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## Editorial

Jewish Affairs is resuming publication under new leadership. Both Herbert Aptheker, Editor, and Al Kutzik, Associate Editor, have resigned. Unfortunately, they chose to announce their resignation to the readers of Jewish Affairs by using the January/February issue as a platform from which to attack and distort the Communist Party's record and position on anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, as well as on other questions. The Party had no alternative but to cancel the issue.

However, since these articles are being widely distributed and offered for sale, it is necessary to respond.

The Communist Party has always held a constructive and critical attitude on anti-Semitism in the USSR. On the one hand, the Soviet Union is perhaps the nation that saved more Jews and was instrumental in the defeat of Hitler-fascism.

"We should never forget," wrote Florence Fox in her work *Soviet Jewry Today*, published by Jewish Affairs, Sept. 1986, that "if the Red Army had not checked fascism, Jewry today would be reduced to a mere handful of hunted survivors."

The Soviet Revolution outlawed anti-Semitism and embarked on an unprecedented program of "affirmative action" which made it possible for Soviet Jews to fully participate as equals in the cultural, educational, scientific, and all spheres of life. Soviet accomplishments in the arts, literature, research, music, drama and in many other areas flourished. The Jewish Autonomous Region was created which made it possible to Jews to live together. But the Soviet Government and Party made it very attractive for Jews to assimilate and become fully part of the Soviet Union.

This is not to say that anti-Semitism disappeared. It takes much longer than 74 years to wipe out a long history of anti-Semitism, pogroms and oppression. The Soviet Union outlawed anti-Semitism and took affirmative measures, but it takes much longer to wipe out anti-Semitic ideas and prejudices.

Understanding this history and appreciating the outstanding achievements in a short time span of 74 years, nevertheless the Communist Party, USA has been critical when it found it necessary to be so. Indeed, some of the quotes Kutzik uses in his attack confirms the Party's policy of constructive criticism.

It was the excesses of Glasnost, under Gorbachev, that set loose the anti-Semitic forces that came together in Pamyat, a viciously anti-Semitic organization

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Lewis M. Moroze, Managing Editor

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# The first election of the 'New World Order'

By Norman Moskowitz

After Los Angeles, California, burned in the wake of the Rodney King police brutality decision and the Nixon-Reagan-Bush twenty four year war against the poor, the working class, and the cities, the country on the surface seems to be in a time warp between the 1980s and the 1970s. Everywhere, voter turnout in primaries is spectacularly low as Bill Clinton, the Super Tuesday favorite of Center-Right Democrats, sleepwalked through primaries where his sexual adventures and his wife's personality seem to be of greater interest than his vague, Jimmy Carteresque programs.

At the same time, George Bush sleepwalks through a presidency and prepares a summer and fall of reruns against a "liberal, big spending" Congress, after twelve years of Reagan-Bush multi-trillion military spending and huge tax cuts to corporations and the rich have made the U.S. the world's leading debtor nation.

Now that the U.S. must compete for foreign capital with the former socialist countries and third world nations its military spending was aimed at, Bush's proclamation that "we won the cold war" makes sense in Tokyo and Berlin and nowhere else. His contention that the collapsed economies of the former CMEA states, characterized by triple digit inflation and spectacular declines in industrial production, constitute a "great new market," is beyond idealism, in both its philosophical and popular meanings. Also, the living standards of the vast majority of people deteriorate at an increasing rate, regardless of the attempt to turn Los Angeles into a quickly forgotten media event, and the bipartisan cheerleading for the economically and politically bankrupt Boris Yeltsin.

Into this sad excuse for a political vacuum, H. Ross Perot, an "independent" with a fortune of billions, stirs interest among the political commentators and pollsters, more out of fascination with a man who can, from his own pocket, easily outspend the national Democratic Party, than from any known policy or issue with which he is associated. Perot seems in his plain folks sloganeering to echo the fictional Hal David Walker, unseen presidential candidate in Robert Altman's film *Nashville*, a real people billionaire copying Hollywood, instead of the recent example of an actor playing the role of President. And truthfully, large numbers of people, numbed by the Democrats' cynicism and cowardice and the Republicans' smug and blind reaction, tell pollsters that they want to vote for Perot because he is none of the above.

Noting that the present political scene transcends

satire doesn't mean that one should be passive, quiescent, without hope. The political bankruptcy of the moment largely mirrors the deep economic bankruptcy, one in which the career Democrat politicians can no longer pretend on any level to be Social Democrats, or, in the American vernacular, economic liberals. Clinton's rush to join Bush in supporting "enterprise zones," in effect internal colonies in selected slum districts, is evidence of how afraid the career Democrats are of the New Deal and Great Society programs that both the great majority of their constituents and the activist volunteers whose work keeps them in office, still so fervently support.

What should all independent Left and progressive activists do in this election, particularly Communists? First and foremost, we emphasize working class and people's movement issues: don't get mixed up in Democratic Party campaigns. Although there have been a number of significant local and state primary victories by progressive candidates in elections in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and other states, one doesn't help those candidates by doing the Democratic Party's electoral work for them. Rather, emphasizing a national full employment policy, an Economic Bill of Rights, concrete programs for economic integration and affirmative action for minorities and women workers, serious restrictions and severe penalties on the export of capital from the U.S., among other issues, would help to create a political climate that can both get such candidates elected, and make them more independent of both the Democratic Party and larger institutional power structures. Simply being Jimmy Higgins workers for them makes both you and them less independent.

Joining Labor Power Advocates, working in the variety of political coalitions that are the mass Left in the U.S. for independent candidates and new party building, rather than brokering endorsements for "progressive Democrats," should be a priority for political activists.

It might help by viewing the relationship of the Democratic Party to the Left as the equivalent of a very bad marriage. There are some fond memories and fears of being cast adrift, but the relationship is essentially one of sick dependencies and mutual contempt. Thinking about the necessity of its end, struggling in all political contexts to develop something new, realizing that little can be lost because so little for so long has been gained, is the beginning of political freedom and independence.

If, as is true in many parts of the country, progressives have no choice but to work inside the Democratic Party, we must do so in an organized way, building labor-based caucuses to lead activists and constituents within it in the direction of independent political action and a new party of labor and all progressive movements and currents in the United States.

We must also, in the mass organizations, pressure groups that we work with, articulate a socialist alternative to the Democratic Party's corrupt caricature of labor-progressive politics. If we don't move forward to articulate a socialist vision of economic democracy and abundance and social security and justice outside of the decaying world of capitalism, we will only be prisoners of our past, going from an old and decrepit, to a cosmetically altered version of the Democratic Party.

My sense of it is that there are millions of people, by no means a majority—but nobody ever starts anything new with a majority—in this country ready to respond to an essentially socialist program of economic planning and protection to defend working people, along with the many reforms advocated by the mass organizations. And there is a much larger constituency ready to listen to those who advocate regulatory political reforms to open up the political system by restricting the use of money in politics, providing for free media time to minority party activists, establishing systems of proportional representation, changing registration and election laws to make U.S. voter turnout comparable to other industrialized countries, etc.

Let us use this election essentially to forget the bad dreams of Clinton and Bush and Perot; pretend the Democratic Party doesn't exist (except as a patronage organization they really don't), and raise the issues of structural economic change and political reform.

An argument against this approach might be that in Perot one sees the possibility of fascism. Perot's appeals and mass social base do have some similarities to fascism American style; the big businessman using authoritarian methods, making himself into the embodiment of the people's will, and throwing in electronic versions of fascist plebiscites, to save the existing system.

However, Perot has no political party to advance any fascist program at the grassroots level and in Congress. If somehow he were elected he would continue the basic Reagan/Bush policies, perhaps in a more dictatorial manner, relying on executive orders if there were a deadlock with Congress and local authorities. However, it is more likely that he would be smoother than Bush, working with conservative coalition politicians in Congress of both parties, to maintain the status quo and dividing up the patronage as he is currently buying both career Democrats and Republicans to man-

age his "independent" campaign: much like corporate headhunters' lure talent away from competitors into the firms that they are working for.

If Clinton is somehow to be elected president, or even give any working class person any desire to see him elected, he must literally change his spots, repudiating Right to Work and all forms of anti-labor legislation, and pledging to use government power to revive the labor movement, much as Reagan and Bush used Federal power to fragment it. If U.S. political history is any guide, the role of progressive activists is to put forward a program that politicians like Clinton can steal in a watered down form, not to support him before he has come forward with anything other than the fact that he is not Bush or Perot.

By presenting positions outside the Democratic Party and making Clinton work both, take up our mass issues and work for our support, just as Franklin Roosevelt both needed the labor movement and had to deliver for it to bring about the New Deal, and Lyndon Johnson needed the Civil Rights movement and its allies, and had to deliver for it to bring about the Great Society, Clinton must be made to need the Left, not the "Reagan Democrats," and white suburban "independents" whom his advisors tilt toward politically. □

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# The Rodney King racist verdict

Statement of the Communist Party, USA - May 1st, 1992

The entire nation is outraged at the acquittal of the four Los Angeles policemen who brutally beat African American construction worker Rodney King. Mr. King was a victim of racist police violence which has been visited on too many people over the years. In this case, the evidence was irrefutable, because an eyewitness had the presence of mind to videotape the attack and the courage to make it public.

Millions of people the world over were horrified by what they saw on that tape and wanted justice. Yet it is no accident that despite this, the jury acquitted three of the defendants on all charges, and was deadlocked 4 - 8 on only one charge. The trial had been moved, with little protest from the prosecution, to an affluent, nearly all-white suburban community, which is home to large numbers of police. And there were no African Americans on the jury.

The defense was looking for a verdict that would be largely influenced by racism. And that's exactly what happened.

This verdict is a disgrace and a travesty of justice. It is an overt act of racism which intentionally or not sends a message that police brutality is now sanctioned, especially when directed against African Americans. The 56 blows to Rodney King's head and body witnessed by the whole world showed that police brutality motivated by racism is a reality in our country.

Justice could only have been served by finding these police officers guilty as charged. Instead the jury, blinded by racism - a racism sanctioned by President George Bush and L.A. Police Chief Darryl Gates - made Rodney King the guilty party. Their verdict was based on the notion that it is somehow alright to use a higher level of force - deadly force - when it comes to African Americans. This is racism in the raw.

People all over the country have reacted with anger and indignation. The explosion of rage in South Central Los Angeles should surprise no one. We do not condone violence. We understand, however, the outrage and the desire to protest gross injustice. The anger should be expressed in peaceful demonstrations and mass protest against those who control the centers of power, particularly at the Bush Administration.

The people are outraged because they know that this verdict gives license to increased racist police brutality. They know that it has cheapened the lives of every person, and signals approval of Nazi-like methods of dealing with people, especially if they are Black or Brown and especially if they are poor.

And made no mistake about it, such methods will

be used more frequently against everybody: against striking workers fighting for their jobs; against the unemployed and homeless demonstrating for justice; against those fighting for peace and equality; against all working people.

The people's outrage is rooted in much more than the beating of Rodney King and the unjust decision of the jury.

The verdict was like rubbing salt in some deeper, longer-term wounds: the wounds of long term joblessness, poor housing, inferior schools, inadequate health care; the wounds of poverty, of prolonged economic depression; of a 60% youth unemployment rate, and over 50% poverty rate for seniors; the wounds of the day-to-day brutality of economic despair, of police harassment and violence, and of government neglect.

The wounds come from the promotion of a racist rationale for reactionary government policies. They come from the efforts to criminalize a whole generation of African American and Latino young men, and classify a whole people as the "underclass."

The fact that all of Los Angeles is in economic decline cannot be separated from the crisis in the South Central neighborhoods of the city. And no amount of police and National Guard presence can suppress the anger that stems from that deeper pain.

No matter how many calls for peace and calm there are, South Central Los Angeles and similar communities around the nation will remain powder kegs unless the deeper wounds are healed.

To see the present situation as solely a crime problem, and proceed to use new police methods to deal with it, only fuels the fires of frustration and anger. What we are basically dealing with is a social, economic and political crisis of the highest order.

The jury ruled that the actions of the police in beating Rodney King were within correct police procedural guidelines. This is the same thing the jury said when they acquitted the New York policeman who killed senior citizen Eleanor Bumpers with a shotgun blast when she refused to be unjustly evicted from her Bronx apartment. The jury in the trial of the police officer who shot Philip Pannell in the back in Teaneck, N.J. made similar arguments about "procedures." But such brutal, fascist-like procedures by the police are not acceptable. These guidelines should be rewritten. It took an outlook as racist as that of the leaders of apartheid South Africa to rule, based on such anti-human "guidelines." Excusing brutality because it is procedurally "correct" brings to mind the defense of the Nazis after

World War II.

These brutal police procedures must be reviewed and eliminated. The police must be put under civilian control in every city in our country. The verdict in the Rodney King case must not be allowed to stand.

The community anger that has surfaced in Los Angeles and other cities since the verdict has been festering from decades of living every day in crisis. This same thing happened on a wide scale in the 1960s and in some cities in the '70s and '80s as well. And it can happen across the country now unless something drastic is done to address the problems.

There is an organized effort in Los Angeles to bring the community together and build a mass movement for justice for Mr. King and to end police brutality. The people are demanding that Chief Gates step down immediately. They want the Justice Department to step in and initiate a civil rights suit. They are calling for passing Proposition F, which moves in the direction of community control of the police, in the November elections. They are demanding that something be done about the crisis of everyday living that the people face.

This is a national emergency. What is urgently needed is a massive public works program to rebuild South Central Los Angeles and the ghettos and barrios of our nation. Such a program could be initiated tomorrow if the Administration and the Congress were to immediately cut the military budget by 50%, and impose new taxes on the corporations and the rich to help pay for it.

The people need new schools, health care and recreation facilities for the youth. The people need jobs, and such an emergency program would create hundreds of thousands. And a shorter work week would mean hundreds of thousands more jobs. The people need and deserve government programs and the recent cuts in local, state and federal programs must be reversed.

This is what is needed. People must come before corporate profits, and justice and human rights before police procedures. The people of Los Angeles demand that the economic emergency in their communities be addressed now, and this is the growing demand across the country. We must demand civilian control of the police - the people should police the police.

The Communist Party, USA, calls on all Americans who believe in democracy to support these demands, to speak out and protest the racist verdict. We call for demonstrations and peaceful vigils at federal buildings across the country to demand that the President, the Attorney General and Justice Department take immediate action.

We call for statements of support for the people of South Central Los Angeles who are demanding equality and an end to racism in the criminal justice system. Or-

ganized labor must add its voice to the outcry against this racist verdict; its vital interests are at stake. Community groups, youth, women's and religious organizations should organize activities to protest this injustice.

We demand that the Bush Administration end its racist, anti-civil rights policies including recent attacks on the social welfare programs of the 1960s, and that its Justice Department be investigated to see how it has contributed to the rise in police brutality. No solutions are possible without massive federal funding for public works and other programs to solve the economic crisis.

We call on all candidates for public office to come forth with programs for civil rights, including how they will eliminate police brutality and how they are going to address the crisis of the cities.

This is not a Black problem. It is not a Brown problem. It is a problem of our nation as a whole. What is needed is a strong expression of Black-Brown-white unity. This is a time to stand together for justice and equality; for economic rights and for peace; for a better future for our youth. □

### *Jews for Racial and Economic Justice speak out on Rodney King beating*

Once again white skin and a police badge seem to confer immunity from judgment and punishment in America. Jews for Racial and Economic Justice, a grassroots group organized in 1990 against racism and origins in economic and social injustice, condemns the unjust verdict rendered in the Rodney King case. And while we also condemn the acts of violence against people and property in the Los Angeles rioting, we recognize that such violence did not originate on the streets of L.A. last night, nor even in the brutal beating of Rodney King. The sources of violence in America are rooted in this nation's historical relationship with its African American population, a history of slavery compounded by decades of racism and social and economic injustice. That a largely white jury from a non-urban area found itself incapable of imagining the sort of police corruption and brutality, not only shown in the video, but testified to by other witnesses, demonstrates just how separate and unequal our country remains.

Historically, the federal government has been the venue of last resort for protecting the civil rights of American citizens. Jews for Racial and Economic Justice joins with all Americans concerned with human decency and fairness, in calling for the Justice Department to file federal criminal charges in the King case. We also call on all candidates for the Presidency to commit themselves, today, to making the realization of economic and social justice and the end of racism the highest priority of their administration.

# Struggle against racial and national class oppression

George Fishman

To the upholder of capitalist status quo, the anarchic, unplanned market is a Golden Calf to be worshiped, beyond criticism or transformation. In fact, the system of capitalism is at the root of mass poverty, misery and social decay worldwide. It is a sordid and doomed system. It is crisis-ridden, unstable, decadent and in decline, despite surface appearances of invincibility and military might. U.S. imperialism and President Bush, for example, are isolated from the overwhelming majority of the people and countries, particularly developing countries of the world, including the American people who demand responsible action towards the environment and the elimination of poverty. Exploitation, oppression, chauvinism, racism and discrimination are inherent features of capitalism, being rooted in the drive for maximum profits.

The other side of the coin is that resistance and struggle by the exploited, oppressed and cheated are also inherent in the system. Both the class struggle of the multi-racial working class and the struggle of racially/nationally oppressed people for first class citizenship and dignity, are rooted in resistance to capitalist exploitation and super-exploitation. The common struggle against the same transnational corporate robbers and white supremacists gives a natural basis for multi-racial working class/oppressed people's alliance, with the labor-African American people's alliance being of special importance. These relationships underline the importance of studying and supporting the African American freedom struggle, and also in that way advancing the interests of the working class in terms of living standards, democratic rights, education, human rights and social progress generally. In this respect, the 25th National Convention CPUSA (December, 1991) made an historic contribution in not only reaffirming the inner contradictions of capitalism, but also the science, the class, the alliance, the Party, the internationalism, to resolve the contradictions through pro-people's broad, united struggle leading to Socialism.

My dissertation makes a study of the African American struggle for freedom and equality in the history of New Jersey. An excerpt from the dissertation follows:

## The struggle for freedom and equality – The Runaway Route

Freedom efforts could be advanced, both by offering labor and by withholding it. For a slave to flee or

run away from slavery was to withhold labor and more. It was to destroy the master's investment and stake in the slave as property and exploitable labor power. The devastating impact of a runaway on the master is indicated by a reading of the frantic advertisements placed by masters in newspapers for the capture of their property.<sup>20</sup> Flight was an available route to a precarious freedom. Flight was followed by the master's relentless search for the runaway and the master's merciless physical punishment of the runaway if he or she were caught. Flight involved perils at every step. In view of the dangers and difficulties of the flight and after, together with the heartache of departing from friends and family, perhaps forever, clearly the flight was making an unmistakable statement about the nature of slavery and the will to be free. While it was a courageous effort for personal liberty, it was also, whether consciously or not, striking a blow against the system that enslaved and oppressed people of color and for their freedom. Edgar J. McManus has captured the larger social significance of the runaway, whether as an individual or a group flight:

*"Blacks who fled slavery by the hundreds were a costly reminder to the slaveholders that freedom was foremost in the minds of the bondsmen. It cut deeply into profits and put the master on notice that neither repression nor paternalism could reconcile blacks with bondage...slavery itself was provocation enough for running away."<sup>21</sup>*

While newspaper advertisements give abundant information about runaways from 1711 on, evidence is hard to come by before that date, but not non-existent. One source of information on runaways before 1711 is New Jersey legislation. For example, an act of 1675 referred to the "harboring" of "Apprentice, Servant or Slave absent from the services of their masters."<sup>22</sup> In 1682, New Jersey colonial authorities tried to dissuade the Leni Lenape Indians from aiding Black runaways.<sup>23</sup> Direct evidence of a Black slave runaway was given in the record of a Gloucester County court for 1701. The sheriff brought into the court a "vagrant Negro" apprehended at Little Egg Harbor for "not giving an account of his master's name or place."<sup>24</sup>

As to newspaper advertisements, it is reasonable to assume that not all runaways received public notice and that, therefore, the number of runaways whether slave,

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# Statement of Ethel Rosenberg Appel

(October 21, 1991, at Tel-Aviv's Cinematheque Theatre during Israel's "Amnesty Week")

My name is Ethel Rosenberg Appel, and I am the sister of Julius Rosenberg. I am sorry that I cannot be with you physically, today - my doctors forbid it - but I am with you in spirit. It is very important that you and the rest of the world know the truth of the absolute innocence of Julius and his lovely Ethel. They were never, in any way, involved in espionage or conspiracy. I can be positive about this because Julie was my kid brother, Ethel was my sister-in-law and very dear to me, and we were always very close together, with no secrets between us.

For the Jewish people, and for all who are concerned with truth and justice, it is just as important that the truth of Rosenberg innocence be understood, and so was the vindication of Captain Dreyfus in France's historic "Dreyfus Affair." Only after Dreyfus had been fully exonerated in 1906, 12 years after his frameup conviction as a German spy, were French Jews able to walk the streets with their heads held high. This was also true of France's Protestants, Masons and liberals, and of the Clemenceaus and Emile Zolas, and of those who rallied to Dreyfus' defense and who lost their seats in the Chamber of Deputies, as a result. Those seats were regained, and Georges Clemenceau became the Premier, after Dreyfus was vindicated.

In the United States, the Rosenberg frameup had a clear-cut political motive. McCarthyism's anti-Communist hysteria was at its height. The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover and other right-wing zealots were determined to curb freedom of speech and the right to dissent. They wanted to outlaw the Communist Party and socialist anti-war associations. But our Constitution and Bill of Rights stood in their way. Hoover was master of dirty tricks and frame-ups. He would overcome the obstacle, the Bill of Rights, by framing two or more accused Communists, faking evidence to suggest that they were Soviet spies. He and his fellow prosecutors would then extort false confessions from his victims in return for their lives, confessions that they spied under instructions of the Communist Party. The FBI would no longer be hampered by the Bill of Rights, which would not protect "supposedly-guilty spies," and Hoover could proceed with his proposed round-up and mass arrests of dissenters, Communists and "peaceniks."

Hoover's plan failed, because the targets he chose as victims, the Rosenbergs and co-defendant Morton Sobell, refused to cooperate, refusing to confess to a lie, even when promised that their lives would be spared. They refused to corrupt themselves by feeding

innocent victims to the "witchhunters." The Hoover-McCarthy-Cohn-Kaufman plot was foiled; the American people were saved; but it cost the Rosenbergs their lives!

35 years after Julie and Ethel were electrocuted, in THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROY COHN, (Cohn was the key assistant prosecutor at the trial), the shameful truth was revealed to all who dared to read. Cohn confessed to unlawful collusion with the trial judge, Irving R. Kaufman, from the very beginning. At Judge Kaufman's repeated urging, Cohn helped him receive the assignment as the trial judge. In return, Kaufman assured Cohn, before the trial began, that he would sentence Julius to death. Judge and prosecution cooperated all through the trial. When accused of such collusion, Cohn lied and denied it for decades, until it came out in his autobiography.

So the truth is out? Then why haven't the Rosenbergs been officially vindicated? Ah, there's the rub! That is where Amnesty International comes in. If my brother Julie and Ethel had not been executed, if capital punishment had been outlawed, the truth of their innocence would have come out decades ago, as more and more of the facts come to light. For example, Judge Kaufman had sentenced them to death for, quote "putting the A-bomb into the hands of the Russians, unquote. But a study of the trial record, from beginning to end, shows that not one witness testified that the Rosenbergs ever passed any classified information to anyone! Once people have been executed, a cover-up is sure to follow. Judges and prosecutors, however honest they may be, will invariably rally around their colleagues. The unhappy truth is that capital punishment often has the effect of burying the truth. Honorable exceptions to this generalization were Supreme Court Justices Felix Frankfurter, Hugo Black and William O. Douglas. For want of a fourth justice, the Supreme Court never reviewed the trial, and the worst stain in American judicial history took place!

In our case, because of ever-mounting protests, I am confident that official vindication will be forthcoming. The Long Island Board of Rabbis has recently added its support to the campaign for appointment of a CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY to study and report on the Rosenberg's case. I am grateful to Israel's Amnesty International for this program, as I am to the NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REOPEN THE ROSENBERG CASE, for its continuing efforts. THE TRUTH WILL OUT!



# Jewish-Argentine update – “secret archives” about Nazi criminals

Mina Fridman Ruetter, Buenos Aires, May 1992

Answering persistent requests of an American journalist, Dr. Luis Carlos Menem, the Argentine President, has allowed documents about Nazis in our country to be revealed.

Although this move has been assessed in a general sense as positive, there are some important points to make about it, since the significant but belated move looks more like a political maneuver to gain a share of popularity for the Administration.

Mr. Menem's entourage is teeming with internal disputes and, what is more, with many instances of corruption which go from plain bribery (in millions of dollars), to the infamous drug business

This opening of the archives is seen by many political analysts as tending to obscure the prestige of late President General Peron, founder of the political movement and Party that bear his name, and under whose rule, at the end of the '40s and beginning of the '50s, most of the permits to enter Argentina were given to Nazi criminals: Germans, Croats, Ukrainians, Latvians and so on. Those people were, in several instances, provided with jobs and/or housing. There was also a consistent policy of protecting them from extradition to their native countries where they should receive their due punishment.

As things are today the Peronist movement and Party, which were never entirely homogeneous since Menem's coming to power, is clearly divided into an "official" section ("Menemist") and a contestatory line, rejecting the "double discourse," and in open opposition to the former's betrayal of the pre-election populist platform of Menem's team.

The opening ceremony of the said archives was surrounded by an impressive press coverage. But very soon the interested people were to discover that, as Moracio Lutzky, director-in-chief of "Nueva Sion" aptly asserted, the publicized documents were neither "secret" nor "archives."

"The folders about the Nazis in Argentina, displayed at the Archivo General de la Nacion-General Archive of the Nation, as part of the 'secret archives' proved to be neither of both. Thus, for example, the two folders sent by 'SIDE' (State Intelligence Secretariat), contain newspaper clippings and enclose a letter signed by the head of the bureau, in which he states that the said printed matter is all that could be found after exhaustive search.

"The folders forwarded by the Federal Police refer to several press items and certain ones related to some—only some—of the Nazis whose presence in the country cannot be denied; but these papers do not contain relevant data."

The Wiesenthal Research Institute sent one of its people who said to the media that, though they appreciate the gesture, there is little to learn from the released documents. By the way, this young scholar was in various ways anonymously threatened, told to leave the country and stop his research.

In local progressive circles, however, there is general consensus in that, notwithstanding the importance of keeping alive the memories of the genocidal deed of the vandals of World War II, in accordance with the spirit of the Nuremberg trials, our present government remains indebted to society, and should also open the files of the hateful deeds of the military dictatorship that was in power between 1976-1983. This ominous period cost the Argentine people thirty thousand lives, among killed and "missing," a gruesome figure that includes babies, children, pregnant women and elderly, not to speak of the thousands who were forced to flee the country. Many of the authors of those dreadful Crimes Against Humanity went unpunished, and the ones who underwent trial have been pardoned by the Alfonsín and Menem Administrations.

Ironically enough, Adelina de Viola, top official at the Minister of Interior, has said that these cases cannot be an object of the same treatment as the Nazi criminals' files since "the wounds are still open and bleeding" and it would be highly improper.

It is good to know that since the Nuremberg trials, such offenses against human rights do not prevail. But it is also true that such a policy of waiting till the "wounds stop bleeding" can lead to further similar adventures. As it were, a certificate of impunity and so it proved to be.

On March 17th a powerful blast let Buenos Aires know that the Israeli Embassy, located in its fashionable and diplomatic center, had been practically erased and many lives were lost. Jewish and non-Jewish victims were there to relate that laxness in administering justice to those who exercised state terrorism during the dictatorship, have not given up their intentions to subvert the people's peace.

President Menem's somewhat hastily putting the

blame on indigenous terrorists did not help, though it may contain some elements of truth. Such barbarous attempts must necessarily have had inside support.

There are several different versions as to the origins and motivations of an act that shook, in both senses—materially and figuratively—the Argentine capital. So far the police and the judges are being very cautious in the assessment of the origin and perpetrators of the deadly explosion.

Versions vary. There is one that will insist there were abnormal quantities of explosives and weapons stored inside the building of the Israeli Embassy and an accident caused the catastrophe.

Others will have it that a terrorist gang came from somewhere in the Mideast to fulfill the tremendous task. Others still, proclaim the local Fundamentalists as its sole perpetrators, and so on, and so on.

After the commotion of the 17th March, and the imposing march attended to by tens of thousands of the Buenos Aires people, regardless of creed, political hue, color or ethnic origin, who, jointly and in eloquent silence protested violence and mourned the dead, discreet dumbness seems to have replaced the wide coverage of the first days.

The scanty information of the investigation lent grounds to think that there is no agreement among the services involved, Argentina, Israeli and American. Some observers even advance the thesis of deep disagreements.

At the above mentioned march, there were the official speeches of President Menem, the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, and the community leader and chairperson of the D.A.I.A. (Delegation of Jewish Argentine Associations), Dr. Beraha, among others. Dr. Beraha's speech was a remarkable address in which he stressed the non-contradiction between Jewish identity and Argentine citizenship, and other equally democratic concepts apt to be underwritten by every progressive person.

Similar marches and/or meetings took place in the cities of Mendoza, Cordoba, Rosario and Santa Fe, where compact Jewish communities live. In the first two, the speakers coincided in general with Dr. Beraha's line of thought. Regrettably enough, those in Rosario and Santa Fe were expressive of outdated McCarthyite and chauvinistic clichés which sounded most improper at places where all present—Jews and representatives of every section of democratic society—came together to protest the outrage, to mourn the innocent victims, and most important, to demand a thorough investigation and due punishment for the criminals. □

## *racial national and class oppression contd. —*

indentured laborer or apprentice, was greater than known. The present study has noted some 1300 labor runaways in, to or from New Jersey during the period 1711-1775. Of these close to 300 were persons of color, according to loose indications in the advertisements.<sup>25</sup>

This figure should be viewed qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Up until the late colonial period, Black workers were at a premium, indicated by the fact that a higher percentage of African-derived workers were in the work force compared to European-derived.<sup>26</sup> This fact is remarkable, pointing to heroism in view of the special difficulties faced by persons of color in flight. A runaway person of color would be more noticeable and more likely to be challenged than a white runaway. It would be easier for a white person to take up available land and fade into the surrounding society. The risks involved were greater for persons of color. A white runaway, if caught and returned to the master, could have the period of indenture extended as punishment. The person of color, however, faced merciless whipping, mayhem, and even death.

At the same time, the multi-racial character of the runaways point to a common denominator cutting across racial and ethnic lines, a denominator of socio-economic class oppression affecting all unfree labor whether slave, indentured or apprenticed. An analysis of the data shows the group and interracial character of the runaways. It should be kept in mind that even an individual runaway had a social aspect. A successful flight required the active or tacit cooperation of family members, coworkers and/or acquaintances at the outset of the flight, the support of neutrality of persons who might be encountered along the way, and a willingness of people in the terminal community not to inform. In studying the newspaper advertisements and other scattered supplementary data for the period 1711-1775, one is struck by an unmistakably increasing stream of runaways—slave, indentured and apprenticed, multi-racial, male and female, individual and in groups.

### NOTES

20. NJA. Newspaper Extracts, 1704-1782.
21. McManus. *Black Bondage*, p. 108.
22. Act of November, 1675, cited by McDougall, *op. cit.*, appendix, p. 95.
23. *Journal of the Governors*: NJA: first, XIII, p.
24. Thomas Cushing, M.D. and Charles E. Sheppard, Esq., *History of the Counties of Gloucester, Salem and Cumberland (Philadelphia)*, p. 110.
25. *Newspaper Extracts*, *op. cit.*
26. Du Bois, *op. cit.*

\*George Fishman, "The Struggle for Freedom and Equality" Ph. D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1990, Order Number DA9107897 U.M.I. Ann Arbor, MI.

# Radical politics, radical art: the role of the Jewish left in 20th century american art

Charles Keller

The question of why Jewish artists are "especially responsive" to the lure of radical politics was raised by the recent exhibition, "Painting a Place in America: Jewish Artists in New York, 1900-1945," at the Jewish Museum in New York City. This was alluded to, but not developed in this writer's two-part series "Art and the Greenhorning of America" in the two previous issues of Jewish Affairs.

Artists or not, political concern is certainly one of the various manifestations of social involvement characteristic of Jews. Community participation has long been a principal feature of Jewishness. It was inevitable that the Jewish artists of the '30s would become involved in the struggles of that period, especially as Jewishness itself was under attack. As described in "Greenhorning II," the artist-writer Jennings Tofel initiated the Jewish Art Center in 1925 which featured "the Jew—the worker"—not as the weary, worn and all-too-familiar personification of despair, but rather as the heroic toiler "with a background of European working class poverty and of activity in the revolutionary movement of 1903." In this spirit artists including Goodelman, Shahn, Harkavy, etc., chose themes of social injustice, such as lynchings, the Sacco-Vanzetti and the Scottsboro "boys" frame-ups, etc. Also described in "Greenhorning" was the founding by the Communist Party in 1929 of the John Reed Clubs, 18 cultural centers nationwide highly influential within a broad spectrum of artists and writers.

The Great Depression years were a period in history when confrontations of all kinds were taking place. Millions of workers in the U.S. were forced to fight on two fronts: the struggle for jobs and unemployment relief and soon thereafter in the war against fascism. Many "premature anti-fascists" tried to stop the debacle in its early stage by "illegally" joining the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in support of the legally elected Republican Government of Spain against Franco insurgents. The losses were overwhelming, inflicted by vastly superior forces including those sent by Hitler and Mussolini. More rewarding was the fight for jobs on the home-front, where artists scored a great victory when the Federal Art Project was created. Thousands

of artists thus won recognition as socially useful workers, earning the right to be paid for their work as artists, with dignity and the freedom to create as they pleased. They won this status by allying themselves to the trade union movement, the cause of workers nationwide.

Organizing the Artists' Union, later sponsored by the CIO, the artists found themselves in a heady atmosphere. Culturally they were in possibly the greatest renaissance of the arts the world had ever seen!

A major reason that many artists, including Jews, were drawn to radical ideas, was because it was primarily the Communists who were mobilizing the public on basic issues, and it was the Soviet Union, soon to become the front line of defense against fascism, that was perceived by many as the land that promised peace and freedom from prejudice and exploitation. It was John Reed's classic account of the Russian Revolution, *Ten Days that Shook the World* and the clubs named in his honor that inspired class consciousness and racial equality. In 1932 the New York City Reed Club assembled a show titled "Revolutionary Art in the Capitalist Countries" which it sent to Moscow. For New York it mounted an exhibition called "The Social Viewpoint in Art," and in 1933 a show on "Hunger, Fascism and War." In response to Bulgarian Georgi Dimitrov's call at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International for a united front against fascism, the prestigious American Artists Congress was founded and the John Reed Clubs disbanded. They had mobilized thousands of writers including Richard Wright and Theodore Dreiser, artists and composers including George Biddle and Elie Siegmeister. They had organized the above-named theme shows, lectures, poetry readings and the American Artists School near Union Square. The 1936 American Artists Congress, following the American Writers Congress by one year, was headed by Louis Mumford, Hugo Gellert (mis-identified as Jewish in the Jewish Museum catalogue), Stuart Davis and Harry Gottlieb. Its success in mobilizing artists, liberal, radical and conservative, from coast to coast, confirmed the correctness of the United Front concept. Holding mass meetings, concerts, exhibitions and issuing proclamations in defense of democracy it lasted only three years. In 1939 a split led by art historian Meyer Shapiro, painters Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb and others dissolved the Congress. The Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact and the Soviet invasion of Finland had disen-

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chanted many, and the "Yanks are not coming" stance of the Communists confused others.

In response to an appeal by Trotsky and Andre Breton in *Partisan Review* in 1938, calling for an anarchist Revolutionary League of Writers and Artists (and in response also to an article signed by Diego Rivera but attributed to Trotsky urging abstract individualistic experimentation as the only true artistic freedom), the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism was set up in 1939 by critics Harold Rosenberg and Clement Greenberg and artists G.L.K. Morris and Fairfield Porter.

One year later, in 1940, the American Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors replaced both the League and the Congress. This still existing organiza-

tion had an anti-Communist clause in its by-laws which it withdrew in 1953 (the year of the Rosenberg executions), to avoid any similarity to McCarthyism which was raging throughout the cultural community.

Back to 1936, ICOR, the Organization for Jewish Colonization in Russia, was established and chaired by Social Realist painter Frank Kirk who was Jewish. ICOR sent artworks to Birobijan that formed the base of its new art museum.

In 1938 the Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YKUF) was founded by Communist writers and artists to combat anti-Semitism and fascism. In Europe and America YKUF grew out of the World Alliance for Yiddish Culture. American delegates to its Paris conference in 1937 were Minna Harkavy, Isaac Lichtenstein and Frank Kirk. Philosopher Chaim Zhitlowsky was Chair of the American Art Section.

YKUF held many large exhibitions which included artists of all schools, non-Jews among them. It was a powerful voice in support of the Soviet Jewish autonomous regime in Birobijan and sent a show to Moscow.

During WWII the art students were also active. We set up Artists for Victory, stenciled cartoons, Russian-style, for "wall newspapers" for trade unions, and mounted a show in 1942 called "Art, a Weapon for War" at the New School for Social Research. Rockwell Kent was our patron. Focusing on three New York art schools, we organized the Young American Artists Association, our Communist response to the United Front movement. Years later, in 1948, we organized the Graphic Workshop modeled on the Mexican Taller Grafica de Arte Popular. Among our many services to the unions, two folios of prints were issued by the interracial membership which included works by Edward Walsh, Jacob Lawrence, Leonard Baskin, Charles White, Roy De Carava, Antonio Frasconi, Bob Gwathmey and others.

A high point in the student experience for some of us in the late 1930s, were the excursions with artist-teacher Harry Sternberg to the steel towns and coal mines in Pennsylvania where we met working miners and went down to their "bootleg" tunnels.

Despite the war—and perhaps because of it—American Jews now felt welcome in the art world, and with Birobijan and Israel out there we were no longer outsiders. We were, beyond question, part of the American story. □

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## Reviews

*Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, Every Spy a Prince: The Complete History of Israel's Intelligence Community, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1990, 473 pp., Kathleen M. Blee, Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s, Berkeley University of California Press, 1991, 228 pp.*

Gerald Horne

In many ways this book could be viewed as Israeli propaganda. It refers to the PLO as "terrorists" and accepts most of the premises that have deluded the Likud for so long. Another book by Ian Black and Benny Morris, *Israel's Secret Wars: A History of Israel's Intelligence Services*, covers much of the same ground and in a more balanced and comprehensive manner. Still, a close reading of this book is warranted precisely because the authors seem to have close ties with elite circles within the Israeli "intelligence community."

Nevertheless, the authors' casual chauvinism is quite offensive. The book is studded with comments like "the intelligence services of the Arab countries lacked the diligence and stamina needed for long-term operations...the Arabs could not run a successful operation within Israel...(the Palestinians had a) lack of professionalism..." (pp. 97, 152, 171). Inevitably such chauvinism is turned on fellow Israelis. It is suggested that the "Oriental, Sephardic sector of the Jewish population...were generally less educated men who built their careers more on brawn than brains..." (p. 173).

Naturally, the authors—and the Israeli intelligence services they so clearly admire—exhibit a stunning sexism. Most women within the Mossad not only are limited to "administrative and service capacities," but "it is expected of them to use sex as one of many weapons in the field" (pp. 133-34). Early in Israel's history, their intelligence services attempted "to use women and money to seduce the US Marines who guarded their embassy in Tel Aviv." The authors, quick to criticize the slightest transgression, real or imagined, of the PLO, evince no disagreement with such policies and, indeed, appear to smile approvingly on such.

It seems a turning point, for Israeli intelligence came in May 1951 when Reuven Shiloah, then head of the Mossad, cemented intelligence cooperation between Israel and the US. To that point it was feared in Washington that "the important aid given by the Eastern bloc in the first days of the new nation" would mean Israel was leaning toward the USSR. This did not occur and, in fact, Israel became a leader in the effort to destabi-

lize socialism. It is ironic that this development has spawned the kind of anti-Jewish fervor that the intelligence services ostensibly were opposing.

An alleged reason for Israel's hostility to socialism was the issue of Soviet Jewry. But the authors explode this supposition by pointing out that "in obvious contrast to the noisy policy adopted by Israel in demanding the freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews, Jerusalem maintained a low profile and absolute silence with regard to the Rumanian Jews" (p. 235).

In discussing US-Israeli collaboration, the authors cite a joke where a CIA man tells his Mossad contact that Israel was lucky it never became the 51st state. Why lucky, the Israeli wondered? "Because then," said the CIA agent, "you would only have two US senators, and this way you have at least sixty." The joke does not mask the reality that Israel has been able to pose a "strategic asset" for the US during the Cold War; however, the authors do not explain how the new situation internationally will impact US-Israeli relations.

The case of Jonathan Pollard, the young Jewish American caught spying for Israel, and the Iran-Contra scandal, in which Israel was deeply involved, are indications that US-Israeli relations are in the process of evolution. The Pollard case revealed that Israeli theft of US defense secrets and technology was more extensive than many in Washington had feared. Some right-wing senators sought to scapegoat Israel by blaming them for the Iran-Contra disaster. The authors continue the coverup by suggesting that US arms being shipped to Iran via Israel began in 1985-6, when recent revelations point to the distinct possibility that the election team of Ronald Reagan cut a deal with the Iranians in 1980, pledging arms in return for Teheran not releasing US hostages during the tenure of President Carter. Nor do the authors shed light on the Israeli bombing in broad daylight of the USS Liberty during the 1967 war, killing a number of US sailors in the process.

Iran Contra also illustrated a new trend within Israeli intelligence: "Israel has an entire new class of Mossad, Shin Bet, and senior army veterans who are working to persuade their own country to sell while convincing foreigners to buy...making money has become some sort of triumph for the Jewish community."

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However, if this narrow elite continues to be successful in substituting its narrow class interest for the interests of the Jewish community as a whole, via their influence in major Jewish organizations, a catastrophe looms for all those who have faced the lash of discrimination. In unwittingly driving us to that conclusion, the authors deserve our heartfelt thanks for producing a book that, finally, forces serious reflection.

The Ku Klux Klan began after the Civil War, had a renaissance after World War I, and today, unfortunately, is still with us. Though white Protestant males have been their major base of support, it would be a mistake to see this grouping as their exclusive area of recruitment. This verity is underscored in this fine piece of historical sociology authored by Kathleen M. Blee.

The KKK that erupted in the 1920s is the subject of this book; they claimed a membership of over 5 million. This may have been inflated figures but it cannot be denied that they had a mass base. In 1924 "Klan-backed candidates won the governorship, many mayoral contests including those in Indianapolis, Evansville and Kokomo, and numerous offices of sheriffs, district attorneys, and others" (p. 147). Though the author examines other states, Indiana is her primary focus.

A considerable percentage of their membership consisted of white Protestant women. Indeed, "some leaders of the women's suffrage movement used nativist and racist arguments and rhetoric, calling for votes for white women to counter the votes of black and immigrant men" (p. 116). Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK) leaders often backed gender equality. One of their leaders backed the Equal Rights Amendment to the US Constitution on the premise that it would empower white Protestant women against Klan foes, e.g., African Americans, Jewish Americans and Catholics. Their appeal was so considerable and pervasive that some argued that the de facto leader of the Klan was a woman, Elizabeth Tyler. One leaves this book with the inescapable conclusion that there has been a phenomenon that could be called "racist feminism" (or "feminist racism") and a looming question is to what extent it still exists.

A key to the success of the WKKK was their campaign around practical "social" questions that most political organizations ignored, e.g., abusive husbands. "Many of those menaced by the Klan were men who deserted their wives or took up with women in adulterous affairs...Through channels of neighborhood gossip, local women targeted philandering men for Klan punishment....Women also asked the Klan's assistance with financially irresponsible husbands" (p. 82). This "assistance" was a two-way street: "Women's transgressions were more likely to evoke a sadistic response by the

Klan...." In a precursor of the "Moynihan Report," the KKK "proclaimed neglect of one's family to be another violation of its moral code. Mothers accused of neglecting their children were subject first to a warning, then to violent punishment (p. 83). The WKKK was so influential that some have subsequently "described the KKK primary as an agency of redress for wronged women...." (p. 83). The fact is that, like today's Republican Party, the WKKK used "social" issues demagogically to spur millions: "When the Klan drew on racist, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic innuendoes and tales of immorality and depravity, it mobilized large numbers of indignant white Protestants (p. 97).

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of this book is the author's analysis of the WKKK's use of gossip—a powerful tool whose use is not unknown in progressive circles either. Gossip was particularly powerful as there "were no reports to seize, no meetings to invade, no publications to refute" (p. 149). A WKKK leader in Indiana claimed that "her 'little black book' contained the names of five women in each county who were members of a so-called poison squad of whispering women through whom she could spread any gossip across the state in twelve hours." [Vivian] Wheatcraft compared her women's network to the "Whispering Women of the Piave whose defeatist propaganda contributed to Italian military defeat in 1917" (p. 115).

The purpose of this gossip was not benign. "Acting individually but with a collective direction, Klanswomen could force Jews, Catholics, or blacks out of their communities or into financial bankruptcy...Businesses with Jewish owners, ranging from large department stores to small shops and professional services, went bankrupt throughout Indiana. Jewish professionals and business owners fled communities in which they had lived for decades....Workers who were Catholic, Jewish or suspected of anti-Klan leanings often discovered vocational Klannishness by being suddenly fired from their jobs" (pp. 147, 152).

The author's chapter on gossip is so powerful that it reminds us why this tactic has such an odor in the US: it has been used most effectively by reactionaries for reactionary ends. The WKKK was among the more skilled practitioners.

The WKKK was also inspired by more traditional ends. Their leaders "evoked white men's fears of losing both racial and male supremacy, for example, with a warning that black men were organizing societies in which all members pledged to marry white women" (p. 76). They were not above the use of Reichstag fire tactics either: "In several cities in Indiana, Klan organizers and officers were arrested for arson of school buildings, for fires they set and attempted to blame on foreigners, Jews, or blacks" (p. 173).

Their list of enemies was elastic, as well. In addition to African Americans and Jewish Americans, the WKKK focused on "local enemies," e.g., "Mormons in Utah, union radicals in the Northwest, and Asian Americans on the Pacific Coast (p. 21).

Still, like their counterparts today, the WKKK seemed to have a special animus directed toward the Jewish community. WKKK leader Alma Bridwell White "charged Jews with secretly financing the Catholic empire, making immoral films, keeping motion pictures and other 'vile places of amusement' open on Sunday, and procuring young Protestant women to work in movies, dance halls, sweatshops, department stores, and white slave dens. The Jewish-owned fashion industry, White argued, foisted immodest clothing on women through 'the powerful edicts of fashion.' In moral standards, White thundered, a Jewish man had "no code to restrain him in his dealings with Gentile women" (p. 75).

The traditional demagoguery of the ultra-right made the WKKK even more dangerous. They were opportunists who "often tried to appear tolerant in public and reserve messages of racism and prejudice for closed private meetings" (P. 141). As the history of the 19th century "Know-Nothing" party amply demonstrates, the US has a long history of secretive, conspiratorial, semi-underground political organizations that pursue illegal acts. This makes the refusal of some to accept that presidents and civil rights leaders can be murdered as a result of conspiracy, even more difficult to fathom.

One point that the author could have explored further is the reason for the decline of anti-Catholicism. After all, members in good standing of the US ruling elite include such Catholics as William F. Buckley, William Simon, Lee Iocacca and Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Anti-Semitism was eroded after World War II but seems to be on the increase today. Racism against African Americans appears to be increasing as well. In any case, Kathleen Blee amply demonstrates, as feminist historians have reminded us consistently, that when we add gender as a category of analysis we can come up with startling new discoveries. □

### *Shlomo Swirsky, Education in Israel: Schooling for Inequality, Brerot, 1990*

By Yossi Yonah

Dr. Shlomo Swirsky's most recent book, *Education in Israel: Schooling for Inequality*, lays bare, on the basis of firm evidence, the ways in which our educational system ultimately serves narrow economic and class interests. The author debunks one of Israel's cen-

tral myths: the myth of equal opportunity.

Those who have been duped by this myth offer various excuses for Israel's growing social, economic and educational gaps. They claim that these gaps are inevitable expressions of the intellectual and cultural advantages of the established strata as against the weaker sections of the population. In other words, the rich and well-established are naturally clearer and by definition cherish loftier cultural values. For many, this explanation is accompanied by an intolerance and contempt for social protest in all its forms. Those who cry out against the status quo are perceived as marginal figures, absorbed in self-pity and lacking the proper motivation for self-advancement. They are accused of demanding social rights without accepting social obligations. The basis for this dismissal of valid educational concern lies in the illusion that the educational system, like the process of education itself, is outside the political and social power struggles in Israeli society.

Swirsky's book demonstrates that Israel's discriminatory educational system is the main cause of the disparity in the performance of pupils from different social groups. Through a precise historical analysis of the development of the system, Swirsky traces the factors responsible for the gaps in achievement among three segments of the population: Ashkenazi Jews, Oriental Jews and Israeli Arabs.

According to Swirsky, prior to the establishment of the state there were no significant differences in the educational achievements of Ashkenazim, Oriental Jews and Arabs. Modern educational methods had been adopted by Oriental Jewry in their countries of origin. The immigration of Oriental Jews to the fledgling State of Israel blocked this trend, and the institutionalized Israeli education led to retreat in the methods of education among Oriental Jews and Israeli Arabs. What were the factors behind this retreat? Lack of space permits me to focus here on only two groups, Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews.

First of all, the largely Ashkenazi pre-state Jewish community (the Yishuv) related to the Oriental Jews, were an arrogance stemming from a conviction in the superiority of European culture. This led to a general lack of interest in absorbing "culturally deficient" Oriental pupils into schools where their own children studied. Thus, in the early 1950s, for example, "about 80 percent of the children in the immigrant transit camps learned in schools set up in the camps themselves." Another factor in the deterioration of Oriental education was the inferior and alienated nature of the teaching staff in these camp-schools, a marked contrast to the situation of teachers in the older, established communities. Beyond this, the communal frameworks the Oriental Jews brought with them from their countries of ori-

gin collapsed upon their arrival in Israel, and they were thus unprepared (and were unaware of any need to prepare) for a political struggle over their rights. Their few attempts to "organize" met with strong opposition, the establishment viewing such efforts as attempts "to divide people."

Over the course of the 1950s, two different, but complementary, socio-educational trends emerged. The old Yishuv community became integrated into the administrative frameworks required to run a state. A bourgeois class enjoying many economic privileges soon arose. As its prosperity grew, this class increasingly saw the importance of education as an instrument for creating social and economic opportunities for its children.

At the same time, the Israeli economy underwent a rapid process of industrialization, facilitated by the mass immigration from Arab countries and the foreign capital streaming into the state. The trend toward industrialization led to a process of the proletarianization of the Oriental community. Here the educational system had a special social role: to further this process by preparing thousands of Oriental youngsters for blue collar jobs. Swirsky claims that the Orientals were meant to supply, and did indeed supply most of the human reserves for menial industrial positions. Between 1966-1970 the number of Oriental students in trade schools increased four times as quickly as the number in regular schools.

Academics were brought in to justify the transformation of Oriental immigrants into factory workers. They provided the ideological, moral and scientific authorization for the disparity in achievement between Ashkenazi and Oriental students, and for the channeling of Oriental youth into trade schools which did not offer the academic matriculation exam. One of the most interesting chapters in Swirsky's book deals with the ideology of "cultivating the deprived." With more than a little sarcasm, the author lays bare the shaky theoretical foundations and the deeply rooted prejudices which underlie these "explanations." In particular, Swirsky sets out to evaluate and rebut two approaches: the theory of "educational expectations" mainly associated with educational researcher Moshe Smilansky, and the "rehabilitative instruction" developed by Karl Frankenstein.

According to Swirsky, Smilansky's approach, which is the dominant approach in today's educational system, combines the contradictory messages of equality and difference. Its praise for the ideal of equal educational opportunity is eviscerated by a second tenet: Oriental children "are not capable of standing up to the demands of the regular educational program." The system thus has a special obligation to provide these de-

prived children with alternative educational possibilities, without which they would surely drop out of school. It emerges, therefore, that under the guise of obligatory equality of opportunity, the ideology of "educational expectations" enables the system to divest itself of all serious attempts to raise the achievement level of Oriental children. As a rule, these children find themselves streamed into separate educational frameworks, such as professional and special education.

Frankenstein's "rehabilitative instruction" theories are discussed in great detail in Swirsky's book, although only one example in this system of thought must suffice us here. Characteristic of Frankenstein's approach is his concept of "the essence of primitivity." In his view, primitivity is a side product of "the degeneration of the Oriental people," a process which has been detrimental to the intelligence of both Arab and Jewish Orientals.

In addition to those two approaches, other attempts have been made to improve Israeli education. These include the "reform" and "integration" programs. On the surface, these proposals seem to be intended to improve the achievements of all students, and particularly Orientals. They bring students of different ethnic backgrounds together in one school building, and then divide them into different "tracks" according to their abilities. In practice, Swirsky suggests this reform has served elitist trends in education and mainly benefits the well-established sections of the population. Not surprisingly, its main advocates were the heads of the prestigious high schools, backed by various academics. According to Swirsky, integration enabled supporters of the elitist trend to claim that all students are afforded the same opportunity to claim that all students are afforded the same opportunity to continue regular academic studies. In fact, he claims, the system of grouping has created even stronger ethnic divisions, with students from the lower economic strata generally being streamed into the lower achievement groupings.

This book levels the most severe accusations against Israel's educational system. The writer asserts that the supporters of these above-mentioned educational programs had no intention of reducing gaps in educational achievement. He suggests these programs might well be evaluated according to the degree of their success in institutionalizing Israel's elitist educational trend. In this, it seems they have succeeded beyond all expectations. □

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*Jewish Affairs*



## Editorial continued

which Gorbachev and company allowed to grow and spread its poison.

In the pre-factional period, both Aptheker and Kutzik basically supported the Party's position. It is only recently that they decided to attack the Party's leadership for ignoring or denying the existence of anti-Semitism in the USSR.

In 1983, pre-Perestroika, "An Open Letter to Jewish Americans from Jews in the Soviet Union," signed by prominent Jewish leaders in the Soviet Government, sciences and arts, stated:

"We, Soviet Jews, have no need to be protected from anyone or anything in our country. Our reality fully refutes slanders of Western propaganda to the effect that official anti-Semitism exists in the USSR."

The American press, including the Jewish press, said not a word about this open letter. Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Editor of Jewish Affairs, headed a group of men and women from across the country who published this open letter in the Chicago Sentinel.

In addressing himself to the question of anti-Semitism in the USSR, Alfred J. Kutzik, Associate Editor of Jewish Affairs, wrote in the March-April 1990 issue:

"How wide and deep anti-Jewish prejudice is among the Soviet population, especially its influential political and intellectual sectors, should not be exaggerated by those in the anti-Sovieting 'Save Soviet Jewry' and 'Ingathering Jews' to Israel for business. But characterizing it as pogromist is something new. It does not seem to be fortuitous that this misrepresentation has been propagated soon after the U.S. Government's decision that Soviet Jews coming to this country are no longer required to be classified as refugees 'with well-founded fear of persecution in the USSR', but as normal immigrants not entitled to the substantial financial and service assistance that refugees receive. Some investigative journalism on precisely who in the USSR, U.S. and Israel have been directing the pogrom rumors are in order...."

In the May 24th 1989 issue of Moscow's new Russian language newspaper, Jewish Soviet Culture, an article noted that "the media are broadly condemning anti-Semitism," but called for it "to be fought with vigorous education and strong legal measures."

Commenting on this, Kutzik wrote in Jewish Affairs, March/April 1990:

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

What Kutzik overlooked is that "Perestroika" and "Glasnost" were turned into their opposites by Gorbachev - an all-powerful centralized government far removed from hopes and aspirations of the many peoples of the USSR.

It was Gorbachev who encouraged the anti-Semites and the rise of anti-Semitism by refusing to deal sharply with the fast-growing, anti-Semitic weed, Pamyat. Pamyat actively encouraged the expression of anti-Semitic feelings that were dormant, socially unacceptable and legally punishable. Pamyat flourished during Perestroika when Gorbachev had the power to clip its wings.

Kutzik's attack on the Communist Party and especially the writings of its National Chair, Gus Hall, on this subject, is a disingenuous attempt to absolve Gorbachev, Yeltsin and company and slander the CPUSA.

We had no alternative but to cancel the publication of this issue. Also, we must condemn the use of the Jewish Affairs' subscription list to solicit money for copies of the cancelled issue.

Jewish Affairs is a magazine published by the Communist Party, USA. As such, it is the right and responsibility of the CPUSA to determine its contents. We are confident that our readers will agree with us.

We apologize for the delay in the publication of Jewish Affairs. And we thank our readers for their patience, their inquiries and their interest in the continuation of Jewish Affairs. The next issue will be published shortly as a May/June issue.

We look forward to your continued support and invite your suggestions to improve the content and look of our magazine.

**The Editorial Board**  
**Jewish Affairs**

# Day of the Worker - May Day 1992

A poem written by Richard Davidson for Robert Medina

Hey brothers and sisters

Can you hear it?

On the wind, on the street, in the avenue of stars?

It's our day brothers and sisters, and don't you forget it.

Our day which started back in 1884 when the labor unions and the

good guys workin' demanded eight hours a day and no more.

The eight hour a day started and the bosses got jumpy

So there was some trouble over at the McCormick Reaper works in

Chicago.

A strike was fermented and some workers got killed.

So we all went to the Haymarket Square to protest.

Only the cops came too,

And bullets pierced the air

And the stream of blood covered roses in the park.

A savage day, brothers and sisters, and some leaders were arrested,

Men of labor spat upon and hung.

But that's when it started,

You can't keep workers down —

Not with bullets, not with hangings, not with the drawn look of the

dead.

Through the years from Haymarket till today,

Through the years, the names, the places, strikes fought and won,

No milk for the babies,

No food for the house,

Company store put you flat on your ass.

No bones in the cupboard

So you raise a ruckus,

You start some meetings,

You carry a sign,

You march, Oh Lordy, you march,

We all march.

Better wages,

More food for the kids,

More space to breathe,

And always, always as deep at the beating of a forgotten drum

Not so forgotten now; always the pride, the strength, the good

Affirmations—the song of the working class,

Not just here, but everywhere.

A song that connects heart to heart

All over the World, May First is a shout,

A grin from ear to ear,

Do we remember in the package of decades?

The clenched fist and the battle just beginning,

The battle is always just beginning.

In the storehouse of gains with our unions,

In the smell of a new season?

Where there are roses on the table?

And milk in the frig?

Do we remember—labor and our pride in being part of it?

Today, look around carefully, quickly

Are we still fighting for a better life?

You're damn right!

You've heard of these big outfits in our country closing?

Put people back to work!

The iron gate slammed, machine struck still,

Men and women out of jobs.

The old story, the story that still goes on.

The National Health program

Where the people need medicine, need doctors, need hospitals.

Where people meet the closed door and sorry we don't take Medicaid.

Listen brothers and sisters,

A lot yet to fight for,

Until the worker and his family can rest easy.

All over we're marching, Black and white and Brown together,

In the thick snows of Moscow,

Battling the new-sprung exploiters and destroyers of a people's dream

All over this cockeyed globe.

We're marching, watching, hoping, fighting and what's more

Beyond the fake cynicism and pointless laugh,

Beyond the club and the gun,

Beyond the fat cats and their double talk and double cross,

Beyond the seats of power lie the real power—people's power.

**YES BROTHERS AND SISTERS,**

**THE PEOPLE—**

**THAT'S WHAT MAY DAY'S ALL ABOUT !**

**AND YOU'LL BE HERE FOR A LONG TIME TO COME.**

**HEY BROTHERS AND SISTERS**

**TAKE MY HAND,**

**WE'VE GOT A WORLD TO WIN !**

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# פינצטערע עכאס אין היינטיקן דייטשלאנד מאיר ראק

ס'איז געווען צו דערווארטן, אז דעם 9-טן סעפטעמבער, אין 53-סטן יאָרטג טאָך דעם נאָציסן פּאָנאַם בעה דער קריסטאל-נאכט אין דייטשלאנד, זאָגן די נאָנ-נאָציס פּרוֹבירן וויפּון זייער מאַכט אין די דייטשישע שטעט. אזוי איז עס טאקע געווען. אין זעלבן טאָג איז, אגב, טיפּ געוואָרן צוויי יאָר וינט ס'איז געפאלן די בערלינער חומט.

אַבער די באַריכטן, וועלכע האָבן דערציילט וועגן נאָנ-נאָציסע מאַניפעסטאציעס האָבן אויך אַינפּאָרמירט וועגן 100.000 מענטשן - צווישן זיי: אַרבעטער מיט וויערע סיניקראַפּטן-פּרירער און קריסטלעכע סטרוואַייניקונגען מיט וויערע פּאַרטיעלע - וועלכע האָבן זיך באַטייליגט אין גרויסע אַנטי-נאָציסע טאָניפעסטאציעס אין אַרומ 100 דייטשישע שטעט. דאָס האָבן זיי פּראָטעסטירט מיט קעגן דעם נאָצי-פּאַרלאַם פון 1938 און מיט קעגן די נאָציס פון היינט.

אין דער פּרעסע פון דייטשלאַנד, איז טוט ווי און אויטלאַנד, האָט מען לעצטנס אז סך געשריבן וועגן דער חוקס אין דייטשלאַנד פון די רעכטע, אַנטי-דעמאָקראַטישע גרופּעס. די סיבה פאַר וויער חוקס - ספּעציעל אין געוועזענעם מורח-דייטשלאַנד - און דער רעוולוטאָט פון דער ווייניקונגען מפּלה דאָרט און די אנדערע סאָטליטן-לענדער. דאָס געפענען פון וויערע גרענעצן האָט גורם געווען א שטראַם פון פליטים קיין מורח און אויך מערב-דייטשלאַנד. א סך דאָרטיקע פּאַרטיעס זענען געוואָרן אַרבעטסלאָז אַזליכן שליסן זיך פון די מורח-דייטשישע עטנאָפּרין, יוגנטלעכע צוליב טעכע פער כונטאָיש זיי די עלטערע. און ביידע דייטשלאַנדס האָבן א סך פון זיי געווען די סיבה פון וויער שלעכטערלאַגע אין די ניי-אינגעוואַנדערטע, וועלכע זענען - גרייט געווען צו אַרבעטן פאר קלענערע לויטן.

אין דער זעלבן טאָג, ווען ס'זענען פּאַרגעקומען די אַנטי-נאָציסע דעמאָנסטראַציעס אין א ריי שטעט, זענען באַנרע יוגנטלעכע באַפאלן איינלענדישע סטורענטן און פליטים אין עטלעכע שטעט. א צאָל מענטשן זענען פאַרוואַנדעט געוואָרן.

זיי האָבן איבערגעגעבן די בערלינער פּאַליציי האָבן בלויז אין דאָרטיקן פּראָטעסט-מורש זיך באַטייליגט עטלעכע צענדליק טויזנט מענטשן. 4000 פּערזאָן האָבן אַנטפּילגענומען אין דער אַנטי-נאָציסער מאַניפעסטאציע אין קעלן, טייל פון די דעמאָנסטראַנטן האָבן דאָרט געשריגן פּענסט-ראַמען מיט איינפּאָרטקעט שויבן, ווי א סימבאל פון די דעם-נאָצי-פּאַנאַם אין דער קריסטאל-נאכט.



צווישן די 100 אויסדערוואַלעטע, דאָך איז דער וואַל-רעוולוטאָט געווען אין אויפטרעטן פאַר די פּאַליטיקער אין כאָן און איבערן לאַנד. די וויכטיקסטע סיבה פאַרן דערפאַלג פון דער פּאַרטיי אין געווען איר קעגנערשטע צו זיי איינגעוואַנדערטע פון אויטלאַנד. אין דער תּאָך, ווען זיי האָלן זענען פּאַרגעקומען האָבן באַנרע פון גאַלע קעפּ" און נאָע-נאָציס דורכגעפירט א ריי אַטאַקעס אויף אויסלענדער. זיי האָבן אויס-האַט די פּראָפּאַגאַנדע פון דייטשישע פּאַלקסאָפּאַראַנד" קעגן געבן אויב-רעכט אויסלענדער געהאַט אן אַפּאַלאַנג כּי א גרעסערן שיכט וויילער. סאַציאַלאָגן קלערן אויף דעם חוקס פון דער נאָע-נאָציסער באַוועגונג און פון דער סעקסאַפּאַיע, דעם האָט צו פּערמערע און אויסלענדער, מיט די פאַרנערטע עקאָנאָמישע און סאַציאַלע לעבנס-באַדינגונגען. דער עיקר אין דעם פּרעויריקן קאָמוניסטישן טייל פון לאַנד, אָבער אויך אין מערב-דייטשלאַנד צוליבן צוואַמענברוך פון קאָמוניסטישן רעזשים.

פּאַליטיקער אין לאַנד קוקן מיט אַמורז אויפן ספּעקטאַקל פון די מאַרשינדיקע גרופּעס פון גאַלע קעפּ" אָנזעטן אין זעלנדישע שטחול, וועלכע האַרפן היטלעריסטישע לאָזונגען. אין דער לעצטער צייט זענען זייערע גרופּן באַוואָלן אויסלענדער אין א צאָל שטעט, צווישן זיי אין בערלין און דרעזדען. טייל עלטערע פּאַליטיקער דערמאָנען זיך די אַנטי-נאָצי פּאַרטייער יאָרן, ווען דער איינפלוס אויף היטלעריסטישן אין טאָך געווען קליין און וויערע גאַסן-פאַרשן זענען אויך באַשטאַנדן פון בלויז קליינע גרופּן.

דאָך וויפּון די לעצטע דורכגעפירטע אַנקעטעס, אז אָנזעטן 70% דייטשן זענען פאַרן געבן אויב-רעכט אויסלענדער, וועלכע זענען פּאַליטישע פליטים אין דער זעלבער צייט הוואַלטן מער פון די אויסגעזעעטע אין דער אַנקעטע, אז דאָס ליבעראַלע געזעץ וועגן פּאַליטישן אויב-רעכט, וועָס איז גוראָנטירט אין דער קאָנסטיטוציע, ווערט אויסגענוצט פון א סך מענטשן, וועלכע זענען דערצו נישט באַרעכטיגט. אין לעצטן יאָר זענען 193000 אויב-נאָכער געקומען קיין דייטשלאַנד. אין די ערשטע 10 חדשים פון היינטיקן יאָר האָט זייער צאָל שוין דערגרייכט איבער 20000. די מערהייט פון זיי זענען אָבער נישט קיין פּאַליטישע, נאָר מאַטעריעלע פליטים. זיי הילן טורבעטערן וויער עקאָנאָמישע לאַגע דורך באַקומען סאָטעריעלע הילף און אַרבעט.



די איבערפאלן און אומרוען מער נאָע-נאָציס און רעכטע עקסטרעמיסטישע גרופּן פאַרמען זיך. אין די ערשטע אכט חדשים פון יאָר 1991 זענען פּאַרגעקומען 400 אָנפאלן, 220 פון זיי אין מורח-דייטשלאַנד, וווּ עס וויינט בלויז א פּערטל פון דער דייטשישער באַפּעלקערונג. אין 180 זענען פּאַרגעקומען אין מערב-דייטשלאַנד אין פאַרגלייך מיט בלויז 100 אין 1990. דער לעצטער און מער ערנסטער מול און געווען ווען א שוואַרצע אפּריקאַנער איז אומגעקומען פון אן אונטערזינדונג. אין הייטסערטרא האָבן יונגע כוליאַנעס באַוואַמטע מיט מוליאַנעלע קאָטיילן פאַרלאַנגען און אַלערס, ווי האָטעל, זיך אויפּגעהאַלטן איינגעוואַנדערטע אויסלענדער. צום חוץ אס מען די