumped on the "no" on Measure E bandwagon. Incredible pressure was brought to bear to stifle this important debate.

Charges were even made that the proponents of the measure were being funded by the Arab League despite the fact that the proponents of Measure E spent only \$ 25,000 compared to the \$ 100,000 plus by the opposition.

The opposition even went so far as to portray themselves as the true fighters for peace in the Middle East. They called themselves the Committee for Better Understanding in the Middle East and the Committee for Middle East Peace and Justice. Measure E's simple statement on the Israeli settlements was attacked by its opponents for not calling for negotiations, for if you will, not endorsing a "two state" solution, for being unfair to both Jews and Arabs, and a host of other demagogic statements attacking the measure from the left as well as the right.

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Jewish Affairs

Pro-Israel PAC's Support Reaganites in 1986 Elections

by Lewis M. Moroz

Growing millions throughout our land view the coming elections for Congress as crucial and are therefore involving themselves in ever increasing numbers in the electoral process to deny the Reagan Administration control of the U.S. Senate. The defeat of just 4 Republican Senators can deny Reagan control of that body.

Looking toward the future, even beyond his term of office, Reagan is stocking the U.S. court system with ultra-right judges. These appointees must be approved by the U.S. Senate.

Control of the U.S. Senate is vital to the Reaganites to further their aggressive foreign policy of global hegemonism and their plan to place the burdens of a huge military budget to meet these ends on the blue and white collar workers and on great numbers of the middle sectors. The denial to the Republicans of a majority in the Senate will be of a great assist in putting the brakes on the domestic and foreign policies of the Reagan military-industrial-complex.

Organized labor, the peace constituencies, civil liberties and civil rights organizations, senior citizens and youth organizations having a great stake in the elections, are involving themselves in campaigns to deny the Reaganites continued control of the U.S. Senate.

Jewish Americans in great numbers are active participants in the campaigns against the Reaganites in order to propel the Geneva Peace Process and the building of detente. They are, in growing numbers, calling for increased funding for essential social services, the re-ordering of our economic priorities and the safeguarding and buttressing of our constitutional rights and liberties with emphasis on the separation of church and state now threatened by the Reaganite-Religious fundamentalist cabal.

Jewish American leaders are, in steadily growing numbers, exposing and combatting those ultra-right Jewish American leaders who are in full support of their class brothers in the Reagan military-industrial complex.

Jewish American Zionist leadership is openly and brazenly bending every effort to quarantine continued Reaganite control of the U.S. Senate by supporting with huge donations ultra-right candidates considered "pro-Israel."

Directing this campaign is AIPAC, American Is-

rael Public Affairs Committee, one of the powerful and effective lobbies on Capitol Hill in Washington. AIPAC is not, as its name seems to imply, just another Pro-Israel Political Action Committee. AIPAC is, in fact, a foreign agent for the ruling circles of Israel. AIPAC's close ties to the Reagan Administration is a class tie which permits it to function as a foreign agent without registering as such. The AIPAC bureaucracy has easy access to the highest levels of the Reagan Administration.

The new chairman of AIPAC is Kenneth Bialkin, formerly president of the Zionist-oriented Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. As were his predecessors in AIPAC, Bialkin is an ultra-right embittered anti-Sovieteer doing the bidding of the ruling circles in Israel and of the Reaganites.

AIPAC's relationship with the Reagan Administration is that of an agent of the Israeli junior partner in the U.S.-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance. At the 27th Annual Conference of AIPAC in April of this year the platform was graced with William Casey, Director of the C.I.A. and Edwin Meese, the U.S. Attorney General — two of the bitterest opponents of democracy at home and abroad.

As for the coming 1986 elections only those candidates they label "pro-Israel" get the AIPAC nod of approval and the go ahead for funding by the "Pro-Israel Political Action Committees." "Pro-Israel" is the duplicitous catch phrase to win support of Jewish Americans concerned about the well-being of the peoples of Israel. In fact "pro-Israel" means full support of the ruling circles of Israel and not the peoples of Israel. This type of support has led to the deaths and wounding of thousands of Israelis as well as Palestinians, Lebanese and Syrians since the U.S. Israeli Strategic Military Alliance invaded Lebanon in 1982.

Under the aegis of AIPAC some 70 Pro-Israel Political Action Committees have been founded. They have poured out huge sums, at the direction of AIPAC, to AIPAC cleared candidates and have mounted campaigns to defeat those who question the policies of the Israeli ruling circles.

In the May 26 issue of *The New Republic*, Robert Kuttner in an article entitled *Unholy Alliance*, discusses the role of Jewish American Zionist leaders in three U.S. Senatorial races.

In the New York race, Kuttner reports on the role of the leaders of AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organization, a Zionist bulwark on the American scene. Its new chairman is the ultra-right racist Morris Abram of the American Jewish

Committee, and its executive director is the neo-conservative Malcolm Heinlein.

The Reaganite U.S. Senator from New York, Alfonse D'Amato, says Kuttner, "has formed very close alliances with key Jewish leaders in New York, as one potential Democratic contender after another has discovered."

Arthur Levitt Jr., son of the President of the American Stock Exchange and a leading Democratic politician, met last December with the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee which wanted to discuss with him a run for the US Senate against D'Amato. "Levitt", said Kuttner, "was a moderate on Israel." Levitt informed the committee that he was advised not to run by a prominent Jewish American leader. Levitt decided to consult further with two leading Zionists, Howard Squadron and Kenneth Bialkin, who informed Levitt that if he ran he would get no financial backing from Pro-Israel PAC's, which normally fund Democrats.

With similar advice from the same sources Elizabeth Holtzman also withdrew from the race against D'Amato.

The arrogant ultra-rightist Malcolm Heinlein said: "The Jewish community (read — the Zionist bureaucracy — L.M.M.) was a very significant factor in their decision not to take on D'Amato." And so the record is clear that the Reaganites have the fullest support of the Zionist establishment.

But a popular people's candidate, Mark Green, a consumer activist is taking on Senator D'Amato by running in the Democratic Primary for the U.S. Senate. Observing the quality of Green's candidacy, Paul Warnke, former arms control negotiator in the Carter Administration, remarked that "Few Senate races offer as stark a choice between an arms control Democrat and an arms race Republican as in New York where Mark Green is challenging Alfonse D'Amato."

Green recently issued the following statement: "Jews prosper most in a society based on pluralism, and on tolerance of what Frankfurter called 'despised minorities' D'Amato may back Israel, but he's at war with that tradition. When I say this to many Jewish leaders, they avert their eyes and shuffle their feet." It is obvious where those "Jewish leaders" stand.

Jewish Americans must not permit themselves to be taken in by the treacherous and cunning election canard that "D'Amato can't be beaten." Those Jewish Americans who have succumbed to this Reaganite rhetoric must break loose from this position and join with other Jewish Americans, with labor, peace advocates, civil right and civil liberties activists, women's groups,

senior citizens, youth groups and rank and file Democrats to bring about the defeat of D'Amato in November. Time is precious. Let the campaign unfold now. There is adequate and growing popular support for Green to bring about his victory in the September Democratic Primary and to defeat D'Amato in November.

In Wisconsin Reaganite Robert Kasten is high on the list for re-election by the AIPAC bureaucracy. The Zionist leadership is especially anxious for Kasten's re-election because he is chairman of the Senate sub-committee on foreign aid.

As in the New York situation, a possible opponent to Kasten was the Democrat, Herbert Kohl, a businessman who, given the same signals that Levitt received in New York, withdrew from the race.

Running in the Democrat Primary for the U.S. Senate is Edward Garvey, recently rebuffed by an official of AIPAC because Garvey, formerly the executive of the National Football Players Association "is not good on our issues since the Football Players Ass'n did not oppose the sale of AWAC's planes to Saudi Arabia.

Kasten is getting most of the out-of-state "Pro-Israel" funds. The local Jewish American community is split between Kasten and Garvey.

Garvey attacked Kasten for supporting "a bill to cut the interest rate on Israel's debt to the United States from 13% to 7%. We have farmers going bankrupt in my state. Nobody is offering to cut their interest rate to 7%. It looks to me that Kasten is playing with dynamite."

In Florida incumbent Reaganite ultra-right hawk Paula Hawkins is the Republican candidate for the Senate. Being considered "pro-Israel" she is expected to receive the greatest percentage of out-of-state Pro-Israel PAC funding. The Democratic candidate, Governor Bob Graham, is in very good standing with the Jewish American community of Florida and has been for quite a while.

According to Kuttner, a Pro-Israel PAC director asserted: "We will help Paula, but nine tenths of our Florida members will give to Graham." Here is further evidence that Jewish Americans will not vote automatically for AIPAC endorsed candidates.

Democratic congressmen in Kansas and Oregon considering running for the U.S. Senate against Dole and Packwood were informed that they would receive little if any Pro-Israel PAC money if they challenge Dole and Packwood.

Kuttner has concluded Pro-Israel PAC's support "pro-Israel" incumbents: Jewish Americans, as individuals, support whom they please. *Continued on page 9*

Jewish Affairs

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Editorial Committee

Herbert Aptheker, Editor
Lewis M. Moroze, Managing Editor
David Fried
Jack Kling
Alex Kofkin
David Seitzer

235 West 23 Street, 7th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10011
(212) 989-4994, Ext. 209

July, 1986

Dear Reader:

We proudly announce that: "World Peace - 1986 - The Year of Decision" is the theme of the 14th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner to take place at the Penta Hotel in New York City on Sunday, September 21, 1986 at 12 noon. Reservations are \$27.50.

The promise of the Geneva Summit Process is yet to be achieved at a time when the determination of the peoples of our country and throughout the globe for success is crystal clear.

The proposal of the Soviet Union to end the crushing burden of nuclear armaments by the year 2000 and to free the trillions of dollars for internal reconstruction and development has received a warm response worldwide as has the USSR's unilateral action ending nuclear weapons testing since last August. The response of the Reagan Administration, however, is one of negativism and maneuvering while continuing its vast military build-up in pursuit of global hegemonism.

Throughout our land millions are jobless, hungry and homeless; farmers are driven from their lands by the banks while corporate profits are astronomical. Under the Reagan Administration racism and anti-Semitism are reaching new heights - right into the Halls of Congress. Reagan's Supreme Court coup is aimed to limit and undermine our democratic rights for years to come.

At the same time we must note that those Jewish American leaders who engage in "trade-offs" with the Reaganites, are being called to task by growing sectors of Jewish Americans as evidenced in the new publication, Tikkun, whose aim it is to combat the Jewish ultra-right.

Jewish Affairs has since its inception taken initiatives to expose and combat the deadly game being played by the Jewish American class brothers of the Reaganites. The current moment demands that Jewish Affairs reach out much more widely to bring ideological and political clarity to assist in stepping up the resistance to Reagan's global hegemonism.

For this 14th Annual Dinner dedicated to promoting the Geneva Peace Process, we anticipate your continuing support in promoting the Dinner, gathering tables of ten and in sending greetings and contributions to the Dinner. We rely on you to provide us with the tools to carry out our joint responsibilities.

Herbert Aptheker
Herbert Aptheker
Editor

Lewis M. Moroze
Lewis M. Moroze
Managing Editor

Johnny Imani Harris

Alabama Must Not take His Life

Johnny Imani Harris is a 34 year-old Black man sentenced to die in Alabama's electric chair even though he is innocent of any crime. In 1974, while serving 5 consecutive life terms in Alabama's Atmore Prison for crimes he did not commit, Harris was charged, convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a prison guard — a crime an eyewitness saw another prisoner commit. Jewish Affairs is reprinting the following material, issued by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, to help mobilize our readers, and we hope, other Americans to prevent yet another frame-up of an Afro-American citizen.

Birmingham Frame-Up

The racist use of the death penalty against Harris continues the racist attack which began when he and his family moved into a previously all-white neighborhood in Birmingham, Alabama. There was a neighborhood petition campaign demanding the family move, acid was thrown on their car, a cross burned on their lawn, and much more.

Five months after moving into his new home, on August 11, 1970, in this atmosphere of racist violence and terror, 19 year-old Johnny Imani Harris was arrested without a warrant while on his way to work. He was placed in a line-up where his photograph was handed around to insure that he would be the man identified. The next day Harris was charged with four robberies in the amounts of \$11, \$67, \$90 and \$205, and with the alleged rape of a white woman. Each of these charges in 1970 carried a maximum penalty of death.

There followed a travesty of the rights to counsel and due process. One of Harris' court-appointed lawyers never visited him before the trial. No pre-trial motions challenging Harris' warrantless arrest or the warrantless search of his home were filed. None of Harris' attorneys examined the medical report on the alleged rape victim, which stated there was no evidence of rape. None of the five people providing Harris with an unimpeachable alibi for the time of the alleged rape was called as a witness.

A few minutes before the trial began, Harris' attorneys both counseled him to plead guilty. One had not subpoenaed any defense witnesses and was totally unprepared to defend his client. The other felt the court would take the white woman's word over Harris' regarding the rape and that Harris might get the death

sentence if he didn't plead guilty. And this attorney "didn't intend to buck the system." Faced with this situation, fearing for his life, Harris pleaded guilty. He received five consecutive life sentences and was sent to Atmore Prison to serve out his time.

Cruel and Unusual Punishment

The horrors which awaited him were indescribable. Little had changed since the days when the Scottsboro defendants were imprisoned there. Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson later found Atmore Prison to be unfit for human habitation and in violation of constitutional protections against cruel and unusual punishment.

Harris, along with other prisoners, joined Inmates for Action (IFA) to try to improve conditions. Prison officials answered their protest with beatings and brutality.

In January 1974, 64 prisoners who had protested — including Harris — were confined in a "hole" built for 32. There were no toilets or beds. Guards lied to the prisoners, saying they had just beaten an IFA member to death. Believing they would be next, the prisoners seized two guards as hostages and made one demand — that members of the press, legislature, and clergy be brought to Atmore to see conditions.

Warden Marion B. Harding ordered the guards to attack the prisoners and break up the protest. A guard, Officer Barrow, and a prison leader, George Dobbins, were killed. According to eyewitnesses, the warden repeatedly stabbed Dobbins in the face after having him shot by a guard.

Sentenced to Death

Harris was brought to trial by a politically ambitious Alabama Attorney General, Bill Baxley, using an 1859 slaveholder law carrying a mandatory death sentence. No evidence was presented that Harris had killed the guard. Baxley maintained Harris was guilty of murder if he had been part of the protest. During the trial Baxley stated that the warden "should have set up a machine gun, given the prisoners two minutes to come out, and then cut them all down."

The jury was all white and all male. Harris was convicted and sentenced to death.

New Trial Won

In 1978 Jesse David Jett, a white former prisoner at Atmore, came forward with eyewitness testimony that Harris had not killed the guard. He had not said anything before due to threats by the prison guards.

Jewish Affairs

Harris' attorney won a new trial in 1983, but Jett suddenly refused to testify. Once again an all-white jury convicted Harris and sentenced him to death.

The Case Today

The conviction is now being appealed to the Alabama appellate court. Harris' current attorneys raise a number of issues, including the highly prejudicial statements made by the state's prosecutor, the racially discriminatory composition of the indicting Grand Jury, and the lack of evidence linking Harris to the crime. Despite sworn statements, Warden Harding was never brought to trial for Dobbins' murder.

The racist and class bias in both the imposition and execution of the death sentence has been further bolstered by the Reagan Supreme Court decision to reject appeals without considering the issues raised and thereby speed up the rate of executions.

Of the 1513 death row prisoners nationally, nearly half are people of color. Almost 42% are Black, though Black people make up only 12% of the U.S. population. In Alabama the picture is even worse: of the 74 people on death row, 50 are Black.

The National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression has given the Harris case emergency status and is working to organize a national movement that can save his life.

What You Can Do

Write Gov. George Wallace (Capitol Building, Montgomery AL 36130) to protest the continued persecution of Harris. Demand he stop the execution and exonerate Harris.

Circulate the NAARPR petition on the Harris case. Contact us for copies.

Get your union, church and community organizations to pass resolutions directed to Wallace supporting the above demands. Send copies to the NAARPR national office.

Write Johnny Imani Harris (Rt.2, Box 37, Holman Station AL 36503) to express your solidarity

Send a generous contribution to the NAARPR to aid the campaign to save Harris' life.

For Further Information write or call:

**National Alliance Against
Racist & Political Repression**
126 West 119th Street, Suite 101
New York, NY 10026
(212) 866-8600

Letters to Editor

July 12, 1986

Dear Friend:

My subscription to *Jewish Affairs* will expire soon. Please extend my sub for another year.

Enclosed is a (\$ 6.00) money order for a year extension.

Sincerely,
Ruben A. Franklin
Detroit, Michigan

P.S.

Jewish Affairs is an extremely educational journal as far as I am concerned. I still, and guess I always will, miss reading articles and stories by Mr. Alex Kolkun.

July 8, 1986

Dear Mr. Lewis M. Moroze:

In the *Ukrainian News*, of which I am a constant reader, 27, was an article written by David Seltzer. *Dudele Mamaliga*. I liked it very much because I was born in Bessarabia-Lipkaner, but grew up in Bukovina. I was once invited to the *Jewish Affairs* banquet, which was held in a hotel and two Russian representatives were invited, Aaron Vergelis and Mr. Zimanis, which I will never forget. I'm also a permanent member of the Chernuchevsky Club; and since I came to the U.S.A. in 1976, a constant reader of the *Russky Golos* and very active in all affairs.

Now I would like to become a member of *Jewish Affairs* and a subscriber of your magazine.

I hope to receive an answer.

Sincerely,
Fanya Gonta

Continued from page 6

The debate raging in the Jewish American community against the "single issue" approach and the obvious fact that most "pro-Israel" candidates could care less about the plight and status of the Jewish masses of Israel, indicate that the Jewish American voters are not in the pockets of AIPAC and the Pro-Israel PAC's.

With careful organization and persistent efforts between now and the elections, movements can be built and strengthened to win the U.S. Senate away from the Reaganite majority. All it takes is the defeat of four Republican incumbents. Our very lives may depend on it.

Saving Soviet Jews

by Florence Fox

The following article is a continuation of the article by the author that was published in the May-June 1986 issue of Jewish Affairs.

The campaign to "Save Soviet Jews" has been so pervasive that the Soviet law governing emigration has been construed as a discriminatory anti-Jewish law, whereas Soviet laws apply to all citizens equally.

Although Zionists allege special restrictions placed on Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate, they carefully obscure the fact that it is difficult for most Jews who wish to defect from Israel, and impossible for many who are forced to remain because they cannot afford to pay up all debts before leaving (an Israeli requirement for emigration), including repayment for their initial resettlement and other benefits.

American Jews, who, on cue, mobilize protests against alleged Soviet abuses, do not organize similar actions to protect Jewry elsewhere. Jacobo Timmerman authored the best-selling *Prisoner Without a Name-Cell Without a Number* after leaving Argentina where he was imprisoned and tortured for publishing criticism of anti-Semitism and other abuses of the former dictatorship. He emigrated to Israel where he was the darling of the Jewish community - until he defected in protest against Israeli-U.S. support of neo-fascist regimes such as Argentina. Timmerman's appeal to organized Jewry to wage a campaign to "Save Argentine Jews" suffering "disappearance", unwarranted arrest, torture and murder was ignored. Although Jews in the United States privately deplore anti-Semitism at home, Israeli-Washington military, economic, intelligence-sharing and political ties inhibit any organized mass public demonstrations against anti-Semitism in the U.S.A. which might embarrass the administration.

The propaganda barrage designed to lure defectors from the USSR does not reveal the following facts of life abroad — which emigres learn belatedly:

The people of Israel live in a constant state of apprehension with mounting economic, political and military problems and a bleak future. The land proclaimed as "the only democracy in the mideast", where an orthodox hierarchy representing less than 10% of the population imposes its increasingly stringent laws on a non-observant majority, is torn by war with its neighbors and rising internecine strife.

The Israeli orthodoxy which by narrow definition would exclude most of the world's Jewry from official recognition, would consign them to electoral oblivion

now and eternal hell fire thereafter. They propose to saddle Israelis with identification cards stigmatized with the divisive word "converted", — setting apart Jews by choice from first-class Jews by birth. This, at a time when I.D.'s which discriminate against South African Blacks are on the way out.

The numbers of Jews leaving Israel, a nation of 3.5 million Jewish immigrants, have exceeded those coming in for the past few years, partly as a result of the poor economy and the unease stirred by the war in Lebanon. Israeli Minister of Immigration, Yaacov Tsur, predicts immigration in 1986 will be the lowest since Israel came into being, exceeding the record low of 1985. Alarmed and embarrassed by the continuing exodus of Jews from Israel, they are trying to halt the trend. They apply the epithet "yordim" (Hebrew, fall from grace) and impose restrictive measures against those who leave.

The reality of life in the United States is in sharp contrast to the notions fostered by CIA-sponsored broadcasts to foreigners, and by *Dynasty* and *Dallas*, the two American television shows most favored by viewers abroad — which create the illusion that America is a land of millionaires.

Emigres discover chronic unemployment, an acute housing shortage, inflation, racism, pornography, crime and drug addiction. They find that the cost of medical care and education, free under socialism, are prohibitive elsewhere. Rents pegged at 3-5% of income in their Soviet motherland, are exorbitant in the U.S. Day care and summer camps for children, and family vacations largely subsidized by the Soviets, are unaffordable luxuries for most Americans. Public transportation and utilities in the U.S. are not the low cost services provided in the land they left.

Emigres learn that 35 million people live below the official poverty level, — that 40% of all children are reared in poverty and many go to bed hungry. Infant mortality is rising. The meager social security benefits for the elderly are in constant jeopardy. Farms and homes are foreclosed to an extent unknown since the Great Depression. A growing army of homeless street people throughout the nation forage in trash bins and sleep wherever they can — subject to imminent assault.

Geri Jones, a resident of California's affluent North Country, expressed her concern in a letter to the *Los Angeles Times* (Dec. 29, 1985):

"A pregnant mother and her four small children are being shifted from shelter to shelter; in between they live on the streets. An elderly woman, suffering from a debilitating mental ill-

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ness, is living in an old automobile with her sole companion — a little dog.

"These are not isolated incidents, but current examples of every day reality. The pathetic situations described here didn't occur in some remote village in faraway Mexico, in the African sub-Sahara, or the worst part of Harlem, New York. No, these cases are occurring today, with regularity, right here in your city, in your neighborhood, on your block. . . . Hundreds of migrant workers live in deplorable conditions, such as foxholes dug into the soil — or those sleeping in parks."

Hunger is especially reprehensible in California, which produces 25% of the nation's food.

The disillusionment of countless Soviet Jewish emigres is poured out in stories like that of film director Rashid Atamlabokov, who left the USSR for the golden promise of America — and found odd jobs such as selling hot dogs. Describing his defection as a "moment of insanity", he states: "I left my wife and son behind, expecting to bring them later. Now, I don't want them to come."

I anticipate flak from well-meaning Jews — and others — who hurl unwarranted charges at the country which did more to save world Jewry than any in history. Public mentality has become so steeped in hate-Russia indoctrination as to be impervious to any facts depicting the USSR in a favorable light. Those who hazard such information are accused of treason or being "dupes of the Kremlin."

It is said that a lie can race ten times around the world while Truth is still tying its laces. Counteracting the **big lies** about the Soviet Union is literally a herculean task. As soon as Hercules cleaned out the Augean stables, another load was evacuated. By the time one anti-Soviet invention is disproved, another is fabricated.

Hitler's use of the Big Lie (i.e., any lie, no matter how outrageous, will be believed if repeated authoritatively and long enough) was exemplified in a Phil Donahue show (6/28/86), *A Citizens' Summit II* — a satellite-linked women-to-women discussion from studios in Boston, USA, and Leningrad, USSR. The American audience, preconditioned by a 67 year anti-Soviet campaign, reacted with hostility and disbelief to anything emanating from socialist sources. One of the Soviet women, appalled by questions rehashing slanders, asked "Why don't you trust us?" Resolutely non-receptive, the Americans based most of their questions, which were in fact accusations, on Soviet treatment of

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Jews.

A Soviet Jewish woman — who made it clear that the Soviet group was not selected by their government to participate in the discussion but were randomly invited by the American producers, stated emphatically that Jews in the USSR are much better off than those in the USA and that, although she likes to visit America, she wouldn't want to live there. She also explained that the reason there were now less Jewish emigres was because Jews who return to the USSR tell others about their disillusioning experiences abroad as compared to the security of their homeland.

Overblown publicity about a handful of "refusenik" opportunists implies that all Soviet Jews are straining to emigrate. This is an insult to the 1,600,000 loyal Jews building socialism as proud Soviet citizens. Professional anti-Sovieteers advance varying numbers of Jews allegedly anxious to emigrate. At the moment 400,000 seems most popular. When asked how this number was arrived at, a propagandist on TV responded: "**That's how many invitations were sent from abroad.**"

In lamenting the declining numbers of Jews leaving the USSR, Soviet detractors fail to recognize the obvious fact that most of those who wished to leave have already done so. Quite simply, there are less of them as time goes by.

Moreover, secularization and increasing intermarriage in the USSR, as in the U.S. and other countries, leads to a declining number of religious Jews. An estimated 300,000 Soviet children of mixed marriages, who are allowed to choose their nationality, have opted for that of their non-Jewish parent.

Jewish partisans range from extremists who feel that Israel can do no wrong and the Soviet Union can do no right — to their opposites who regularly visit their Jewish relatives in the USSR and return with glowing reports.

The "Jewish question" is emotion-charged and volatile. Tempers flare, family ties are strained, and investigatory calm is sacrificed. Much confusion and heat have been raised by the issue of Zionism, about which many professed Zionists know little. Zionism has been projected as a benign movement dedicated to the ingathering of the historically persecuted Jews to their own "promised land", where they may at long last reside safely, proudly and openly as Jews. Zionists have effectively planted the equation that Zionism Judaism Israel, with the result that anyone criticizing the politics of Zionism or Israel is subject to being labelled anti-Semitic.

Since the paramount issue today is world peace versus onnicide, those who lend themselves to the cold war and resultant hot war should not claim political immunity behind the facade of religion. Many Jewish intellectuals, Jewish to the core, have compiled documentation on political abuses by Zionists, — which information is resisted by Jews preconditioned by systematic slander to believe only ill of the USSR. One would expect all Jews to rejoice about the equality enjoyed by their "landsmann" in the USSR. But having one's mindset disturbed is always unsettling and unwelcome and they remain virulently antagonistic.

On our first visit to Moscow in August of 1983, my husband and I visited the Choral Synagogue and wandered into a room where teenagers were learning Hebrew. On coming home, we found that the *Los Angeles Times* (8/18/83) had front paged a story about the same Moscow synagogue, stating that "The teaching of Hebrew (in the USSR) is forbidden."

Such anti-Soviet fabrications are supplemented by Western correspondents stationed in Moscow who dispatch material tailored to satisfy the demand for stories about "persecution of Soviet Jews", while ignoring readily available evidence of Soviet enhancement of Jewish life and culture.

During our visit, we asked the rabbi why his government would not allow Jews to have matzohs on Passover. "Come" he said, "I'll show you where we manufacture our matzohs. On Pesach, we have an exchange program with rabbis in Brooklyn and we send matzohs to each other."

We took pictures with the woman who laughingly referred to herself as the "shamus of the mikvah" (ritual bath for women), who told us she had returned to the Soviet Union after having lived with sister in Israel for two years. We asked why she hadn't remained with her sister. "Why should I when I'm much better off here. — I love my work here in the shul, and my salary is in addition to my retirement pension. I have a small flat, but for me alone it's enough. It's close by and I walk to work."

From Moscow we flew to Central Asia where we spent a few delightful days in Tashkent, in Uzbekistan, which has a large Jewish community. When Hitler invaded the USSR, the Soviet government removed Jewish citizens from Hitler's path by resettling them beyond the Urals — an undertaking unprecedented in history. After the war, the Jews who had been relocated to Tashkent liked it so well that they decided to stay there.

Our questions about the treatment of Soviet Jews

were best summed up by a group of Jewish friends we met in the *Park of Culture and Rest*. They were dismayed by allegations about Jewish oppression. "Speaking for myself" said our host who had invited us to share their table to enjoy some of their sinfully rich ice cream. "I was educated at government expense in the field of my choice, and I now have a prestigious job as a bio-chemist. I have a wide circle of friends, as you can see, and we enjoy all the cultural advantages this beautiful city has to offer. So how are we oppressed?" His friends offered similar personal accounts. "Well", I persisted. "They say you have no freedom.". He was incredulous. Controlling his indignation, he said, "Perhaps different countries have varying concepts of freedom. To my mind, if a person has no job and no income, he has no freedom. He has only freedom to starve. Full employment is one of the basic freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution."

We asked whether anti-Semitism existed in the USSR. "Of course" he answered. "It exists everywhere, especially in your country which permits a KKK and an American Nazi Party. Unfortunately, we cannot extinguish racism totally by illegalizing it. Our Constitution (article 123) states that all preaching of racial and national discrimination, anti-Semitism included, is punishable by law. Some 130 nationalities who were historically at war with one another, now live in total amity, equality and peace, devoid of racism. But there are inevitably lingering vestiges of anti-Semitism in a country emerging from a history of Czarist pogroms. Some Soviet women resented the fact that when World War II ended, many Jewish women whose families had been safely relocated, were able to renew their lives with their menfolk, whereas non-Jewish Soviet women lost their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers who died fighting Hitler's legions. Such bitterness is difficult to overcome."

The following night they invited us to a posh Jewish wedding where guests representing many nationalities danced the hora with their Jewish friends.

Soviet Jews, exasperated by campaigns to "Save Soviet Jews", have sent numerous open letters to their fellow Jews and to government officials in the U.S. The following *Open Letter from Soviet Parliamentarians of Jewish Nationality to U.S. Congressmen* expressed alarm over unrestrained acts of anti-Semitism in the U.S.

"On November 9, 1985, fourteen Jewish-owned shops were vandalized in New York. The criminal action resulted from anti-Semitism, which is becoming increasingly evident in the United States. Similar acts

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of vandalism on November 9, or *Kristallnacht* (also called the *Night of Broken Glass*) 47 years ago, marked the beginning of the Jewish pogroms and the death-camp extermination of Jews in Nazi Germany.

"According to the American press, last year's officially registered anti-Semitic outrages exceeded 700 in the United States, including attacks on Jewish organizations and individuals.

"Jews are also covertly discriminated against. They are not admitted to certain neighborhoods, prestigious clubs, educational establishments and professions. One-third of the 175 companies building rental housing in New York do not lease apartments to Jews. Over 800,000 U.S. Jews live below the official poverty level. About 700 business and professional clubs in 46 states deny membership to Jews. A poll of the Jewish population in the District of Columbia and the city of St. Louis, Missouri, alone revealed that most had been victims of anti-Semitism.

"We share the Soviet people's concern about a wave of anti-Semitism sweeping the United States, with its six-million strong Jewish community, and call upon the Congress, the Administration and the President to take effective steps to stop the spread of anti-Semitism, a phenomenon beneath the dignity of civilized society." □

The above appeal was signed by the following **Jewish Deputies of the Supreme Soviet**: M. V. Khaikin (Ukraine); R. L. Barg (Ukraine); S. I. Palei (Byelorussia); R. G. Geller (USSR); E. G. Gurevich (Azerbaijan); M. D. Davitashvili (Georgia); M. A. Levitsky (Tajikistan); M. I. Katz (USSR); Y. I. Kopylov (Russian Federation); Y. I. Plitman (USSR).

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holding humanity's existence in balance.

Urgently required now, especially of citizens of the United States, is a revitalization of anti-militarist and **anti-war activity** on every front — ideological, organizational, agitational. The Congress, all candidates this coming November, local and state authorities, organs of public opinion, should be inundated, consistently, with demands for disarmament, for an end to the nuclear-weapons madness, for a termination to the world-wide interventionism by Reagan.

Readers of *Jewish Affairs* make up a modest but consequential section of the forces fighting for peace. Let all of us redouble our efforts for peace and for justice — that is for **Shalom**. □

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In Memory of

Jack Walter

Whose contribution to peace, freedom
and socialism will always be remembered

Joe Kahn and Sylvia Orans

Deep Sympathy to

Dave Bennett

on loss of his wife

Evelyn

Retiree 1199, staunch fighter
for peace and the working class

Editorial Board, Jewish Affairs

Our Deep Sympathy to
Family, friends and comrades of

Frieda Katz

Lifelong activist for peace
national liberation and socialism

Editorial Board, Jewish Affairs

Deepest Sympathy to

Charlene Mitchell

and

Entire family on
loss of father

Charles Alexander

Editorial Board, Jewish Affairs

Deep Sympathy to

Yetta Groshans

on loss of her husband

Werner

An artist whose paintings contributed
to the struggle for peace and socialism

Editorial Board, Jewish Affairs

In Memoriam

4th Annual Memorial

Our Son

Marvin Tobman

October 2, 1935 - August 14, 1982

The scar fades
The pain remains

Sarah and Harry, Parents

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An Advocate's Robe A Palestinian Scarf

The following article is a reprint from the No. 4, April 1986 issue of the Democratic Journalist, the journal of the International Organization of Journalists, about the famed attorney and defender of Palestinian and Israeli victims of the denial of civil and human rights, Felicia Langer. Ms. Langer is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, and has spoken at the Jewish Affairs Dinner in 1985 in New York. Her address at that affair and other of her articles have been printed in Jewish Affairs.

Her fiery speeches in Tel Aviv, Ramallah, Bethlehem, at court sessions of Palestinians fighting for their right to Arab lands occupied by Israel, have proved an embarrassment more than once to the servants of Zionist justice. Thanks to Felicia Langer's courage and convictions about the truth of those she defends, and thanks also to her great professional erudition, the court has been compelled to shorten the jail sentences of dozens of Palestinian patriots, and in a number of instances has even released them without further investigation.

I became acquainted with Ms. Langer in 1982. It was in Lebanon, several months before the beginning of the Israeli aggression. I received an invitation to the club of the Palestine Liberation Organization to attend the graduation of officers — political workers — from a short-term course given to raise their qualifications. The commissars of the Palestinian military units, who wore field uniform with no indication of rank, were evidently not at home in the little hall decorated with slogans and placards.

Among the graduates, sitting in the first row, was one woman.

"That's Fatima Barnavi, a heroine of our struggle," I was told by Palestinian friends. "She has only recently come out of jail after ten years' imprisonment by the Israelis. Felicia Langer helped to save her; thanks to Felicia, Fatima escaped certain death. . . ."

At the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow they met again — Fatima Barnavi and Felicia Langer. It was during a rally of international solidarity with the people of Palestine, to which Fatima brought a lovely, elegantly dressed woman who at first glance you might have thought was a film actress or a popular television announcer.

"This is our lawyer, Comrade Felicia Langer. She saved my life."

"When did your difficult work as an advocate defending oppressed Palestinians begin, Comrade Lang-

er?" I asked.

"In 1967, when the Israeli aggression began. Since that time I have been a lawyer for Arabs in court cases brought against the occupation forces. I have defended Palestinians also from the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and the inhabitants of the Golan Heights. During the occupation of southern Lebanon, I represented citizens who were imprisoned by the Israeli aggressors.

"Unfortunately, I must admit, and I have written about this more than once in my books, Israel and the occupation regime apparatus, have violated in a dreadful way the most elementary rights of people in the occupied territories. In Lebanon, this was demonstrated most openly and most clearly.

"Since 1967 we have seen the incessant suppression and oppression of Palestinians. The Arab population in territories occupied by Israel have been denied all political and civil rights, and the most basic one of all, embedded in international law and in a number of treaties of peaceful co-existence — the right to self-determination.

"As you enter Gaza, for instance, there is a banner that reads: 'Welcome!' But right next to it, behind a curve in the road, behind sandbags, is a group of Israeli soldiers with American automatic weapons. Military control is in effect so that every visitor understands instantly the kind of order that prevails in an area the whole world knows as the 'Gaza Strip.' There are more than half a million Palestinians living here on the shores of the Mediterranean, on a piece of land 40 kilometers long and 3.5 km wide. Two thirds of them live in tents provided by the United Nations, in conformity with an aid program. These people have no homes, they are denied the right to have homes. They are refugees and find themselves on occupied territory.

"Palestinian towns and villages on the West Bank of the Jordan, in the Gaza Strip, remind one of concentration camps. In every settlement there is a police station over which flies the Israeli flag, and next to it is a prison encircled by barbed wire. At a crossroads there are control units that allow people through only with special permits. Israeli soldiers search everyone walking or riding past in a car.

"These are the real consequences for the Arab people of Palestine of the Camp David separate agreements, which served as 'building material' to construct new prisons and concentration camps.

"At the present time we can see a further intensification of Israeli occupation policy. The reason? Instead of drawing realistic conclusions and adopting a policy

closer to a realistic path, the officials of Tel Aviv are stubbornly clinging to the course of repression they have already embarked upon, including mass deportations of Palestinians. They are ignoring reality. And today this reality leads to the fact that the government's present political course for our country is doomed to failure.

"The real struggle by Palestinians for liberation must continue! It is being waged even by Palestinian children who have taken over the banner from their elder brothers and fathers. I therefore do not believe in the hopelessness of the Palestinian struggle. As long as people live, they will fight for their future. History knows analogous cases. In Israel the colonists number close to a hundred thousand. But in Algeria there were a million French who ruled the country for a hundred years. And they were expelled. The same fate awaits Israelis in the occupied territories!"

As we speak about the Palestinian question, I want to know her views about the present situation in Lebanon.

"When the Israeli occupiers withdrew from Lebanon they left behind a large amount of explosive material — I have in mind an agency which, in fact, continues the Zionist policy of dividing the country. Even the so-called border security zone which, today, is under Israeli control, represents a great hidden danger.

"The bloody fighting among Arabs give special pleasure to Israel's ruling circles. Behind the scene mechanisms of such conflict are not secret, today, for anyone. For instance on Lebanese territory Israeli artillery shells Shiites and accuses the Druze of doing the shelling, or the other way round. The purpose is to incite mutual hatred.

"But even such tactics become ineffective in the end. Tel Aviv admits its fiasco in the Land of the Cedars. The chief reason is the unswerving stand of the national patriotic forces and the Palestine resistance movement. Attempts to involve Beirut in the Camp David process and attempts to solve the Palestinian problem in the Israeli way — that means to shift it to the background for many years to come, have failed. Resistance to the aggressors in Lebanon demonstrated that the Israeli troops are not a mythologically invincible giant.

"When the Israeli government began its intervention against this small Arab country, it wanted to show Washington that it is the most suitable partner in the Middle East, and that all its actions are in the interest of the American administration. But the result was just the

reverse of what it expected. The Americans were forced to leave Lebanon.

"Today the question of how long Israeli troops can hold on to the zone along the Lebanese-Israeli border has become more clamorous. I personally think that Israel will be compelled to leave that area, despite its 'scorched earth' policy.

"Events in Lebanon have strongly influenced the Israel public. Many people are even afraid to think about a new war. In the Land of the Cedars, 700 Israelis were killed and thousands of soldiers were wounded. This is a lot for a country like Israel with a population of 3.5 million.

"The result of the Israeli fiasco is that 2,500 young Israelis have refused to do military service on the border of their country. Even television and radio talk about it. An organization was set up to defend the interests of all who do not wish to perform their military service on occupied Arab territory.

"This, of course, is a very positive influence. In our country every citizen up to the age of 56 must undergo military service 30 to 40 days a year. Israel is the only country in the world in which unmarried girls do military service in peacetime. After 1967 the government was given the right to call up for military service young people between the ages of sixteen and a half and seventeen, and in all instances after 18. Military service can last three years; for women — 20 months. One cannot be surprised that they say about us: There are states that have armies, but in Israel the army is the state."

I said in connection with this that I would like to touch on a subject which is today so popular in the West — that of human rights. What is the attitude of Israel itself to "human rights?"

"The leading ideology in our country is racist. In fact, today we live together with Arabs and at the same time without them. The Arabs in the occupied territories work in Israeli factories, but are regarded as 'bad workers.' The Arabs clean Israeli cities but are considered 'dirty.' Such views are inculcated into Israeli children from early age. In a word — there are Jews and 'non-Jews.' The Palestinians are on the lowest rung of the social ladder. However, progressive forces are trying to enter our society. Not long ago, for instance, a grouping called Struggle 85 was set up. It consists mainly of Jews from Arab territories. These are the so-called Sephardim — second class Jews, who have a less favorable position in society. We are trying to win them over to our side.

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ADC Protests Haagen-Dazs

We are printing in its entirety a news release Jewish Affairs has received, dated June 6, 1986, from the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, James Abourezk, National Chairman, about it's nationwide campaign of protest against the Haagen-Dasz ice-cream chain for its financial and other support to the right-wing terrorist group, the Jewish Defense League. We urge our readers and friends to give this campaign their fullest possible support.

On Saturday, June 7, 1986 the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee will launch the first nationwide consumer protest by Arab-Americans against a major corporation.

The target of the protest will be the Pillsbury-owned Haagen-Dazs ice cream company based in Teaneck, New Jersey and headed by its founder and current Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mr. Reuben Mattus.

The Haagen-Dazs company is the focus of the ADC campaign as a result of Mr. Mattus' publicly stated support for the terrorist activities and aims of the Jewish Defense League.

On November 12, 1985 Mr. Mattus revealed to journalist Robert I. Friedman ("Inside the Jewish Terrorist Underground," **Village Voice**) that he provides financial support to the JDL. "If they needed money, I gave it."

According to the FBI the JDL is one of twenty terrorist organization operating in the United States with a long history of violent activities against both Jewish and Arab-American citizens.

The JDL is also, according to the FBI, the primary suspect in the terrorist murder last October of Alex Odeh, the ADC Regional Director of Southern California.

More recently, members of the Jewish Defense League publicly approved of violence against Arab-Americans ("Nice Jewish Boys With Bombs," by Robert I. Friedman, **Village Voice**, May 6, 1986)

ADC is appalled that the head of one of the most prestigious companies in America would have the audacity to proudly proclaim his support for domestic terrorists at a time when there is substantial public concern about such violence throughout the world.

ADC is calling upon the Arab-American community as well as all Americans of good-will to demonstrate their anger with whatever legal means are available to them.

Information leaflets will be distributed beginning at 12:00 noon Saturday, June 7 outside selected Haagen-Dazs outlets in a number of cities each weekend throughout the month of June.

Consumers, retailer, hotels, airlines and other entities doing business with Haagen-Dazs will be made aware of the company's association with the Jewish Defense League and of the Arab-American communities deep concern.

The consumer protest against Haagen-Dazs will continue until such a time as Mr. Reuben Mattus offers a public apology to the Arab-American community for his stated support of the JDL and publicly repudiates the activities, aims and beliefs of that group and of its founder, Meir Kahane.

ADC would remind Mr. Mattus and the Pillsbury Company that three million Arab-American consumers will not stand by idly while heads of American corporations freely endorse and support groups that engage in violence against them.

The Jewish Defense League is a terrorist organization that has no place in American society. Its activities contravene the beliefs and values of the American Jewish community and represent a serious threat to all Americans of Arab descent. Haagen-Dazs and the Pillsbury family should not be associated in any way with such activities.

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There is, however, another important lesson to be drawn from that 1984 campaign. Despite the tremendous political pressure, the high-priced and high-powered campaign (Measure E proponents for example, were able to mail only one city-wide mailing while the opponents hit every registered voter's household with at least 8), some 36.7% of the population voted for E and against the Israeli settlements. Thus it means that to the extent to which the U.S. people can be talked to, the dialogue created, and the issues clarified, they can be won to support a just solution for the Palestinian question.

No one is clearer on that than supporters of Israeli expansionism. That is why they are willing to spend thousands of dollars and exert obscene pressure to silence the debate in the U.S. And that is also why conferences such as these and measures such as Measure E must proliferate throughout the country to awaken in the U.S. people the all to dormant sense of justice and the realization of how truly to resolve the very dangerous crisis in the Middle East.

Shadows of the Past on the Political Scene

by Walter Windischbauer
and

Rupert Herzog

Walter Windischbauer is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria. Rupert Herzog is a member of the History Commission under the Central Committee, Communist Party of Austria. This article appeared in the April 1986 issue of World Marxist Review.

In March 1985, that is, 40 years after the liberation of our country from fascism and 30 years after the signing of the State Treaty which restored independent and democratic Austria, the Defence Minister extended a cordial welcome to Walter Reder, a Nazi war criminal just out of an Italian prison. This scandalous fact, which outraged democratic opinion in the Alpine republic itself and abroad, brought back into focus the problem of extreme rightist influence in Austria and the need to combat it.

Is There Any Cause for Concern?

Of course, there is no immediate threat of fascism in Austria. Monopoly capital safeguards its domination by means of 'representative democracy' and 'social partnership'. Following the bitter social struggles of the period of the First Republic and the defeat of the 'millennial Reich', when the big bourgeoisie discredited itself, the ruling social democratic and conservative quarters preferred to steer clear of direct, open class confrontation as best they could, bearing in mind the obvious weakness of Austrian capital in the early post-war years compared with other countries and the social changes effected in neighbouring countries.

However, there is also evidence that neo-fascist groupings are gaining strength in step with the deterioration of the economic and moral crisis. In the 1980 presidential elections, the candidate of the National Democratic Party (NDP), the main force on the extreme right, won over 140,000 votes (3.2%) across the country while in Carinthia, Upper Austria and Styria, the regions hit hardest by the crisis, the votes cast for it added up to seven per cent.

No real denazification or extensive ideological exposure of national socialism was accomplished in Austria after the war. The legislative opportunities of combating neo-fascism are still used very seldom and in exceptional cases only. In Austria as in other capitalist
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countries, the basic reason for this tolerance of 'Browns' is that right extremism serves objectively as something of an outlet. It offers many of the victims of capitalism — jobless youth or members of the middle strata defeated in bitter competition — a political 'prospect' moving them away from an understanding of the real causes of their hardships. Unemployment, class and cultural degradation, and other products of state-monopoly capitalist society provide fertile ground for neo-fascist currents. And this means that the struggle against the threat from the right is also a struggle against the roots of social inequality.

The spectrum of Austrian right extremism is not limited to big-mouthed, bellicose groups, as a detailed study of the *Vienna Documentation Archives* of the Austrian Resistance shows. These alignments are nothing more than what Professor Josef Hindels describes as the 'tip of an iceberg', and are dangerous due primarily to the existence of 'neo-Nazi field organisations'.

The authors of the study list three main types of right extremist organisations. First among these are the *bellicose political groupings* mentioned above. Their members take combat training, wear a uniform and carry arms (in many cases), and show an inclination to violence and terrorism. These groupings are continuing the traditions of the SA and SS men. Prominent among them are New Right Action, the nationalist Nordland Union, and, above all, the NDP.

For all that these formations wield little political influence and are rather negligible numerically, their extremist excesses often find themselves in the limelight. Besides, they have lately launched massive propaganda on sports grounds and in educational institutions, where they are trying to win over primarily young people. In the spring of 1985 the Vienna Senate demanded, in response to an appeal of democratic opinion, that the Federal government should pass a law to stop this propaganda.

So-called *cultural and ideological organisations* and societies operating under the slogan of 'defending traditions' are an important connecting link between bellicose and 'moderate' elements in the right extremist camp. There are a great many clubs, institutes and associations of this kind in Austria. The League Against Degenerate Art and the People's Movement for South Tyrol are typical.

Last but not least, there are major movements with a 'moderate' trend: the Austrian Gymnastic Union (AGU), the Carinthian Fatherland Service and 'veterans associations'. They may be defined as *mass orga-*

nisations of Austrian right extremism. It is particularly important to distinguish between their rank and file and leading functionaries. Most of the association's members are engaged exclusively in sports or other non-political pursuits. But many of these organisations are led by former Nazis, who take advantage of their leading posts to disseminate their ideas. In 1980 *Volksstimme*, the CPA national daily, exposed the 'neo-fascist style' of *Bundesturnzeitung*, a monthly published by the AGU, at a trial which attracted much public attention. A ban on major 'field' organisations of the extreme right would be useless, since the overwhelming majority of its members are not Nazis. The task is to end all government support, financial or otherwise (such as official patronage), for their activity. A large-scale democratic explanatory campaign could bring about changes in the leadership of these alignments.

It would be impossible in Austria today to draw a distinct dividing line between the parties represented in parliament and the right extremist camp. This is largely due to the fact that a few years after the country had regained freedom, the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) and the Austrian People's Party (APP) began to flirt with ex-Nazis, to woo right extremist forces with an eye to securing their votes. The Austrian Freedom Party, whose new 'liberal' programme is consonant with the Pan-German idea of non-recognition of the Austrian nation, likewise showed by its behaviour in the case of Reder that the influence of right extremist elements is not restricted to the three types of organisations we have listed.

The heterogeneity of this camp is attributable to differences over tactical issues as well as, apparently, to a sort of 'division of labor'. The community of their main goals comes out periodically in joint actions. To give an example, Norbert Burger, the NDP leader, a South Tyrol terrorist convicted by an Austrian court, was nominated for the Presidency in 1980 by a committee which included members of diverse right extremist organisations.

Thus, while there is no imminent fascist threat in Austria, the outcome of the presidential elections and other facts indicate how very wrong the bourgeois media and the Federal government have been in constantly minimising the extent of the danger. Even though the direct influence of neo-fascist groupings is relatively small, this does not warrant the conclusion that there is no need to resist them constantly.

Lessons of History

How disastrous it can be to underrate the danger from the right was shown in pre-war history. In 1930,

too, the Austrian National Socialists scored but modest gains; they only won 110,000 votes in the general election, or 30,000 votes less than Burger collected in 1980.

The experience of European nations suggests that there is a need for resistance and a halt to fascism at the earliest stages and not for deals with reaction, which bourgeois and SPA leaders are inclined to make today. Our party's current fight against the rightist danger is a continuation of the glorious tradition of the anti-fascist Resistance, to which Austria's Communists made a tangible contribution. Let us recall some lessons of past history.

Immediately after the Nazi troops' attack on our country (1938), the CPA Central Committee adopted an appeal *To The People of Austria, to All The Peoples of Europe and The World*, urging compatriots to put up active resistance to the invaders. The appeal expressed confidence that freedom and independence would be re-established. The Party realised that the fight against the Nazis was a national liberation struggle. Accordingly, its members advocated the formation of a front of all Austrians and staunchly upheld the right of the nation to self-determination in the form of independent statehood.

Whereas Austrian big capital, the top dignitaries of the Catholic church and a section of the former leadership of the Social Democratic Party betrayed the nation's interests or threw them overboard, the Communists offered the Nazi invaders active resistance in close unity with the Socialists, trade union activists and rank-and-file Catholics.

In the spring of 1945, fighting was still on in many areas of the Federal Republic; nevertheless, three democratic parties — the CPA, SPA and APP — published a *Declaration of Independence*. That historic first Constitution of the Second Republic, which declared "the Anschluss imposed on the Austrian people to be null and void" and proclaimed the restoration of a democratic republic, formalised the anti-fascist consensus achieved immediately after liberation. The consensus also translated into far-reaching denazification laws. All three parties, which their 1945 Declaration called anti-fascist, saw their goal in creating a new, sovereign, independent and democratic Austria.

However, it soon transpired, as the CPA stated later on, that the three parties had two different concepts of post-war development. One of the concepts called for the mobilisation of the people to clear away the ruins, provide elementary living conditions, organise supply and production, rehabilitate the economy

and fully eliminate the burden of the past. It was the Communist concept. Opposed to it was the concept of preventing or minimising various changes, such as the transfer of all economic commanding heights to the state, democratisation of the state apparatus, the land reform and the eradication of all vestiges of fascism. The partisans of this concept wanted to undermine anti-fascist unity and isolate the Communists, the motive force of renewal and transformation.

In post-war years, anti-fascists in the SPA and APP were pushed into the background. This told on the removal of remnants of fascism; the effort was reduced to purely nominal measures, and the denazification laws were ignored altogether or enforced in a half-hearted manner. Indeed, both parties began to include ex-Nazis in their electoral calculations, so that ultimately this group was virtually rehabilitated and reincorporated in the Austrian political and economic system. That policy culminated in the formation of the Union of Independents (1949), a sort of rallying point for has-beens, which six years later became the Austrian Freedom Party.

In spite of the broad anti-fascist political consensus achieved immediately after the war, anti-Nazi changes were soon discontinued and the country was reconstituted on capitalist lines. Bruno Kreisky, former Chairman of the SPA and Federal Chancellor, claimed that it was a question of "defending ourselves against a massive Communist offensive" and of defending "democracy." This brings to mind what Engels wrote in a letter to August Bebel: "In any case our sole adversary on the day of the crisis and on the day after the crisis will be the whole of the reaction which will group around pure democracy. . . ."

In Austria, that the 'whole of the reaction' contrived in that way to turn the anti-fascist consensus into an anti-communist one. The metamorphosis went hand in hand with 'anti-denazification', curbs on democratic rights, and the restoration of capitalism. Gross anti-communism and anti-Sovietism were elevated to the rank of **state ideology**. In 1965, a right extremist killed E. Kirchweyer, a Communist, and a year later Norbert Burger, sentenced in Italy for life, founded his neo-fascist party, the NDP.

The experience of the CPA and anti-fascists generally invites in this connection the important conclusion that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism must be fought unrelentingly. The fomenting of hatred for Communists and the Soviet Union is a source of inspiration to fascists and prevents the formulation and application of a strategy for united action by the working
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class movement against the threat from the Right.

What consequences blind anti-Sovietism can have and how dangerous it is to our people's interests is seen in the fact that for a long time the pro-western orientation of the SPA and the APP and their support of the cold war policy of the Western powers, of U.S. imperialism, prevented the drafting of so important an anti-fascist document as 1955 State Treaty. At that time Oscar Helmer, one of the right Social Democratic leaders, openly took a stand against a trip to Moscow by Adolf Scharf and Bruno Kreisky for talks about the State Treaty. He said that if so far the party had expelled workers who had travelled to Russia, it could not possibly take a different approach to the party Chairman. Anti-Sovietism was placed above the national interests of the people and the interests of the fight against fascism. But as a result of the consistent position of the Soviet Union, the Austrian government realised in the end that the country could not guarantee its independent democratic development by following in the footsteps of the United States and other Western powers. Thereupon the State Treaty was signed: by its terms, the republic committed itself "to continue its efforts towards removing all traces of Nazism from Austrian political, economic and cultural life. . . . dissolving all political, military, and paramilitary organisations of a fascist nature on its territory" in order to "prevent all Nazi or militarist activity and propaganda in Austria."

However, these stipulations notwithstanding, the ruling quarters are tolerant of Nazi organisations and their propaganda everywhere. Neo-fascists put forward their candidates in many elections, nor will the presidential elections due in May 1986 be any exception. The list of patent violations of the anti-fascist Constitution is long.

The principles of the liberation struggle of peoples which found a national expression in the **Declaration of Independence, the State Treaty and the Law on Permanent Neutrality** were won in hard battles. Today we Communists explain why it is necessary to insist on respect for and scrupulous implementation of these documents, which are the main legal pillars of the Second Republic and have established a democratic, anti-fascist constitutional order.

A Task of Lasing Significance

We consider that the struggle against the rightist danger is inseparable from exposing so-called "social partnership", a cover for the aspiration of the top leadership of the Socialist Party of Austria and the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions to 'manage' the capitalist system in common with the employers. This concept

may be called the 'double bottom' of Austrian home policy. For decades past, important problems of the country have been solved, not by parliament, but by agencies of 'social partnership', without democratic debate. This amounts to a systematic rundown of democracy, to disregard of the principles of popular initiative and active participation in management. "Social partnership is not a barrier on the road of reaction," the CPA Programme points out. "It increases the political and economic power of capital. By leading to deals behind the scenes, privileges and bureaucratic arbitrariness, it gives food for reactionary and neo-fascist trends and social demagoguery."

Resistance to the threat from the Right connotes effort to carry on extensive anti-fascist education in schools and the media, and to reveal the social roots and nature of fascism and neo-fascism, as well as the forms which they take. It is only in combination with explanatory work on these lines that the norms of our constitutional order can really ensure the eradication of all vestiges of Nazism in political, economic and cultural life. To strip 'Brown' organisations of all legal basis, it is also necessary not only to expose them in the eyes of public opinion but, above all, to drastically restrict their public activities. This would make it hard for right extremists to join in elections and would provide legal means of blocking fascist gatherings and the publication of fascist newspapers and other literature.

U.S. imperialist policy, which is endangering the very existence of humanity, also affects the political situation in Austria, where reactionaries, militarists and neo-Nazis consider that they can now sail with a fair wind. Playing up the myth of the "threat from the East" and representing communism as a "sad and absurd chapter of history" are reminiscent of Goebbels' propaganda devices.

Neo-fascist groups are at one on rabid anti-Sovietism and non-recognition of the existing post-war organisation of Europe. This attitude is typical of imperialism's entire post-war policy. Therefore, the struggle for peace, detente and a stronger peace movement, against the arms race and war, is also a struggle against growing fascism.

Unity and cohesion of all the democratic, anti-fascist organisations and currents, primarily the working class movement as the chief motive force of the struggle for democracy, are a decisive factor for the isolation and neutralisation of right extremism. As far back as the years of World War II, Austrian inmates of the Buchenwald prison camp drew up a document proclaiming the need for joint anti-fascist action, including

the "immediate establishment of organisational unity in trade unions, consumer's cooperative societies, sports and cultural associations, the formation of unity committees in all local and enterprise organisations, the promotion of economic rehabilitation by incorporating Austria in a European economic organisation in close cooperation with the Soviet Union, and the encouragement of all aspirations for unity in the international working class movement."

"The Communist Party of Austria made many sacrifices in the anti-fascist Resistance," CPA Chairman Franz Muhri stresses. "It played the role of pioneer in fostering and strengthening Austrian national consciousness. Our party is co-founder of the Second Republic. Austria's Communists will continue in the forefront of the anti-fascist struggle." This is a task of lasting significance. □

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"On the other hand there are very negative phenomena. Government communication media propagates in all possible ways chauvinist ideas, helping to expand the ranks of extremists. Their slogan is — Israel must be without Arabs. I have fought all my life so that Arabs and Jews can live under a peaceful, eastern sky. This was the way it was for centuries, before the Zionists began to disseminate a policy of expansionism.

"There is only one road to peace in the Near East — to call an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization," says Langer in conclusion. "The Israeli ruling forces will certainly not feel at ease at such a conference because, apart from their protector the U.S.A., also present will be the real defenders of the Arabs, and of a just and complete solution to the problem of the Near East."

Felicia Langer says good-bye to us and goes up to the platform. Palestinian young men and women, representatives of African youth, Nicaraguans, spokesmen of Soviet young people, give her a great ovation as she throws a Palestinian scarf over her shoulders. This has its own, special meaning. In the occupied Arab territories wearing this symbol of struggle by the Palestinians is forbidden and violation can lead to arrest and imprisonment. We look into the faces of those who have come together here. The truthful and emotional words spoken by Felicia Langer reach into the hearts of her listeners. Her last sentence — "I am proud that I have the honor to defend Palestinian fighters" — is drowned in loud calls for peace in the Middle East. □

G. Musaelyan, U.S.S.R.

Jewish Affairs

פאר דעם פייער אין דין ארפגעהריכטער האַנט,
וואָס קאָן נאָך ווידער אויפליכטן די אַלטע ים־סוף וועגן,
וואו משהס קינדער האָבן צו דעם פרייען לאַנד געצויגן
און פּרעהס חייל ליגט אין מינצטער־גרונט פאַרווירן.

נאָר מ'האַט דין דאָ ביי די פעלזן־פאַרטן פון מאַנהעטן
מיט ערפּורכט אָנגענומען אַלם אייראָפעס טייער, ליב געשאַנק,
און ניו יאָרקער קינדער אין אַלע שפּראַכן און דיאַלקטן
געווננען האָבן דיר אַ לידער־לויב און רוים־גאַזאַנג.
און אייניקלעך פון דעם רעוואַלט ביי לעקסינגטאָן און באַנקער־היל,
די זין פון ארפּשטאַנד ביי דער האַרפּערס פּערי,
און וועטראַנען פון פרייהייט־זיג אויף געטיסבורגער פעלדער
באַהאַנגען האָבן דין מיט אויפגעפאַלדעוועטע פּאַנען,
אַדורכגעשאַסענע און אָנגעגרויכערטע אין קאַמף
און אייגענטומקענע אין בלוט פון העלדן־טאַט.

איז נעם־זשע, פרייהייט־גייסט, אונדו וואָגל־קינדער אויף
און צעפיר אונדו איבער די ניו־יאָרקער גאַסן,
און וויזו אַיעדערן זיין נייע היים און אַפּרופּלאַץ
און זאָג אַיעדערן אַ וואָרט פון האַפּענונג און טרייסט.
אַ, זאָג, ווי היימיש איז מאַנהעטענס שטיינערדיקער באַדן,
און ווי פּרוכטבאַר איז דער טאָל פון בלייען האַדסאָן —
פאַר קנאַספּן ווייסע פון פּאַדאָליער גרינע פעלדער,
פאַר פּאַזשימקעס פון פּוילנס צויבער־וואַלד,
פאַר בורשטינען־טרויבן פון בעסאַראַבער ערד
און פאַר ווערבנס צאַרטע פון דעם טריבן ליטע־לאַנד.

רוד סעלצער

געבוירן אין 1904
געקומען קיין אמעריקע אין 1920



און דאָ ביי די ברעגן פון פעלזיקן כבל
מיר האָבן אינגאַנצן פאַרנעסן ווי צו וויינען
און מיר האָבן קיין האַרפעס מיט זיך ניט געבראַכט
און קאַנען בלויז צער ארױף טורעמס ארױפהענגען.
און קיינער ניט קומט ביי אונדז בעטן געזאַנגען
און קיינער ניט שטרעקט זיין פריינטלעכע האַנט.
בלרז דער אינדול ביים ים מיט גראַניט־פּאַליסאַדן
שיקט פייער־סיגנאַלן אין פאַררירכערטע ספּערן
און אַטעמט מיט גאַנג פון דינאַמאַ־מאַשינען.
און שאַטנט מיט שטויב פון פאַרלאַשענע שטערן.

און זינגען די זיידעס אַרױס פון די ספרים
די עפישע זיגן פון דעם שיינעם אַמאַל.
די לירישע־קלאַנגען פון אור־אַלטן געכטן.
ווען ליכטיקע זונען באַגילדט האָבן פעלדער
און לבנות באַזילבערט האָבן טייכן מיט רו.
זויערט ארױף אין אונדז דער ווייניקער געכטן.
און עס פלאַקערט נאָך מער אונדזער היינט
גייען מיר שטאַלץ צו דערגרייכן דעם מאַרגן.
מיר, דער פאַרשאַלטענער, וואַגלענדער דור,
מיר, דער קיינער פון בלוט און פון צאַרן.

אַ פרייהייט־געטן, ארױף טורעם אין ניו יאָרקער האַפן,
וואו סיגיסן האַדסאַן און איסט־ריווער זיך אַרױן אין ברייטן אַקעאַן,
האַלט הויך דיין אויסגעשטרעקטע האַנט מיט אויפגעפלאַמטן פּאַקל,
עפן ארױף זיין בוך מיט אזרות וואונדערלעכן וויסן
און ווייז דעם וואַסער־וועג אונדז צו דער נייער וועלט.
דו ביזט דאָך אַ פליכטליג און אַ פרעמדע,
אַ פאַרטריבענע פון פּראַנקרייכס שיינע ברעגן,
אַרויסגעריסן פון די הרוועס אַרצן פון לאַרעין,
אויסגעשמאַלצן אין די קעסלען פון פאַרזער גיסערייען
און אויסגעפורעמט דורך די הענט פון פרייע קאַמונאַרן.

און געזאַלט האַסטו אַ שטאַלצע שטיין ביים אויסגוס פון סועץ,
אַ פאַרבינדערין פון וועלטן, פון ים מיט ימען,
אַ פאַרברידערין פון פעלקער, פון שטאַם מיט שטאַמען,
פאַר שוואַרצע מאַטעריקן — אַ ליכט־היל פון פּראַגרעס.
נאָר פּראַנקרייכס הערשער האָבן זיך פאַר דיר געשראַקן,
פאַר דער הייסער לאַווע אין זיין שטאַל־טשוהן.

ווי פי דערשאַקענע אין פראַכט־שיפן צונויפגעטריבן,
און אָנעוואַלגערט קינד־און־קייט אויף פערינעס און זעק,
האַט די פליכטלינג־עדה פאַר יעדן שאַרן און שאַטן איינגעציטערט.
און יעדער ביזער יעכץ פון דאַמפיקער סירענע,
און יעדער שטאַל־געקלאַנג פון שווערע אָנקער־קייטן,
און שוידער־שטראַם האָט אין געדעכעניש זיך אויפסניי צעשוימט
האַט ווי מיט שווערד־און־שפּאָרן זיך אין בלוט צעקלימפערט.
און גולנדיק געלוערעט איבער שלאָף מיט וויסטן נעכטן,
אין הלום־גרויל האָט אויסגעוועבט משוגענע געשפענסטן
אין פינצער־וואַלד פון נעפלדיקן, אומבאַקאַנטן מאַרגן.

און אַפילו ווען דער ים האָט מיט לבנה־זילבער זיך צעבלעזט
און ס'האַבן די מאַטראַסן נאָכן טאַג פון שווערער מי
צעסטורנעט די גיטאַרעס און צעצויגן אַקאַרדינע־פאַלדן,
און געוונגען סערענאַדעס און האַפּערדיקע ים־באַלאַדן,
און פריד־און־לייד־געזאַנגען פון אַלע וויטסע פאַרטן —
האַט אויך דער שטילער ניגון פון חצות אַרויסגעקלאַנגט
פון אַלע דעקן־ווינקלען איינגערעטע, איינגעדעקטע,
האַט כאַר פון קינדער יידישע, פאַריחומט און פאַרוואַגלט,
מיט יהודה הלויס ים־ליד זיך צוויינט.

מיר זיינען די קינדער פון צוואַנציקסטן יאַרהונדערט,
מיר זיינען דער בלוטיקער דור.
געבוירן אין בלוט און אין ווייען.
די זויערע מילך פון טרוקענע מאַמעשע ניפלען,
די געזאַלצענע טרערן פון פאַרגאַסענע טאַטעשע אויגן,
זיי פליסן מיט אומר און אונדז.
די צעבראָכענע דעמבענע מולטער
איז געווען אונדזער סקריפּנדיק וויגל,
דער שחיטה־געיאַמער און דאָס גסיסה־געוויין
זיינען צוקאַפּנס געווען אונדזער וויגליד.

דער טויט האָט אין היימישן שטעטלשן גאַרטן
פאַרזיית כּערגלעך מיט פאַרשניטענע כּרדער־קברים.
זיינען אויפגעגאַנגען די פּאָלינענע בליטן
מיט בלעטער — גרוי־גרינע ווי גאַל,
מיט קוויטן — צעאיטערטע ווי כּראַנד.
אונדזער טרוים, אונדזער קינדערשן הימל
עס האָבן פאַרוואַלקנט די שטאַלענע רויכ־פייגל,
אין די שריפה געוואָרן אונדזער איינציקע זון,
מיט זשומען פון קוילן, מיט רויך און מיט שוועבל.
און רינשטאַק־טראַנשייען — אונדזער איינציקע רוי.

ווִדִישַׁע עֲנִינִים



יידישע פליטים
ביי דער סטאַטוע פון
פרייהייט

פון דוד סעלצער

(פון זיין בוך "בראַנזווילער געזאַנג", 1942)

האַלצשניט פון העלען וועסט העלער

עס זיינען קינדער יידישע קיין ניריאָרק אָנגעקומען.
געבוירענע אין בלוט פון שחיטות און פון שלאַכטן.
מיט שרפה־שרעק אין אומרראַפּלדיקע אויגן.
מיט דורות לאַסטן אויף די ביינערדיקע פלייצעס —
האַבן זיי די ערד פון נייער וועלט מיט ציטער־טריט באַטראַטן.
און געקומען זיינען זיי דורך אַלע וואַסער־פלוסן,
און דורכגעשניטן גרענעצן מיט אַלע שוואַרצסטע שטעגן,
און מיט הינטער־געסלעך זיך געשלייכט דורך קרוין־שטעט.

די קרייטן־ברענען פון דעם קלאַרן הניעסטער.
די מוטנע וויסל און דער בלויע כלענד פון דעם דונאַי,
די שקוואַלן פון דעם שוואַרצן ים, דער באַספּאָר, אַדריאַטיק,
דער גליווער־פוך פון ווייסן ים, דער באַלטיק און אַטלאַנטיק,
די פּאַרטן פון קאַסטאַנצאַ, סטאַמבול, אַטען און נעאַפּל,
די געטאָ־שטעט פון יאַסי, וואַרשע פּראַגע און בערלין,
וואָס האָבן זיי געטיילט פון גלאַנץ און רוים?
אין יעדן לאַנד אַנטקעגן איז געקומען בלויו די נויט.
אַ יעדע אויסגעשטרעקטע האַנט באַקומען, האָט בלויו אַרעם־כרויט.