November/December 1992
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JEWISH AFFAIRS



ENOUGH - American Jewish Congress

1993 New York City Elections
Jarvis Tyner

Unity against the common oppressor
Jim Genova and Tim Wheeler

My life in Crown Heights
Mary Licht

Three poems
Henri Percikow

Hymn for a New Day
Richard Davidson

Among the ruins, the wildflowers grow
Jana Klenburg

100 days of the Rabin government
Hans LeBrecht

Moscow Diary
Mike Davidow

REVIEWS:
Reversing Discrimination
Gerald Horne

To our Readers

The editors of Jewish Affairs salute our multi-national electorate for imposing a significant defeat in the recent national elections upon the brazen reactionary and war-oriented Bush Administration. This affords the American people the opportunity of bringing about further steps to guarantee steps for peace abroad and a broad people's program of economic reforms at home to meet the current needs of our people and all peoples of the universe.

The development of growing unity amongst the democratic forces who made possible the removal of the Bush administration from the seat of power can help guarantee a better future for our people and the peoples worldwide.

The significant increase in the number of African-Americans and women elected to the US Congress is an historic victory for the whole American People.

The possibilities to effect further changes to the benefit of our people and world peace, for economic and political reforms have been enhanced by the recent elections.

However, in face of this significant people's victory, President Bush, before leaving office brazenly took steps to further deepen US imperialist penetration and domination over the Middle East.

Today, we find an ever-increasing number of armed US combat troops and equipment in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Somalia. As a result of the overthrow of socialism in the USSR, the United Nations Security council is no longer an effective force for maintaining and safeguarding world peace. On the contrary, the UN Security Council has become an arm of the imperialist powers.

The new negative relationship of forces presents a grave challenge to the American electorate who drove Bush from office. There are now currently an ever growing number of US troops and military supplies stationed around the globe: in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Somalia among others. Their presence, so far from our shores, is not a guarantee of peace but rather is aimed to secure and entrench US hegemony in the Middle east, taking the fullest advantage of the current weakness of the UN, the Security Council in particular.

The US-Israeli Strategic military alliance was at no time aimed to secure the existence of the state of Israel but rather it was part and parcel of the US imperialist drive for dominance in the Middle East.

President Bush is spending his last days in office plotting steps to guarantee US dominance in the Mid-

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Cover: The Reverend Jesse Jackson, New York Mayor David Dinkins and Rabbi Leib Glanz pray together at the Apollo Theater December 17, urging unity after the eruption of racial tension in the Crown Heights section of New York City.

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"Enough"

Statement by the American Jewish Congress

The deterioration of intercommunal relations in our city brings into question our ability to coexist as a nation across our racial, ethnic and religious diversity. The abrasiveness of the controversy in Crown Heights is symptomatic of a growing meanspiritedness that threatens to destroy what fragile threads of civility remain between ethnic groups here and in other metropolitan areas.

Surely, decent men and women in the African-American community and in the Jewish community must be appalled by the terrible damage being done by this conflict to the pluralistic ideal that has set America apart. Our quarrels are beginning to resonate the ugly ethnic factionalism and tribalism that are dehumanizing and laying waste so much of the European continent. Is that the direction in which we in America want to go? Should we not join our voices and demand, "In the name of all that we value, for the sake of our lives together and of our children's lives together, enough!"

We are not here to defend the Dinkins administration from its critics. As Mayor, David Dinkins knows he must assume responsibility, both for the successes and for the failures of those he appoints and who serve at his pleasure. We share with the Jewish community in Crown Heights a sense of outrage over the anti-Semitic violence that occurred there more than a year ago; over the brutal murder of Yankel Rosenbaum, and over the failure of the police to apprehend and bring to conviction his murderers. To this day, questions about the failure of the police to respond with the necessary promptness and firmness to the violence and anarchy that ruled the streets of Crown Heights remain unanswered. We await the findings of the state and federal investigations now under way.

Mayor Dinkins and his administration must understand that the three days of anti-Semitic violence in August of 1991 left a legacy of terror for many of the Jews of Crown Heights that is real and palpable. Mothers and their children fear the streets and live with a sense of siege. He must deal with this trauma in a compassionate and constructive manner.

The Hasidim of Crown Heights must understand that Mayor Dinkins is not the enemy. The enemy is hatred, anti-Semitism, racism and violence in our streets. If the Mayor is to deal with these problems, all of us need to help him and work with him, not demonize him.

We are revolted by charges that Mayor Dinkins is guilty of anti-Semitism, of Jew-hatred or of the murder of Yankel Rosenbaum. Such charges are outrageous, utterly repugnant and inexcusable. It is a sad commentary on how far rational and civil discourse in this city has deteriorated that this needs to be said.

It also needs to be said that it is not enough for the sponsors of the Crown Heights demonstrations, at which posters containing these scurrilous accusations appeared, to claim that they did not sanction them. Those who carried the posters had no reason to believe that their behavior would be unwelcome by the organizers, and for this the leaders of the demonstrations bear responsibility.

We of the American Jewish Congress find the accusations of anti-Semitism against David Dinkins particularly offensive. Long before he became Mayor of this city, David Dinkins insisted on joining an AJ Congress delegation that went to Germany to express outrage over President Reagan's visit to a cemetery in Bitburg in which Nazi SS soldiers are buried. David Dinkins stood with us and cried when we recited kaddish for the Jewish martyrs in the former concentration camp in Dachau. He was alone when he publicly condemned the ugly anti-Semitism of Farrakhan, and he did not back off when Farrakhan threatened his life. And David Dinkins went to Israel to express his solidarity when Saddam Hussein's missiles were falling on Tel Aviv.

To allow, by our silence, the fostering of a perception in the Jewish community that a proven friend of Jewish causes is guilty of anti-Semitism or uncaring of the hurts of Jews would be unconscionable. It would also be destructive of what hope there is for peace and civility in our city.

If that hope is to be nourished and sustained, then black leaders must speak out, reject false charges of racism and condemn anti-Semitism in the black community, just as Jewish leaders must reject racism and false charges of anti-Semitism in the Jewish community. We are good at lecturing and reprimanding one another. Now, let us muster the courage to demand an accounting from our own, when that is needed. For if we cannot resolve our conflicts and heal our wounds in a city like New York, so proud of its religious and ethnic mosaic and so rich in human and cultural resources, what hope is there for the rest of America?

Henry Siegman, Executive Director
Robert K. Lifton, President
Appeared as an ad in The N.Y. Times, 12/10/92

Unity against our common oppressor

Jim Genova and Tim Wheeler

"Two very oppressed groups throughout history should not be fighting against each other; they should be united together fighting what really oppresses both of them."

With these words, 14-year-old David Soskin of the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues summed up the feelings of many in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn where ill will has flared over the past two years following the tragic deaths of Gavin Cato, an African American child, and Rabbinical student Yankel Rosenbaum.

Soskin was one of more than 100 young people at a meeting Nov. 29 with Mayor David Dinkins, sponsored by the Crown Heights Youth Collective (CHYC), one of many meetings and conferences by anti-racist forces working to overcome the climate of hostility before it spreads. CHYC leader Richard Green told the World his group is continuing their peacemaking effort. "We need a cooling off period so that folks can come to the table and deal with each other in more peaceful terms," he said. "Everyone in New York City has to cooperate in holding down inter-group confrontations."

Underlying the tensions in Crown Heights and elsewhere, said Green, is the worsening economic crisis of unemployment and poverty. "This is a time of testing of the human rights and civil rights victories we had won during the 1960s and 1970s, to find out if they were real," he said.

Rabbi Abraham Flint of the Crown Heights Jewish Community told the World that his group also supports efforts to defuse the crisis in Crown Heights. "Just this morning we attended a meeting of the Mayor's 'Increase the Peace' Campaign. We want to work with the Mayor's campaign. We think the Mayor is a decent, well-intentioned individual."

Margaret Gilmore, Executive Director of the Greater New York Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, told the World that her organization, with a small grant from the City, responded to the Crown Heights crisis by setting up projects at four Brooklyn high schools: Clara Barton, George Wingate, Paul Robeson and Prospect Heights. Youth trained at those schools are now fanning out to other high schools and junior high schools to combat racism and anti-Semitism.

"We're bringing Jewish, African American and Caribbean youth together," she said. 'We talk about the holocaust but also about the civil rights struggles here in the U.S. We're surprised by how little these young people know about each others' histories." The youth have produced a 30 minute video, "Blacks and Jews: Sharing the Pain."

Her assistant, Sheldon Friedberg, said the project is so promising that on Dec. 20, Black, Latino and Jewish teenagers will jointly celebrate Kwanza, Chanukah and Christmas at the Kingsday Young Men's Hebrew Association on Nostrand Avenue in Brooklyn. Black youth have written a Chanukah play to be performed that day. "Our role is to serve as honest brokers," said Gilmore. "Our message is: Let's get together. We need dialogue. Let's get rid of the shouting. Let's not forget that we have to live together in this community."

In a speech to students at the Jewish Theological Seminary, Nov. 17, Mayor Dinkins warned that New York City is not immune to the upsurge of racist violence and bigotry around the world that KKK, skinhead and neo-nazi elements are seeking to exploit.

"The federal government sharply cut its investment in cities and a decade of 'trickle down' made everyone poorer except the very wealthiest," Dinkins said. "And for the last three years our country has been racked by a recession that still shows few signs of abating," added Dinkins. "I was elected by a coalition of people of every race, religion, national origin and sexual orientation...We must not be drawn into the whirlpool of racial politics...Today I ask for your help in healing the wounds that have opened up among the communities of our city..."

The New York Civil Liberties Union convened a Nov. 22 "racial relations summit" attended by leaders of the American Jewish Congress, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund and others. They agreed to continue joint efforts to "end the bigotry and end it now."

Tom Van Arsdale, President of the New York City AFL-CIO, opened a recent meeting of the Central Labor Council with a similar call for unity. Van Arsdale warned that the divisiveness in Crown Heights could destroy the community.

Bill Davis, a member of Local 372 Social Service Employees Union, thanked Van Arsdale for his speech. "Labor is a force for unity in the city," Davis said. Dinkins called on all good people to come forward and speak out for unity. Who is in a better position to be

Tim Wheeler is editor of the Peoples Weekly World
Jim Genova is a staff member of PWW

that force for good than organized labor?"

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director Richard Womack told the World the political and economic crisis is the fuel for the upsurge of racist violence."Those two factors have worked to pit groups against each other," he said.

Womack cited joblessness and poverty, with African Americans suffering rates more than twice the overall rate. "Blacks have not been treated fairly," said Womack "It creates a situation where any little spark can ignite an explosion. Labor can play a role. Every minority is represented in the labor movement. We must be involved in working out a program to deal with this crisis. Jobs are key. We want investment in our cities. It's got to be a joint partnership: labor, community-based organizations, religious groups, government and business. It is time for the silent majority to stand up against all forms of racism and bigotry."

To our readers

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dle East after his removal from office.

It is now up to us, the western countries and people to join in a call for the withdrawal of US troops from the area, from Somalia as soon as food and supplies can be assured.

We call upon the Clinton Administration, as it enters office, to honor its promises to the American people to place special emphasis on strengthening the democratic rights of our multi-national peoples at home, buttressing our economy in a world at peace – creating jobs for the unemployed, unemployed and hungry.

The editors of Jewish Affairs pledge to extend their energies toward this end. We call upon our readers to join with us in this task by assisting in guaranteeing our existence with contributions and by obtaining new readers for Jewish Affairs.

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Lewis M. Moroze, Managing Editor

Crown Heights and the 1993 New York City elections

Jarvis Tyner

When you look at the crisis in Crown Heights from the perspective of the coming New York City elections, things become a great deal clearer.

When David Dinkins became mayor in 1989, there was hope that the years of conflict, racial division and anti-working class policies of Ed Koch would come to a close and we could get on with the business of responding to the city's problems.

Koch never had a solid majority of voters in his camp. Working in cahoots with his right-wing Republican partners, Koch ruled by promoting division. He thrived upon racism and anti-Semitism because it helped divide the multiracial working class, democratic-minded majority. While the rich got richer, the conditions of life for the city's working class majority deteriorated.

Under Koch, City Hall promoted a concept of law and order that gave license to racist gangs operating in segregated neighborhoods and a police department that encouraged racist, trigger-happy cops. The list of the mostly Black and Brown, but also white victims of this policy is part of Koch's shameful legacy.

But it didn't end there. Rudolf Giuliani, the Republican candidate, took Koch's right-wing attack and raised it to new heights in his general election campaign. Knowing that he could not win on the basis of issues, Giuliani also worked to divide the city on the basis of color and religion. In an act of desperation, he recruited the infamous Jackie Mason to help fan the flames of racism and to pit the Jewish and African American communities against each other.

Despite being subjected to a vicious personal and political attack, Dinkins was elected Mayor of New York by a slim, 43,000 vote margin. But the attack continued!

Even before he was sworn in, the financial interests put the maximum pressure on Dinkins. The power structure of New York used the economic stick to stop Dinkins from delivering to the people. This was especially true when the union contracts for city workers came up for renegotiation. When it came to policy in the Black and Latino communities, the Felix Rohatayns pushed the administration to a law and order, rather than a jobs and justice approach. When the mayor couldn't deliver, the coalition of democratic forces - unions, oppressed peoples and women's groups - began to dissolve.

It's now three years later. Although Dinkins remains head and shoulders above where Koch or Guiliani would have been, the city, like the capitalist system itself, remains in deep economic trouble: mass unemployment, a budget crisis, scarce reserves and a serious crisis in housing, health care and education. The right-wing pro-big business machine, fueled by racism, is being revved up again.

The death of an African American child, Gavin Cato, who was dragged under the wheels of a car driven by an Hasidic in Crown Heights, caused an uproar....A rabbinical student, Yankel Rosenbaum, was killed during a street confrontation. When the African American youth charged with his murder was acquitted, Crown Heights erupted again and Alphonse D'Amato took advantage of the hysteria to help him defeat Robert Abrams in the race for U.S. Senate.

After denouncing the beating of a homeless African American, Mayor Dinkins was charged with anti-Semitism by some Jewish leaders. The right-wing menu for the 1993 elections was also set by a march on City Hall by 10,000 police against civilian control. The overwhelmingly white group of officers shouted racist epithets and demanded Dinkins' ouster. Who was the main speaker at the march? No less than Rudy Giuliani. And who's back on TV attacking Dinkins? You guessed it, Jackie Mason! Roy Innis, the African American right-winger, may enter the mayoral race, with Andrew Stein, the wealthy Democrat expected to run in the primary. The conflict in Crown Heights is designed to divide the voters and thereby strengthen the right-wing drive for Gracie Mansion. It's bigger than Dinkins and reaches beyond the two parties. Fundamentally, it's about corporate profits versus jobs; about housing, health care and justice for working people.

No liberal can be elected Mayor of New York without first building a multiracial coalition with a strong labor core. The banking and real estate interests of the city are out to prevent this at all cost.

Whatever Dinkins' weaknesses, labor, the racially oppressed, all democratic forces have greater leverage than they would have under Koch or the Republicans.

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Jarvis Tyner is chair of the Political Action Committee of the Communist Party USA

We fought for unity yesterday, we can do it today – my life in Crown Heights, 1937-1968

Mary Licht

The first thing that confronted me when I moved into Crown Heights was a swastika painted on the Barricini windows (chocolate chain), on Eastern Parkway and Franklin Avenue. I soon learned that the area contained groups and individuals from the Christian Fronters (Nazi) and the followers of Father Coughlin. He was a Catholic priest who spewed forth his rabid pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic, anti-Black programs from his platform.

This was the year that Italy, under Mussolini, joined the anti-Communist Axis with Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. Spanish Loyalists troops (which included the International Brigade of which the U.S. Abraham Lincoln Battalion was part of) were battling Franco's fascist forces armed by Italy and Germany.

Crown Heights was just a microcosm, changing from completely Irish, to Irish and Jewish, and eventually to Irish, Jewish and African American. This brought about a different political and social environment.

In 1937 we built a progressive coalition to defeat the corrupt Tammany machine through the American Labor Party (ALP), with Fiorello La Guardia heading the ticket for mayor. The Communist Party endorsed and worked for the ALP ticket, but kept its councilmanic candidates on its own line in view of the new, progressive law: proportional representation. The Communist Party's councilmanic candidate was Pete Cacchione who ran for the first time. It was an exciting campaign, leaflets were printed in English, Yiddish, Italian and Spanish. The campaign's focus was on defeating Hitlerism abroad and his influence in America; the question of a possible new world war, etc.

The Brooklyn Party concentrated on a #1 vote for Pete. When Ben Butler, a Black Republican ran in the neighboring Bedford Stuyvesant for councilman, we asked the pro-Butler voters for their second choice votes for Pete. This strategy was followed wherever progressives were running. The paper ballots were counted 59 times and they showed Pete losing by 367 votes. While everyone watching agreed it was impossible, it became financially impossible to ask for a full recount of the 800,000 paper ballots.

Pete was finally elected in 1941 and he saw his election as a mandate from Brooklyn voters to defeat Hitlerism, to improve living conditions and end all forms of discrimination. (Pete was elected two times after this victory.)

I became active in school activities, helped form a Parents Association and was elected as Legislative Director. However, I became intensely active when a new mandate from Albany instituted prayers in school. In our Parents Association we had Catholics, Protestants, Baptists, Orthodox, Reformed and Lubavitcher Jews, and other sects, as well as non-believers. We believed this was a violation of the American tradition of separation of Church and State, and was divisive in our neighborhood, since each group prayed in different ways.

After many meetings and discussion, we secured a unanimous decision opposing prayers in public schools. As Legislative Chairperson, I succeeded in having our members write hundreds of letters to Albany. Delegates were also elected to go to Albany. Most of them said that this was the first time they had written a letter to an elected official. This democratic process involving as it did, people of different ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds, helped develop their political and social awareness. Thus they reacted when the Feinberg Loyalty Law was passed. We were the first school in New York to protest the passage of this law, the suspension of teachers at secret hearings, and the calling for naming "names," etc. We were able to persuade a large portion of the membership to oppose this law at the very height of the McCarthy period. This shows that once a community participates in social and political activity, its political acumen is enhanced.

When Pete Cacchione started his campaign to end discrimination in baseball, we leafleted Ebbets Field, collected signatures on petitions which were a part of the 10,000 signatures that Pete and his delegation brought to Rickey's office.

The unity of the neighborhood was so developed that church organizations, synagogues, The Jewish Congress and local labor unions joined together to go to Washington for the Civil Rights March of August 28, 1963. (This included the famous "I had a dream" speech by Martin Luther King).

All the groups participated and held meetings in places like the Franklin Manor, Reverend Galomison's Church and everywhere possible in the neighborhood. As a result of this politi-

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Mary Licht is Chair of the History Dept., CPUSA

The Indestructible Forest

Come with your axe
And glittering trinkets
Your treacherous tongues
Beguiles the weak.

You can trample seedling,
Claw our forest -
What falls into your lashing tentacles?
Venomous weeds and drifting leaves.

Our towering oak stands
If your axe cuts down our timber,
The deep sunk roots remain
Entwining ever closer.

Swing your axe -
We will not yield
We who sing of forests
Will free our lives
From your rusting shackles!

Of Trembling Grass

When early humid breath
Clings to green husk
Of our black earth
And slowly awakens
All seeds, all foliage,
The Man yearns
To walk upon the trembling grass.

When golden spray
Enamels meadow and mountain
And fawn leaps
From rock to rock
In bursts of life,

Then Man yearns
To walk upon the trembling grass.

When arid earth
With only weeds,
Lies eroded and bare,
Then Man will plow
Til his fingers the ripened wheat -
Yearning
To walk upon the trembling grass.

When blood splashed flowers
Droop upon molested earth
And death, sweeping into field
Tells of a lost vintage
Then Man yearns
To walk upon the trembling grass.

Living Among the Toilers

I live among workers
Where life ebbs in shadows
And see waning petals
In the depth of children's eyes.

I share the conveyor belt -
And feel the iron wheel
Ride my bones,
Crushing.

I hear the cry
Of the cheated
And add my fist
Accusing.

My vision clear
I sing
Of a chromed tomorrow
Held in my calloused palm.



Henri Percikow frequently contributes his poetry to Jewish Affairs

Hymn for a New Day

Richard Davidson

The notes are gathered in place.
The music as free as wind.
Voices raised in definite salute.
Address the printed pages of past events.
As simple as the first flower of ravishing summer.
A new day crowding the wicked home and frost of leaf.
The midday welcomes the flame
Say welcome to the arriving politic
New name on the shiny office door
New policies, we hope.
The land is waiting for the gauntlet of justice,
The tests of constitution as fresh as biscuits.
Do you see statesmen front and center?
The paths newly trimmed, America's footsteps?
We have something to say, we the undersigned
In large letters to ring the stars.
You, in the corner, tattered and hungry
You, with eyes as piercing as flame.
The homeless here like bellowing shadows
Covering brick and tile.
You, whose home is a flattened box
Whose shoes are as vague as a strange report.
You, too, are part of this growing hymn
America for all
Food on the plate and the bed smooth and waiting.
Your memories are my memories,
All locked in sad belief and groping change.
Yes, change is the thing,
The magic potion in the broth of pain.
We the undersigned of the underearth,
And you, representative of the crying bells
Laughter of children in bright new clothes.
Listen hymn open the notes to the crowding shouts
Tear down the curtains of fruitless hunger,
Wipe the shadows off the gnawing concrete.
Homes for all
In the slap of earth.
Home as wide as the turning wind
That has not patience with reaction's threat.
The new politics on the steaming grass
You have it within your hands
The new day coming as sure as snow;
Bade the winter come
But with it the resolving moment sharing
the majesty of clocks

Building the new era in the midst of decay.
No longer the slap but now the open door
No longer insult but now all sharing the toys of favor.
No building jails
But now creating jobs.
Future for the once futureless.
A new day to spring with growing flesh
The hymn which comes to us
As needful as a mother's smile.
No broken back because the skin is different color.
No match to strike the synagogue dead.
No more the rope gathering the human life it spins.
The hymn of all colors and creeds
To greet tomorrow with arms outstretched.
The hymn as open as the human heart.

These are the searing questions in the vague of night.
These demand answers in the dark's slow vigil.
The parade of sickness and hungry bellies.
The parade of greedy Men with their fingers curled.
The stink of the boss whose heavy whip
Contorts the good Laborer's open faith.
But now something has happened in this crackle of pain.
Now the new governors and the sounding bell.
Now the century ahead and this one to finish.
Belief newly carved and spreading the earth
The blanket of resolution touching the stars.

Yes, change is the thing.
The hymn created with hopeful breath.
Nations of the Earth to know peace and progress.
Lights ahead for the tired silence.
Darkness lifting to show the land
As productive as a motor's gentle purring.

Our hymn sounding in the city square.
Or the bright foliage of summer's rapture.
The notes are gathered in place.
The music as free as wind.
SAYING YES TO TOMORROW
THAT BECOMES TODAY
THE GLORIOUS HERITAGE FOR THE
WAITING GENERATIONS.

Richard Davidson is a frequent contributor to Jewish Affairs

*"Among the Ruins, the Wild Flowers Grow"**

Jana Klenburg

Arbeit macht frei,
"Work makes free"
Inscribed on top of the gate
And Auschwitz opens its doors.

In a collective chill
To a rhythm of soft sobs,
We enter the gate of death.
Some of us holding hands
Not daring to look at each others' face
We walk in
And hope to understand.

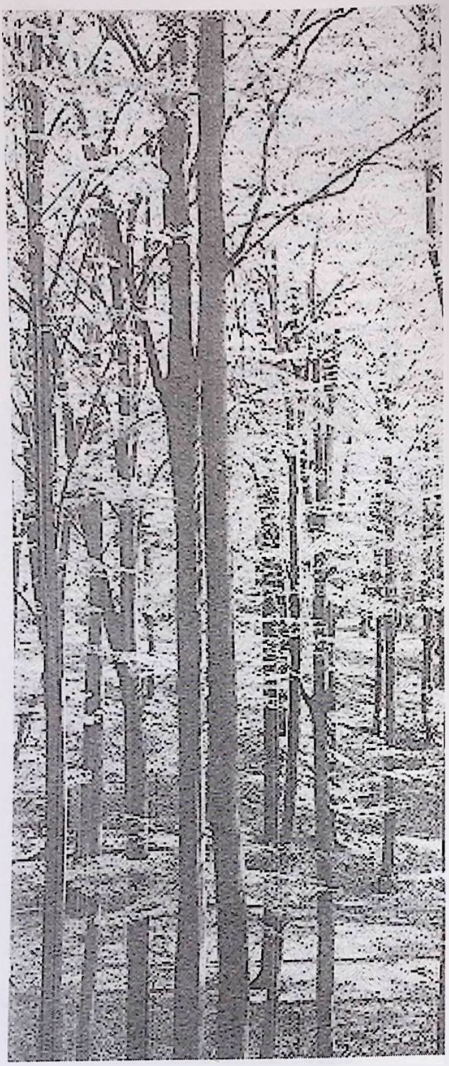
"G-d, don't make me see" I beg.
And the answer comes:
"It's not enough to know the past. Now witness it"
"Then if I must, please hold my hand."
Hand in hand
We march on the train tracks
The beat of my pace confused with
The roar of human cattle trains
Packed with children's terrorized hearts
We walk, G-d's hand still in mine
Just as He walked with those terrorized hearts
When they bartered with death,
For G-d is everywhere, so they say...

Acres and acres and acres
of nazi commerce - the business of death.
They had blueprints,
Skilled electricians and engineers
Who washed off the stench of burned flesh
And sat for a warm meal night after night
With their golden children of blue sight.

Why I ask
With my fist against the sky
Why?
And the wind gently answers with a faint smell
of singed flesh.

The path changes color as we walk
From gray:
-Oh, G-d, whose ashes are we walking on?-
To dark red:
Is the blood separating itself from the ground?-
We are walking on earth that G-d forgot.

Faraway, a voice with no face,



A tour guide speaks in German
For a moment,
A raging agony collapses time
Now and then into one
Rendering G-d ineffectual.

Suddenly a woman's soul-tearing scream
Rips the heat of the sun
And in that cry, we hear the six million.

Facing the ovens
Michael prays El Male Rachamim
the prayer "Oh G-d full of mercy,"
And among the ruins,
The landscape of corpses
Huddled together even in death
Reveals itself among the wild flowers
And golden grass.

Still wandering forlorn on earth that G-d forgot,
We cross the gateway of hell
Into dark barracks filled with homeless prayers
Where Jews lay famished
One on top of another month after month.

A ray of light
Filters itself through a crack
Stealing a piece of sky
Turning the hopeless hope of that light
Into the foreboding truth of universal shame.

Someone runs out of the barrack to throw up
outside

Names on the bricks, scratched with fingernails
Reveal themselves through the dark:
Sonya, Ester, Golde
And inside my head, I hear myself scream:
Grandma, where is your name?!

Drowned in holocaust
We turn to return
Our safe bus is waiting for us...
Amiram picks up and clutches a stone
Shedding tears through the sweat in his hand
How can we leave?
Beloved ones, how can we leave you here?
And the birds perched on the entrance door
Where "Arbeit Macht Frei"
Continue chirping our pain.

We leave
As we entered...
Yes we knew
But did not understand.

**To the Holy Memory of my Grandparents*
Whom I never knew:
Abraham and Zelda Klenburg
Abraham and Haia Zelenietz

To Reb Shlomo Carlebach, whose genius
brought us on a music pilgrimage to Poland

One hundred days of the Rabin government destroys many illusions

Hans Lebrecht

Tel Aviv - The one-hundred-days' "grace" for the Israeli Government under the reign of Yitzhak Rabin, who took over from the right-conservative Shamir Government as a result of the June 23 elections is over. Many fundamental changes in the government policy were promised by Rabin and the Labor Party on the eve of the elections, as well as with the takeover of their government, especially regarding the peace process with the

Arab neighbor states and the Palestinians, and change of the social priorities within the Israeli society. The coalition of Labor with the Left-Zionist peace camp, represented by the three-party bloc Meretz and the clerical (sephardic) Shas, seemed to be promising. However, many of the hopes - or even illusions - emanating from these promises have been shattered by now.

Sure enough, we have to see that there is a difference of policy style of the Labor-led Rabin Government when compared with the former hard-line, Right-wing conservative Likud-led government headed by Yitzhak Shamir. But it became increasingly apparent that the change was more of a rhetoric nature than of a real one.

That this is true could have been apprehended when the eve-of-elections peace promises were compared with Rabin's programmatic speech, delivered July 13, 1992, at the inaugural session of the new elected Knesset when he introduced his government and its political guidelines for confirmation by the Parliament. On one hand, he stressed the need for stepping up the peace efforts, and the talks which started with the presumptuous Madrid Conference last year and continued with bilateral negotiations in Washington, in order to reach peace settlements within a year. On the other hand, he stressed that these efforts should continue on the Madrid level of representations, and be based on the 1979 Camp David Accords signed between Egypt, Israel and the USA. In other words, the restrictions and Israeli preconditions which presented major stumbling blocks for progress during the peace talks prior to the Rabin Government, remained vested in the guidelines of Rabin's cabinet.

This should have been a warning to those who had too many, and often euphoric hopes, with the establishment of the new Social-Democrat-Left-Zionist "peace coalition." Rabin's putting his "peace program" at the feet of the Camp David Accords and the October 1991 Madrid Conference, was no less than a semantic device to camouflage his intentions to go back on his promise to come to terms with the Palestinian national expression of their national identity. At the Camp David Accords, Israel, Egypt and the USA, agreed upon a "solution of the Palestine question" without even having consulted any official representative of the Palestinian people. The three partners to the Accord usurped for themselves the right to speak, and to sign agreements on behalf of the Palestinians and behind their backs. Rabin's reference to the Camp David way of a solution of the conflict with the Palestinians, implied that Rabin intends to continue, like his predecessor, Shamir, to exclude the Palestinians' right to speak for themselves. Therefore, he continues to usurp the right to dictate the composition of the Palestinian delegation at the negotiation table, excluding Palestinians from amongst the 130,000 Arab residents of Jerusalem, and from amongst the 2.5 million Palestinians living abroad as refugees or emigrants, as well as officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which is recognized by the Palestinians themselves and the family of nations as the legitimate representation body of the Palestinian people. Since this "principle" was supported by the U.S. co-sponsor of the October 1991 Madrid Conference, Rabin's reference to this Conference came to underline his intention - without saving it - to continue Shamir's policy of overriding the slightest right to self-determination of the Palestinians, even the one to choose their representatives to their own liking.

During the election campaign Rabin promised that a government set up by him will suspend all colonialist settling in the occupied Arab territories. That by this, he did not mean to suspend the construction of new settlements because it infringes upon the legitimate aspiration of the Palestinians to establish, in the future, their own state on the lands now occupied by Israel, but more likely in order to come to terms with Washington about the 10-billion loan guarantees, allegedly to be used for easing up the absorption of the mass immigration of Jews from the former USSR However, already in his guideline speech, seconded by his hawkish Minister of Building and Construction, Benjamin Ben-Eliazer, invented an artificial differentiation between "po-

Hans Lebrecht is the Peoples Weekly World correspondent based in Israel and a frequent contributor to Jewish Affairs

litical settlements" and "security" ones. When the so-called "settlement stop" decrees were published, it was a very watered-down "stop." Only the so-called "political" development of settlements in the very heart of the occupied Palestinian West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the construction of which has not started yet, was prohibited. Construction works which had begun even with one cut of a spade only - and they are said to count for 11,000 housing units - continue to be built. The development in and around the so-called "security settlements" in the occupied Jordan Valley, in and around the occupied Arab part of Jerusalem, the "Gush-Etzion" area southwest of Jerusalem, etc., etc., as well as in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, may go on undisturbed.

Another point of disillusionment was Rabin's so often repeated promise, that the billions of Shekels saved by the settlement stop in the occupied areas, abolishing "special funding" to clerical parties and new "settlers," as well as the exploitation of the U.S. loan guarantees (two billion dollars annually for five years), will be used to establish "new priorities" in Israel's social life, lowering the mass unemployment among young Israelis and new immigrants, for investments in productive industries and scientific-technological development, for housing for slum dwellers, for closing the gap between Arab and Jewish communities in Israel, etc., etc. But, when the state budget for 1993 was adopted by the government, to be tabled at the end of October for deliberation at the Knesset, it did in no way reflect such "new priorities." Even if one considers the heavy burden of the heritage of the Likud Government, taken over by the Rabin Government, very little signs of investing in job creating industries or development schemes can be detected in the budget plan. The loan guarantees and the state finances saved by the partial settlement stop, seems more to be directed at assisting "privatization" of existing state corporations, of extending subsidies for foreign and domestic big capital. The economic objectives, laid down for the next two years, do not promise much easing up of the unemployment rate. It promises only to lower the present rate of almost 12 percent nationwide (between 10 and 22 percent when reckoned for different localities), to about 10 percent towards the end of 1994. The government's economic outlines for the coming years show a clear perspective of a growing social gap between rich and poor, between sharp increase of profits for the "investors," the banking trusts and big stock exchange capital on one hand, and on the other, the deepening and broadening of impoverishment of the working and unemployed masses, including parts of the petty bourgeois middle class. There are very little signs of real steps towards closing the gap between the Jewish and the Arab population groups in Israel. It is obvious that Israel's dependence upon the U.S. and its dangerous strategic alliance with the U.S. military establishment, will become much tighter than in any previous period of Israel's history.

Some press commentaries published in Israel on the occasion of the end to the 100-days "grace" for Rabin, point, inter alia, to the new rise of Palestinian intifada activity and the old-new oppressive measures used by the occupation army and police. They call Rabin's notorious past in this respect. Rabin was the army's General-Chief-of-Staff who commanded the 1967 military conquest of Arab territory three times the size of Israel, and the establishment of "Greater Israel." He was the Prime Minister (1974-77), who pronounced the principles of "never to allow the Palestinians to establish their state west of the Jordan River, never to return to the pre-1967 borders, and never to negotiate with the PLO. The usurpation of the allegedly "unified" Greater Jerusalem as the "Capital of Israel for all times to come" was proclaimed by his Labor Party PM predecessor Levy Eshkol already, and upheld by Rabin up to this date.

Rabin was Defense Minister in the so-called "Governments of National Unity" (or "National Disaster," as others called it) during 1984-1990. In this capacity he was responsible for the rule over the occupied territories. During this period the "normal" resistance to Israel's occupation rule and oppression developed (December 1987), into the general popular uprising of the Palestinians, the intifada. Rabin was the responsible minister under whose command the most atrocious violation of Human Rights were introduced, such as the order to "break the bones, the hands and the feet" of Palestinians caught during demonstrations and clashes with the occupation forces. Under his regime the regulations regarding the occupation troops were loosened, so that any officer or soldier was free to choose to pull the trigger when confronted with Palestinian stone-hurling youths, or even against the showing of a Palestinian flag.

Already during the past election campaign, Rabin, defending himself against attacks from the right wing, boasted of the (true) fact that under his rule as defense minister, many more Palestinians were expelled from "Eretz-Israel," many more houses demolished, and much more often the collective punishment of massive curfews and closing up of whole towns, villages and refugee camps were used than under the Likud regime.

Rabin defends the alleged Israeli right to occupy the so-called "security belt" in Southern Lebanon. The terror raids from the air, land and sea of the Israeli forces inside the territory of the sovereign neighbor state Lebanon, causing death and destruction, are unin-

terruptedly continued under the rule of Rabin and his "peace-force" coalition partners. The new "peace" government continues not to care two hoots for all those U.N. and Security Council regulations concerning the demand to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, regarding the Palestinians' right to self-determination, to respect the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the treatment of the civil population of a land under occupation, etc., etc. Many observers are reminded too, that without the backing from Washington, which now, since the establishment of the Rabin Government, has been considerably strengthened, Israel never would have been able to continue this policy.

No wonder, therefore, that the peace process, so hopefully started one year ago, did not make much real progress. Increasingly, it becomes obvious that behind all those semantic declarations which, without any doubt, have created a better and more satisfactory atmosphere at the negotiation tables, have - at least until now - not substantiated in practical steps the closing of the gap between the negotiating sides. It became clear that the peace rhetoric of Rabin's negotiators is used more or less as a camouflage for the continuation of the preconditions and obstacles, which until now have blocked the way to any real progress towards a comprehensive and peaceful solution to the Mid-Eastern conflict.

As an example, concerning the Israeli-Syrian negotiations, Rabin declared Israel's preparedness to implement the Security Council resolution 242 (1967), regarding Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights, but immediately attached to this "promise" the precondition that Syria, before Israel will be prepared to talk about such a withdrawal, it should be clear that this could never concern the whole of the Golan Heights, but "only some centimeters here, some centimeters there." Moreover, before any Israeli agreement to talk about any withdrawal, Syria has to guarantee that it will sign a full-fledged peace agreement with Israel, included full diplomatic relations on embassy level, economic and cultural ties, etc., etc. Nobody in his right mind can consider that Rabin and his advisors do not apprehend that such preconditions, even if articulated in a delicate way, cannot fool the Syrians into a priori guarantee to the effect of giving up the whole or parts of their land occupied by Israel and to sign a full-fledged peace accord.

Rabin broadens coalition with right-wing extremists

The difficulties within the Rabin coalition government are now under fierce discussions in Israel. The "peace forces" represented by the Meretz bloc in the government are behaving like goodies, and do not activate the formerly so much praised "Peace Now" movement dominated by them, in order to confront the dangerously rising hoodlum opposition to the peace process and the racist pogromist attacks by the ultra-right gangs. In spite of Meretz's "good behavior," Rabin tries hard to open up his coalition government by gaining the support of the "Greater-Israel" Tzomet Party, led by former General Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan of the backing of the atrocious Sabra and Shatilla massacre during the occupation of Western Beirut. Rabin and his running mates make no secret out of their intentions to balance off the leftist Maretz peace forces within the government with the Tzomet hardliners.

Another point of Rabin's inner-coalition difficulties comes from the now presented ultimate demand by the Shas Rabbis to remove the secular Minister of Education and Culture, Shulamit Aloni, from her post, either by giving her another portfolio, or by firing her altogether from the cabinet. The Shas coalition partners, seconded by the clerical parties of the opposition, threatened to vote against the government (i.e., according to an Israeli basic law to leave the coalition), if Rabin will not give in to their demand. The (Ashkenazi) Rabbis of the Agudat-Israel and their partners in the "United for a Faithful" bloc, told Rabin of their willingness to join his coalition if he removes Aloni from her post as education minister.

The "religious" ultras are in an artificial uproar against Aloni, because she published her disbelief in the story of Creation as told in the Bible, according to which heaven and earth and all living beings have been created 5,753 years ago within six days. She said, she believes rather the findings of scientific research, according to which the Creation took many millions, or maybe billions of years. Then she was accused that during her latest official tour through Germany, France and Italy during the first two weeks of October, she had eaten in non-kosher restaurants and had official meetings with their counterparts on the "holy Shabbat." The ultra right-wing opposition (including Tzomet), took offense at Aloni's statement that according to international law Syria has a legal right to the Golan Heights, and to demand Israel's withdrawal from there. By the way, this remark was objected to by some of her Ratz party and "peace-camp" associates too.

On return from her trip, Aloni rejected the accusations by saying she can eat and do what she thinks right. Never, during the 44 years of the State of Israel, did the clericals dare to raise the question of secular ministers or heads of governments eating non-kosher, or meeting people during Shabbat. She, on her part, will continue her secular lifestyle and stick to her right to freely pronounce her opinion.

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Moscow Diary

Lieutenant General Dragunsky's last battle

Mike Davidow

Lieutenant General David Abramovitch Dragunsky, twice hero of the Soviet Union, died Oct. 10, 1992, at the age of 82, in the midst of his last battle, this time on the home front. Little David (he was below average height), had slain many Goliaths defending his socialist fatherland in the Great Patriotic War. But a far more insidious foe had succeeded in destroying it from within.

Now Little David who fought from the very outbreak of the war until the fall of Berlin, lay in state in the Great Hall of the House of the Armed Forces. Hundreds of officers and soldiers, particularly from the tank division he once commanded, came to pay their last tribute. Among them, I observed, was the Russian Minister of Defense and his deputy Gromov. Aging veterans stood with heads bared, as the funeral procession bearing his two Hero of Soviet Union medals and numerous other awards, carried the coffin past a guard of honor. An army band struck up the mournful funeral march. A Communist Patriot, of a generation to which humanity will forever be grateful, came to his end. The hero who had defended his beloved land against the mightiest and most savage army in history lived to see it destroyed by renegades and betrayers during his last years. Dragunsky had lived to experience the Tragedy of the 20th Century!

I had formed a friendship with him over a period of two decades. Now, as Lena and I joined the funeral procession, I recalled snapshots of his life. The Dragunskys were itinerant toilers in a little town in Russia that bordered on Byelorussia and Ukraine. Our townspeople had a saying, "When our rooster crows he is heard in three Republics!" The October Revolution broke down the ghetto walls and Jews flocked to the great cities once banned to them.

Young David joined the Komsomols, then the Communist Party. He was sent to study in Moscow. "I dreamed of becoming a journalist like you," he told me. "What prevented you?", I asked. "The call of duty," he replied wistfully. "We need officers to defend our socialist land, the Party told me. So I went to officers' training school." He paused and smirked, "You see how short I am. Well, that too decided my fate, 'you'll fit well into a tank' our political commissar said to me."

In the mid-30s Japanese militarists tested the Soviet Far East for invasion. Dragunsky led his tank brigade in the Battle of Khalin Gol. The stinging defeat suffered by the Japanese there did much to restrain them during the Great Patriotic War. Dragunsky was in the eye of the Nazi storm June 22, 1941. And so it was until the very end. The Dragunsky family was wiped out by the Nazis, with the exception of his brother and himself. A bust of the hero stands in his town near the very spot his mother met her death.

Came Victory Day! "My height was against me," said Dragunsky with a twinkle in his eyes. "I was told I was below the required height to march in the Victory Parade in Red Square. But when Marshal Konev heard of this, he was furious. 'Dragunsky was big enough to earn two Hero of Soviet Union medals, he's big enough to march in the Victory Parade,'" said Konev.

Again Dragunsky dreamed and again duty called. He became commander of "Vistrel," the tank training school. And again our paths crossed in 1978 when I met with his officers. Together we celebrated In Birobidjan in 1982, the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Jewish Autonomous Region. I visited him often.

Dragunsky was of the generation of Russian Jews who were infused with the inspiring breath of the October Revolution. "The Revolution freed us from our ghetto confines; it opened Russia and the entire USSR to us. It made us patriots and internationalists." And as a patriot and internationalist, he fought both anti-Semitism wherever it reared its ugly head and chauvinist, reactionary ideology.

The reactionary foreign policy of the Yeltsin regime has transformed a once-bulwark of the national liberation and peace struggle into a pitiful, junior partner of the world, especially U.S. imperialism.

Like other Left organizations, patriotic, internationalist Jewish organizations are excluded from the mass media and thrown at the mercy of the capitalist market. This has placed them at a decided disadvantage.

All this Dragunsky lived to see in his last years on top of the destruction of the Socialist state he defended, mass impoverishment, national strife and national humiliation. This, his heart which stood up to trials almost beyond human endurance, could not take.

But I firmly believe, the spirit of "little David" lives on and will yet bring forth new Davids.

Mike Davidow is the Moscow correspondent for the Peoples Weekly World

Book Review

The united struggle for equality – Gerald Horne's reversing discrimination

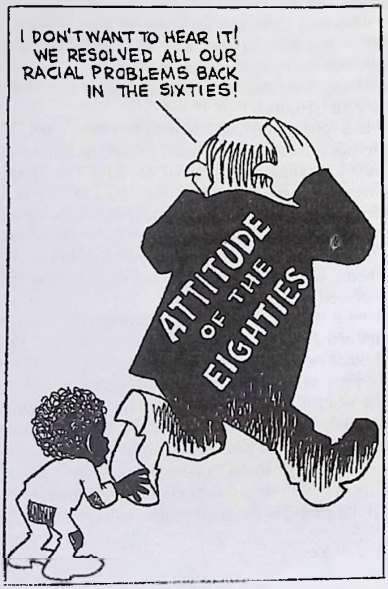
Professor Gerald Horne is a well known contributor to the columns of Jewish Affairs.. His new book* is an eminently useful, up-to-date, comprehensive study of. by and for affirmative action. It is an honor and privilege to review it. He brings to this book his great strengths as an historian, scholar, professor of African American studies, legal background and union attorney and activist - most recently garnering 300,000 votes as Peace and Freedom candidate for U.S. Senator in California. In an amazingly detailed discussion of almost every imaginable aspect of affirmative action condensed into 111 pages and presented in popular, readable language, Gerald Horne has made an outstanding contribution to the literature and the struggle for affirmative action. Here he presents a clear, compelling case for it and fortifies the reader with this book to take part in a united struggle to uphold and expand it. In the words of the author:

"Affirmative action is an absolute necessity if the struggle for democracy is to survive. Excluding categorically racially oppressed and ethnic minorities and non-minority women is a blow to the future of this nation, not to mention a crime against those who have to endure bias. Affirmative action in expanding democracy represents a step toward socialism. It is a battle that must be taken up with vigor by trade unions and all who are fair-minded."

In this connection, Professor Horne commends the labor movement for its track record in advancing affirmative action. For example, he cites AFSCME's role in upholding the cause of equal pay for comparable worth. Horne says that AFSCME's contribution shows what is possible in terms of labor support to close sexist and racist wage gaps.

In fact, labor and the entire multiracial working class has an unalterable stake in affirmative action and multiracial unity. The bottom line of the corporate, right-wing attack on affirmative action is a strategy of maximizing profits through divisiveness and reaction, which is accompanied inevitably by an attack on labor. For example, Charles Murray, in his anti-people's book Losing Ground. American Social Policy, 1950-1980 (1984)), presents an attack on the "welfare state." He makes the main target the African American people to begin with, and on this basis leads into an all-out attack on labor and social gains, including disability insurance, workmen's compensation, AFDC, the food stamp program, Medicaid and subsidized housing. Labor and the people, however, are looking ahead not only to protecting gains, but to making more advanced gains to address the devastating structure and cyclical crises of state monopoly capitalism, as the routing of Bush/Quayle and the ultra-right in the 1992 elections clearly shows.

In this connection, the author upholds all-important multiracial unity and the avoidance of the ruling class trap of pitting one racially nationally oppressed minority against another as important components of the affirmative action struggle. The author also gives a good framework for the strengthening of Jewish American/African American unity and Arab Jewish unity.



Reviewed by George Fishman, a retired history teacher

Professor Horne elucidates the deep historical roots of affirmative action. These roots run not only from the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 and the 1950s-1960s upsurge. Their base is all past and present discrimination and oppression, but also all past and present struggles and gains in the struggle, notably the 14th and 15th Amendments and corresponding rights in state constitutions. The struggle against the undermining of affirmative action by the Reagan/Bush regimes and their appointees in the U.S. Supreme Court is a demand that these fundamental rights be implemented and expanded in terms of living standards, social programs and human rights.

A salient strength of the book is the author's courage and honesty in "telling it like it is." As a result the struggle for affirmative action is put on the grounds of pervasive, rising capitalist institutional racism and the need for strong, effective measures to combat and overcome them. On this basis he puts the "qualifications" argument on its feet. He says:

"This debate about qualifications obscures the real fact that institutionalized racism and sexism serve as a barrier to exclude non-minority women, racial and ethnic minorities, which is why affirmative action is necessary in the first place."

On this basis he also disposes of the tactic of agreeing to affirmative action, but opposing its implementation when he writes, "quotas should not be ruled out as a remedy to address particularly noxious forms of discrimination."

This book opens with a helpful introduction, which starts from scratch, taking nothing for granted. It offers a compelling rationale for affirmative action, including definitions, concepts and persuasive, informed answers to unfounded arguments against it. Next follows five incisive, breathtaking chapters. Throughout, Professor Horne relates his argument to an insightful discussion of relevant and recent judicial decisions, issues and developments.

In the first chapter, the author gives a picture of affirmative action struggles underway, with attention to anti-discrimination issues on the job in private employment, in the public sector and in higher education.

While making clear that affirmative action is of concern not only to African Americans, the second chapter places a deserved focus on the special oppression and needs of the largest racially oppressed minority, thereby strengthening the cause of all racially oppressed minorities and non-minority women. Horne establishes a working class basis for the major role of African Americans in this struggle. In his words:

"...those who feel the most pain scream the loudest....the objective position of Black workers particularly predisposes them to pursue measures of benefit to the most oppressed sectors of the class and therefore of the multiracial working class as a whole."

The author also shows that whatever gains have been made by African American workers in the pre-Reagan/Bush period via affirmative action (as by the consent decrees in the steel industry, for example), are now falling victim to the cyclical and structural crises. In this connection, he raises the need for giving affirmative action a higher priority on all levels - in hiring, promotion and layoffs. Also, it should be added, there is the urgent need for immediate massive measures for jobs and full employment that was called for in the Economic Program of the CPUSA.

In the third chapter Professor Horne elaborates on the importance of affirmative action to all nationally/racially oppressed minorities, non-minority women, and in fact the entire working class - "natural allies" in his phrase. He places sexist discrimination, as well as racist discrimination, at the door of monopoly capital and its social institutions. He relates such specific instances of discrimination as sexual harassment in the workplace, obstacles to job upgrading, discrimination in business loans and sexism in the armed forces and the professions, as well as the special oppression of African American women, to the need to restructure these institutions. "Ultimately," he writes, "affirmative action - a core component of the battle for democracy - must be extended broadly to all areas of society." In the struggle for women's equality, unionization has an important role to play.

He shows the linkage between discrimination against women and against oppressed minorities, and also the struggle against this discrimination and the need for affirmative action. He goes on to present in-depth and concrete discussions of each - Latinos (with extended discussions of Puerto Rican and Mexican Americans), Asian Americans and American Indians. The latter is overly condensed into three quarters of a page. As a result features of their oppression are skipped over such as the issue of sovereignty and the struggles of indigenous peoples on and off the reservations. For example, the frame-up of Leonard Peltier is mentioned, but the armed war by the FBI against the Lakota people and the demand to free Peltier are not. The ongoing drive of the U.S. government and the corporations in tandem to drive indigenous people off their lands demands protest, especially on the occasion of the anniversary of 500 years of colonial invasion and genocide, and the gallant stand of the indigenous people and allies against them.

The struggle against imperialism at home is inseparable from that against imperialist oppression abroad, as in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, the right of Palestinians to self-determination, and the right

of Cuba to build a better life for all of its people on the basis of socialism and friendly international relations.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the struggle for capital access to racial minorities and non-minority women. This is a struggle against discrimination by banks, insurance companies and government in loans for business ownership and for homes. Horne says that the need for this struggle, for example, is shown by Rutgers University; tokenism in its $510 million five-year building project. Only one African American entrepreneur has been involved and that for a mere $60,000 contract. Rutgers palms this racist tokenism off as "affirmative action!" While the main focus of affirmative action is on the working class, it also includes the equality struggles of the mainly small business elements of racially/nationally oppressed people.



As a result of this phase of the struggle, many cities, including Richmond, Virginia and agencies initiated "set aside" programs for minority and non-minority women-owned businesses. It is these programs that the U.S. Supreme Court undermined in 1989 with the Crosson v. Richmond decision. Very valuable is the discussion of this decision, as well as the other four judicial blows delivered by the court in 1989. The fightbacks against them resulted in the Civil Rights and Women's Equity Act of 1991, which is the subject of the fifth and final chapter of the book.

The reader would benefit from more attention to minority youth, bilingual education and anti-racist public education generally. A review, even one that strains space limitations, is no substitute for reading the book. This is a rare contribution that must not be missed. Read it, circulate it, place it in schools and libraries and union halls. Above all, use it to respond to the author's call for united action and for new gains for full equality in every aspect of the nation. Equality cartoons by Bumsic Brandon, Jr., enliven the book; they appeared originally in Freedomways magazine.

**Gerald Horne, Reversing Discrimination: The Case for Affirmative Action , New York, International Publishers, 1992, $6.95 paperback.*

Crown Heights

continued from page 7

cal activity, the sentiment became that an African American must be elected to Congress. As a result of this, Shirley Chisholm was the first African American woman elected to office.

Things seem to have changed considerably from when I lived on Eastern Parkway. But we were just as diverse a group then, and if we could work out our prejudices together, we can today.

New York elections

continued from page 4

The struggle for economic and social justice continues under better conditions today because of the defeat of George Bush.

Be it Dinkins or any other mayor, the more independent that person is of the banking and financial interests, the better it is for the people. And one thing is for sure: Giuliani and Stein are a lot deeper in the pockets of business and finance than Dinkins.

Whether one likes Dinkins or not, it's important to remember that he has always denounced racism and anti-Semitism. Many of his loudest critics are staunch supporters of the Republican right which is a major source of anti-Semitism and racism.

Struggle, street heat coupled with a strong showing by progressive- independent candidates and a high turnout of working class voters, can stop the right-wing juggernaut.

Racism cannot be fought with anti-Semitism, nor can anti-Semitism be fought with racism. The only winners in this game are the economic forces that fuel, and at the same time, feed upon divisions in the working class. This is as true now as it's ever been.

Conflict and division in Crown Heights is not in the interest of the working people who live there, be they African American from the Carribean or here, white, Jewish, Latino, Korean, Arab or otherwise. Continued racial violence and conflict will only mean that more people will get hurt and the right-wing menace will get stronger.

In the current situation, to act in a reasonable way to promote peace and unity is to act in the best interest of the entire city.

Rabin government

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Sunday (Oct. 18), the Meretz central (advisory) body, after a heated discussion, adopted a resolution to reject any change in Aloni's position in the government. They voiced their weakly-worded intent to leave the coalition if Rabin gives in to the clericals' and the right-wing demand.

While the Shas coalition partners try to extort from Rabin the change of Aloni's position, they themselves are in deep trouble. Their chairman, Interior Minister Rabbi Arye Der'i, before having been reappointed to his ministerial post he also held in the Shamir government, signed a letter promising to resign from his post, if and when the already two-year long police investigations into several cases of embezzling affairs against his will culminate in an indictment. It seems that some results of these investigations have been transferred already to the state prosecutor for preparing the charge sheet against Der'i. Some commentators published their opinion that Der'i, with his present ultimate demand concerning Aloni, may attempt to trade her staying at her post for a stay in his own affairs by not prosecuting him at court for the time being.

With all these difficulties in his cabinet, Rabin feverishly tries to complete widening his coalition by next week's opening of the autumn session period of the Knesset, in order to receive the Parliament's O.K. for a broad Labor government with Zionist left and right-wing coalition partners, as well as for continuing the policy of playing the peace-angel and social renewer, while not changing much of the fundamental policy of his conservative predecessor.

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