

March/April 1990
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JEWISH AFFAIRS

Anti-Semitism and Anti-Sovietism

Alfred J. Kutzik

**From "Time of Peace" to
"Days of Rage"**

G.A.W.

**International Jewish Women's
Peace Conference**

U.S. Jewish Women's Demonstrations

**Reminiscences of Lillian Wald,
Henry St. Settlement and
Neighborhood Playhouse**

Edith Segal

Address to the Women's Peace Party

Lillian D. Wald

A Chapter to Remember

Mieczyslaw Moczar

Interview with Poland's Chief Rabbi

Sol Flapan

Poetry

Wladyslaw Broniewski

Reviews

Gerald Horne

Leonard Lehrman



Uprising

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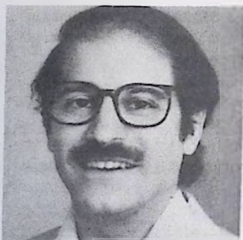
featuring

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in a program of American, Israeli and Yiddish songs
and the

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in a program of traditional Ukrainian and Russian songs



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*The concert will be followed by a reception for Lewis M. Moroze
who is retiring as managing editor of Jewish Affairs.*

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Editorials

Cut U.S. Aid to Israel

As it did last year, the U.S. State Department's annual report on human rights violations issued in February pilloried Israel for, according to the *N.Y. Times*, "causing avoidable deaths and injuries in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, destroying property, deporting Arab residents and using firearms excessively." The report also noted that "more Palestinians were killed by Israeli troops in 1989 than in 1988." Aside from its violation of moral norms, the Israeli military occupation of Palestine violates international law that Israel is a party to and bound to observe: the Geneva Conventions on the treatment of the population of occupied territories and decisions of the United Nations requiring an end to the occupation of territory conquered by Israel in 1967. U.S. adherence to these Geneva Conventions and membership in the United Nations and our government's established policy of reducing economic and military assistance to countries that violate human rights require it to apply this policy to Israel. If the United States continues to provide \$3 billion or more of our tax dollars annually to Israel, it is flouting international and national commitments and is an accomplice in the violation of human rights that the State Department has documented.

From Present to Past Tense

The liberal magazine *Present Tense*, published by the American Jewish Committee, is being closed down, says AJC's president, for "strictly budgetary" reasons. It is losing money—but it has been doing so since it began to be published 17 years ago. The conservative magazine *Commentary*, published by AJC which also loses money, will continue to be printed. Somehow the AJC discovered *Present Tense* was too expensive to sustain just one month after its January/February issue documented that the "major Jewish organizations," including the American Jewish Committee, invariably support the Israeli government although polls show that the majority of American Jews are opposed to its occupation policies and refusal to negotiate land for peace. *Jewish Affairs* regrets that one of the few non-conformist Jewish publications in our country is being silenced.

The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

This issue of *Jewish Affairs* commemorates the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising which began the last week of April 47 years ago with our front cover illustration,
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JEWISH AFFAIRS



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an article and a poem. In doing so we follow the behest of those who fought and died never to forget what happened there. We must never forget or fail to honor the heroism of the Jews who fought in the Uprising and never forget or forgive the brutality of the Nazi-German forces who put it down. But we must also never forget or fail to honor those non-Jewish Poles who helped and fought in support of the ghetto-fighters, particularly since most were members of the Polish Workers (Communist) Party which has recently been forced to dissolve and whose proud history is being besmirched by the enemies of socialism. This is why the article on the Uprising which we have selected is by the commander of the PWP's military forces in Warsaw in 1943 and the poem is by another non-Jewish Pole. (The front-cover illustration is by a Jewish woman who is one of the leading artists of the German Democratic Republic.)

International Women's Day

In observance of International Women's Day on March 8, this March-April issue contains an article about and speech by the outstanding Jewish progressive and peace leader Lillian D. Wald (1867-1940) and three articles on the U.S. and international Jewish women's movements for peace in the Middle East. We call on our readers to support and participate in the significant and innovative actions of Jewish women's peace groups wherever they exist (see the list on p. 11) and to help organize them wherever they do not.

Honoring Blitzstein and Weil

By a remarkable coincidence March 2 is the 85th anniversary of the birth of Marc Blitzstein and the 90th anniversary of the birth of Kurt Weil, two of our country's most gifted and politically progressive composers, both of whom were Jews. *Jewish Affairs* honors their memory with a comprehensive review of a recently-published biography of Blitzstein by a reviewer who is himself an American Jewish composer in the Blitzstein-Weil-Eisler tradition.

Letters from Readers

Jewish Affairs welcomes and will print letters from readers with reactions to our articles or editorials as well as comments on issues of concern to Jews. We cannot guarantee that every letter received is printed, but each will be carefully read and taken into account. Letters longer than 150 words may have to be shortened by the editors.

Anti-Semitism and Anti-Sovietism

Alfred J. Kutzik

With the Gorbachev administration's removal of restrictions on immigration, release of "prisoners of Zion" and permission for when not encouragement of Jewish cultural organizations, centers, publications, Yiddish and Hebrew classes, etc., the unfounded decades-long campaign against "official," i.e., governmental, anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. has practically come to an end—without, of course, the U.S. public being made aware that all Soviet citizens had been subject to the same immigration regulations, the same laws against the organized instigation of emigration and the teaching of religion to children and the same policies discouraging ethnic cultural life. Now that these major rationalizations for anti-Sovietism based on supposed governmental persecution of Jews have disappeared, the well-institutionalized campaign against "Soviet anti-Semitism" is continuing focussed on the "popular anti-Semitism" of the Soviet people rather than the "official anti-Semitism" of the Soviet government, although the government is still being charged with tolerating the people's anti-Semitism.

Unquestionably anti-Semitism exists among a portion of the Soviet population, largely a heritage of the czarist past, the Nazi occupation and the last years of the Stalin regime. But it has been exacerbated by the emigration since the 1960s of one of every eight or so Soviet Jews and the intensified campaign against Zionism after Israel's occupation of Arab land in 1967. The extent to which anti-Semitism exists among the Soviet population cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, but it is certainly being widely exaggerated in the commercial and Jewish press which has recently been reporting imminent "pogroms." At the same time the extent of current Soviet governmental criticism of and action against anti-Semitism has been minimized when it has been reported at all. What are the facts?

Since January when the *N.Y. Times* ran a lead story on the "panic" among Soviet Jews who fear they are going to soon be the victims of pogroms, this has been repeatedly reported in that and other papers. These stories accurately report that Soviet Jews are expressing such fears but do not address the issue of whether these fears are well-grounded. Perhaps the sole non-Soviet journalistic assessment of the evidence concludes that "the panic gripping Soviet Jews is rooted more in threats, anti-Semitic graffiti and rumors of pogroms

(Continued on page 16)

From "Time for Peace" to "Days of Rage":

An Eyewitness Report from Israel

G.A.W.

During 1989, three powerful political forces came together to express their outrage and rejection of the vicious Shamir-Rabin regime's unwillingness to pursue genuine peace in the Middle East. These forces included the Israeli peace movement—such as Peace Now, Hadash, etc.; the Palestinian national liberation movement in the Occupied Territories; and the international peace movement, especially the Italian Peace Association, and various solidarity organizations such as the Palestine Aid Society, etc.

As new winds of change, peace and democracy manifest themselves in the socialist world and elsewhere around the globe, the intransigence of the "National Unity Government" in Israel and its patron, the Reaganite Bush administration, is increasingly anachronistic if not downright archaic.

The peace and liberation movements decided to demonstrate their rejection of the Shamir-Rabin pightheadedness at the close of 1989. This was to initiate, as they put it, a "Time for Peace." The political platform they worked out included Two States for Two Peoples, Peace Negotiations with the PLO, an End to the Occupation, an International Peace Conference, Self-Determination for the Palestinian People, Peace and Security for Both Peoples, among other planks. Plans were laid for a show of solidarity with the Israeli Women in Black on Friday, December 29, and for a Human Chain around the Old City on Saturday, December 30.

The Time for Peace events began on Thursday, December 28 with convocations at the Al-Hakawati Theatre in East Jerusalem, then at the Michal Ha-Knesset Hotel in West Jerusalem. Both these events were attended by overflow audiences comprised of Israelis, Palestinians, a large Italian delegation, and a number of other Europeans and Americans.

On Friday, a number of Americans were briefed on the Intifadah by Ibrahim Dakkak, a prominent progressive Palestinian, at the Arab Thought Forum. Then several thousand peace activists converged on Paris Square at the center of West Jerusalem. For several years, this has been the site of the Women in Black vigil, where about a hundred Israeli women dressed entirely in black demonstrate silently on behalf of "Lo Kibbush"—End the Occupation of

the West Bank and Gaza Now! On the 29th, more than a thousand women in black joined these gallant demonstrators and they were accompanied by an equally large number of other supporters.

After an hour or more of the silent vigil, the entire group marched down to Suleiman the Magnificent Street by the Old City and from there up Saladin Street to the Hakawati for some cultural events and speeches. When we arrived at the theatre, we were joined by women from Ramallah who had been prevented by IDF (Israeli army, ed.) roadblocks from coming earlier to the Paris Square. Just as the expressions of unity were becoming intense, the assembled troops began to beat Palestinian—and Italian—women and throw them into vans to be taken away.

Then as the peace people began to surge, US-made tear gas canisters were fired into the crowd with predictable results. This event closed with scenes of Italian and Israeli women vomiting into trash barrels around the Hakawati and an ambulance crew picking up a Palestinian who had collapsed on the street outside. Some concern was expressed about what this forebode for the next day.

Saturday dawned with an absolutely clear sky—such as only seen in Jerusalem. The Human Chain around the Old City walls, a total distance of two and a half miles, was to form around two o'clock. About an hour before this, a few peace people were beginning to cluster at the Damascus Gate of the Old City, while many Palestinians who had completed their Saturday morning shopping were heading home. Suddenly the IDF and police forces appeared, along with a large white truck with two remote-control water-cannons mounted atop. With absolutely no provocation from the people and without warning, the vehicle began to blast the people on the sidewalk outside the Damascus Gate. Many were flattened, and those of us who were merely soaked raced about trying to extricate women with screaming babies from the melee. With terrified children clinging to them, some of the trapped women seemed to be immobilized by the surprise and fury of the attack.

Then the truck and many of the troops seemed to vanish, as thousands of Israeli, Palestinian and Italian people began to circle the Old City walls. By three o'clock, an estimated 25,000 people had in fact encircled the Old City. The crowd included Tawfik Toubi and Emil Habibi (Hadash), Haim Oron (Mapam) and other eminent Israeli political figures.

G.A.W. participated in and photographed the events described in this article.



March by Israeli "Women in Black" and their supporters. East Jerusalem Dec. 29, 1989

Soon, balloons were released, then everyone joined hands in an electrifying gesture of unity for peace and justice. Where I stood near the Jaffa Gate, Israeli and Palestinian children joined hands on my left and Sephardim and Ashkenazim joined hands on my right. We all faced towards the back of the King David Hotel—peace today gazing at a scene of Menahim Begin's terrorist violence of a few decades earlier.

Then the people began to disperse—in peace. But this was not to be. After most of the Israelis and Italians and left, many of the Palestinians remained—after all, they live there. The troops and the water-cannon truck reappeared and renewed the attack. Tear gas was fired, as were plastic bullets. Many civilians were clubbed to the ground. This time the water-cannon fired green-dyed water, before it had been clear water.

The attacks were unrelenting. All up and down Nablus Road and along Suleiman the Magnificent Street from Damascus Gate to Herod Gate, the attacks continued. An old woman wandered out of her house and was knocked flat by the water cannon—it was such a pitiful sight that even some Israeli policemen momentarily came to her assistance. A journalist waved his passport and cried "je suis francais" while being dragged for the same two blocks back down Nablus Road. A Palestinian commented "There are

no 'Europeans' here today—we are all Palestinians."

The troops and police also attacked hotels in what was becoming a replay of the "Days of Rage" police riot in Mayor Daley's Chicago twenty years ago. In a water-cannon attack on a hotel near Herod Gate, an Italian peace activist, Marisa Manno, lost her right eye. At the National Palace Hotel, farther up Saladin Street, troops coldheartedly fired tear gas canisters into the building which contained not only men and women, but children as well. It was estimated that more than sixty people were treated at Al-Makassad Hospital in East Jerusalem.

But overall, the Time for Peace events must be judged a success. The Israeli peace movement was energized by these events, the first major show of Israeli-Palestinian unity on behalf of Two States for Two Peoples. Many Palestinians expressed their enhanced morale due to the show of international support for their Intifadah.

As might have been expected, Israeli right-wing and fascist parties complained loudly about the Time for Peace events and Israeli death-squads ("Sicarii," etc.) called for the immediate assassination of Knesset members such as Shulamit Aloni who had supported the Time for Peace. But this is the price which history exacts for decades of Israeli militarism, ethnic chauvinism, and pandering to U.S. imperialism. □

International Jewish Women's Peace Conference

The following is reprinted from the Jewish Women's Peace Bulletin of the New York-based Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

The Women's Peace Movement Coalition, made up of six organizations, coordinated an international women's peace conference in Jerusalem on December 29, 1989. Features of the conference were: (1) the obtaining of a permit to march from West Jerusalem to East Jerusalem; (2) the number of participants—1400 at the plenary session at the Knesset Tower Hotel; 2,000 at France Square for the Women in Black vigil; the 5,000 women who marched to the El Hakawati Theater in East Jerusalem; and (3) a legal gathering of Palestinian women in the theater where they were able to speak and to perform.

The opening plenary of the Conference included a variety of Jewish and Palestinian speakers and international feminists lending support to women's peace efforts in ending the conflict. Ably facilitated by Debbie Lerman from Women in Black (Tel Aviv) and the Coalition, the program included Dalia Sachs, Jewish activist in Women in Black (Haifa) and the Coalition; Nabila Espanoli, Palestinian activist in Women in Black (Haifa), *Shutafut* (Partnership), *Tandi* (Movement of Democratic Women), and the Coalition; Naomi Chazan, well known Jewish peace advocate; Mariam Mar'i, Israeli Palestinian activist and participant with Edna Zaretsky in the Women-in-Dialogue tour in the United States; Channan Bannura from Beit Sahur; Alice Shalvi, head of the Israeli Women's Network.

The most dramatic appearances were those by Masha Lubelsky, General Secretary of *Naamat* (the women's division of Israel's national union Histadrut and whose 800,000 membership represents Israel's largest women's organization) and Zahira Kamal, activist in the Women's Popular Committees in the West Bank. There was great significance in Zahira Kamal speaking in West Jerusalem, explicitly advocating an end to the occupation, negotiations with the PLO, and a two-state solution. Though Lubelsky's speech made no explicit reference to the means and methods which would lead to a solution to the conflict, her appearance with Kamal was viewed by the Conference organizers as a major step in bringing mainstream Israeli Jewish women into the peace movement. Both women were seen on Israeli television news that night.

Solidarity speeches were given representing women from Italy by Caterina Ronco, England by Rebecca Johnson, United States by Irena Klepfisz, and Belgium by Helen

Sussman. In addition a message of support was read from Simone Suskind, organizer of last year's Brussels Conference "Give Peace a Change—Women Speak Out."

After the plenary, the organizers provided buses and cars to drive participants to France Square, where Jerusalem's Women in Black hold their weekly 1-hour vigil at 1 o'clock. The number of participants now swelled to about 2,000 and then began increasing again when the vigil ended and the march into East Jerusalem began. Many Palestinian women joined the protestors so that final estimates ranged between 5,000 and 6,000.

Quite near the theater, a small group of Palestinian women took out a Palestinian flag and at his point, the police who had been monitoring the vigil and march very closely, blocked off side streets and began to tear gas and beat the protesters and bystanders. Many women were directed into the theater; others were urged to move back. It is to the credit of the peace marshals that the situation did not deteriorate and the calm was maintained. At the theater, 16 people were arrested, 15 women and 1 American Palestinian man with his wife and child. Among them was an Italian member of Parliament. All, except the man, were released the next day without charges. He was released a few days later.

Despite this violence, the Palestinian program went on as scheduled. El Hakawati seats only 400, and it had been agreed by organizers that most of the seats were to be saved for Palestinians, who do not have opportunities for such forums.

The Coalition Conference was purposely scheduled during the European NGO and *Shalom Akhshav* (Peace Now) week of peace actions and meetings. The women's organizations supported many of these activities, including *Shalom Akhshav*'s "hands around Jerusalem" peace demonstration on Saturday, December 30, which drew more than 35,000 Israelis and Palestinians. Because of these activities, there were many feminists in Jerusalem from the international community. The largest contingent consisted of 400 Italian women. Special workshops had been planned for them on Saturday, December 30. The aim was to identify problems in working together and the three workshops explored racism, solidarity work, and personal relationships.

On Tuesday January 2, 1990, the second largest delegation made up of Swedish women (mainly members of WILPF) met with members of the Women's Peace Movement Coalition at *Isha L'Isha* (Women to Women), Haifa's Women's Center. The Swedish women proposed another international conference next year and offered help and

extended discussions about the nature of such a conference (one suggestion was that it serve as a model for an international peace conference), where it should take place (possibly East Jerusalem), who should participate (grassroots activists, internationally known feminists), and its relationship to other work and activities of the Coalition.

After the meeting, participants walked to the offices of *Shutafut* (Partnership), a Palestinian and Jewish peace group, where Nabila Espanoli hosted a cultural evening of speeches and music. Member of *Gesher* (Bridge), *Gesher L'Shalom* (Bridget to Peace), *Tandi* (Movement of Democratic Women), and representatives of the Swedish delegation spoke of their work, their impressions of the various activities they had attended, and sang in Hebrew, Arabic, English and Swedish.

In an interview about the women's activities between December 29 and January 2, Hannah Safran, coordinator of *Isha L'Isha*, commented on the unpredictability of events. When the American Jewish Congress organized the "Empowerment of Jewish Women" International Conference in 1988 in Jerusalem, and refused to include the Israeli/Palestinian conflict on the agenda, it did not realize the catalytic effect this refusal would have. As a result of being shut out, peace activists organized a "Post-Conference" on Women and Peace immediately after the AJC gathering. It was at this time that the Coalition was established. Over the past year, the coalition has solidified its work and this year

staged a major international women's peace event.

The Coalition sees its purpose as supporting grassroots work and strengthening the effectiveness of individual groups. It wants to increase group memberships and the number of women participating in various types of actions. (1) four regional weekend seminars between March and June for women who have recently become involved in Women in Black. The aim is to bring together those women interested in taking a more active role in the movement; (2) holding monthly regional meetings in private homes, community centers, and offices of feminist organizations to broaden grassroots connections and to reach women not yet active in any of the groups; (3) a two-day national Women's Peace movement Coalition conference for members of all groups which will include discussions and workshops on increasing effectiveness, strategies, etc.; (4) publication of a monthly newsletter in Hebrew, Arabic, and English to be mailed and distributed in Israel, the Occupied Territories and abroad; the newsletter will keep members of the Coalition better informed about ongoing events which are rarely covered in the media; (5) an international women's peace conference in December 1990. The Coalition is trying to raise funds for a paid national coordinator and for office space as well as for the expense involved in the 1990 projects. For more information, write, Women's Peace Movement, POB 61128, Jerusalem 91060.

U.S. Jewish Women's Demonstrations: High Holidays 1989 and International Women's Day 1990

The first nationally coordinated Jewish women's peace action took place on October 2, 1989 with groups all over the U.S. participating. Vigils in solidarity with Israeli and Palestinian women's peace groups were organized in response to the Jewish Women's Call for Peace during the week of October 2, 1989. Numbers at the vigils ranged from 20 to 200. Protests were held in Eugene, Seattle, Berkeley, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Ann Arbor, Tucson, Washington D.C., Boston, Montpelier, Syracuse, Philadelphia and New York City.

Groups varied in terms of the literature they distributed. Some used the JWCEO (NYC) flyer for their basic format; other had their own logos. One group made up a New Year's card with the traditional *L'Shana Tovah* greeting, coupled with *Dai L'Kibush* (end the occupation) slogan; a list of the Israeli women's peace groups and their addresses were provided on the inside of the card. A number of groups were

able to get media coverage, and thereby publicize their own commitment to peace. Articles about the demonstrations appeared in newspapers in Ann Arbor, Montpelier, Syracuse and Philadelphia...

A number of the vigils served as the first organized event for many women and some are continuing to hold monthly protests. Zionist Women Against the Occupation, who have been protesting for a long time, "has set a goal of 'a minyan a month' at our monthly vigils. This might be a good goal for the other small communities."

For contacts in various cities to help organize for International Women's Day on March 8th or 9th, see below:

ARIZONA: Tucson—Tucson Women Against the Occupation - Kathy Altman or Ivy Schwartz, 623-9333

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley— Women in Black—Ruth Michael, POB 820, Berkeley 94701 (415) 644-0480; Break the Silence Mural Project, 1442A Walnut Street, No. 252,

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Reminiscences of Lillian Wald, the Henry St. Settlement and the Neighborhood Playhouse.

Edith Segal

Reading Clare Coss' book *Lillian Wald, Progressive Activist* (NY: The Feminist Press of C.U.N.Y., 1989) brought back my personal memories of Wald and the Henry Street Settlement, which she founded and led in the early decades of the century. After more than seventy years I am again filled with admiration for this great Jewish American woman who dedicated her life to serving people, also founding the Visiting Nurse Service and co-founding the Women's International League for Peace and Friendship. She was indeed, as Coss characterizes her, a "progressive activist," actively supporting all progressive causes including the early unions, particularly the struggle of working women, and the movement for the right of all women to vote. With Jane Addams, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, she was one of the principal leaders of the organized effort to keep our country out of World War I. This took a great deal of courage given the intense chauvinism of the time. Even more courageous was her public support of the young Soviet Union in the face of the anti-Bolshevik hysteria of those days. As early as 1922 Wald served on the Committee to Free Sacco and Vanzetti. She was repelled by the rigid segregation and racial oppression that prevailed during her lifetime. Since New York City then legally prohibited racially integrated meetings in public buildings in 1909, Wald offered her friend, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the Henry Street Settlement for the National Negro Conference which led to the founding of the N.A.A.C.P. She was also on the board of the Sojourner House for Young Girls, a residence for troubled and homeless African American adolescents.

Much of the above I learned from Coss' book, but I know about Lillian Wald and her settlement work from my own experience. How fortunate for a lower East Side kid that I could join the Henry Street Settlement's Jolly Bevy Club for young teenagers and its gym. Membership in the latter included dancing and the opportunity to go to its camp, Echo Hill Farm at Yorktown Heights, for two weeks every summer for \$3.50, which was really the price of the fare. One of my most vivid memories is that when a contest was announced for a camp song I submitted not only lyrics, but music, and won the first

prize of \$25, awarded to me by Wald herself — which I turned over to the "House In The Woods" where the teen-age girls stayed.

It was there that we learned the basics of communal living: to share responsibility for keeping our house in tip-top shape, cleaning, sweeping, dusting and mopping the floors. This training was an important element of our education, and now looking back, I can see it was all sharing and caring in the spirit of the founder of the Settlement.

I remember a couple of the lines of a song we used to sing to "Miss Wald":

"Look, we're standing here behind you,

Our faith and strength are here behind you. . ."

But there was a dilemma I faced at age 16. I felt I couldn't be a complete woman unless I was a nurse and social worker like "Miss Wald," caring for other people. . . . or should I be a dancer, as I was chosen at the Settlement gym to join the dancing class at the Neighborhood Playhouse. Dancing was my choice, but I never forgot the other pull.

The Neighborhood Playhouse at 466 Grand Street, a few short blocks from the Settlement, was founded by Wald's close friends, Alice and Irene Lewisohn of the prominent German Jewish philanthropic family. It was there that I spent twelve glorious years, dancing with the Festival Dancers, acting with the Acting Company, studying with some of the greats: Yvette Guilbert, the famous French singer and actress; Maria Ouspenskaya of USSR's Stanislavsky Musical Theatre; Michio Ito, the foremost Japanese dancer of the day; David Vardi of Moscow's Habima Players (who directed our production of Ansky's *Dybbuk*), listening to Kahlil Gibran, the Syrian poet, to Dahn Gopal Mukerji, interpreter of India to the West, dancing in the production of *Salut au Monde* and thereby becoming acquainted with Walt Whitman, and — never to be forgotten — seeing Isadora Duncan's legendary six "children" dance.

Also remembered: even at the Playhouse, where it was all "art for art's sake," we had a taste of reality. The dancers were called to a special meeting where "Miss Alice" told us that an error had been discovered in the office — that we should not have received our weekly \$6 for several weeks when we were not rehearsing and that the "overpayment" would therefore be deducted from

(continued on page 11)

Edith Segal is an internationally published poet who, as a dancer, dance teacher and choreographer, has been a major pioneering figure in left-wing dance in the U.S.

Address to the Women's Peace Party

Lillian D. Wald

As president of the American Union Against Militarism, which had been formed at the Henry Street Settlement, Wald delivered this address on December 10, 1916 to the Women's Peace Party of New York. Action by the AUAM, which had branches in 22 cities, is credited with having mobilized public opinion against U.S. military intervention in Mexico. This address can be found in Clare Coss, Lillian D. Wald, Progressive Activist (N.Y.: The Feminist Press of C.U.N.Y., 1989) and in the Lillian Wald Papers, Rare Books and Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library.

The creation of the American Union Against Militarism was, in the minds of the organizers, forced upon them. In the midst of the great war with ominous indications of a rising of the militarist spirit in American, the heavily endowed foundations for peace propaganda appeared to be uninterested in the phenomenon of existence of militaristic propaganda cloaked under the reasonable name of "preparedness."

The members of our organizing committee represented conservatism, Quakerism, socialism, the church, the press, literature and social work. The unifying factor that brought us together was the sense of crisis (because) extraordinary and unprecedented measures had been taken to promote a public demand for military and naval expansion. That cost would not only be to the nation but to the world, since it seemed to us the sinister reversion to the war system would be at the cost of democracy.

The American Union Against Militarism considers itself an emergency committee, and during its year of existence has used all the money and brains that could be commanded to get sane consideration before the country. It sent a flying wedge of informed speakers to the West, hired great halls, addressed huge audiences, and laid the matter before the public to "hear the truth about the preparedness." Before the coming of the speakers "jingos" paraded the streets and even if our speakers failed to get on the front page the great dinosaur, symbolic of militarism, did appear there.

The Committee sent an ingenious and graphic exhibit, which was handled by the Woman's Peace Party, into the cities. The exhibitions were largely attended. In New York City from 5,000 to 10,000 people a day came to see it. They not only saw it, but gave evidence of seeing it thoughtfully. It was advertised as "The War Against the War Exhibit."

Next came the Mexican crisis. At the time of the Carrizal incident the committee gathered together hurriedly, met until midnight, and the next morning paid for full page advertisements of Captain Morey's report of the incident. This was followed by an experiment in in-

ternational publicity and direct action. Believing that the nearer war approached the more formidable it became, we summoned an unofficial joint conference to meet on the border and hold the peace. One Mexican and one American did actually get together at El Paso and the story gave further publicity and enlightenment to the country. Washington officials might tell of the result of this in the freely expressed opinions of thousands of American citizens upon our relationship to Mexico. The two men who met at El Paso later met in Washington and were joined by other representatives summoned by the American Union. A Mexican-American League was created to act in any future crisis. All of that may seem trifling but it anticipated the more important appointment of the Mexican-American Conference by the President of the United States. Genuine opposition to war with Mexico became front page news and what is much better it became important news in Mexico — where word of our friendship reached the heart of Mexico and page-wide headlines filled the leading columns of some of the Spanish papers in that country.

The American Union Against Militarism believes that it has serious work before it this coming year. It is convinced of its obligation to create nationwide publicity. . . encourage delay on the entire shipbuilding program until the international agreement plans can be tried.

We plan to bring popular pressure to bear on Congress by deputations, public hearings, and the widest publicity in order to get the people to speak concerning the Army law which provides for conscription in case of war; to watch all attempts at militarist legislation, particularly the measures for universal military training. We want to cooperate with local peace societies in their efforts to keep military training out of the public schools; against conscription and compulsory military training in the state laws.

We are working in close affiliation with the Woman's Peace Party and we intend to continue our own peculiar methods, peculiar they are said to be for "pacifists." I am told that we are violating the popular conception of this group, and one newspaper which

strongly disapproved of our aggressiveness against preparedness hysteria, said that, judging from our belligerency, we were the ones who "put the fist in pacifist." An editorial comment the other day discussed the demonstration of pacifists as being so much in earnest, they would fight for their conviction.

The Union believes that it should seriously and patiently construct the machinery for instant mobilization of the people for the prevention of any future war that might threaten this country. A war of simple wanton aggression against the United States is unthinkable. There would always be misunderstanding, false national pride, secret diplomacy, financial interests. At the base our plan for getting the people of the two countries into instant actual contact with an understanding of each other would always prevent this.

A year ago we began with one contributor and 15 members. We closed our year with a record of having spent \$35,000 and with 6,000 members. . . We have distributed some 600,000 pieces of literature of our design and publication.

I should like to say that though we are against militarism we are not negative. We feel that we have been and are positive. Militarism is an evil growth which threatens our industrial democracy, our political institutions, our educational ideals and our international relationships. If the good things for which this country stands are to go on, clarion voices must ring out against movements that would destroy those precious possessions. The spirit of militarism has invaded us. It threatens the great constructive up-building, life-saving social work. To stamp it out, to recover the ground we have lost, to build upon them — that is the task confronting all those who have the true interests of democracy at heart. We believe that militarism is opposed to democracy and that great numbers of citizens everywhere fear not so much an invading army but this other danger so close upon us — militarism. Good and true citizens of the great American Republic are united in this. □

Reminiscences (continued from p. 9)

our forthcoming pay. It was an ugly moment for us who could ill afford to lose the money. Even more important was hearing it from "Miss Alice," the millionairess who had lectured us about the spiritual quality of the *Dybbuk* and was now delivering the news about having been overpaid, a situation which years later I came to understand as a reality of class society.

At my age, 87, reading Clare Coss' grand book, gives a renewed swing to my stride. Whatever I've been, whatever I am today, I'm also a Henry Street Settlement girl, a proud child of Lillian D. Wald. □

U.S. Jewish Women (continued from p. 8)

Berkeley 94709; (415) 540-0161. Los Angeles—Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation—(213)399-7459 and 392-3110; Palo Alto—Women in Black—Fran Gelles, 915 Colonial Lane, Palo Alto 94303, (415)856-6070; San Francisco—Women in Black—Marcia Friedman, 1519 Juanita Way, Berkeley 94702, (415) 527-1337 or Kathy Sa'ade Kenny, 2934 22nd St., San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 826-2547; Santa Cruz—*Kolaynu*—Ilene Feinman, 138 Cayuga, Santa Cruz 95062; (408) 426-0254

CONNECTICUT: New Haven—Helen Sapadin (203) 387-5296

ILLINOIS: Chicago—Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation—Sandra Kurtz, 2632 N. Orchard, Chicago 60614

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston—Women in Black—Nancy Murray (617) 482-3170 (w)

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor—Zionist Women Against the Occupation—Judy Seid, 910 Arbdorale, Ann Arbor 48103 (313) 665-2825

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis—Hannah Arendt Lesbian Peace Patrol—Sharon Jaffe, 1803 Bryant Avenue North, Minneapolis 55411; Minnesota World Wide Women, 1929 S. 5th, Minneapolis 55454, (314) 727-1755

MISSOURI: St. Louis—Lois Levine Barrett, 7457 Gannon, St. Louis 63130, (314) 727-1755

NEW YORK: Albany—Elly Bulkin (518)463-4811; New Paltz—Nancy Rosen (914) 384-6495; New York City—Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation—#1178, 163 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, 11201, (718) 855-2905; Syracuse—Women in Black: Jewish Women to End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza—Elana Levy, 1030 Westmoreland Ave., Syracuse 13210, (315) 472-5711 or (315) 428-1766

OREGON: Eugene—Nadia Telsey, 1275 Bailey Ave. Eugene 97402, (503) 687-2692 or (503) 343-5513

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia—Jewish Women's Committee to End the Occupation—Miriam Zeevi, P.O.B. 53375, Philadelphia 19105, (215) 790-9842

TEXAS: Dallas—Susannah Heschel (214) 692-2107
VERMONT: Montpelier—Vermont Jewish Women's Call for Peace—Melanie Kaye/Kantowitz, 1 Waverly Place, Montpelier 05602, (802) 229-9104

WASHINGTON: Seattle—Women in Black—Eileen Somowitz (206) 329-5390; Palestine Panel Project, POB 22061, Seattle 98122

WASHINGTON D.C.: Jewish Women's Call for Peace—Ellen Siegel (203) 387-5296; Women in Black—Hilda Silverman, 2700 Connecticut Ave., NW, #502A, Washington, DC 20008-5330, (202) 667-0942 or Aida Abu Zayyad, 4615 Wakefield Chapel Road, Annandale, VA 22003, (703) 978-6929

A Chapter to Remember

Mieczyslaw Moczar

In commemoration of the 47th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and in recognition of the Polish Workers' (Communist) Party's assistance to the uprising, we reprint this article from the April 1963 20th anniversary edition of the Yiddish-Polish Warsaw newspaper, Folks-Shtimme.

When we think of the past, our memories evoke a picture of evil, hate and horror. Those who are too young to remember the German occupation can hardly realize the scope of Nazi bestiality. The nightmarish tragedy of those years cannot be conveyed in full by the evidence of those who lived through it; documents in the archives, contemporary diaries, the few existing newsreels — all these give but a feeble idea of what it meant. Indeed, no human language can describe it, and it is beyond human possibilities to tell the whole story about Nazi atrocities in Poland.

If terror reigned supreme since the first days of the German occupation it was not only because it so pleased the degenerate Nazi soul; first and foremost, it was part of a deliberate program. Poland was the first country where the Nazis proceeded to carry out their plan of murdering the Jews and fifty million Slavs — Poles, Russians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Czechs and Slovaks. Jews and Poles perished at death camps. Out of every 1,000 inhabitants in our country, 220 fell in action or were murdered by the Nazis. Among those murdered were Jews confined in ghettos — people born and brought up in Poland and constituting an integral part of the life of the country.

The Polish Workers' Party (PPR) called on the entire nation to fight the Nazis, to abandon the harmful "wait and see" theory and to undertake immediate action. The Party's call for armed action was in line with the interests and aspirations of the Polish people. That is why, despite the immense difficulties facing the progressive forces and despite terror and crimes resorted to by the Nazis, resistance to the occupation forces became more intensive with each passing day, as did the effectiveness of the struggle. The voice of the Party also

During the Nazi occupation of Poland, General Mieczyslaw Moczar was commander of the Lodz, Lublin and Kielce districts of the People's Guard and People's Army, the armed forces of the Communist resistance.

reached across walls and barbed-wire fences to the tormented inhabitants of the Jewish ghetto. Contacts were established with Jewish Communists who, together with other left-wing leaders, taught the population that they must never surrender, that if they want to live, the only way is to fight the Nazis.

On the initiative of the Polish Workers' Party, an Anti-Fascist Bloc was formed in the Warsaw ghetto comprising several existing political organizations.

Comrade Joseph Lewartowski, delegate of the Party's Central Committee in the ghetto, was the initiator and one of the organizers of the Anti-Fascist Bloc. Owing to the Communists in the ghetto, an armed force of the Anti-Fascist Bloc — the Fighting Organization of the Anti-Fascist Bloc — was set up there. The organization was headed by another Communist, Comrade Andrzej Szmidt (Pinkus Kartin), former officer of the Jaroslaw Dabrowski International Brigade in Spain and a leading member of the Polish Workers' Party. The Fighting Organization established contact with People's Guard Headquarter in Warsaw. Similar contact with local People's Guard commands was established by left-wing resistance movements existing in ghettos of other Polish towns. From then on, the left-wing resistance organizations in ghettos joined the nation-wide struggle against the Nazis.

Jewish PPR members in the ghettos were confronted with an exceptionally difficult task. They had to overcome the moods prevailing there — not many of the ghetto inhabitants realized the necessity of fighting against the Nazis. Some refrained from active self-defense because they could not believe that the Nazis would resort to wholesale murder of the Jewish population. Others, too apathetic to act, felt unable to join the resistance movement.

These were the imponderables that had to be overcome by Jewish members of the Polish Workers' Party — the organizers of the first self-defense units in the ghetto.

In July 1942, when the Nazis started wholesale extermination of the Jewish population, the Polish Workers' Party appealed to the ghetto inhabitants to flee to the woods and join People's Guard detachments fighting in the Lublin, Cracow and Kielce regions and also in the province of Warsaw.

In its August 1, 1942 issue, the *Trybuna Wolności* (Tribune of Freedom) published an article on Nazi crimes committed against the Jewish population. The ar

To the Polish Jews

(In Memory of Shmuel Zygelboim)

Wladyslaw Broniewski

No cry of despair rose from Polish cities and towns.
The defenders of Warsaw's Ghetto fell like a gallant
battalion.

A wandering Polish poet, I steep my words in blood
and my heart in a deep sea of tears
to write of you, oh, Polish Jews.

Not like men did they come, but like bloodhounds.

Not as soldiers they came, but as butchers —
to murder you, murder your children and wives.

To choke people to death in gas chambers,
to burn people alive in vans filled with lime,
and to jeer at the agony of their terrified victims.

But you picked up cobble-stones from the street
and hurled them at their cannoneer who loaded his gun
to blast your house off the face of the earth.

Sons of the Maccabees—you know how to face death,
like your fathers.

You joined us in that battle which began in September,
though you knew there was not a chance to win.

Here are the truths to be carved in stone
and engraved forever in all Polish minds:

The house they destroyed was our common home;
the blood we both shed has made us brothers;

our union was sealed at Execution Walls;
our union was sealed by Auschwitz and Dachau,
by each nameless grave, by each prison bar.

Our common roof over war-smitten Warsaw
will be a bright sky when Victory crowns
the long years of bloody and heartbreaking struggle;
every man will be free and have bread and have rights,
and there will be one single race, supreme —
the race of noble human beings.

Translated by Ilona Rolf Sues

Editor's note: This poem by a non-Jewish Pole is about both the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April-May 1943 and the participation of Jews in the general Warsaw Uprising of September 1944 against the German military occupation. Shmuel Zygelboim, to whom it is dedicated, was one of two Jewish members of the London-based Polish government-in-exile during WW II. He committed suicide to protest British and U.S. military inaction to prevent the genocide of Polish Jewry.

title read in part:

"... The Nazis are ruthless and uncompromising. The Jewish people fighting in defense of life must be just as uncompromising. They must show courage, heroism and contempt of death. The only way to save the lives of thousands and tens of thousands is not to wait passively to be slaughtered, but to offer determined resistance on every occasion, even though it may result in casualties. . . .

"It is necessary to get out of the ghetto and out of Warsaw in order to continue the fight against the enemy. It is necessary to resist the police. Let every building become a stronghold. It is necessary to attack convoy guards and escape to join the partisans. All this is difficult but not impossible. It is the duty of Poles to come to the assistance of the persecuted Jews. Only scoundrels or people too stupid to understand that after the Jews it will be the Poles' turn to be 'evacuated to the East,' can be glad of or lend support to the extermination of Jews. The Polish people, together with the Jewish people, must act to thwart the bestial plans of our common foe — the brown-shirted murderers."

On the outbreak of the ghetto uprising I was in Warsaw. I was preparing for a trip to the Lublin region. Night and day, ceaseless shooting was heard from behind ghetto walls. From the glow of fire above the ghetto, visible especially at night, Varsovians knew that the battle was going on there day and night.

The Polish Workers' Party kept in close touch with ghetto fighters and gave them every assistance it could afford. People's Guard soldiers redoubled anti-Nazi sabotage actions and other operations throughout Warsaw.

Arms, ammunition, food — everything that the Party had at its disposal was sent to the ghetto. The population of Warsaw, with the exception of a few demoralized individuals, offered moral and material aid to the Jews fighting in the ghetto as well as to those who had left the ghetto and wanted to join the partisan units. This is the truth. These are facts to be remembered about those tragic days. Yet, to our amazement and disgust, we find the events of those times distorted beyond recognition in a good many publications. Certain authors seem to focus their attention not on the common struggle against the Nazis, not on those who organized the struggle, but on the scum who collaborated with the enemy.

Naturally this sort of an attitude is usually taken by persons who are not in a position to present an objective picture of the past events. Their powers of judgment are paralyzed by the grudges they bear and by all kinds of obsessions and inhibitions born in different times and and generating from different sources, mostly from hostile propaganda and from deliberately spread lies.

On the anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising we must not forget the fact that those who managed to escape from the ghetto found a helping hand, shelter and care at many Polish homes.

Those who wanted to fight usually joined the ranks of Polish partisans. Others sought refuge at Polish villages, famous for their hospitality. Polish farmers, poor but warm-hearted, received Jewish refugees with open arms. At thousands of peasant households in the Lublin region, food and shelter and a chance for recuperation awaited Jews escaping from the ghetto and Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians escaping from prison camps. In the province of Lublin, in the Parczew woods and in hundreds of villages in the vicinity, Jews found friends among members of the Polish Workers' Party and People's Guards, among many of the soldiers belonging to the Peasant Battalions and Home Army, and among the rank-and-file people who did not belong to any organization. This is the truth. These are the facts to be remembered and told to the young generation, instead of painting a false, distorted picture of a Nazi-occupied Poland in which life and death allegedly depended on blackmailers.

Whenever given an opportunity to speak of the days gone by, I emphasize how proud I am of the fact that under the Nazi occupation, notwithstanding the inhuman Nazi terror, notwithstanding the fratricidal war launched by the the National Armed Forces (a reactionary underground organization established in 1942), ours was a position of unswerving dignity.

On the whole, this opinion is shared by other European nations. Even the Nazis issued a good many documents during Poland's occupation in which they spoke about the uncompromising attitude of the Poles at a time of apparent hopelessness.

We are proud of our Party because it convinced the martyred Polish and Jewish population of the need of taking up the struggle instead of yielding to moods of hopelessness and inertia.

This is a historic fact which cannot be disregarded when speaking about the period of Nazi occupation. . . .

As a nation, as a community, we have the right to be proud of this chapter in our history. We can take pride in the fact that the banners which led the Polish Workers' Party into struggle bore the noble inscription: "For Your Freedom and Ours."

We can be proud of the truly international character of our struggle. We were in the same ranks with our Jewish comrades, linked by a common fate, common aspirations and common aims. . . .

Interview With Poland's Chief Rabbi

Sol Flapan

WARSAW — "Talmud and Politics." That's the heading of a December 14, 1989 frontpage interview granted the national youth daily *Sztandar Mlodych* by Pinchas Menachem Joskowicz, the Chief Rabbi of the Congregation of the Mosaic Faith in Poland. It's the second such news media feature since the September 24 cover story in the *Warsaw Voice*, the English-language weekly here. That's not counting the host of Jewish-related issues appearing in the print and electronic media, on the book publication scene, the artistic and cultural turf.

Replying to the youth paper's question as to what induced a white-haired rabbi to come to Poland, Joskowicz said that "despite all the drama and the tragedy of the (Second World) War, I wanted to show that the Jewish people remain firm. And that we also live in Poland." Besides, Rabbi Joskowicz's roots are precisely in Polish soil. Here he luckily survived the *Shtetl* (Holocaust) — the Nazi-German erected ghetto and their Birkenau death camp. The winds of the war and of the early postwar period landed him in Palestine/Israel where he became a non-officiating rabbi (see our article in the January/February issue).

Several months ago he decided to answer Poland's call for a rabbi. He does not regret his decision, despite the small Jewish community here estimated at 15,000 to 20,000 souls and a still tinier religious congregation. He teaches the Talmud and elucidates the principles of Judaism in the Warsaw synagogue. He also conducts morning and evening prayers there.

Aware that he is addressing young readers of an overwhelmingly Roman Catholic nation, Rabbi Joskowicz said that he teaches and explains "all the do's and don't's of the Mosaic religion, and there are 613 of the more important of these. Perhaps that is why our faith is more difficult to practice than Catholicism. Every moment of the day and night has its specific prayer. Orthodox Jews try to observe these commandments". In the main, his congregation is peopled by elderly Jews, says the rabbi, "though young people pop in occasionally especially to ask questions."

To a socio-political question he said that he believes that there is, unfortunately, anti-Semitism in Poland. "I have evidence that this awful phenomenon does exist here. I personally receive vulgar, sordid anonymous letters, often containing death threats. The synagogue windows are smashed. . . We are now a mere handful among 38 million Poles. The whole world's at-

ention is zeroed in on Poland — and such shameful things are taking place here."

According to Rabbi Joskowicz it's the older Poles who are anti-Semitic. "Polish youth, I believe, are highly intelligent and are not prone to swallow racist slogans." Here the good rabbi appears to be playing up to the readers of the youth paper. It is precisely teenagers and young adults who are the manipulated hard core in the outbursts of politically-motivated provocations across the land. These range from "innocent" paint spray graffiti equating the swastika with the Star of David among other slogans, to seek-and-sack gang marches on local headquarters of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party splintering en route public benches, overturning garbage cans, trampling on street flower beds, stoning police booths, firebombing police cars and arsoning newspaper kiosks. (Will books be next? And then. . .? After all, in these and earlier violence some have conjured up the gory scene of "Commies instead of leaves on trees)."

But back to Rabbi Joskowicz who was also asked to comment on a current sensitive and highly emotional issue, namely, the presence of the Carmelite convent on the site of the wartime Nazi death camp of Auschwitz in Southern Poland. That's where the German fascists murdered over four million (4,000,000) men, women and children — Poles and Jews mainly, and others. Today this site of mass killings by gas, torture and starvation is a national, indeed and international, inter-ethnic shrine.

"Auschwitz needs no crosses or symbols of any other religion," says the Chief Rabbi of Poland. "May each pray there in his/her own way, in one's own language. No one should be disturbed." And then this Sholem Aleichem-like folksy homily: "Indeed, the Good-Lord knows all languages and he is in no need of mediators." Seriously again, "May the Catholic and the Jew pray standing side by side, in self-communion and in silent worship as is called for at this place."

But "without symbols," repeats the rabbi further justifying this admonition saying, "Just imagine that suddenly Jews place their symbol at Jasna Gora (site of a several centuries old Pauline monastery with its painting/icon of the Virgin Mary who is considered the Queen of Poland in Roman Catholic liturgy here.) This would arouse protests to say the least. We want peace and silence in Auschwitz and not any exultation of one religion over another."

That deserves a solemn "Amen."

Anti-Semitism/Anti-Sovietism (cont. from p. 4)

than in evidence of actual physical violence." (*Jerusalem Post*, 2/2/90). The rumors are based on the threats, whether in the form of graffiti, leaflets or spoken words.

Most of these threats have come from *Pamyat*, one of the more than 30,000 nongovernmental organizations established in the Soviet Union in the past four or five years, which has a membership of several thousand of some 200 million Soviet adults. With the legitimate purpose of preserving and restoring historic Russian monuments, buildings, etc. *Pamyat* has been taken over by and become a rallying point for chauvinistic anti-Semites who blame the Jews for the destruction or desecration of historic churches, etc., and most other social problems. While *Pamyat's* leadership until recently avoided explicitly calling for actions against Jews, at its meetings individuals have called for everything from discrimination to physical assaults. As a result, *Pamyat* has for some time been severely criticized in the Soviet press, including *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, the official newspapers of the government and the Communist Party (see our Nov./Dec. 1988 issue). However, in this period of glasnost, with unlimited freedom of speech for even slanderous critics of socialism and the Communist Party, demands for legal action against *Pamyat* have failed to bring it about. Emboldened by this, *Pamyat* recently published a statement advocating a program to "de-Zionize" the country by prohibiting Jews from "being elected to soviets (i.e., government councils)," "named to leading positions in the (Communist) party, the government and elsewhere," from "getting academic degrees," etc. On the basis of this official statement of the organization, the government has begun a criminal investigation of *Pamyat* for breaking the law against "inciting material and racial hatred and strife."

While *Pamyat* as an organization has not advocated pogroms, "sometimes in (its) meetings," according to Moscow's Rabbi Adolf Shayevitch, "(People) call directly for pogroms." In January a meeting of progressive writers in Moscow was invaded by thirty young thugs in *Pamyat* T-shirts shouting anti-Semitic slogans and threats of violence including the promise that a pogrom would take place on May 6 (the day that honors Russia's patron St. George). More recently an unregistered, i.e., illegal, organization calling itself "The Union for the Liberation of Russia from Kikes" sent letters to a number of Moscow Jews telling them to leave the city or "Your lives and lives of your curs (illegitimate children) are in danger."

With such incidents widely reported in the Soviet press and TV, rumors of impending pogroms have circulated throughout the U.S.S.R. The February 6 *Jerusalem Post* story reported that newly-arrived immigrants to Israel from as far apart as Moscow and Murmansk "have heard of

pogroms planned for mid-February in Leningrad and early May in Moscow." Of course, February has come and gone with no pogrom in Leningrad, but the rumors and fears continue unabated. The extent to which these rumors have been accepted as facts by Soviet Jews was evident at a recent conference of 204 Soviet "Jewish organizations and communities" (convened to establish a nationwide coordinating organization) which sent an "Appeal" to the government for action against anti-Semitism stating that "the danger of Jewish pogroms is becoming more and more imminent."

The government has responded to such fears of its Jewish citizens in a variety of ways. On January 30, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze told New York City councilman Noach Dear, who raised the subject with him in Moscow, that the Soviet government "will not tolerate pogroms" and "we will do everything in our power to protect the Jewish community." Two weeks later a statement issued by the KGB (the Soviet F.B.I.) through the Soviet news agency TASS stated: "Rumors about pogroms rouse people and exacerbate the situation. The only information that the state security bodies have been receiving are the rumors themselves, reports of them by the mass media and requests by individual citizens for explanations about one rumor or another." While dismissing the rumors as unsupported by evidence, the KGB said it is "monitoring the situation" and would "take the necessary measures if the tension escalates." Two weeks later Shevardnadze promised a delegation of World Jewish Congress leaders "that he would shortly issue a public statement denouncing anti-Semitism" and "that administrative and legislative measures will be adopted as part of the government's effort against individuals and groups engaged in anti-Semitic activity" (*Jewish Telegraphic Agency Weekly News Digest*, 2/2/90).

Among administrative measures already taken, in addition to the legal action against *Pamyat*, are those of the city government and Communist Party of Odessa, which has a Jewish population of 90,000. According to *Jewish Currents* (March 1990), "local (Odessa) authorities issued a warning to leaders of popular front and ethnic associations against provocations to hatred and pogroms" and *Pravda* has reported the establishment by the Odessa Communist Party of "a special commission against anti-Semitism." In Moscow, with the largest Jewish population and largest branch of *Pamyat* and the scene of the anti-Semitic incidents noted above, the government is not only taking legal measures against *Pamyat* but providing police protection to Jewish activists.

These actions demonstrating governmental concern for Jewish citizens and opposition to anti-Semitism have for the most part not been reported in the commercial and Jewish press. When reported, they have generally been presented not as commendable actions of the government

against anti-Semitism but as evidence of its intensification and the imminence of pogroms. An example from the Jewish press is an article by the executive director of the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry in the (L.I.) *Jewish World* (2/16-22/90) who writes, "Soviet leaders have become so concerned about a major anti-Semitic eruption that they have stationed KGB personnel in front of the homes of Jewish leaders...to protect them from violence." The same page carries a boxed "Bulletin" stating "As we go to print we have just learned the KGB has assigned cars with a militia person to sit in front of the house of each of the Jewish activists in Moscow. This is for the protection of the Jews. That is how serious the situation has become." As subscribers to the J.T.A.'s *Weekly News Digest*, the editors of this paper are well aware of the KGB's assessment of the threat of pogroms as unfounded. But in the establishment Jewish press everything done or not done by the Soviet government is presented as evidence of increasingly dangerous "Soviet anti-Semitism."

First prize for such tendentious journalism in the commercial press must be awarded to Flora Lewis for her article in the *N.Y. Times* (2/27/90) entitled "The Old Russian Scourge" and subtitled by the editor "A rise of anti-Semitism in the heartland." Lewis discusses the recent anti-Semitic incidents in Moscow noted above, misrepresenting *Pamyat*'s programmatic statement as an anonymous "underground pamphlet." Instead of commending the Soviet government for initiating legal proceedings against *Pamyat*, she writes: "For the first time, the Gorbachev regime has opened a criminal investigation of *Pamyat*...for violation of the law against 'incitement to hatred and to national and racial conflict.' It clearly represents a decision that more would be lost by ignoring *Pamyat*'s anti-Semitic campaign than by a publicized prosecution."

This charge that the Gorbachev administration is reluctantly prosecuting *Pamyat* for political reasons unrelated to opposition to anti-Semitism is "clearly" understandably only if one has read the first sentence of this article which contain Lewis's thesis that Communism is not opposed to anti-Semitism: "Among the ugly costs of communist rule was the failure to keep pace with revulsion at the ancient disease of anti-Semitism." Having used the Soviet government's legal action against *Pamyat* as an opportunity to suggest that it tolerates anti-Semitism, Lewis goes on to use the Soviet government's removal of restrictions on immigration as an opportunity to suggest that in combination with such toleration this is tending if not intended to makes the U.S.S.R. Judenrein: "Mr. Gorbachev has opened the way for mass immigration of Jews. But it is no gain for the creation of a civil society in his country for them to be driven out. Overcoming anti-Semitism is another test of his 'new thinking' and his system's capacity for reform." Lewis is

not optimistic about this since she concludes, as she began, that failure to oppose anti-Semitism is "another way in which Communism fell behind."

A very different conclusion has been reached concerning the ability of the Gorbachev administration to deal with anti-Semitism by Secretary of State James Baker. In his recent discussions with Foreign Minister Shervardnadze at the urging of U.S. Jewish groups Baker took up what they believe to be an alarming growth of "violent anti-Semitism." Israeli journalist Wolf Blitzer reports that after this discussion, Baker "expressed confidence that Soviet leaders will do what they can to get a handle on anti-Semitism," and thought that "it is not being condoned or permitted or in any way acquiesced (to) by the leadership of the Soviet Union."

Even if there has been no "violent anti-Semitism"—reports of which Councilmen Dear in a March 15 letter to the *N.Y. Times* attributed to "media hype"—and the May pogrom in Moscow turns out to be as fictitious as the February pogrom in Leningrad, are Baker and the Soviet leaders overconfident in believing they can cope with the popular anti-Semitism that does exist in the form of prejudice and discrimination against Jews? The answer depends in part on how widespread and entrenched such anti-Semitism is among the Soviet people.

If one turns from the many reports of the same *Pamyat* organization and the same anti-Semitic incidents in Moscow to unreported instances of rejection of anti-Semitism throughout the Soviet Union, the general assumption by the media-hyped U.S. public that the country is blanketed by anti-Semitism cannot be sustained. For example, in the course of the actual pogroms that recently took place against Armenians in Azerbaijan and Meskhetian Turks in Kirghizia none of the Jews living in these regions was assaulted or even insulted. Of course, these regions of the Soviet Union do not have many Jews or a history of anti-Semitism. But in the Ukraine which meets both these conditions in Kiev with 150,000 Jews and Dnepropetrovsk with 75,000 Jews, "Ukrainian nationalists" (!) have refused to allow *Pamyat* to establish branches. In the latter city they are quoted as saying: "Get out of here! We prefer to live with our Jews." (reported by Hebrew teacher Stanislav Khlanovich in the Soviet Hebrew Teachers Association *Information Bulletin* 6/89). Can it be that *Pamyat*, which would be considered an extremist fringe-group in the U.S. or any country other than the Soviet Union, is exactly that in Soviet society? The current investigation and subsequent litigation of *Pamyat* should provide information on this score.

Of course, as lately evidenced by the actions taken against them by Odessa authorities, there are Ukrainian anti-Semites just as there are Russian, Moldavian, etc. anti-

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Eric A. Gordon, *Mark The Music: The Life and Work of Marc Blitzstein*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989, 605 pp.

Leonard Lehrman

Mark Blitzstein (1905-1964), the American Jewish composer and (often) librettist of a dozen operas of his own, translator and adaptor of several others (most notably the Brecht-Weill *Threepenny Opera*), was "by training a musician and composer." A major figure in the history of American music and of the American Left, "in the field of drama and poetry," he admitted, "I am an utter tyro." So, "why in the name of common sense," he asked himself rhetorically in the *New York Times* of Jan. 5, 1941, "didn't I secure a collaborator?" This is a question which historian Eric Gordon must have looked in the mirror and asked himself many times — or should have — during the ten years he devoted to writing this book.

The answer is, in Blitzstein's own words, both "simple" and "complicated" (as Brecht said of socialism!). Although Blitzstein felt committed to the progressive movement in this country, he was very much his own man. And Gordon, whose prime identification seems to be with the gay rights struggle, is likewise stubbornly independent. The book thus has no musical examples and little psychological probing beyond the (mostly homo)sexual. But it is obviously a labor of love and an invaluable compendium of facts and anecdotes, with a good works list and wonderful photos, though not, "the definitive statement of Blitzstein's work and life" it advertises itself to be. Gordon's experience and admirable perseverance as a historical researcher are not supplemented by superior score-reading abilities or knowledge of either psychology or musicology. But he has had a lot of help (250 pages with notes from this writer, for one); and it is a start, that should lay the groundwork for more specialized studies.

The 1937 premiere of *The Cradle Will Rock*, with its striking actors defying Federal Theatre censorship and refusing not to work, was a watershed in the history of the American musical stage. And it is a knockout of a piece, wherever an underclass of people band together to take power away from those abusing it — whether the unionists of the '30s, anti-war activists of the '60s, or

DR. LEONARD LEHRMAN is the composer of 6 Operas, 5 musicals and 92 other works. His Tales of Malamud, the completion of a work begun by Marc Blitzstein, won the first Off-Broadway Opera Award for "most important event of the season;" A Blitzstein Cabaret, performed by Lehrman, Helene Williams and Ron Edwards, will be released in 1990 by Premier Recordings.

Eastern Europeans right now. Briefly mentioning Leonard Bernstein's 1939 Harvard production and mine of 1969, Gordon fails to note that mine was the only one ever done with small orchestra, as per Blitzstein's original intentions — thwarted first by the musician's union and later by management's economic exigencies, as John Houseman admitted to me in an interview taped in 1970. Audiences reacted to the '69 production with amazement at how current the issues raised remained; and we were invited to give special performances at very short notice — both at an anti-war demonstration on the Cambridge Common and as a benefit for a Tufts University student strike.

Following that production, on the recommendation of my former teacher Elie Siegmeister, I got in touch with Blitzstein's estate — his sister Josephine Davis, her husband, their two sons, and their families — and discovered a veritable gold mine of long-unperformed and in some cases unfinished works: *I've Got the Tune* (a parable about the need for social consciousness among composers); *The Harpies* (a mythological satire); *Regina* (based on Hellman's *The Little Foxes*); *Juno* (after O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*); the labor opera *No For An Answer*; *Goloopchik* (an American-Soviet friendship musical, killed by the Cold War) and above all the as yet unfinished *Sacco and Vanzetti* and *Tales of Malamud* — which had previously been offered to Leonard Bernstein, William Bolcom, David Diamond (who had, I learned later, been mistakenly shown the wrong work and declared the task "impossible!"), and Elie Siegmeister (who would later write two beautiful Malamud operas of his own) for possible completion.

Meanwhile Bernstein who had himself gotten his start in the theater by conducting the first *Cradle* at Harvard 1939 (mine was Boston's second), heard about my production. And when in 1970 I produced a triple-bill of Blitzstein's *I've Got the Tune* and *Harpies* together with Bernstein's *Trouble in Tahiti* (which had been dedicated to Blitzstein), the maestro came to see my work, shouting "Bravo!" at the curtain calls, and embracing me with the words "God bless you!" as I told him of my intention to begin completing Blitzstein's unfinished works. (The idea was thus not suggested by Bernstein, as Gordon states on p. 536, but rather endorsed by him.)

Jo Davis was ecstatic, and immensely supportive. But when I spoke to her and her son Christopher ("Kit") about possibly writing a biography, she was markedly less interested in protracted psychological discussions of

her brother's homosexuality — which had been an important element in the story of how he had died (at the hands of sailors he had apparently tried to pick up in Martinique.) And politically, although she made me feel very much like her own great-nephew when I told her of my Red-diaper-baby background — my parents had both been Communists at one time, I told her, to which she replied casually "We all were" — she didn't think it was really anybody else's business. (Gordon has documented evidence of Blitzstein's CP membership from 1938 to 1949, and — since the book's publication — the probability of Jo's as well. In this day and age, these facts hardly seem to be anything to be ashamed about.) So I decided not to think about doing a biography for now, and concentrated on my own work, and on analyzing and completing Blitzstein's — which seemed in so many ways to be close to my own in style.

In December, 1973 I completed *Idiots First*, the first of a set of one-act operas in Blitzstein's projected *Tales of Malamud* and discovered, from Cecil Adkins' list of planned doctoral dissertations in musicology, that a certain Jeffrey Lawrence at N.Y.U. had reserved for himself "The Works of Marc Blitzstein." Eager to meet him, I discovered that he knew quite a bit less about the subject than I. He spent a day going through my files; and I introduced him to Bernard Malamud and his wife, playing the new opera through for all three of them on Jeffrey Lawrence's piano. And then he (Jeffrey Lawrence) seemed to disappear entirely. Friends informed me that he had returned to his father's oil business in Oklahoma, and I never heard from him again.

Having completed my Masters thesis at Cornell, the essay portion of which was an analysis of the Blitzstein opera I had completed and produced, together with a companion piece I had written for it, *Karla* —based on another Malamud story — I decided in 1975 that a rewarding area of study might be the Russian and Jewish influences on Blitzstein, in which I could test and probably demonstrate my hypothesis that *Idiots First* was indeed what the composer Ned Rorem said it was: "Marc's best work," the culmination of a lifetime of searching for meaning and stylistic integration. After a great deal of research, however, I abandoned the project because I realized that no such study could be complete without reference to Blitzstein's FBI files, and Jo Davis did not seem at all eager to have them opened.

Three years later, having worked (briefly) with Richard Maltby and Geraldine Fitzgerald on a revival of *Junio*, staged a few scenes from *Regina* and *No For An Answer*, earned my doctorate in music at Cornell and conducted *Tales of Malamud* in its N.Y. premiere (with two pianos and percussion) while simultaneously hold-

ing down a position as Assistant Conductor at the Met, I received a call from a Dr. Eric Gordon who introduced himself as "Blitzstein's biographer." Like Jeffrey Lawrence before him, he too spent a day going through my files, and then went out to Madison, Wisconsin where the Blitzstein archives are housed. I wondered whether I would hear from him again. I did, many times.

It soon became clear, though, that Gordon's agenda was very different from mine — or Jo's. We all shared an interest in Blitzstein's Judaic heritage, but he seemed much more interested in Marc's politics (his "Stalinism," he called it, disparagingly, although he gradually became at least a little more sympathetic to its more idealistic aspects) and the homosexuality in his sex life (his "gayness," he called it proudly) than in his music or in how it ought to be performed today. He could only read the scores one line at a time. Nevertheless, he moved along slowly but surely, interviewing hundreds of people and spending a much longer time poring over written materials in the archives than I or anyone else ever had; and he seemed determined that he would write his book, somehow.

In 1987 Jo died (though not without first authorizing me to complete *Sacco and Vanzetti* as I had *Idiots First*). And on August 22, 1988 the FBI released to Gordon their Blitzstein file — "168 heavily censored pages" (Gordon, p.558.n.20), which did not appreciably change the content of the book except to show that, like so many prominent leftists, Blitzstein was harassed by the Bureau in the '50s and '60s and refused to become an informant. St. Martin's agreed to publish the book, with testimonials on the back by two prominent, provocative, gay American men. Reviewers were awed by the wealth, or sheer bulk, of information Gordon had assembled. Only the *N.Y. Times* seemed to take a hint from the stress on homoeroticism and assigned a reviewer who was not a musician but an editor of gay drama and who put Blitzstein's works down for being "already out-of-date by the time they were finished."

Other critics shared Gordon's views that Blitzstein's work had a way of seeming as though "his best work still lay ahead" (Gordon, p.544). But for the most part they all joined in the orgy of mourning "his singing voice. . . still'd all too soon" (ibid). Recognizing perhaps that his stress on that which had been might have deleteriously overshadowed that which ought yet to be, concerning Blitzstein's works, Gordon published a letter in the *N.Y. Native* (Aug. 8, 1988) calling the fact that there has still not been an orchestral premiere of *Tales of Malamud* "a serious indictment of the world of opera. . . I know that one day this will happen, but when?"

In assessing this important though flawed book

about an extremely important composer, let us hope that more and more critics and performers will, as Joe Hill would say, stop mourning and organize, so that Blitzstein's musical legacy can indeed be heard by the large audience it deserves.

Mark the Music reads like a novel, in both the positive and the negative senses. It is full of suspense, but you have to wade through a great many facts and anecdotes to get from one part of the exciting (though often sad) story to the next. The style is not exactly tendentious as it is intense, but sometimes just this side of obnoxious: "The muscles of his hirsute arms reached powerfully into each digit." (Gordon's description of Blitzstein at the piano) (p.23).

Perhaps the most important of Gordon's discoveries was the film of a 1963 lecture Blitzstein gave at Brandeis. (Its quotation from *Merchant of Venice* inspired his book's title). In 1982 he made an (unfortunately) incomplete audiotape copy of the soundtrack, which is now circulating among pirate tape collections, and the text of which deserves to be published in full. The tragedy is that now it never can be. For Brandeis has lost the film, and a year's search seems to indicate that it has been destroyed — further proof, as if it were needed, of Gordon's sad observation that "our society throws away its past, to our enormous impoverishment" (p.xvii). Gordon presents portions of the lecture on pp.28 and 502-3, although with a few errors in transcription. Along with "Marc Blitzstein Discusses His Theater Compositions" on Spoken Arts Record 717, it is the best introduction to Blitzstein and his works that I know of. In one moving passage, not quoted in *Mark the Music*, Blitzstein is saying: "There have been many kinds of theories about the music being written today. And I would say that you may break all the rules, but the one rule worth breaking . . ." And here the film broke!

Gordon's analysis of *Cradle* is generally good, drawing on a great deal of sociological and literary research. He fails however to see, or at least to point out, Blitzstein's musical borrowing from the 1935 score of *Parade*, written mostly by Jerome Moross, and his lifting the belly-dance number from his own unperformed 1928 ballet *Jigg-Saw* to underscore the pseudo-intellectual Professor Mamie trying to dance to Mr. Mister's tune. The hit of *Parade*, Blitzstein's own "Send for the Militia" — which was lost until reconstructed by me and performed in *A Blitzstein Cabaret* — is discussed at some length. Yet mention of its most delicious verse — on birth control — is omitted for some reason (p.104).

Regina (1949) is also covered pretty thoroughly, though sometimes a little confusingly. A list of the numbers referred to would have been a good idea, especially

since most of them are not listed on the contents page of the published vocal score, and nearly all of them have alternate titles as well.

No For An Answer (1941), a far more problematic work, receives less attention. Gordon awkwardly labels the innovative number "Francie" "a fraction of a love song . . . one of Blitzstein's few love songs," completely ignoring the beautiful, haunting duet, "Secret Singing." It also seems to escape him that the character originally envisioned to sing the torch number, with which Carol Channing made her debut ("Fraught"), was probably a gay man!

Most unnerving is his treatment of the brilliant, autobiographical radio song play *I've Got The Tune* (1937). Failing to be affected by the contagious enthusiasm a live production of this work can spark, he can only describe it as "banal" (p.156) and hide behind a smug *Variety* snub: "satisfactory enough for the hysterical left audiences, who are not over critical of what is dished up to them" (p.170). "Hey, which side are you on, Eric?" I wrote him. "There's nothing at all 'banal' about it except that the militance of the words had to be toned down from that of a May Day mass song to that of a children's parade tune in order to pass the censors at CBS! Didn't you know that! (That's why we changed some of them — to conform with Marc's original intentions.)" I was referring to the 1970 Harvard production in my adaptation, a pirate tape of which has been widely circulating anonymously among collectors.

The debacle of *Reuben Reuben* (1955) receives understanding, sympathetic treatment. Less so *Goloopchik* (1945). And the discussion of *Junio* (1959) has several errors: the words quoted on p.428 are not from the song "What Is the Stars?" but from the far inferior revision, "Life On The Sea."

Gordon obviously enjoys quoting the words of the latter, with its theme of male bonding. Sensitive to the tribulation of gays, he is however aware that "there were (and are) those in the musical world who felt that it was controlled by the 'Homintern', the homosexual network" (p.175). But he does not connect that with the 1947 experience of Hugo Weisgall, who had offered to take over the conducting of a revival of *Cradle* after Bernstein did the premiere and was given a run-around by both the conductor and the composer, from one to the other, saying later: "I didn't know if I'd been Berned or Blitzed" (see p.312). Nor does Gordon mention the similar treatment, also with sexual overtones, given the present writer in 1978 by John Dexter at the Met concerning the possibility of my completing Blitzstein's *Sacco and Vanzetti* and/or his *Mahagonny* translation.

(continued on page 23)

Jonathan Kaufman, *Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America*, New York: Scribner's, 1988, \$19.95.

Gerald Horne

I confess. I resisted reviewing this book. The editor kept urging me and I kept finding other books to review, albeit many of them worthwhile. Why resistance? Well, so much tripe has been written on this all-important subject that I was not eager to wallow in more. I confess further: the fact that the author was a reporter for the bourgeois press *Boston Globe* did not inspire my confidence either.

My premonitions were mistaken. From any angle, this is a useful study with some insight. It is "not a comprehensive history" though the author is too modest when he suggests that he is telling the story of "some elite Blacks and some elite Jews."

Much of the book does concern the post-1945 period, however. He writes, "...over half the white students heading South that summer (of 1964) were Jewish. . . Jews made up more than half the white lawyers who went south to defend civil rights protesters. . . Jewish contributions made up three-quarters of the money raised by SNCC, CORE and SCLC. So important were contributions from Jews to SCLC, Jesse Jackson recalled later, that for a time King's advisers debated whether they should call the group simply the Southern Leadership Conference, eliminating the reference to 'Christian'" (p.19, 86, 66).

To his credit, the author does try to show both the relationship of these two communities and impact of class — though he is much more perceptive on this question vis-a-vis Jews. He notes this in the discussion of the early German Jewish and Russian Jewish immigrations and adds, "What would happen as the sons and daughters of those Eastern Europe immigrants and union organizers benefited from educational opportunities and became upwardly mobile, becoming businessmen, lawyers and doctors living in better neighborhoods?" He adds later, "Jews benefited enormously from the terrain shaped by the civil rights movement. Jews were the first to use anti-discrimination laws to gain access to restricted apartment buildings in large cities. The growing tide of tolerance left by the civil rights movement opened worthwhile opportunities for Jews as well as for Blacks in law firms, corporations and universities" (p.33, 101).

The author has interviewed a wide range of histori-

ans, activists, journalists in both communities, including this writer. Though this does give the book a rich flavor, it seems that the often contradictory answers he received left him a bit baffled or at least not willing to offer grounding for popular though not altogether persuasive theses. "There is also a class interpretation, which argues that it was class interests that brought Blacks and Jews together for a time in the 1940's and 1950's but this was an aberration. The dissolution of the alliance was inevitable as Jews became more well-to-do and many Blacks became mired in poverty. . . Jews, some Black scholars now argue, first became involved in civil rights in the early twentieth century, as a way to win 'civil rights by remote control' for themselves. They used Blacks to interpose someone between themselves and white society, using Blacks as long as it suited their interest. . ." Unfortunately, the author does not provide adequate sources so that we could better examine these controversial hypotheses (pp.275-276).

The material he presents about the conflict, inter alia, between the union of teachers led by Al Shanker and a mostly Black community in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Brooklyn is reminiscent, in a way, of what happened to the Chinese community in Vietnam a few years later; action was taken with respect to a class or stratum that happened to be occupied disproportionately by a certain group. This is a highly complex maneuver to execute and explosions did occur.

Kaufman earns his stripes in outlining the history of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) and the role of Jack Greenberg. Unlike many who have written about the tense days at Harvard Law School in 1982 when a Black-led coalition boycotted a course taught by Greenberg, Kaufman observes that the major complaint against him was not only the fact that Harvard could have easily found a Black candidate for their otherwise white male faculty but as well there was objection to his refusal during the Mississippi Summer to work with the National Lawyers Guild; like so many cold war liberals he objected to their refusal to bar Communists. Then he kept LDF out of the Angela Davis defense, causing a brilliant young Black woman attorney — Margaret Burnham — to bolt LDF ranks to defend her friend. This adds poignance to the moment in 1961 when Thurgood Marshall left for bigger things and Greenberg was chosen over his Black colleague Robert Carter (now a federal

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judge): "Would a Jewish group appoint a Black to head the American Jewish Congress?", Carter asked himself and others" (p.103). Greenberg's role as LDF chief convinces me that Carter would have been the better choice by far.

The author also shows us another side of the Jewish lawyers during the civil rights movement; he does not ignore the role of progressives like Arthur Kinoy, William Kunstler and Morton Stavis. Similarly he does not ignore the toxic impact of the so-called "neo-conservatives" grouped around *Commentary* magazine and racism in the organized Jewish community. He also has striking anecdotes that reflect on urban history: ". . . in 1967, Rabbi Robert Marx, head of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, a liberal Jewish civil rights group, found that the business leaders — most of whom were neither black nor Jewish — had chosen five neighborhoods to start integration. Three of them were Jewish neighborhoods. The Jewish area, one of the the businessmen told Marx, would be 'easier to integrate.' Marx left the meeting convinced that Jewish neighborhoods were being sacrificed to protect other institutions, including the Catholic Church, which had a great deal of property and schools in Chicago's stubbornly white ethnic enclaves" (pp.187-88). Though many of us preach the ethic of class solidarity, there are still those who either act otherwise or give it a special twist.

Possibly the above incident touches on what the press often calls "Black-Jewish tensions." The author should also have looked at COINTELPRO documents readily available on microfilm that tell of the effort to foment discord between Black and Jewish comrades in the Communist Party in the wake of the Suez War and Stalin revelations of 1956. In my estimation this spilled over into the Black community and — along with the popularity among Blacks of Egypt's Nasser — gave a boost to the budding Nation of Islam. However, he does show how the 1967 Mid-East war was a turning point. It did appear to strengthen Zionist sentiment in the organized Jewish community and cause splits when Black-led groups like SNCC began to criticize Israel.

Kaufman should have been more insightful about Harold Cruse and his suspect theses on Black-Jewish relations: the author's own evidence disputes the assertion that "American Jews did not have a history of becoming involved in liberal causes, even during the Civil War" (p.81.19). Later, he writes, ". . . three immigrant Jews fought side by side with John Brown. . ." (p.21). It is also not accurate to suggest that Marcus Garvey "could galvanize poor Blacks but scared off many middle-class Blacks. . ." (p.45). Again, the author is not as perceptive about Blacks as he is about Jews though he does

make the interesting point that anti-Jewish expressions are more likely to be found among the middle and upper strata of African Americans, as opposed to working class. Hypothetically this could be tied to the ongoing battles over affirmative action, particularly the Bakke Case which ignited the neo-conservatives. But again, these potent assertions are not sourced adequately: "Asked in 1984 whether their sympathies in the Middle East lay more with Israel or with the Arab nations, 47% of whites said their sympathies lay more with Israel. Only 29% of Blacks said their sympathies lay more with Israel. Between 1964 and 1980, polls found that the level of anti-Semitism among whites dropped almost 8 percentage points while the level of anti-Semitism among Blacks increased slightly. Blacks were far more willing than whites in 1981 to agree with statements like 'Jews have too much power in the United States,' 'Jews have too much power in the business world,' 'Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America.' The Jew-baiting speeches of Farrakhan reinforced the notion that the greatest threat of anti-Semitism lay in the Black community" (pp.273-274).

Despite the flaws, the book is well-written. It is filled with utterly moving anecdotes, e.g., one concerning prominent Bostonian Paul Parks at Dachau, 29 April 1945: ". . . Park's Black platoon, at the bottom of the army hierarchy was the army's burial squad. . . 'They were killed because they were Jews.' said the Rabbi. Parks sat by the road and thought, 'I understand that,' the twenty-year old soldier said finally. 'I understand that because I've seen people lynched just because they were Black'"(p.52). The metaphor he deploys for the Black-Jewish relationship is evocative: "It resembled an Indonesian gamelan symphony, in which each instrument plays its own tune, following its own score. For most of the time, the music sounds dissonant. Then, at certain moments, the music wells up as all the instruments blend together in harmonious symphony" (p.47).

There are many more fascinating points that space does not allow: Judah Benjamin, the Rosenwalds, the Yiddish *Forward*, more provocative theses ("the great beneficiaries of affirmative action would be Jewish women. . ."), etc. Credibly, he avers a factor that influenced him to write this book is a theme often heard in California but not in the more Eurocentric New York: "By the year 2000, demographers say, the number of Hispanics will outnumber the population of Blacks. We are moving slowly but inexorably to a country that will be made up of a majority of minorities. . ." This is happening as the Japanese challenge to U.S. economic hegemony in the capitalist world provides new nuances for

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Anti-Semitism/Anti-Sovietism (cont. from p. 17)

Semites, but how wide and deep anti-Jewish prejudice is among the Soviet population, especially its influential political and intellectual sectors, should not be exaggerated. The extent and intensity of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union has always been exaggerated by those in the anti-Sovieteering, Save Soviet Jewry and "in-gathering" Jews to Israel businesses. But characterizing it as violent and pogromist is something new. It does not seem to be fortuitous that this misrepresentation has been propagated so soon after the U.S. government's decision that Soviet Jews coming to this country are no longer to be classified as refugees "with a well-founded fear of persecution" in the U.S.S.R. but as normal immigrants not entitled to the substantial financial and service assistance that refugees receive. Some investigative journalism on precisely who in the U.S.S.R., U.S. and Israel have been directing the circulation of pogrom rumors is in order.

The other part of the answer to the question of whether the Soviet leadership is overconfident about its ability to cope with anti-Semitism depends on the adequacy of the measures they employ to combat it. Until now, since most of the exclusively verbal attacks on Jews (as anti-Russian, Stalinist, etc.) have been political rather than ethnic or racial, they have not been considered to have violated the law. Consequently, such expressions of anti-Semitism—like *Pamyat*'s until its recent advocacy of discriminatory action—have only been criticized ideologically in the (government and more-or-less government-controlled) press. Ethnic insults and even discrimination against Jews by individuals which did violate the law were also dealt with ideologically or, at best, administratively, e.g., a reprimand from a superior or, in a few cases, ouster from a position of authority such as an editorship. It appears that the recent outbreak of physical violence against other Soviet ethnic groups long subjected to prejudice and discrimination insufficiently combated by the government and the disaffection from the Soviet Union of these and still other aggrieved ethnic and national groups has led the Soviet leadership to conclude that more than criticism in the press and occasional administrative action is required to deal with this crucial aspect of the "nationalities question." It may be that the false rumors of impending pogroms and the unfounded fear this has raised among Jews in the Soviet Union and other countries has not only promoted anti-Sovietism but served the useful purpose of pushing Soviet governmental action beyond press exposes of anti-Semitism.

In the May 24 issue of Moscow's new Russian-language Jewish newspaper, *Jewish Soviet Culture Herald*, an article noted that "the media are broadly condemning anti-Semitism" but called for it "to be fought both with vigorous

education and...strong legal measures." This is now becoming the policy of the Soviet government. It is grounds for confidence that the leadership of Soviet society both in and out of government, can suppress, reduce and eventually eradicate the long-existing, long-neglected anti-Semitism among a portion of the Soviet people which has been brought into the open by glasnost. □

Mark the Music (continued from p. 20)

One last note on the question of the significance of Blitzstein's gayness. I am reminded of what John Fugie said about Brecht scholarship in 1971. Martin Esslin believed Brecht was a great playwright despite his being a Communist. Ernst Schumacher believed Brecht was a great playwright because he was a Communist. Today we are beginning to realize that Brecht was a great playwright and he was a Communist. I think that's really what composers like Leonard Bernstein and Marc Blitzstein deserve too, vis-a-vis their sexuality. There have always been those like Joan Peyser who will claim that their greatness as composers was and is in spite of acknowledged homosexuality. And now we have authors like Eric Gordon who insist that their homosexuality is part of the reason for their greatness. Eventually we shall see that they were great composers — and they were predominantly homosexual in their sex preferences. □

Broken Alliance (continued from p. 22)

ethnic relations in the U.S. Simultaneously, a possible downside of the positive change in Eastern Europe has been a resurgence of anti-Jewish expressions.

Given the complications of the moment and the complexity of the topic, Kaufman has performed a useful, albeit flawed, service for a sorely neglected field. I'll have to think twice before I again duck reviewing a book suggested by an editor. □

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אידישע נייעס איבער דער וועלט

ישראלס פילהארמאנישער אַרקעסטער אין רוסלאַנד

תל-אביב (איטא). — דער וועלט-באוואוסטער פילהארמאנישער אַרקעסטער פון ישראל וועט צום ערשטן מאל אַרויסטערען מיט קאָנצערטן אין ראַטנפארבאנד דעם קומענדיקן יאָר, איו דאָ געמאלדן געוואָרן. דער אַרקעסטער וועט געבן עטלעכע קאָנצערטן אין מאַסקווע און אין לענינגראַד אין האַרבסט 1990, לויט אַן אָפּמאַך. וואָס איז דערגרייכט געוואָרן צווישן דער אַרקעסטער-אַנפירונג און די באַזאַמטע פון דעם קולטור און קאָנצערטן-צענטער אין מאַסקווע.

הגום די סאוועיטן האָבן געהאַט דיפּלאַמאַטישע באַצויינגען מיט ישראל אין די יאָרן 1948 ביז 1967, איז דאָך דער ישראל-אַרקעסטער ביז איצט נישט געהאַט אייגענלאַדן געוואָרן אין ראַטנפארבאנד. לעצטנס זיינען אין מאַסקווע געווען מיטגלידער פון אַרקעסטער און אירן זוכין מעהטאַ, דער מוזיקאלישער דירעקטאָר און זינגענט זיינער.

רעסטאָרירונג פון דער אידישער שול אין פּראָג

די טשעכאָסלאָוואַקישע מאַכט-אַרגאַנען האָבן געמאלדן, אַז זיי וועלן אָנהייבן די רעסטאָרירונג-אַרבעטן פון דער שיל פּנחס פון פּראָג. אירע ווענט זענען געווען אויסגעקויפּט די זעמען פון 77 טויזנט אידן פון באַהעמיע און מאַראַוויע, וואָס זיינען אומגעבראַכט געוואָרן בשעת דער שואה.

די ידיעה איז איבערגעגעבן געוואָרן דער פּרוי נאַטאַליע בערגער, די אָנפירערין פון דעם מוזיי פון בית התפוצות פון תל-אביב, וועלכע איז געווען אירף און באַזון אין פּראָג. אַלס גאַסט פון דעם מיניסטעריום פאַר קולטור פון דער טשעכאָסלאָוואַקיי, דער ציל פון איר באַזון אין פּראָג איז געווען צונויפצוזאַמלען פּאַטאָגראַפֿיעס און דאָקומענטן, וואָס וועלן זיין אַ באַשטאַנד-טייל פון אַן עקספּאָזיציע. געווינדעט דער געשיכטע פון די אידן אין דער טשעכאָסלאָוואַקיי, וואָס וועט דערפֿעמט ווערן אינעם מוזיי פון בית התפוצות, אין חודש מאי 1990 און צוזאַמענגעבן מיט אַ פּאַנאָראַמלונג פון די אידן פון דער וועלט. אַפּשטאַמיקע פון דער טשעכאָסלאָוואַקיי, וואָס וועט פּאַרקומען קיין ישראל.

”דושאַניט” עפנט אַפּזיציעל צוריק ביוראָ אין אונגאַרן

בוראָפעסט, — דער אַמעריקאַנער ”דושאַניט” האָט געעפנט אַ פּערמאַנענטע ביוראָ אין אונגאַרן, וואָס האָט לעצטנס שוין אָנגעהויבן צו פּונקציאָנירן, נאָכדעם ווי דער ”דושאַניט” האָט באַקומען די אַפּזיציעלע דערלויבעניש פון פּרעמיער-מיניסטער. דאָס ביוראָ וועט פון איצט אָן קענען אויפן אָרט אָנפירן מיט אַ גאַנצען רייע פּראָגראַמען, וועלכע זי האָט איינגעשטעלט אין אונגאַרן זינט 1980.

פאַר דער צווייטער וועלט-מלחמה האָט דער ”דושאַניט” געהאַט אַ ביוראָ אין בוראָפעסט. ער איז אָבער געצוואונגען געוואָרן עס צו פאַרמאַכן אין 1939. ווען די ”דושאַניט”-פּאַרשטייער זיינען דאָ צוריקגעקומען אין 1980, האָבן זיי זיך קאָנצענטרירט אויף הילף פאַר די לעבנעבלעכע פון חורבן. נאָכדעם זיינען אירן איינגעפירט געוואָרן כילדונגס-פּראָגראַמען פאַר אידישע יוגנטלעכע. איצט וועלן די ”דושאַניט” טעטיקייטן נאָך מער אויסגעבוייטערט ווערן.

צאָל אַרבעטסלאָזע אין ישראל באַדייטנדיק גרעסער

תל-אביב (איטא). — די אַרבעטסלאָזיקייט אין ישראל איז געשטיגן צו מער ווי 8 און האַלבן פּראָצענט (8.6) פון דער צאָל אַרבעטענדיקע אין לאַנד כּמשך דעם ערשטן קוואַרטאַל פון היינטיקן יאָר, דאָס איז אַ פּאַרגרעסערונג פון 46 פּראָצענט אין פּאַרגלייך צו דער זעלבער צייט אין 1988 — האָט געמאלדן דאָס צענטראַלע סטאַטיסטישע ביוראָ.

אין דרוכשינט האָבן אין די ערשטע דריי חדשים פון יאָר געזוכט אַרבעט 124 טויזנט פּערוואָן. אַ סך מער אַרבעטסלאָזע זיינען צוגעקומען כּמשך פון דער לעצטער צייט, ווייל אַ גרעסערע צאָל אונטערנומענען זאָגן איצט אַפּ אַרבעטער צוליב עקאָנאָמישע שוועריקייטן. אַ צווייטע סיבה פון דער גרעסערער צאָל נישט באַשעפּטיקטע איז דער פּאַקט, וואָס ס׳האָט זיך כּלל פּאַרגרעסערט די צאָל מענטשן אין דער באַפעלקערונג, וואָס ווילן באַקומען אַרבעט.