

March / April 1991

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Iraq and the Jews

After the Gulf War

Jon Weisberger

Report From Israel

J. Lipski

Iraq, Kuwait and the Linkage to
Palestine

Nita M. Renfrew

The Destruction of the Jewish
Community of Iraq

Naim Giladi

U.S. Army War College Report

G.A.W.

Remembering the Holocaust

Shoah – A Critique

Alfred J. Kutzik

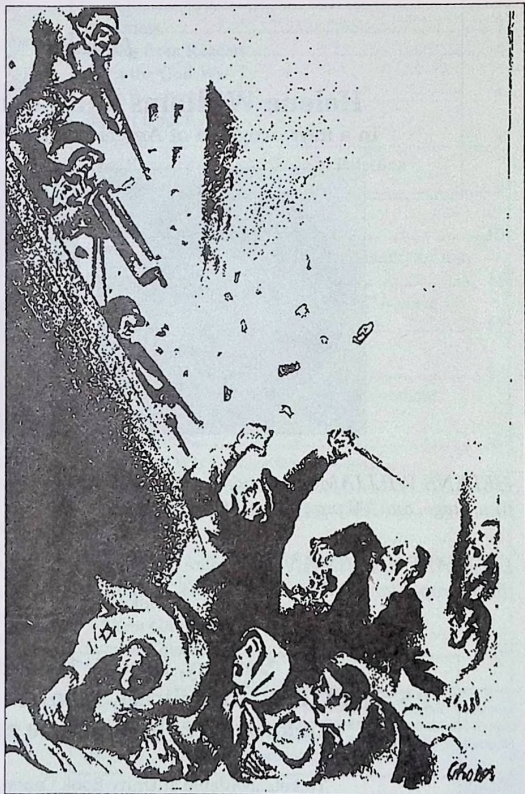
Poetry

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International Women's Day

Jewish Women in the Early Labor
Movement: The Triangle Fire

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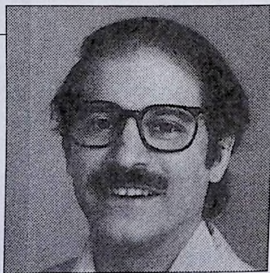
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Editorials

The Gulf War and the Jews

The lead editorial of our last issue dealt with why the war against Iraq was not in the interest of Jews. Despite the missile attacks on Israel and the increase of anti-Semitism here and abroad, most U.S. Jews mistakenly think the war has done much good for Israel and little harm to them.

The fact is that this avoidable war, whose objective of ousting Iraq from Kuwait could have been achieved through continued sanctions and diplomacy, has not increased Israel's security and has gravely harmed U.S. Jews along with the rest of the population by eliminating the post-Cold War "peace dividend" that would have transferred funds from the bloated military budget to meet our country's long-neglected social needs. Like other citizens, Jews will therefore not benefit from improved education, health care and social services and will suffer from past and continuing cut-backs in these areas. In addition, Jews will suffer more than the rest of the population from the concomitant loss of jobs since so many teachers and social workers are Jews.

Along with the rest of the population, Jews will also suffer from the continuing lack of sufficient government funds for the reconstruction of the country's crumbling infrastructure. Again, not only will everyone be deprived and endangered by inadequate and unsafe bridges, dams, roads, etc. but suffer from the consequences of the non-existence of the hundreds of thousands if not millions of jobs that their reconstruction would have entailed. While few Jews would have been directly involved, the increased purchasing power of those so employed would have had a positive effect on the continued employment and job conditions of the predominantly white-collar Jewish labor force.

The new lease on life that the Gulf war has given the U.S. military-industrial complex is the most destructive result of this war for all the people of our country. U.S. Jews should understand that it has undermined their quality of life and demand that the promised "peace dividend" still come from deep cuts in the unjustifiable \$ 300 billion military budget in this world where nobody threatens our country except our power- and money-mad ruling class.

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JEWISH AFFAIRS



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March-April 1991

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The Gulf War and Israel

A positive result of the war is the opportunity it has opened up for settling the Israel-Palestinian conflict. The world has never been more aware of Israel's failure to comply for over two decades with the U.N. resolutions ordering an end to its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (and the Golan Heights) and the lack of any action by the U.N. and the U.S. to enforce such compliance although they have engaged in unprecedented sanctions and waged a massive war to end Iraq's months-long occupation of Kuwait.

Aware of the pressure this has developed for a U.N.-sponsored international conference to settle the issue, Israel has preemptively proposed a "regional conference" to deflate and deflect this. Not only would Israel's proposed regional conference not be under U.N. auspices, so that its binding resolutions can be avoided, but it would not involve the P.L.O. or any Palestinians unacceptable to Israel. It would also be a symbolic, non-negotiating "single session" event followed by one-to-one negotiating sessions between each Arab country and Israel, which the latter has been calling for all along.

This proposal for a sham "conference" excluding the chosen representatives of the Palestinian people and intended to enable Israel to continue to control their territory should be rejected. Readers should let their congressional representatives and Secretary of State Baker know that what is needed is a real conference under U.N. auspices involving the chosen representatives of the Palestinian people to end the Israeli occupation of their land and bring peace and security to all the countries in this dangerously inflammable part of the world.

Remembering

Jews have a tradition of remembering. The Jewish scriptures command Jews to remember the Exodus and other events like those connected to Hannukah and Purim. In our day the Warsaw Ghetto resistance fighters called upon us "Never to forget!" what happened there. Since April 11 was Yom Hashoah, the world-wide Holocaust Day, and April 8-15 was the U.S.'s official Days of Remembrance of the Holocaust, this March/April issue commemorates the Holocaust and the resistance to it with a review-article, a poem and its front-cover and p.13 illustrations. It also commemorates International Women's Day and Women's History Month which took place in March with an article and graphic on the Triangle fire. And, since current interest in Iraq justifies it, it recalls the little known facts

Letters From Readers

With reference to your articles in the March/April issue and the May/June issue and a later article reprinted from *Outlook* magazine, all dealing with Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel and alleged Soviet anti-Semitism or failure to oppose anti-Semitism, an important factor has been neglected: Zionist manipulation and agitation used to uproot Jews and transport them to Israel. Two examples are the exodus of Jews from Iraq and Morocco in the early fifties

At that time there were relatively few Jews in the newly established state and the possibility of mass immigration of Jews from Europe or America was remote. Therefore the logical source was the two largest Jewish communities in the Arab world: Morocco and Iraq.

The *Jewish Guardian* (Spring 1987) revealed the actions of the Alliance Israelite Universelle and Zionist emissaries from Israel who planted bombs in the US Information Service Library and in Iraqi synagogues to terrorize Jews into fleeing Iraq. Leaflets appeared urging Jews to flee in the face of rampant "anti-Semitism." Is this not reminiscent of the situation in the Soviet Union where letters to the editor, anonymous leaflets and threatened pogroms have been frightening Jews into leaving?

When these subversive activities were discovered by the Iraqi authorities, a full-scale investigation was launched, the guilty arrested and tried. Wilbur Crane Eveland, a former CIA advisor who was stationed at the U.S. embassy in Baghdad at the time, described these events in *Ropes of Sand*, WW Norton & Co., New York 1980, pp. 48-49.

Several of the Israeli agents imprisoned at the time, were released years later and returned to Israel. A journalist, an Iraqi Jew, living in

Continued on p. 20

concerning the destruction of the Iraqi Jewish community in 1950 in a letter from a reader and a report by an investigative journalist.

Although it deserves a detailed article and more, we here briefly and sadly remember that Iraq, the direct descendant of ancient Babylonia, was until 1950 one of the great homelands of the Jewish people, where they lived continuously for over 2,500 years, at one time numbering as many as 2,000,000; that it was the birthplace of Abraham, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the homeland of scores of great scholars from Rav to Saadyah who created and led the yeshivas that were the intellectual center of world Jewry for a millennium where the Babylonian talmud was developed that guided Jewish life until modern times and still guides the orthodox today: if Israel is the land of the bible, Iraq is the land of the talmud. Deepening the tragedy of the genocidal war against the people of Iraq, including its last 1,000 or so Jews, is that most Jews elsewhere rejoiced at the bombing of this historic Jewish homeland of which they had no memory.

Roots and Branches

After the Gulf War

Jon Weisberger

The war against Iraq is over and progressive Jews are now faced with a situation which is at once profoundly new and substantially unchanged. The dangers and opportunities of the coming year pose a serious challenge. What is needed now is serious analysis and a thoughtful consideration of how to move forward.

One of the new factors – a heightened interest in the Middle East, including the central question of the Israeli-Arab-Palestinian conflict – has exposed the deep degree of confusion and minimal knowledge base from which many Americans begin. Even in the anti-war movement, thousands who participated in the effort to stop the war have only the most rudimentary understanding of the political, economic and social factors that shape the Middle East. While the slogan “No Blood For Oil” has pointed to an important component of US policy in the Gulf crisis, it has also strengthened a one-dimensional analysis. Other significant factors – the persistence of US Cold War strategic concerns, for example – have been given short shrift, especially in coalitions where the ultra-left has played a role.

In this situation, the political space available to principled forces has been extremely narrow and this is especially true for progressive Jews and their organizations. One need only look at the perfunctory response of many peace coalitions to the missile attacks on Israel or the inability to reach agreement on support for a two-state solution to the Palestinian issue on the one hand and assertions that the PLO has been eliminated as a political factor or the paralysis of the Zionist peace camp on the other, to see that the consensus so painfully worked out by the established Middle East peace movement – in which progressive Jews have played an important role – is in real danger.

Within the mainstream of the organized Jewish community, there is no such dilemma. Jewish organizations overwhelmingly endorsed the President's war and many even quietly urged the pursuit of wider goals than the “liberation of Kuwait.” The Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations and the Israel Task Force of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) both called for the elimination of Iraq's military capabilities and implicitly endorsed the forcible overthrow of Saddam Hussein. Much was made of Hussein's April, 1990

threat to “burn half of Israel,” though it was rarely made clear that Hussein's threat was of retaliation against any Israeli attack, such as the 1981 destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor.

At the same time the Jewish mainstream sought to maintain a low profile, rarely publicizing its stand unless explicitly asked by the press. This uncharacteristic reticence was prompted by fears that prominent Jewish support for war would open the “dual loyalty” issue by making it appear that the Administration's policies were being shaped by Israeli interests. This concern, widely held before the war began, was progressively modified as the “rally round the flag” syndrome erased many doubts among the general public about the war's wisdom. It virtually disappeared in the wave of sympathy for Israel that resulted from Iraqi missile attacks on Tel Aviv. By the war's end, some Jewish leaders were publicly, though not vociferously, expressing discontent over the Administration's unwillingness (or political inability?) to march on Baghdad.

That the right wing of the American Jewish community, working hand in glove with the Likud, is moving as quickly as possible to take advantage of the situation was demonstrated at February's meeting of NJCRAC, where the Middle East and US foreign policy dominated discussion to the virtual exclusion of other issues. As Martin Raffel, the director of the Israel Task Force delicately put it, “the general climate has pointed in certain directions now that create an environment of unity.” That unity was evident in the apparently minimal debate over a resolution that declared that “the PLO cannot play a constructive role, directly or indirectly, in advancing the prospects for peace” between Israelis and Palestinians. Indeed, the atmosphere was so difficult for Jewish doves that Albert Vorspan, senior vice president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, charged that peace proponents were “afraid to even talk” during policy discussions.

Nevertheless, an important stand was made on one issue – transfer – which reflected both the reservations that many American Jewish leaders have about the current Israeli government and the bureaucratic and arbitrary fashion in which some community leaders – egged on by Israeli representatives – have attempted to

reassert right-wing hegemony over communal institutions.

Despite the demands of Mordechai Yedid, deputy consul general at the Israeli Consulate in New York (who was seen, as the Jewish Telegraphic Agency described it, "grabbing the arm of Maynard Wishner, NJCRAC treasurer and co-chairman [sic] of its Israel Task Force as he walked by in the corridor"), the issue of transfer (the forcible expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, advocated by several parties in Israel, including Moledet, which was recently brought into the governing coalition) was raised on the floor during a policy discussion. Although a significant number of delegates were apparently disgusted by Moledet's inclusion in the government, the NJCRAC leadership succeeded in stifling discussion by referring the issue to the Israel Task Force on the grounds that issues which had not been submitted in advance could not be raised from the floor!

Still, Tom Smerling, the executive director of Project Nishma, a dovish organization which includes a respectable list of mainstream leadership among its sponsors, succeeded in gathering hundreds of signatures on a letter to Knesset member Binyamin Begin praising his "principled stand" opposing Moledet's inclusion in the coalition. Among those signing the letter were all 8 past chairpersons of NJCRAC in attendance at the meeting.

If ground has been lost in the Jewish community, it is equally true that new ground must be won among the many newly-engaged participants in the antiwar movement. In the debate over issues of self-determination, occupation and US policy in the Middle East, it is apparent that large numbers of peace supporters and activists have not yet heard the case for a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The situation has been exacerbated by the influence of ultra-left groups in many of the antiwar coalitions, as well as – of course – by the sheer brutality and arbitrariness of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

It has taken many years for Jewish, Palestinian and other opponents of the occupation to reach a consensus around a two-state solution. Marxist-Leninists have played an important role in this process, for the Leninist approach to the national question has been the most reliable compass in navigating between Zionism – the Jewish form of bourgeois nationalism – and Palestinian irredentism. It was not coincidental, for example, that the PLO's shift to a two-state solution, embodied in the Declaration of Independence of November, 1988 occurred during the same period as

the incorporation of the Palestinian Communist Party into the structures of the PLO. Similarly, it is no surprise that the Jewish-Arab Communist Party of Israel has been the most consistent force in the Israeli peace movement, especially during the Gulf crisis.

Indeed, the difficulty in the struggle for a two-state solution has resulted precisely because the proletarian internationalist viewpoint has been a minority one within the peace movement. Many activists around the Palestinian issue have been guided by pragmatism, nationalism of one form or another, illusions about the nature of the contending forces and abstract concepts of morality. One need look only at the response of many Israeli peace activists – especially from the Zionist peace camp – and Palestinians to the Gulf crisis to see the effect that poorly thought-out (though often deeply and sincerely held) beliefs may have in times of trouble.

When positions rest on weak bases, there are constant pressures on both sides to make concessions of one sort or another. Worse, the lack of a stable, consistent and reliable approach to the issue makes it difficult to overcome either the belief that a solution to the conflict is impossible (many Americans simply believe that the Israeli-Palestinian struggle is "too complicated" to be resolved) or the belief that the answer entails the elimination of Israel. The best and most effective case that can be made for a genuinely just settlement of the conflict will be made by Marxist-Leninists. Though there are many cases where the best means of applying a Leninist approach to the national question is open to debate and re-examination, this is not among them.

In sum, then, the ball is in our court. There has been no fundamental change in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in the positions of any of the parties to the conflict, or in the outlines of a just and lasting resolution. What *has* changed is the ground on which the struggle must be fought. We have to fight seriously and carefully to regain and extend the ground that has been lost in the Jewish community as a result of the war. At the same time, we cannot underestimate the hard work that will need to be done to bring the newly-expanded Middle East peace movement in tune with the international consensus that already exists on how to solve the central issue in the Middle East. That is a tall order – but there is no alternative. □

Correction

Last issue's "Two Film Festivals" reported that U.S. filmmaker Catharine Ryan's "The Story of Maria" won the first prize for documentaries at the Havana Film Festival in December. It actually won the prize for best documentary on Latin America by a non-Latin-American.

Report from Israel

J. Lipski

While outdated by the ending of the Gulf War, this report still provides valuable insights into the prevailing political situation.

We slept all the third night, without being attacked by Iraqi missiles. Actually, it seemed as if we were sleeping all night, because, as a matter of fact, people are always alert and disturbed by every noise, perhaps it is an alarm. The gas mask is ready at the bedside to be put on and the last doorholes are tightly sealed. The unrest is growing from day to day because it is feared that Iraq might use missiles with chemical war heads. Reports tell about old people who have put on their gas masks because they smelled gas and they didn't notice they had forgotten to close their gas taps in the kitchen. Many children start crying spasmodically when their parents put gas masks on. Some remember that they have not warned the deaf who didn't hear the alarm signals and how the blind are to be treated who find it difficult to put a gas mask on. Many of those who went to other places—in Eilat, Tiberias, in kibbutzim, have started to come back. How long can you remain outside your home? There is unrest in the neighborhoods where inhabitants of the Tel Aviv area have sought a temporary refuge. Katyusha shells are fired from Lebanon and a paradoxical situation emerges when people are not only frightened by the missiles from Iraq the Israeli air force bombs Lebanon...It is not the Lebanese government that calls for shelling Israel, but there are armed groups who do not obey its orders. How can it be stopped? It was hoped that the occupied territories would create a broad security zone, but it turned out that the center of the country has become the main site of the present war.

Till now various circles have tried to argue that, in spite of the UN Security Council resolutions calling on the Iraqi rulers to withdraw from Kuwait, maybe it was not necessary to start the war after the 15th of January, that devours many millions of dollars and has already caused much ruin and casualties. Others, however, hold that it was necessary to teach a lesson to the Iraqi leader who does not stop sacrificing his own country and people.

In such a dangerous situation voices are raised by various factions and broad circles in the world and also in Israel to stop the war and start negotiations. Over

J. Lipski is our Israel correspondent

100 Israeli personalities of various backgrounds have published an appeal stating that it is in the vital interests of Israel to stop the war. President Bush has several times raised the idea of introducing a "new order" in the Gulf region, in the Middle East and in the world. "What else can one expect from the New Order?" asks the well-known Israeli commentator, Avraham Tamir (*Davar*, 2/6/91), and he adds, "Will the United States be the policeman of the world, protecting the oil riches, or will it lead to peace that should guarantee mutual security relations and development." Does Bush mean a "New Order" in coordination with the Soviet Union and UN, or will the selfish oil interests prevail in the present war and also the armament magnates lick their fingers from the weapons supplies for the Gulf front. They will not accept the calls for stopping the war and starting negotiations. U.S. government circles and still more so the oil and arms monopolies reject the Iranian approaches and the European efforts to end the war and to resume negotiations.

In Israel the restraint of the government was accepted with satisfaction when it decided not to react to the Iraqi missile attacks. The U.S. rulers, too, were not interested in having Israel react, possibly with non-conventional weapons, because this could lead to a split in the anti-Iraqi front. Iran, too, threatened openly to side with Iraq in case Israel reacts. But among the Israeli ruling circles there are increasing threats to use non-conventional weapons that might cause a dangerous turn in the war, that could have catastrophic consequences also for Israel. A dreadful Israeli-Arab war could erupt if Israel is not prepared to negotiate with the Palestinians.

The war has already caused tremendous damage to Israel. In the context of the war, the government has sealed off totally the occupied territories with military and police forces. The Arab workers are not allowed to go to work in Israel. This has led to the almost complete cessation of building houses that are urgently needed to provide apartments for the homeless in Israel and for new immigrants. The general secretary of Histadrut, Israel Kaysar, has demanded that workers from the occupied territories be allowed to work in Israel. The farmers warn that there is a danger that 7,000 tons of crops will rot because no specialized workers from the territories are available. At the same time, the situation of the closed-off Palestinian population is getting worse from day to day, with children especially suffer-

ing. Israeli doctors have appealed to the authorities to provide medical aid.

At the same time, a dangerous development has occurred in Israeli government policy. In its restraint on reacting against Iraqi attacks the government has enjoyed broad sympathy in the world and also in Israel. Even the Labor party opposition and the Left Zionist groups have supported the government in its restraint. But simultaneously with the turn in American policy, the joint Soviet-American communique has confirmed the war aims to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and also to deal with the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. This has aroused strong discontent among the government circles. Do they still believe that Israel will be able to keep the occupied territories? In this respect, the Israeli rulers join, in fact, the plans of some U.S. ruling circles for establishing a New Order not in the interests of the peoples but of the greedy oil and weapons corporations.

Some steps by the Shamir government have deeply angered broad circles who supported the government in its restraint. In the beginning it was believed that the government had hermetically closed off the population of the occupied territories as a step resulting from the war because at this time it needed to prevent demonstrations and revolts by the Palestinian population. But what has been done creates the impression that the authorities have far-reaching dangerous plans. The administrative arrest for six months of one of the most respectable Palestinian leaders, an open advocate of an Israeli-Palestinian peace, an open advocate of an Israeli-Palestinian peace, on a charge of delivering security secrets to Iraq, has aroused general amazement. The arrestee, Dr. Seri Nuseiba, is a well-known personality who has often proposed an Israeli-Palestinian peace in speeches in Israel and elsewhere. Second, if Dr. Nuseiba is accused of treason, he should have been brought to court and gotten the most severe penalty. The judge before whom Dr. Nuseiba was brought reduced his prison term to 3 months. This has confirmed the suspicion that his imprisonment is a political act, a continuation of the policy of virtual house arrest of a million and a half Palestinians. It is important to point out, that the efforts by international organizations and by UNWRA to supply food to this population and food supplies by Israeli Arabs for the Palestinians were not permitted (*Al Hamishmar*, 2/4/91). Can such steps create sympathy for Israel? Is it not necessary, particularly during this war, to declare the readiness for negotiations with the Palestinians?

If it was still necessary to prove the intensified anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian course of the government leaders at this time of war, incontrovertible evi-

dence is the decision of Prime Minister Shamir to include in the cabinet Rehavam Zeevi as minister and member of the ministerial security commission. This decision to include one of Israel's most outspoken racist leaders, who calls for driving the Arabs and Palestinians out of the country, has aroused anger even among Knesset deputies and ministers of the Likud. This racist was accused some years ago of maintaining relations with criminals of the underworld. During the stormy Knesset session on the inclusion of Zeevi in the government, Knesset member Tama Gozanski demonstratively raised a yellow star of David and the whole opposition left the Knesset session when the racist was sworn in. Shamir tried to soften the heavy impression, when he promised that nobody accepts the new minister's "transfer" idea, i.e., the expulsion of Palestinians from Israel and the occupied territories. Two Likud ministers did not take part in the session and Menahem Begin's son, a Likud deputy, openly voted against the shameful appointment.

The question is asked: Why has Y. Shamir found it necessary to add this open racist to his cabinet just now when he enjoys general sympathy for his restraint on reacting against the Iraqi missile attacks? Maybe some circles calculate that within the framework of Bush's New Order it will be possible to keep the occupied territories, to carry out the expulsion of the Arabs from Israel? Even Defense Minister Moshe Arens has angrily stated: "We shall not support the crazy ideas of Zeevi."

At the same time that many Arabs are being arrested on charges of espionage, the leaders have asked the Arab inhabitants to help the Israelis who suffered from bombardments, because peace is in everybody's interest. And the peace appeal by over 100 Israeli personalities points to the urgent necessity and the vital interest of Israel to stop the terrible war, to avoid a great disaster if the Iraqi leaders use chemical gas weapons and Israel may answer with non-conventional bombs. Let us prevent such a disaster. This war, that is taking dangerous and shameful forms, must and can be stopped now. This is in Israel's interest. □



Iraq, Kuwait and the Linkage to Palestine

Nita M. Renfrew

Since the commercial press has ignored them, the history of Iraq's claim to Kuwait and genuine interest in the Palestinians under Israeli occupation deserve a closer look.

Two different British agreements have been used, one to justify that Kuwait is a separate entity, the other, that it is part of Iraq. The first is a secret, 1899 agreement between Britain and the Sheikh of Kuwait when Kuwait was but a pearl-fishing village, meriting no special presence by the Ottoman occupiers. Although Britain signed many such protectorate agreements with minor tribal leaders, promising them independence from the Turks, nevertheless this agreement is used to support Kuwaiti claims of sovereignty. The other agreement, reached in 1913, clearly recognizes Kuwait as a district of the Ottoman-ruled Basra province. The Sheikh of Kuwait was the "Quaimaqam," or Commissioner, of a district that covered little more than the actual village of Kuwait, with a population of roughly 6,000, under the administrative authority of the "Wali," or Ottoman Governor of Basra.

After World War I it was decided to reconstitute Iraq, better known as Mesopotamia in the West, by uniting the former Ottoman provinces of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra into a monarchy — under British mandate of course. The struggle over Kuwait began when Britain decided to sever Iraq's coastline, meaning Kuwait, in order to control Iraq's access to the sea and make the Iraqis easier to rule.

The British invoked their 1899 agreement as evidence of Kuwait's sovereignty. This left Iraq, a maritime land for over 5,000 years, with only a waterway and some marshland on the coast. The Iraqis countered with the official 1913 agreement, arguing that the earlier one was illegal and that, since sovereignty over Basra province had been officially transferred from the Ottoman State to the modern Iraqi

State, under international law Kuwait was part of Iraq. Although, as a result of the Iraqi protests, no official border was established, there was not much more the Iraqis could do, being under British occupation.

Following Iraqi independence in 1932, however, the struggle heated up on several occasions. A pattern

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emerged where it seemed that every time Iraq asserted its claim, whoever was in power would die a bloody death. During the monarchy two Iraqi kings and a prime minister were killed when they began to voice Iraq's claim to Kuwait. In 1938 the Kuwaiti ruler dissolved the legislature after it voted for Kuwait to revert to Iraq, causing a violent uprising. The Iraqi king intervened on the rebel's behalf, calling repeatedly on the radio for Kuwait's return to Iraq, and he died soon in a car accident. The matter rested until 1958, when Iraq and Jordan were joined briefly as the Arab federation. Prime Minister Nouri Al Said, who had begun making the case for Kuwait's accession two years earlier, received word from the British that they decided to approve it. A meeting was scheduled in London to discuss the details. Ten days prior to this meeting, however, the entire Iraqi government was massacred in a Communist supported coup, ending both the monarchy and the Federation. Some thought they saw the left hand of the British at work. Although publicly it lamented the fate of the monarchy, Britain had close, backroom ties with the Iraqi Communists dating back to the Second World War. In fact, the new prime minister, General Abdul-Karim Qassem, at first appeared to recognize Kuwait as a separate country, establishing consular relations. But in 1961, when Britain granted Kuwait a separate independence, Qassem declared that Iraq intended to recover Kuwait, and he sent troops to the border, precipitating a massive British military buildup in Kuwait.

In a British-encouraged uprising less than two years later, Qassem was himself killed. The new government managed to stay in power just long enough to execute most of the Communist leaders and issue a joint communique with Kuwait, recognizing its sovereignty. But they never followed with ratification, rendering this recognition void. It was during this period also that the British were able to push through Kuwait's membership in the United Nations. The Soviets, who in 1961 had cast a veto support of Qassem's government, failed to do so now, in view of the new government's persecution of Communists.

But that was not the end of the dispute.

In 1973 and '76, Iraq again asserted its claim to Kuwait, and the matter was resolved through the Arab League, leading to talks with Kuwait on a permanent demarcation of the border. In 1980, these talks were interrupted when the war with Iran broke out. Eight

years later, after the war ended, the talks were resumed. In the interim, Iraq found, the Kuwaitis had moved their border north, and it now straddled the tip of Iraq's Rumaila oilfield, from which oil was being extracted, bringing Kuwait some \$12 billion. Not surprisingly, the Kuwaitis showed a reluctance to pursue the border talks, and it was the Iraqis who began to press for resolution.

Still, this is not what precipitated last summer's invasion.

In February, 1990, Saddam Hussein warned at an Arab summit in Amman that the continued presence in the Gulf of the American fleet (invited by Kuwait, incidentally, during the Iran-Iraq war) would eventually result in U.S. control over the oil. He called on Arab brothers to take heed. Immediately afterward, Kuwait began to flood the market with oil, bringing the price down from \$21 a barrel to as little as \$11, causing Iraq to lose one-third of its national income. Saddam warned several times that in Iraq's eyes this was tantamount to Kuwaiti military aggression.

The matter of economic war became hopelessly entangled with the Rumaila border dispute and, by extension, the issue of the two Kuwaiti islands Iraq sought to lease. Saddam Hussein's statement made it clear that he planned to use force lest a diplomatic solution was reached. Still, the Kuwaitis continued to hem and haw. They agreed at a meeting of oil ministers on July 10 to revert to their official OPEC quota, while secretly planning to abide by it for two months only. As a result, Iraq massed troops on the border.

On July 25, Saddam Hussein tested the waters in a lengthy meeting with the U.S. ambassador (April Glaspie), and warned that there would be dire consequences if a solution was not found. According to the transcript of this meeting Glaspie responded, "We have no opinion...the issue is not associated with America." Since the U.S. has no treaty with Kuwait, or with any of the Gulf states, and therefore no obligations, there was no reason then for Iraq to expect any serious U.S. reaction to the invasion.

In a letter (of 9/4/90) distributed by Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz to all foreign ministers, the Iraqi government stated that they believed that the Kuwait actions were part of a larger U.S. plan to tip the strategic balance of power in the region toward Israel, the U.S. "strategic ally," weakening Iraq's economy and military capability. This, explains Aziz, would make the U.S. "the sole arbiter" in the region, able to control the world's oil.

By the same token, Iraqis believe that the large influx of Soviet Jews into Israel will eventually lead to the expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank into

Jordan — if the matter of a Palestinian state is not resolved. Iraqis point out that the expulsion of Palestinians can only be accomplished if the Iraqi military machinery is neutralized.

For this reason, Iraq linked its withdrawal from Kuwait to a withdrawal by Israel from the occupied territories. Iraqis and their Arab supporters believe that Israel needs to be contained within its official, pre-1967 borders and the Palestinian question resolved if there is to be any lasting peace and stability in the region. The confrontation for them is a fight for Arab self-determination and control over their resources. □

SANCTUARY

Mitchell Kamen

You pogrom-battered people
Persecuted, slaughtered, hanging
In the butcherhouse of Europe.
What shelter from a nazi inferno?
Dumb ghosts howl, a generation
Squandered,
Burnt like fallen leaves.

Under hills of thyme and cactus,
Who dumps cadavers deep in ditches?
What laughing heroes purify the savage camps?
Like black fruit the rotted bellies burst.
Burn down this bastard world,
Sabra, Shatila.

Tormented sons of Abraham, awake.
We'll cleanse our twin scarred souls
That ache for miracles, like ancient
Desert flintlock fountains drowning thirst,
Like graceful waterfall gazelles.

Come back to orange trees
My milky breasted sister.
Your raging, bitter lips shall stretch
To kiss the silk-skinned blossoms
Honey-soaked in sun.

Under the juicy bunching vine,
In purple sparkled shade
Your brother waits.

Hallelu Yah Jesus Allah
Yisrael and Falastin
Our human hope
Our holy healing dream.

The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Iraq

Naim Giladi

This article originally appeared in Hebrew in the Israeli weekly Haolam Hazeq on April 20, 1966.

There was a secret episode that until now not a word has been written about in Israel. It is about events that took place in Baghdad fifteen years ago. In the last few years, many stories have been written about incidents of espionage, but there has been silence about "The Iraq Story."

A week ago a tiny piece of the curtain which had been hiding the secret was lifted. Behind it we saw a man with silver hair, Yehuda Tagor, an official of the Foreign Ministry of Jerusalem. He told us the following story: "In 1953 I was sent on a national mission to Iraq and I was caught. How? When I was serving as an officer in the government of Israel, an Arab was employed to prepare our meals. Once when he took ill he sent his cousin to take his place. The Arab cousin turned up later in Iraq and recognized me instantly when he saw me in Baghdad. I assumed he was connected with Iraq's secret service and that he exposed me to them."

Though Tagor confessed to being an Israeli, he claimed that his reason for going to Baghdad was to marry an Iraqi Jewish woman. He was not the only one who was detained by the police at that time. They also arrested Shalom Zelah Shalom, a young Jew of Baghdad who was in charge of hidden Haganah arms. During the investigation, the young man broke down and led the police from one synagogue to another, showing them all the hiding places where the weapons and ammunitions were kept. At the end of the trial, he paid with his life. Murad Kzaz (now a member of the Knesset, known as Mordecai Ben-Porat) was also arrested. At the time he was known by the nickname "Zak," and served as local commander of the Underground.

Tagor's story, as it was published last week, mainly deals with incidents that happened to him personally while in an Iraqi jail. Although he was sentenced to life imprisonment, after ten years in jail he was freed by General Kassam under the amnesty granted to imprisoned communists at the time.

Mr. Giladi is a journalist formerly on the editorial staff of Haolam Hazeq. Born and raised in Baghdad, he lived for 30 years in Israel and now resides in New York City.

The story reads like an Israeli version of the adventures of secret agent 007. But unlike Flemming's creation, Tagor's story left a number of unexplained mysteries. Tagor keeps mentioning his friends – local Jews – that were arrested. Two of them were hanged, others were sentenced to long prison terms. But he fails to tell us why they were arrested and how they were sentenced. He himself was arrested because of his being an Israeli agent. But why the others? As yet, the Israeli government has failed to publish an official explanation, and for an answer we must look at the arguments presented by the Iraqi prosecution.

The Iraqi government maintains that Tagor and the Iraqi Jews arrested belonged to a Zionist network. They were accused of throwing three bombs in order to cause panic among the Iraqi Jews by creating the impression that the bombs were thrown by Arab terrorists, enemies of the Jews. How did the Israeli government prove its case? The answer can be discovered by examining the events connected with the emigration of Iraqi Jews to Israel following the establishment of the State.

At the end of the War of Independence there were about 130,000 Jews in Iraq. They looked upon themselves as the descendants of the Jews exiled to Babylonia after the destruction of the first temple. They were a prosperous community, a great percentage of whom were highly educated. Jewish bankers and merchants practically had the administration of the Iraqi economy in their hands. The community was always represented in the House of Representatives and at least one Jew was a member of every Iraqi government. The Jews never suffered persecutions or programs the way Eastern European Jews suffered. One pogrom did take place under the pro-Nazi Rashid al-Gilani in 1941. There was always a strong tie between the Iraqi Jews and Palestine, especially with Jerusalem. The tie went back to the days the two countries were part of the Ottoman Empire. Also, many Iraqi Jews were in Palestine between the two world wars.

With the establishment of Israel, the Iraqi Zionists had a wide underground movement which was known as "The Movement." Israeli agents, together with local agents used it as a smuggling network. Even before the day of Independence, they were illegally smuggling Iraqi Jews into Israel. These Jews were taken through the desert to Transjordan and from there entered Pales-

tine at places like Ashod Jacob. The stream of emigrants was small. It consisted mainly of young people. It was small because a considerable portion of the educated Jewish youth was attached to the Iraqi communists and the youth considered it their duty to stay in Iraq and work for the downfall of the regime.

The illegal emigration to Israel led to clashes between the Iraqi police and the mountain guides who led the emigrants. In March 1950, the government published a startling announcement stating: "Every Jew who wants to leave Iraq may do so providing he voluntarily surrenders his Iraqi citizenship and declares his desire to emigrate." The newspaper declared "the reason behind the government's announcement is that the clashes between the police and the groups of emigrants have convinced the government that a considerable section of the Jewish population has no desire to live in our country. Their flights are giving Iraq a bad reputation. All those who do not wish to live among us do not belong here. Let them go."

The head of the government who made the decision was Tewfik al-Suadi. A few years later, after the revolution of General Kassem in 1950, al-Suadi was brought before a military trial on the charge of treason. One of the accusations read: "Aid to Israel, by granting the right to hundreds of thousands of Iraqis to swell the number of Israeli citizens." On the same day in 1950, Iraqi newspapers wrote: "Today the Jews celebrate two holidays: the holiday of Purim and the day that permission was given to emigrate to Israel." Police officers appeared in the synagogues with the synagogue officials – the gabaim – announcing that whoever wanted clarification regarding the government announcement should ask them. The officers declared that in order to leave Iraq peacefully and go to Israel, all one had to do was to sign a form which was prepared by the government for that purpose.

The response, however, was small. The Jews suspected a trap. They figured that the government was interested in finding out which Jews were Zionists and Zionism was considered a serious crime in the Iraqi statute books. When two Jews met they usually asked each other: "Have you surrendered your citizenship?" The reply was usually: "We'll see, we'll see."

A month passed. Passover came. On the last day of the holiday, crowds of Baghdad Jews, as was their custom, strolled on the shores of Hidekel. Close to 50,000 Jews were there. At nine o'clock that evening their numbers became smaller, but Abu-Nawwas Street was still full of Jews socializing. The cafe Dar a-Bidah was full of young Jewish intellectuals. Suddenly a car passed in front of the cafe and a small

package was thrown out. The package exploded instantly. No one was injured. All Iraq was shocked by the blast. Especially terrified were the Jews. They were convinced that the throwing of the bomb was an attempt to terrorize them. It brought to mind memories of the dreadful days of Rashid Ali al-Gilani. "No way out," said the wavering Jews to each other, "We'll have to go to Israel."

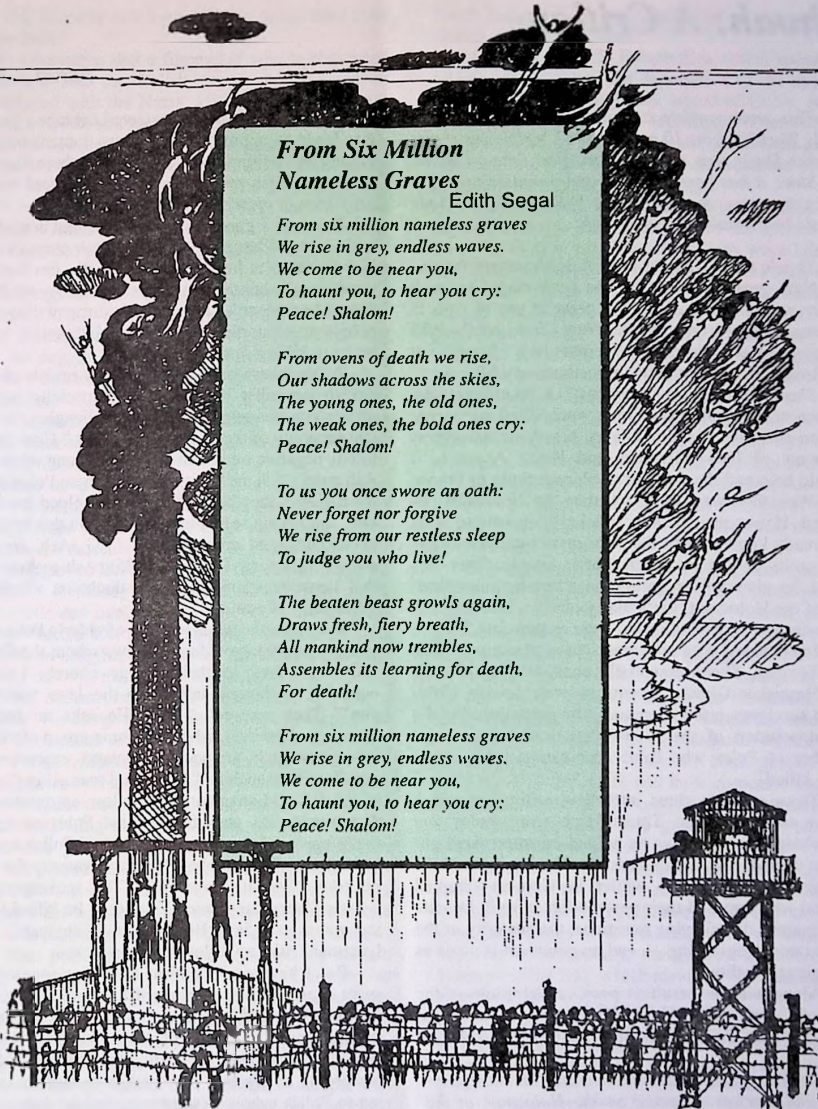
The day following the incident, people went to the Offices for Travel Registration and the Surrender of Citizenship. Predominant among the applicants were the poor Jews, those who had nothing to lose. To cope with the long line of registrants. The police asked the Jewish community for permission to use the synagogues as places of registration. The community assigned the Ezra David synagogue for that purpose. The police invited Jewish volunteers to help them with the registration. At first the registration went full blast night and day. In order to save time, the congregation even established a special kitchen on the premises.

When the shock of the blast abated, registration fell off. It was obvious that not every Jew wanted to leave Iraq. All in all, only about 10,000 Jews were registered. The number of planes assigned to take them to Israel was insufficient. At the end of the registration only one plane was available with a capacity of not more than 150 people. The emigrants were given the right to sell their possessions and the money was exchanged at the Baghdad airport for sterling silver liras. Soon the Iraqi Jews stopped considering the surrender of their citizenship as urgent. The police and the volunteer clerks had nothing to do. But suddenly another bomb exploded. This time the blast took place in the U.S. Information Office. The office was a spacious and pleasant place. Young Jewish people loved to go there and read. In the summertime they were served cold drinks.

It was assumed that the bomb throwers were members of some Iraqi underground. The Jews were afraid that in the event of a struggle between the underground and the regime, the Jews would be the first victims. They started, therefore, to sign the citizenship surrender form. The number this time was much smaller. It was the end of 1950 and the month of March was approaching, the date of expiration of the right to surrender citizenship.

This time there were victims of the bombing: a boy was killed and an adult injured. Both of them were standing near the Masado Shemtov synagogue. The synagogue served as a center for the people leaving Iraq. From there, they were taken by trucks direct-

Continued on p. 17



***From Six Million
Nameless Graves***

Edith Segal

*From six million nameless graves
We rise in grey, endless waves.
We come to be near you,
To haunt you, to hear you cry:
Peace! Shalom!*

*From ovens of death we rise,
Our shadows across the skies,
The young ones, the old ones,
The weak ones, the bold ones cry:
Peace! Shalom!*

*To us you once swore an oath:
Never forget nor forgive
We rise from our restless sleep
To judge you who live!*

*The beaten beast growls again,
Draws fresh, fiery breath,
All mankind now trembles,
Assembles its learning for death,
For death!*

*From six million nameless graves
We rise in grey, endless waves.
We come to be near you,
To haunt you, to hear you cry:
Peace! Shalom!*

Shoah: A Critique

Alfred J. Kutzik

This review-article is reprinted from the People's Daily World of June 10 and 11, 1987, which was shortly after Shoah was shown for the first time on public TV. Since it has been reshown and promises to be for years to come, Jewish Affairs believes this critique should be available to our readers.

Shoah, the 9 1/2 hour French documentary film on the Nazi genocide of Jews, has been hailed by such critics as Gene Siskel as "the greatest use of film in cinema history" and by the New York area's PBS Channel 13 as a "landmark documentary." Actually, it is a landmark in the misuse of documentary film.

Shoah (Hebrew for "holocaust") is an effective depiction of how millions of Jews were killed in concentration and extermination camps, based on eyewitness accounts of Jews, Germans and Poles. As such, it should help end the doubts raised, especially in France and West Germany, as to whether the Holocaust occurred. However, it fails to add anything new to what is already known about the Nazi mass murder of Jews and omits or distorts much that is known. This prevents the viewer from getting an accurate understanding of the Holocaust, particularly of who, besides Nazi officials and SS executioners, were responsible for it.

Interspersed with recurring scenes of camps, trucks and boxcars, *Shoah* essentially consists of interviews by filmmaker Claude Lanzmann with Jewish Holocaust survivors, a few Germans who participated in the "final solution of the Jewish question" and a large number of Poles who lived near camps where Jews were killed.

There are only three interviews with Germans: a minor official of the Third Reich who denies any knowledge that the Jews he helped transport were going to their deaths, an SS camp guard who opposed the killing of Jews, and a settler in German-occupied Poland who opposed their persecution as well. Despite Lanzmann's disbelieving questions, the sincerity of the latter two is convincing — and no comment is made as to their atypicality.

Along with the resultant positive distortions of the role of German Nazis in the Holocaust, *Shoah* negatively distorts the roles of Jews and Poles. Although

Dr. Kutzik has written and lectured on Nazi genocide and teaches a course on the Holocaust at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

the responses of those interviewed contain a great deal that leads to opposite conclusions, Lanzmann's questioning and editing make it seem that there was practically no Jewish resistance to the Nazis and no Polish assistance or even sympathy for the Jews.

Since it is generally understood that Jewish resistance was widespread — and *Shoah* consultant Raul Hilberg, who is interviewed at length, has been criticized for minimizing Jewish resistance — we here focus on Lanzmann's unwarranted portrayal of the Polish people as supporting, when not collaborating with the Nazis in killing Jews.

In his otherwise overly laudatory review of *Shoah*, British journalist Timothy Ash, a specialist on Polish affairs, devotes several pages to challenging the historical accuracy of the film's "Polish part." Criticizing the totally negative treatment of Poles, among other things, Ash notes, "On the few occasions where Poles mention the penalties they had to fear if they helped Jews in any way, Lanzmann seems to cast doubt on this by his own questioning and crosscutting." (T.G. Ash, *New York Review of Books*, Dec. 19, 1985). Ash makes it clear that Lanzmann similarly casts doubt on whether any Poles helped Jews.

For example, when a group of elderly Polish women tell him they gave food to Jews whom the Germans had imprisoned in their village church, Lanzmann counters, "I thought talking to the Jews was forbidden?" They respond. "Yes!" He asks no follow-up questions. However, when this same group of villagers, who grew up in pre-socialist Poland, expresses naive anti-Semitism such as "the capital was all in the hands of the Jews," Lanzmann asks follow-up questions that demonstrate his prejudice against Poles as much as theirs against Jews. When a group of Polish men tells Lanzmann, "This is where we gave water to the Jews," he asks, "Was it dangerous?" The spokesperson responds, "Very dangerous. You could be killed for giving water to a Jew. But we did it anyway." Again, Lanzmann asks no follow-up questions.

But I have one for him: How can someone who spent over a decade making a film on the Holocaust in German-occupied Poland not know that it was the only country under Nazi control where any assistance to a Jew was punishable by death, that hundreds of Poles (according to Western scholars) or thousands (according to Polish scholars) were executed for helping Jews and that some Western as well as Polish scholars esti-

mate that as many as a million Poles risked their lives to help Jews?

The answer is that a filmmaker who is convinced beforehand that the Polish people collaborated or sympathized with the Nazis' killing of Jews does not need to take into account the abundant evidence to the contrary available in numerous publications. (For references to many of those published until 1982, see my article, "The Slavic Holocaust: The Polish Dimension," *Polish Heritage*, Spring, 1982; for the latest U.S. and British books, see R. Lucas, *The Forgotten Holocaust*, and N. Tec, *When Light Pierced the Darkness*.)

Although almost none were, *Shoah* makes it seem that many if not most Poles were implicated in the Nazis' killing of Jews. *Shoah* even implicates the Jews by suggesting that they were responsible for their own deaths. In the film, this is implicit in the understatement of Jewish resistance. It is made explicit in TV journalist Roger Rosenblatt's final interview with Lanzmann in which Lanzmann says that "the lesson" of *Shoah* is "suicide."

While he does not explain, this can only mean that for Lanzmann the actions of the Jews in the ghettos and camps were not directed at survival, as epitomized by the Auschwitz survivor in *Shoah* who states, "We struggled to live...As long as there was life, there was life." Evidently, Lanzmann, like certain other Zionist-oriented intellectuals, believes that the "ghetto-Jews" of the European diaspora collaborated with the Nazis in bringing about their own deaths, that consequently this was not murder but suicide.

What *Shoah* omits is as problematic as what it contains. Reacting to criticism of the treatment of Poles, Rosenblatt asks Lanzmann, "Why didn't you show Polish villagers who tried to help the Jews?" Lanzmann answers, "Because they were few." (Both question and answer show that Lanzmann is successful in obliterating the testimony in *Shoah* of the villagers who gave Jews food and water.) Rosenblatt does not pursue this. Nor does he or any other bourgeois critic ask why the only Germans interviewed are a minor Nazi bureaucrat, an SS corporal and the wife of a schoolteacher, and why there are no interviews with Nazi political leaders and high-ranking SS still living on government pensions in West Germany, or with former officials of I.G. Farben and other corporations that had factories in Auschwitz.

If Lanzmann's excuse is that they refused to be interviewed, why did he not show these refusals in the film as he did the refusal of a German barkeeper who had been a camp guard? Further, why no interviews with the U. S. and British officials who refused to

bomb the rail-lines to Auschwitz, as requested by Jewish and Polish leaders?

And why does this French film, which spends half an hour documenting the deportation of the tiny Jewish community of the Greek island of Corfu, not devote a single minute to the deportation of tens of thousands of Jews by the collaborationist French government and the sheltering by French non-Jews of Jews, including Lanzmann's own family?

Another fundamental omission is that *Shoah* does not acknowledge that in addition to six million Jews, 10 to 12 million non-Jewish civilians were killed by the Nazis, including nearly three million Poles, as part of the Nazi policy of genocide of "sub-humans." Although few in the U.S. are aware that the Nazis got a good start on their "General Plan for the East" to exterminate some 300 million Slavs, this has long been known to scholars like Yehuda Bauer, who was the other principal consultant for *Shoah*.

It can be argued that being focused on the genocide of Jews, *Shoah* did not have to deal with that of non-Jews. But how can one explain the fact that a film that literally spends hours in and around Auschwitz does not so much as mention that 400,000 of the 2.2 million who died there were non-Jews and that most of these were Poles.

The explanation is that such facts contradict the fiction that the filmmaker had predetermined to document: 1) that Jews were the only victims of Nazi genocide; and 2) that non-Jewish Poles were passive or active partners in the Nazis' killing of Jews.

Despite the universal acclaim of bourgeois critics for this "great" documentary of the Holocaust, Lanzmann has publicly admitted that *Shoah* documents his "obsessions." Among the consequent falsifications, *Shoah* minimizes the extent of Nazi genocide and guilt for it of the Nazis and their corporate and military collaborators in Germany, France, Britain and the U.S. while displacing this guilt onto the Polish and Jewish victims of oppression and genocide.

Shoah can be considered great in scope and technique. But its skillful cinematography in the service of falsehood and prejudice puts it in a class with great perversions of documentary film of which, perhaps not coincidentally, the greatest is Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*, which idealizes Nazi Germany. □

Jewish Affairs congratulates

Harry Tobman on reaching his 85th year.

For the 20 years that the magazine has been published, Harry has been one of its strongest supporters and most dedicated volunteers. We look forward to many more years of his help and wish him
biz a hundred un tsyantsik.

The Editorial Committee

Jewish Women in the Early U.S. Labor Movement: Remembering the Triangle Fire

Arthur Zipser

Unlikely though it seems, the building still stands where it has stood since January 1901 at 23 Washington Place on the edge of Greenwich Village in Manhattan. When new it was called the Asch Building. Its 10 stories were then principally occupied by workshops of the garment trade. Now, and for many years past, it has been part of the educational plant of New York University. Who knows how many thousands of students have passed through the halls of this undistinguished structure without being aware it was the site of the monstrous fire that killed, on Saturday, March 25, 1911, 146 employees of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company?

Today they must be more aware. Since the 50th (1961) Anniversary Memorial Meeting of the Triangle

Fire a plaque has identified the site (now known on campus maps as the Brown building). The memorial meeting was attended by fourteen survivors of the blaze and by such notables as Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins (secretary of labor in FDR'S cabinet), and by Rose Schneiderman (a founder and leader, in 1911, of the Women's Trade Union League).

Triangle was the largest manufacturer of shirtwaists in the country. In its plant at Washington Place and Greene Street the owners of Triangle had demonstrated such a talent for squeezing productivity out of workers there that they brought about a lockout and strike about a year before the fire.

An attempt had been made in 1909 by the owners, Max Blanck and Isaac Harris, to organize a company union for the 500 workers who sweated for them on the eighth, ninth and tenth floors of the Asch Building. The fledgling International Ladies Garment Workers Union then had only 400 members and hardly any funds. The Waistmakers, Local 25, were ill-prepared

for a strike. But when, on September 27, 1909, the workers found themselves locked out, Local 25 declared a strike. For many weeks they were arrested by cops, beaten by thugs and hounded by hoodlums. The strike wore on and on and meanwhile unrest spread amongst the other thousands of shirtwaist workers in scores of smaller shops.

On the evening of November 22 simultaneous mass meetings were held in East side halls — Astoria, Beethoven, Cooper Union, and Manhattan Lyceum — where the audiences, mostly the ill-treated young women from the waistmakers shops, were told by union bigshots up to the level of Samuel Gompers himself how badly off they were. It was at the great Cooper Union rally that the young, slender rank-and-filer Clara Lemlich made her place in history by gaining the platform and cutting through the aimless talk with a passionate plea to vote for a general strike of the shirtwaist makers.

It was done on the spot. The strike lasted for thirteen cruel weeks and helped establish the ILGWU. Local 25 signed contracts with 354 companies — but Triangle was not one of them. Its workers, arrested, beaten and jailed

into submission, returned to the dangerous premises, where more than one in every three of them would meet death a year later.

The overcrowding of the work areas where 500 people had to share space with numerous machines, piles of fabric, work-in-progress, large cutting tables, and the general clutter native to garment factories was not the only source of the danger those who worked in the Asch building faced. Lax municipal ordinances and lax enforcement of regulations added to the hazards. The law did not require sprinklers, so the fire, once started in a scrap of material, had free rein. The building topped out at 135 feet — another story in height would have brought it to 150 feet and required that trim, window frames and floors be not of wood, as they were, but of concrete.



Graphic by Tad in the *New York Evening Journal* published soon after the fire.

Arthur Zipser is a historian and, with Pearl Zipser, author of the book Fire and Grace, the Life of Rose Pastor Stokes.

The 10,000-foot area of each floor called for three staircases — but there were only two. When a building inspector in 1900 called this to the attention of the architect he was told that the fire escape in the back yard of the Green Street wing would be sufficient as a staircase. Only one of the "real" staircases led to the roof; each step was 33 inches wide; each flight turned in a spiral floor by floor. The doors of the staircases were required by law to open out "where practicable" at every floor. In the Asch Building they all turned inward. No wonder that most of the 145 who died went out the windows to their deaths.

In New York City the sweatshop is coming back. Nowhere is this more conspicuously true than the Lower East Side, where crude buildings, many built before the Asch building, harbor recklessly operated shops. Remembering the Triangle Fire should alert all concerned — the bosses, the city authorities, the unions - to the menace of indifference. □

The Destruction continued from p. 12

ly to the planes. On that day, January 1951, the Shemtov synagogue was full of Kurdish Jews brought from Suleimano in the north. They were readying themselves for the flight. Outside the synagogue a boy sold cookies and not far from him stood a man. When the bomb exploded, the boy was killed instantly and the man suffered an eye injury.

Again the Jews assumed the explosion was the work of an anti-Jewish conspiracy and that it was best for them to leave Iraq. They started to form long lines in front of the registration offices on the last night before the date for registration expired. The Jews paid as high as 200 sterling in bribes for the privilege of being listed before the expiration date. This time all but 5,000 Jews were registered to leave Iraq. A few days after the expiration date, the government published additional laws regarding the Jews who were ready to emigrate. The government, headed by Nizar Nuri Al-Said, met secretly and called for a session of the Majlis Al-Numwab, the House of Representatives. It was on a Saturday when the Jewish shops, stores and banks were closed. For greater secrecy, and in order to prevent any messages from passing between the legislature and their Jewish friends, the telephone lines between the House of Representatives and the city were cut.

On the agenda of the Majlis was inscribed the matter of confiscation of the property of the Jews who surrendered their citizenship in order to emigrate to Israel. The law was passed immediately. The government ordered the banks to stop all transactions and the owners of stores to keep them closed. Anyone who

was caught taking out merchandise from a Jewish store could expect imprisonment of not less than seven years. The property of every Jew who surrendered his citizenship would be confiscated and put under the custody of the government. He had a right to only 70 pounds sterling. Those who did not surrender their citizenship were given new identity cards and considered full-fledged citizens. They could get passports to go abroad, providing they returned within three months to Iraq. If not, their citizenship would lapse automatically. The 5,000 Jews that remained could conduct their business without restrictions.

The rich community suddenly became destitute. Three or four planes a day were leaving Baghdad. An Iraqi police officer escorted the people to the planes. Afterwards, the deception was stopped. The Iraqi officer escorted them straight to the border. It seemed then that the end of the old community would be only stories of planes and flights. It soon became clear that the last chapter would be more dramatic. It would contain stories of secret missions, arrests and even hangings.

(To be continued in the May/June issue.)

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U.S. Army War College Report on What Led to the Gulf War

G.A.W.

A review of Stephen C. Pelletier, Douglas Johnson, and Leif Rosenberger, Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East, Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990) xi + 95 pages.

The full account of the events and the motives which led up to the United States' savage attack on Iraq remains to be told.

A key actor in this story was U.S. Ambassador to Baghdad, April Glaspie. The State Department "instructed" her to hold a "conversation" with — emphatically not to give sworn testimony to — the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 21, 1991. At issue in that "conversation" was an earlier "conversation;" did Glaspie, under earlier "instructions," give Iraq the "green light" to invade Kuwait on August 2, 1990? During the recent "conversation," Glaspie acknowledged that at issue was her "credibility" versus Saddam Hussein's. Thus each time the United States seeks to "clarify" the events and motives preceding the savagery of Operation Desert Storm, it is clearer that the full account has yet to be told. Little wonder Glaspie was kept under wraps for all these months.

But there are other, intriguing discussions which shed light on the motives, if not the events that led up to Operation Desert Shield. One of these is contained in a report published in 1990 by three authors on the staff of the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, PA. It is based on a detailed analysis of published material as well as interviews with Arabs conducted by Dr. Pelletiere and interviews with Israelis conducted by Dr. Rosenberger.

First, some background. The Iranian Revolution of the late 1970's occurred, in large part, in response to United States imperialist intervention in Iran in 1953. The United States continued these interventions for the next quarter century, through its support of Shah Pahlavi, and other measures. Finally, the United States sold the Pahlavi regime of Iran some twenty billion dollars worth of weapons in the seventies. And then the chickens came home to roost; revolution drove the Shah from the Peacock Throne.

After the success of the Hostage Crisis of 1979 in Teheran, Ayatollah Khomeini sought to direct the revolutionary enthusiasm of Iranians — as well as the ar-

maments supplied by the United States — towards the liberation of the holy cities of Karbala (in Iraq) and Mecca (in Saudi Arabia). Iraq was the only country with a large enough population and armed forces to resist this. The royal families of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia bankrolled the effort, while the United States and its "allies" sold Iraq some twenty-four billion dollars worth of weapons in the first half of the eighties alone.

The book recounts how Iraq decisively defeated Iran in the final months of their eight-year war. The fortunes of war had shifted rather inconclusively until 1987, due in part to the Iraqi strategy of "static defense." Iraq sought to minimize its human losses during the war. The fortunes of war also depended in part upon shifting alliances. The authors point out that "Israel backed the Iranians throughout the war. Israel practically initiated the Irangate conspiracy and, had the Israelis their way, they would have tipped the balance of power to the Iranians" (p. 45). They note, however, that a number of Israelis opposed this official "tilt."

Iran escalated the war at several points, for instance, by being first to attack civilian targets with its Scud missiles in 1985. By February 1988, Iraq was finally able to respond by attacking Teheran with Scud-B missiles. Iraq then attained victory through the "In Allah We Trust" campaign, including the decisive battles of Faw (April 1988), Basra (May), Majnoon (June), Dehloran (July), and Qasr-e-Sherin (August 1988). We should not forget that the U.S.S. Vincennes shot down Iran Airways #655 on July 3, 1988, killing all 290 persons on board, dramatically illustrating United States' military resolve. Iran accepted the cease-fire on July 18, 1988.

The authors attribute the Iraqi victory in the 1988 campaign to an overall reorganization of the Army, including the Republican Guards, and to a shift from "static defense" to a high-tech offensive strategy. They conclude their account of the Iran-Iraq War with an assessment of Iraqi military vulnerability. This assessment anticipated Operation Desert Storm in many respects, especially as it highlighted the necessity for an adversary to have absolute air superiority over Iraq.

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Pelletiere and his colleagues predicted that "Iraq's military policies will be restrained" in the post-armistice era, while acknowledging that "at the same time Iraq has enemies" (p. 41). These included Iran, Syria, and Israel — and the latter was "the greatest threat to Iraq — as the Iraqis perceive it." Further, the authors observed — in the early 1990's! — that "the United States seems to be on a collision course with the Ba'thists" (p. 69). That may prove to be the understatement of the decade.

By late 1988, Iraq had fended off Iran with a cost of hundreds of thousands of lives. At this point, it had become clear that Iraqi military power was roughly equal to that of Israel. It is a premise of Israeli strategic planning that it must have greater military power than any single Arab state, or any combination of Arab states (p. 70). The United States has repeatedly pledged to support Israel in this respect, and has. In late December 1988, the *Washington Post* claimed that Israel was planning to attack Iraq's missile sites, seeking an encore to its 1981 assault on Iraq's Osirak nuclear research facility. Saddam Hussein cautioned Israel in February 1989 not to attempt "direct aggression" (p. 89). The threats and counter-threats between Israel and Iraq continued well into 1990.

So Israel seemed unable by itself to cow Iraq, and thus was no longer able to — in the author's words — "exert hegemony over all the Arab states" (p. 46). Iraq had to be disarmed. But how?

The campaign had already begun, soon after Iraq had turned back the Islamic Revolution of Iran. In September 1988, the State Department surprisingly levelled charges that Iraq had used chemical warfare — poison gas — against its Kurdish population. These charges have become part and parcel of the current demonization of Iraq. Yet the authors point out that "the Iraqi government denied that any such gassing had occurred." Further, they state that "having looked at all the evidence that was available to us, we find it impossible to confirm the State Department's claim." The authors go on that "Iraq was blamed for the Halabjah attack (in March 1988), even though it was subsequently brought out that Iran too had used chemical (weapons) in this (military) operation, and it seemed likely that it was the Iranian bombardment that had actually killed the Kurds" (p. 52). When the United States made these charges, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Sa'dun Hammadi, was caught unprepared and questioned the "true motives" behind the charges. Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, for their part, simply decline to speculate about the identity of the motive force behind the State Department action (p. 90).

In January 1989, the United States further orchestrated an international conference in Paris against chemical weapons. When the United States refused to expand considerations to *all* weapons of mass destruction — including Israeli nuclear weapons — all the Arab states balked and the conference ended inconclusively. So Iraq had to be disarmed. Again, how was this to be accomplished?

On the one hand, there are political limits even to the exercise of United States military power. These limits were severely tested in early 1990 in Operation Just Cause — the United States attack on Panama, the installation of the Endara puppet regime there, another imperialist intervention — which has found Bush being questioned even a year later about the "embarrassment" of it all, the pretexts, the provocations, the phony evidence, etc. On the other hand, Iraq and Israel have been in a state of war, without so much as an armistice, for forty years. While one could attack the other at will, the United States was at war with neither. A military exchange between Israel and Iraq would have led to another Arab-Israeli War, and that would have necessitated a United States' intervention against a number of the Arab states on behalf of Israel. So Iraq had to be disarmed, but how?

What was needed was a pretext for massive United States intervention against Iraq. That pretext came to be contrived through Kuwait provocations against Baghdad. During the eighties, while Baghdad was distracted by the war, Kuwait had slowly encroached upon Iraqi territory. This gave Kuwait more land along its northern border, as well as greater access to the rich Rumailia oil field west of Basra. Kuwait not only pumped oil from the Rumailia field, oil which Iraq claimed, but Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates also exceeded OPEC petroleum production quotas, driving down the world price of oil and furthering the economic crisis in Iraq. United States' intervention against Iraq would give Kuwait an occasion to consolidate its gains.

With assurances from the United States, Kuwait provoked an Iraqi incursion into the disputed territories, an intervention which the United States was to respond to with force. As Ambassador Glaspié put it on her way out of Baghdad, however, "We never expected Iraq to take all of Kuwait."

Once Iraq had occupied Kuwait, the Bush Administration rapidly swung into action to freeze the situation. The Arab League was effectively disabled, to preempt an "Arab Solution to an Arab Problem." The Rapid Development force was sent into Saudi Arabia, and Operation Desert Shield began to form behind the preposterous claim that Iraq was about to invade Sau-

di Arabia. As the possibilities of diplomatic resolution were eliminated, Iraq was faced with two alternatives: military confrontation or abject retreat. As Michael Dugan made clear on September 17, Israel was already identifying Iraqi targets for the U.S. Air Force.

The United States spent more than a trillion dollars during the eighties, preparing for this war. Actually, Reagan was preparing for any war whatever, preferably with a Grenada or a Nicaragua rather than an Iraq or a Soviet Union. But disarming Iraq would do, following the "warmups" of Grenada or Panama. "Any means necessary" to get Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait was glibly interpreted to promote "peace and security" in the Gulf region, and that in turn was reinterpreted to mean the crushing of Iraq, the obliteration of its military power. As King Hussein stated to the Jordanian people on February 6, 1991 "the real purpose behind this destructive war, as proven by its scope, and as attested to by the destructions of the parties, is to destroy Iraq." The deluge lasted forty days and forty nights.

Who stood to gain by this destructive war? Hardly the Saudis or the Gulf sheikhdoms, which would be confronted again by the spectre of an Islamic Revolution from Iran moving into the power vacuum. The king continued "if this situation continues, it will only benefit those who covet our (Arab) lands and resources, with Israel at their forefront."

Now we are in the aftermath of George Bush's war. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis are dead, so many, a body-count cannot be permitted. The infrastructure of Iraq is shattered; no food, potable water, electricity. Emir al-Sabah is restored to his throne by the U.S. Marines, now reduced to the role of a Praetorian Guard. The Emir's death squads are busy assassinating democratic Kuwaitis, as well as Palestinian guest workers who have outlived their economic usefulness. The Shamir government in Israel has repeated its rejection of negotiations with the PLO, preferring to authorize further Zionist settlements in the Occupied Territories instead. In sum, the Middle East tinderbox is more explosive than ever. As the State Department and the corporate media speculate (or fabricate) which Arab state will next attain strategic military parity with Israel — will it be Syria? Will it be Egypt? — the possibility looms of Operations Desert Storm without end. Perhaps they will be subtitled "First Blood," etc. This will be the legacy of Bush's New World Order. □

Letters

continued from p. 4

Israel wrote an article in the Israel publication *Haolam Hazev* in 1969 (Ed: this article is reprinted in the present issue) that deals with the

earlier confessions of the Israeli agents who carried out the deeds in Iraq 15 years earlier.

As for Zionist activities in Morocco, the situation was described in the publication *L'Avant-Garde* (August 20, 1959) and in *Souffles* (No. 15, 1969), a quarterly publication published in Rabat. These articles reveal that beginning in 1953 foreign Zionist organizations and their agents established a network in Morocco reaching all parts of the country. A campaign was mounted to encourage Jews to leave everything and flee. "No one can forget the fever with which foreign agents raced through the Jewish quarters, spreading panic, succeeding in creating a veritable psychosis of collective fear, aided in this blinding race against the clock by numerous and incessant foreign press campaigns which predicted a 'new Hitlerian nightmare' with the forthcoming Moroccan independence from France, and the return of Mohammed V to the throne." Many Jews left in the mid-fifties. Israeli-incited provocations resulted in further emigration from Morocco by Jews.

Similar activities have been going on in the Soviet Union for some time. With the advent of glasnost, European, American and Israeli "activists" have been running in and out of the country helping organize Jews in associations including Hebrew cultural and educational ones. An American Jewish organization has been operating in Moscow since Oct. 1990 to "protect Jews in the USSR." Its functions are to help with emigration procedures, to monitor "civil rights," particularly anti-Semitism and to prepare Jews for a new life in Israel or the USA.

The western and Israeli media have tied in Soviet ethnic strife, rising crime and other problems with anti-Semitism. Although the rumored pogroms they predicted never occurred, the seeds of fear had already been implanted. One had only to read the established press and Jewish weeklies to find endless accounts of "anti-Semitism" not only in the USSR and dozens of other countries as well, including the USA. In addition to actual anti-Semitism, this is equated with criticism of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians.

The US government has participated in the colonization of Israel by Soviet Jews by closing its doors to all but a strict quota of Soviet Jews entering the U.S. A plea to American Jews by Soviet Jews was printed in the *Miami Jewish Tribune* of October 20, 1989. American Jews were urged to intercede with the U.S. government to protest the policy introduced by the administration limiting the number of Soviet Jews able to enter the USA. Jews of varied backgrounds signed this letter, Zionists, non-Zionists, refuseniks, etc. To my knowledge this letter never appeared in the commercial establishment press.

The Jewish community of the Soviet Union should not be destroyed like the Jewish communities of Iraq, Morocco, Yemen, etc. in order to build up Israel. This is the viewpoint of religious anti-Zionist Jews, Neturei Karta, who in three news releases from Jerusalem last February stated their opinion on the question of Soviet Jews who were advised to remain in the Soviet Union as loyal citizens.

Harriet Karchmer
New York, NY

Review

James Corcoran, Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus; Murder in the Heartland, New York: Viking, 1990, 273 pp.

Gerald Horne

The coming to power of the Reagan-Bush Administration in 1980 has brought with it a shocking resurgence of ultra-rightist, anti-Jewish, fascist-minded forces. This has included the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan; however, there have been relatively "new" forces that have emerged whose actions and ideas are no less insidious.

The Posse Comitatus was founded in 1969 in Portland, Oregon by former members of the Silver Shirts, a Nazi-inspired organization that was formed in this country in the wake of fascism's rise in Germany. The rise of the Republican Right created favorable conditions for the growth of the Posse. According to the FBI, the membership of this violent grouping is estimated "at between twelve thousand and fifty thousand hard core members with ten to twelve times that number of sympathizers" (p. 30).

The Posse has had a particular appeal in agricultural areas; administration farm policies devastated farmers and helped to make the Posse's demagogic message more appealing to those suffering economic depression: "...in 1981, the bubble burst...crop prices tumbled and, more significantly, the value of land dropped, then plummeted...A congressional report estimated that more than 1 million of the nation's 2.2 million farmers would be driven off the land by the year 2,000" (pp. 9-10). Many farmers were losing their land and livelihood. "When the farmer doesn't have money, neither does the tractor builder, the seed producer, the petrochemical company; nor does the grocery store owner, the implement dealer or the lumberyard operator" (p.15). This was especially so in North Dakota.

Many were looking for explanations for their plight. When similar hard times hit North Dakota 75 years ago, the Nonpartisan League was organized, "a party strongly influenced by the socialist movement...the league's reforms served as a foundation for President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal" (p.17). But like so many progressive organizations, the league fell victim to anti-communist repression and this set the stage for the rise of the Posse.

In North Dakota one of their prime organizers was Gordon Kahl. Like his colleagues, "he believed the government, manipulated by the Jews through the Internal Revenue Service, the federal courts, and the Federal Re-

serve Board, with the support of minorities, communists, and eastern banking interests, had conspired to take from him and his fellow believers their farms, their land, and their way of life" (p. 3).

One of the most dangerous tendencies of the Reagan-Bush years has been the attempted consolidation of the Posse, the KKK, the CSA (the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord), the Nazis and other reactionary forces. The author notes correctly that among their commonalities was a "hatred of Jews and adherence to the religious teachings of Christian identity (p.38). This latter tendency is connected to "British Israelism...the largest group of believers of British Israelism in the United States is the 80,000 member Worldwide Church of God, established by the late Herbert Armstrong..." (p.47).

Inevitably these forces have combined anti-Jewish fervor with anti-Black racism. This was particularly true of Gordon Kahl, who also had a vitriolic hatred for Communists.

The Posse has attracted thousands but also has attempted to take over branches of the Republican Party in various regions. They helped to elect, along with their allies, state senators Jack Metcalf of Washington and Wayne Stump of Arizona. They also pursued non-electoral aims. There have been reports of "fifty thousand rounds of semi-automatic ammunition at a Posse enclave in Colorado; hand grenades, a thirty-gallon drum of cyanide and an armored personnel carrier at the CSA's Missouri-Arkansas stronghold; and a virtual arsenal at the Aryan nations' complex in Hayden Lake (Idaho)" (p. 118).

The author tells a disturbing tale of how Kahl and his North Dakotan colleagues engaged in protests against paying taxes to the Internal Revenue Service, which they contended was not only controlled by "Jews" but a "Communist front." This led to a violent confrontation with governmental authorities and a number of deaths. Kahl was killed in a shootout with law enforcement agencies.

This book is a useful complement to the growing body of literature on the contemporary ultra-right movement. The author focuses closely on Kahl — which is useful — though this sparked a hunger in this reviewer for more detailed examination of the Posse itself, especially their funders and their international connections. Nonetheless, we ignore *Bitter Harvest* at our own peril; the story told here is both profound and important. □

Dr. Gerald Horne is chair of the Department of Black Studies, University of California at Santa Barbara

Call for an International Conference on Yiddish

Translated by Sid Resnick

The following report appeared in the *FORVERTS* (New York) of Nov. 23, 1990.

We recently received an extraordinary document that was signed by 15 prominent Yiddish writers in the Soviet Union and which urges Yiddish writers and cultural workers throughout the world to participate in a conference in Moscow to prepare "a constructive program for the continuing development of Yiddish culture." This statement entitled, "To all Yiddish activists," was signed by Hersh Poyanker, Yekhiel Shraybman, Boris Sandler, Gennadi Estraiikh, Khaim Beider, Shmuel Gordon, Tevych Gen, Boris Mogilner (all members of the editorial staff of the monthly Yiddish literary journal, *Sovetish Heymland* (Soviet Homeland), in Moscow, and by Moisheh Lemster (poet), Sergo Bengelsdorf (musicologist), Muni Shulman (Yiddish language scholar), Shimen Sandler (grammarian and methodologist), Mikhail Krutikov (literary critic), and the author Yosif Burg....

For additional information write to this address: USSR, 1123208, Moscow, Chertanovskaya Ulitsa 1A-1-kb.28, Gennadi Estraiikh; Telephone 316-30-14.

To All Yiddish Cultural Activists:

The cardinal changes which are known by the term, *Perestroika*, have introduced a new dynamic into the lives of Jews in the Soviet Union. In particular, previously unattainable opportunities have opened in several republics. In this revival a most significant role is played by Yiddish, the rooted foundation of our culture.

At the same time there appears to be no actual change in the position of Yiddish culture. Primarily this can be explained by the lack of professional forces, by the absence of a constructive program for the continuing development of Yiddish culture and by the meager support from cultural institutions abroad. The uncoordinated efforts of various internal and foreign organizations produce rather few practical results.

The only alternative is to unify the available cultural forces in order to work out a definite program of mutually undertaken effort and to achieve it. In our view these basic principles need to be indicated for this activity.

• To introduce a system of education for the teaching of Yiddish that would encompass all levels includ-

ing kindergarten, schools, higher educational institutions and university departments.

• To conduct an explanatory effort to raise the esteem of the treasure of our people which is Yiddish.

• To establish a program for the publication of all the necessary text books and methodological materials for children and adults.

• To create a wide-ranging Yiddish press that could satisfy varied readerships.

• To develop a book publishing activity, book sales and a library system in order to make the Yiddish book available to everyone who is interested in it.

• To stimulate the development of the theatre arts and the variety show arts.

• To create the required material base for the development of Yiddish culture.

In order to fulfill these principles we deem it necessary to establish a Temporary Commission for Yiddish within the framework of the recently established Association for Judaica and Yiddish culture. We hope that individuals and organizations in our country and abroad will respond to our appeal.

The temporary Commission for Yiddish will have to undertake the preparations for the founding assembly of all interested Yiddish activists in May 1991 in Moscow at which the organizational and programmatic principles will be decided upon.

Translator's Note: the Yiddish weekly, *Der Veg*, in Tel Aviv, Israel (Dec. 4, 1990) reported that Aron Vergelis, the editor of *Sovetish Heymland*, had also signed the above statement.

עקדסטענץ פון פארשידענע יידישע אידעאלאגישע אישוריים אין פארשידענע לענדער מיט אייגענע ווערטן. אינטעגרירטע אויף נאציאנאלן לעבן פון לאנד ווו זיי וויינען.

פאר אונדז איז נישט גילטיק דער פרוו צו שאפן איין איינציקן צענטער. וואס זאל אנפירן מיט דער ריכטונג פון די יידישע געמיינדעס אויף דעם וועלטסמאשאפט. מיר זיינען פאר א "פילצענטרישקייט" אין יידישן לעבן.

ה) מיר מאכן א רוף איינצוארדענען אויף אינטערנאציאנאלן קאנגרעס פון יידישע פראגרעסיווע ארגאניזאציעס אויף דער צווייטער העלפט פון יאר 1991. כאַאָופּטראַגנדיק די איינאַרדענונג פון דעם זעלבן די דעלעגאַטן פון אַרענטע.

גרינע ליניע אין גרינע דאָלאַרן

איבערעדורקט פון "דער וועג" (תל אביב)

ס'איז נאָך פּרש אין זכרון פון באַמבאָטישער באַזוך פון אויסערן־מיניסטער דוד לוי ביי די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער. ער האָט זיך טאַקע פּאַטאַגראַפֿירט מיט בושן און בייקערן אין געשאַפן דעם איידרוק, אַז ער האָט באַווירן צו פאַרבעסערן די פּאַליטישע צווישן ישראל און אַמעריקע און אַז ער האָט מוטיק פּאַרטיידיקט די שטעלונגען פון דער שמיר־שאַרן־רעגירונג און געפונען פאַרשטענדליכונג פאַר די זאַקטע שטעלונגען.

ס'האָט זיך דערבי געהאַנדלט וועגן באַשטעטיקן דאָס גאַנצאַ שטראַך און הלוואה פון 400 מיליאָן דאָלאַר פאַר העלפן דער אינאַרדענע פון סאַוועטישע עולים. ס'ווייזט זיך אָבער אַרויס, אַז ער ישראלדיקער אויסערן־מיניסטער דוד לוי, דווקא פון די עסקטערעמע דעבטע ריפּן־מיניסטערן האָט צוגעשטימט, אַז די געלטער וועלן פאַרנוצט ווערן אויף בראונג כלוה אויף די שטחים אין דער גרינער ליניע, ד.ה., אין די געביטן פון פאַר דער מלחמה פון 1967 טאָן יאָר. מען האָט נאָך געפרווט אין די רעגירונגס־קרייזן שאַפן דעם אַיינצטימיגן, אַז אין דער דאָזיקער באַרענגעצונג מצד די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירונג ווערט נישט איינגעשלאָסן מורח ירושלים. ס'איז אָבער נישט אַזוי, אין דער אַפיציעלער שריפטליכער פאַרליכונג מצד דעם ישראלדיקן אויסערן־מיניסטער ווערט כּפּירוש אונטערגעצויגן, אַז די געלטער טאָרן נישט פאַרענדערט ווערן אויף די געביטן, וואָס זיינען נישט געווען אונטער דער הערשאַפט פון ישראל ערב דער מלחמה פון יוני 1967, ד.ה., אַז אויף מורח ירושלים ווערט אַריינגערעכנט.

דער מיניסטער האָט דאָס אונטערגעשריבן בכדי צו באַקומען אַ גאַנצטייע אַרף און הלוואה פון 400 מיליאָן דאָלאַר. אַ פאַרנונפּטיקע, ניכטערע פּאָליטיק וואָלט לרש דער דאָזיקער לאַגיק געדאַרפט דיקטירן צוצושטימען צו אַן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאַנפּערענץ אין די ראַמען פון שלום הסכם מיט זיכערהייט־גאַראַנטיעס באַשליסן צוריקצוציען די אַרמיי פון די דאָזיקע געביטן, וואָס פאַרשאַפן כלוה צורת, קרבנות און פּיל געלט, וואָס מען וואָלט געקענט איינשאַפן. פאַרן פּריז פון 400 מיליאָן "גרינע" דאָלאַרן האָט דער מיניסטער אַפיציעל אַנטרעקענט די "גרינע ליניע" און ווען מען ציט זיך צוריק וואָלט מען געקענט איינשאַפן אַ פּיל מיליאָרן גרינע דאָלאַרן.

אויף נאָך אַ זאָך אין וויכטיק אינצווייזן, אַז די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער האָבן געוואָרט זייערע בירגער נישט צו באַזוכן אַלס טוריסטן די אַקאָפּיטע געביטן, איינגעשלאָסן אין דעם מורח ירושלים... מען איז טאַקע און כּנס אין די ישראלדיקע רעגירונגס־קרייזן, אָבער די

וויקלעכקייט דערלאַנגט שווערע קלעפּ דער אילוזיע, אַז מען קען איינהאַלטן "גאַנץ אַרץ ישראל". מיט יעדן טאַג ווערט דאָס שווערער, פאַרבונדן מיט אַלץ מער קרבנות, קיין כּבד פאַרשאַפט דאָס איז נישט און דערווייל האָט זיך די טוריסטיק כּמעט פּולשטענדיק אָפּגעשטעלט אויך צוליבן קריזיס אין גאַלץ. מען דאַרף אָבער מאַכן אויספירן, אַז ס'איז אומגעלעך איינהאַלטן סיי "גאַנץ אַרץ ישראל" און סיי די גרינע דאָלאַרן.

די מאַנטעווידעער דעקלאַראַציע

די פאַרזאַמלטע און מאַנטעווידעאַ אין די טעג פון 18טן, 19טן און 20טן נאָוועמבער 1990 טאָן יאָר — די פאַרשטייער פון די יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע אינסטיטוציעס פון אַרבעטניק, אויגוויי און בראַזיל — האָבן דורכגעפירט אין הויז פון דער פּראָגרעסיווער קולטור־געזעלשאַפט ד"ר חיים זשיטלאָווסקי אַ ברייטן און פּאָזיטיוון אויסטייש פון מיינונגען און דערפאַרונגען וועגן זייער אַ אינסטיטוציאָנעלער אַקטיוויטעט.

דורכגעדרונגענע מיט די פּריוציפּן פון זייער יידיש־פּראָגרעסיווער אָנגעלעגנהייט, וואָס איז דער רעזולטאַט פון דעם ווילן פון אונזערע קאָלעקטיוויטיעס צו ברענגן זייער לעבן אין די לענדער, וווּ זיי לעבן, ווערט באַשלאָסן: א) באַשטעטיקן די אַבסאָלוטע נייטווענדיקייט צו שטאַרקן דעם שלום אויף דער וועלט, פאַרענדיקן מיטן באַוועגונגס געזעץ אויף באַפּרייטן די מענטשהייט פון אַ מעגלעכן נוקלעאַרן אויסברוך.

ב) מיר כאַדערן־איכער אונזער אומקאַנדיציאָנעלן אַנשלוס פאַר דער ישראל־מדינה און די שאַפונגען און דערגרייכונגען פון פּאַלק.

גלייכצייטיק מאַכן מיר אַן עפנטלעכן רוף פאַר אַ פּרילעכער לייזונג אינעם מיטלען מורח, און אַכט־נעמענדיק די לעגעטימע נאַציאָנאַלע פּאַדערונגען פון פּאַלעסטינער פּאָלק, וואָס קען דערגרייכט ווערן אין די ראַמען פון אַן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלער שלום־קאַנפּערענץ.

ג) מיר וואַרפן־אָפּ יעדע דיסקרימינאַציע־פּאַס:

ראַסיזם, אַנטיסעמיטיזם, פון וועלכער זייט זיי זאָלן נישט קומען, באַטראַכטנדיק זיי ווי עמעסע פּלאַג, וואָס דריקן נישט כלוה אויף די יידישע קאָלעקטיוויטיעטן, נאָר שטעלן אויף פאַר אַ געפאַר פאַר דער מענטשלעכער צוזאַמענלעבונג אויף דער דעמאָקראַטישער אַנטוויקלונג פון די פּעפּלער.

ד) מיר באַשטעטיקן די נייטווענדיקייט פון אונזערע יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע אינסטיטוציעס און פון אַלע די, וואָס צילן אַרויסצוהייבן די הומאַניטישע ווערטן און פאַרהיטן זייער אָננעזאַמלטן קולטור־באַגאַוש.

מיט אַכטיקטיווער וויקלעכקייט באַשטעטיקן מיר די

יידישע ענינים

רוף פון סאָוועטיש-יידישע שרייבערס

מיר דרוקן איבער דעם רוף פון סאָוועטיש-יידישע שרייבערס פאר קאָארדינירן די יידישע קולטור-אקטיוויטעטן און די הילף פאר די דאָזיקע טעטיקייטן.

זאָל ווערן צוטריטלעם פאר אַלע וואָס ווייזן-אָרויס אזא אינטערעס:

סטמיליון די אַנטוויקלונג פון טעאַטראַלער-און עסטראַדע-קונסט:

שאַפן די נויטיקע מאַטעריעלע באַזע פאַר דער אַנטוויקלונג פון דער יידישער קולטור.

כדי צו פאַרוויקלעכן די דאָזיקע פּרינציפּן, האַלטן מיר פאַר נויטיק צו גרינדן אַ "צייטווייליקע קאָמיטע פאַר יידיש", אין די ראַמען פון דער לעצטנס-געשאַפענער "אַסאַציאַציע פון יודאָיק און יידישער קולטור". מיר האַפּן, אַז אויף אונדזער ווערונג וועלן זיך אַרופּן יחידים און אַרגאַניזאַציעס. סיי ביי אונדז אין לאַנד, סיי אין אויסלאַנד. די "צייטווייליקע קאָמיטע פאַר יידיש" דאַרף אַרױף זיך נעמען די צוגרייטונג פון אַ גרינדונגס-פאַרזאַמלונג פון אַלע פאַראַנטווערסירטע יידיש-טוער אין מאַי 1991, אין מאַסקווע, בשעת וועלכער עס וועלן ענדגילטיק אויסגעאַרבעט ווערן די אַרגאַניזאַציענעלע און פאַרנאַם-פּרינציפּן.

אַרן ווערנעליס, הערשל פּאָליאַנקער, יעכיעל שרייבמאַן, חיים ביידער, באָריס סאַנדלער, גענאַדי עסטרייך (רעדאַקאָלעגיע-מיטגליד פון "סאָוועטיש-היימלאַנד", שרייבער) משה לעמסטער (דיכטער) און סערגאַ בערגעלסדאָרף (מוזיק-קענער).

קעשענעוו, 0212סטער אַקטאָבער 1990.
שמועל גאַרדאַן, טעוויע גען, באָריס מאַגלינער (רעדאַקאָלעגיע-מיטגלידער פון "סאָוועטיש-היימלאַנד", שרייבער), מויני שולמאַן (רעדאַקטאָר און שפּראַכקענער), שמען סאַנדלער (שפּראַכקענער און מעטאַדיקער), מיכאַל קרוטיאַקאָו (ליטעראַטור-קענער) און יוסף בורג (שרייבער).

מאַסקווע, 22-26סטער אַקטאָבער 1990.

אַדרעס פאַר קאָנטאַקטן:

113208 מאַסקווע, טשעכעסלאַוואַקאָאָיאַ-גאַס,

הויז 1-יאַ, קאַרפּיס 1, דירה 28.

גענאַדער-עסטרייך, טעלעפּאָן: 14-30-316.

די קאָרדינאַלע ענדערונגען וועלכע האָבן באַקומען דעם נאָמען "פּערעסטראַיקאַ", האָבן אַריינגעטראָגן אַ נייע דינאַמיק אינעם לעבן פון די יידן אין ראַטנפּאַרבאַנד. עס האָבן זיך געעפנט פּריער נישט-צוטריטלעכע מעגלעכקייטן פאַר דער יידישער קולטור, וועלכע באַקומען איצט אפילו אַ מלוכה שטיצע אין אַ ריי רעפּובליקן.

אַ ביזגאָר וויכטיקע ראַלע שפילט אין דער אויפּלעבונג פון אונדזער קולטור איר וואַרצלענדיקער יסוד - יידיש. אין דער זעלבער צייט בייט זיך נישט פּראַקטיש דער מצב פון דער קולטור אויף יידיש. דאָס דערקלערט זיך דעראַיבער מיטן מאַנגל אין פּראַפעסיאָנעלע כּוחות, מיט דער אַפּוועזנהייטן פון אַ קאָנסטרוקטיווער פּראָגראַם פאַר דער יידישער קולטור און מיט אַ קנאַפּער שטיצע מצד די אויסלענדישע קולטור-אינסטיטוציעס. די נישט-קאָאָרדינירטע באַמינונג פון פּאַרשידענע אינלענדישע און אויסלענדישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס ברענגען גאַר-ווייניק פּראַקטישע רעזולטאַטן.

דער איינציקער אויסוועג איז צו פאַראייניקן די פאַראַנענע קולטור-קרעפטן, כדי אויסצואַרבעטן אַ קאָנקרעטען פּראָגראַם פון געמיינזאַמע מאַסמיטלען און דאָס רעאַליזירן. מיר האַלטן, אַז אין דער דאָזיקער הינוכט קאָן מען אָנמערקן אַזעלכע גרונט-פּרינציפּן פון דער טעטיקייט:

קורס-כל איינרעגולירן אַ בילדונגס-סיסטעם, וועלכע זאָל אַרומנעמען אַלע שטופּעס: קינדערגערטנער, שולן, הויכבילדונג, ווי אויך פאַקולטאַטיווע פּאַרמען פון דערלערנען יידיש:

פירן אַן אויפקלערערישע אַרבעט וועגן דער נאַציאָנאַלער חשיבות פון דעם פּאָלקס-אוצר, וואָס הייסט יידיש:

פאַרוויקלעכן אַ פּראָגראַם פון אַרויסגעבן אַלע נייטיקע לערנביכער און מעטאָדישע מאַטעריאַלן פאַר קינדער און דערוואַקסענע:

אַנטוויקלען די פאַרלעגערישע טעטיקייט, ווי אויך די נוכהאַנדלונג און דעם ביבליאָטעק-וועזן, כדי אַ יידיש פון