Distorting Data on Soviet Anti-Semitism

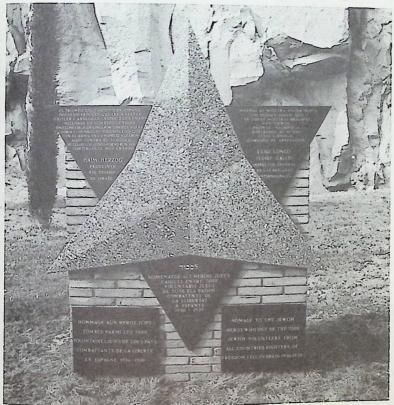
An EDITORIAL

Jewish Currents

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Reporting from Birobidjan

By RADIK L. SANDIK



Barcelona Monument to Jewish Veterans of the Spanish Civil War

The Land Poem by BEATRICE VERNE

Jewish Currents

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Our Cover: The monument in the Montjuich Cemetery, Barcelona, to the Jewish volunteers in the International Brigades who fell in the Spanish Civil War. Photograph by Ronald Bedrick, Brussels, Belgium. See pages 24-25 within for story.

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To be sure you do not miss an issue, your change of address must be received by us no later the 10th the month. than of received Changes that will after not take effect for another month.

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Distorting Data on Soviet Anti-Semitism

An EDITORIAL

April 8 66C URVEY in Moscow Sees a High Level of Anti-Jewish Feeling" was the four-column headline in the N. Y. Times March 30 over an article by Frank J. Prial, accompanied by a 4"square benday photograph headed, "Anti-Jewish Feelings in Moscow." The Times, however, may well have been misled by the press release issued by American Jewish Committee, which, together with the National Science Foundation and the University of Houston, had funded the survey, which was fielded in Moscow by the Institute of Sociology of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. This press release, which accompanied the findings of the report by the researchers themselves — reprinted almost verbatim on p. 47 within skews these findings and reverses the total impact of the report, which in fact reveals a high level of pro-Jewish feeling.

What follows is evidence of this distortion, derived by comparing the report with the press release, which has been used by scores of general and Jewish newspapers all over this land, and

abroad.

 In answers to Question 1 (see p. 47)
 a key contrast is omitted: while only 18% dislike Jews, fully 63% dislike Pamyat, the Russian nationalist anti-

Semitic organization.

• In answers to Question 2 (are Jews responsible for current Soviet problems), the Committee press release omits the cardinal fact that 79% disagree with the anti-Semitic implication of the question.

• In answers to Question 3 (would Jews choose money rather than people), the release again suppresses the fact that 38% disagreed, as against 33% agreeing

and 29% uncertain.

· In answers to Question 4 (Jews have

too much influence over Russian culture — a main cry by Pamyat), again the press relesae suppresses the fact that 56% disagree, as against 23% agreeing.
In answers to Question 5 (Jews should be punished for having killed Christ), the release again suppresses the fact that 75% disagreed with the ancient canard.

But then there were answers to questions (8, 9, 10, 11, 12 — see p. 47) that were not distorted but simply buried towards the end of the press release, so that the newspaper might or might not find room for them. Prial in the Times story just managed to squeeze into his last paragraph these responses that were not "negative": "... 91% said that 'Jews should be free to decide for themselves whether they want to remain in the Soviet Union or emigrate.' 90% agreed that 'the government should make every effort to see that the rights of Jews to equal educational opportunity are respected.' And 88% said the government should see 'that the rights of Jews to equal employment opportunities are respected throughout the Soviet Union." Moreover, Prial had no room for Question 12, answering which fully 74% thought "the Government should be doing more. . . to control anti-Semitism today in the Soviet Union."

Now the American Jewish Committee is among the most responsible of the major American Jewish organizations in our country, and therefore initiated a socially scientific survey. But by manipulating the data, the American Jewish Committee has exaggerated the level of Soviet anti-Semitism and done a disservice to Jews both here and in the Soviet Union, and to U.S. public opinion on the eve of the May 30 summit.

I Believe in the Triumph of Reason

By RADIK L. SANDIK Tr. from the Yiddish by Sid Resnick

This article by a leading Jewish Communist in Birobidzhan discusses current anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, reasons for the emigration of Soviet Jews. Russian-Jewish relations and plans to attract Soviet Jews to settle in Birobidzhan.

Since 1934 the official name of the Birobidzhan province in eastern Siberia has been the Jewish Autonomous Region. The Soviet government had at that time designated Birobidzhan as a territory for Jewish agricultural settlement with a view toward eventually creating a Jewish republic. For various reasons this project did not attract many Soviet Jews: the somewhat less than 10.000 who live there now are less than 5% of the Region's population.

The writer, Radik Lvovich Sandik, is the Second Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party in the Jewish Autonomous Region. This article was published in the Yiddish newspaper, Birobidzhaner Shtern (Birobidzhan Star), Dec. 16, 1989, headed Ikh Gloyb in Nitzokhn fun Famunft (1 Believe in the Triumph of Reason). An

abridged text follows. —S.R.]

THE present crisis in our society has brought not only empty shelves in the stores and a system of [ration] coupons, but also — and this is most disturbing — a growing uncertainty among the people about the future and a striving to seek out, at any cost, those who are to blame for all our difficulties and failures.

In brief, the dissatisfaction of the people in the conditions of democratization and openness has aroused in many such unhappiness as to lead them into actions that defy ordinary logic. [Pravda Sept. 22, 1989 reported that V. V. Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, had stated: "During nationality-based disturbances in the country this year and last, 292 people were killed, 5,250 sustained bodily injuries and thousands of residential buildings were burned and plundered. Some 360,000 Armenians, Azerbaidzhanis, Meshketian Turks and peoples of other nationalities were forced to leave their homes." S.R.] How can this fury of human hatred, the blood which was shed in the 72nd year of Soviet power because of nationality conflicts, find any rational justification?

This is why the Soviet people turn to the leadership of the country. . . In this difficult period of transition it is natural for them to want to know what the leaders of our party and country think of the present situation. . . The indefiniteness in the personal attitudes [of leaders] to these negative processes in inter-nationality relations is perceived by some as blanket permission

and quiet approval...

Perhaps it is for this reason that the extreme anti-Semites are able to preach their Black Hundreds' views boldly and with impertinence, using some means of mass communication. Even in the black Stalinist years, state anti-Semitism was bashfully covered with the cloak of "struggle against cosmopolitanism." In this period of reconstruction, when the platform of the party on nationality questions has already been published (in Sept., 1989), anti-Semitism, naked and unashamed, is pouring

forth with impunity in the columns of the monthly journals, Nash Sovremenik, Molodaya Gvardia, Moskva, Kuban, in the weekly, Literaturnaya Rossiya, and elsewhere. The mass circulations of these publications offer millions of readers the opportunity to become acquainted with the deeply immoral ideas of the alleged "enemies of the Russian people," as these are explained by such authors as S. Kunayev, I. Shafarevich, A. Ivanov, M. Lobanov, G. Matveyetz and others.

To reach the conclusion that the "lesser people" (the Jews) are tearing down the pillars of life of the "greater people" (the Russians) (see essay, Russophobia, by Prof. Igor Shafarevich in Nash Sovremenik, Moscow, June, 1989), it is not sufficient for Shafarevich to be a mathematician and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He strongly believes that his "scientific" nonsense will go unpunished by masking itself under the pluralism of

opinions. . .

One wonders why the central organ of our party, *Pravda*, publishes statements by the editors of *Molodaya Gyardia* and Nash Sovremenik. . . which seek to prove that their journals do not propagate anti-Semitism at all. If in each of their issues one or another representative of the Jewish nation is mentioned this is only due to the necessity of objectively reflecting on history, and the 'objectivity" of which the authors seek to persuade us is that the Jews are the original cause of our innumerable victims and sufferings, starting with the October Revolution and ending with [Stalin's] cult of personality.

One must possess a particular talent to perceive Russophobia in the address by Leonid B. Korsunsky (the First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Birobidzhan, half Jewish) at the Sept., 1989 plenum of the CPSU

in which he dared openly to denounce anti-Semitism. . .

How is one to explain *Molodaya* Gvardia's open telegram (No. 11, 1989), addressed to the Politburo of the Central Committee and the open letter to Leonid B. Korsunsky in behalf of the editorial staff and party bureau of this journal? While denying with pretended anger the charges of anti-Semitism they again unashamedly revealed their pro-

found antipathy to the Jews.

This sickness is infectious and the mania about the profound harmfulness of the Jewish people seizes an evergrow-ing number of persons. Is there no one who can stop this sickly rubbish? Do not the appeals of the best representatives of our society from the sciences, culture and art and from People's Deputies of the USSR which call to reason, humaneness and the traditions of friendship among the nationalities, exert the least influence on those who wave the bugaboo of "the danger of the Kike-Masons"?

Unfortunately, the tragic historic experience of my people has developed a sharpened reaction to every incautious word said against the Jews and even those not said if it has a bearing on those who must not remain silent be-

cause of positions they occupy.

I do not suppose there is a need for any scientific substantiation or special argument to demonstrate the meaning or the aims sought by the author N. Kuzmin, for example. He described how (during the war) a group of evacuees was brought to his village: "This is what immediately became obvious: First, among the evacuees sent to us there was not a single Russian person and, second, it seems that for some reason the Jewish young men were not taken in the army and not sent to the front. Crippled veterans who returned to us from the hospitals could not conceal their anger" (Molodaya Gvardia, No. 6, 1989, Moscow).

What feelings and thoughts do these assertions evoke, especially when Pamyat is already gathering addresses where Jewish people live or when there are handbills and graffiti on doors which read, "Kikes, get out of Russia!" Yes, among Jews, as among Armenians, Germans, Russians and others who applied for exit visas there are also other reasons for emigrating: reunification with relatives, dissatisfaction with conditions in which their creative abilities cannot be realized and, in general, the search for a better life. But reaching so dramatic a decision (as emigration) is in most cases determined by the general tense atmosphere.

It is difficult to remain indifferent to pleas and requests in letters which arrive in our Regional Committee every day. People are asking us to protect them from local rampaging nationalists. These Jews hope that our Regional Committee will display initiative in defending the Jews of the entire country. Some ask for aid to come out to live in the Autonomous Region. . .

Yet, to satisfy the requests of Jews to settle in the Autonomous Region, to provide them with homes, especially for persons with a higher level of education. . . is practically impossible. . . That is why the further social and economic development of the Region as-

sumes special urgency.

I believe it is a matter of concern for the State to create in our Autonomous Region the kind of economic and intellectual potential, the standard of living, the nationality culture and the social infrastructure that can become an attractive alternative for those who face a dramatic choice — whether to leave one's homeland because of nationality reasons.

The solution of this great political task requires the adoption by the government of a plan for the development of the Jewish Autonomous Region until the year 2000. This project is now

ISRAEL'S DOVID HOFSHTEIN PRIZE TO ITCHE GOLDBERG

THE Israel Association of Yiddish Writers will present its prestigious Dovid Hofshtein Prize to Prof. Itche Goldberg, head of the Haim Zhitlovsky Foundation for Jewish Culture, on June 26 in Tel Aviv. The prize was established in 1987 by the widow and daughter of Hofshtein, martyred Soviet Yiddish poet (1889-1952), who are now in Israel. The first winner of the Prize was the distinguished Yiddish poet and editor, Abraham Sutzkever. Judges include Mordecai Tsanin, president, International Federation of Yiddish Journalists, Lazar Podriatchik, Soviet literary émigré teaching at Bar Ilan, and Mordecai Yelin, Yiddish writer. In 1986 Prof. Goldberg was the recipient of the Itzik Manger Prize in Israel.

being considered in various planning and government agencies of the Union

and of the Russian Republic. . .

I cannot avoid speaking my mind on the relations between the Russian and the Jewish peoples. These relations lasted for more than one century and by no means at all times, let us say, were they untroubled. But the talented representatives of the Jewish people have made their modest contribution to the wealth of Russian culture and the best sons of the Russian people have more than once raised their impassioned voices against anti-Semitism. In the Soviet years the rapprochement of both our peoples proceeded especially rapidly and we had supposed that the grievous heritage of the past had outlived itself. It appears that this is not so.

Nevertheless, I believe that the healthy tendencies in our relations will assume the upper hand and that these will not be torn down by the half-baked "defenders" of the Russian people. . .

Chava, Lilly and the Tin Can

A Story

By BARBARA UNGER

▶ HAVA's Lilly, the daughter of my grandfather's second wife, was a tall, well-developed 16-year-old. When she arrived to serve as an extra pair of hands around the house, my mother was mortified. Not only had the proper mourning period for my grandmother Rose barely elapsed, but the arrival of a youthful woman with a teen-age daughter seemed a slap in the face to the memory of the aged and ailing Rose. In time, even my mother had to concede that Chava was a brisk restorative to the old man's spirits as well as an unparalleled cook and housekeeper. As for Lilly, who slept on a cot in the kitchen, she was a willing, easy-going girl with no airs about her.

A skilled raconteur, Chava's Lilly knew about a man's "thing" and a woman's "thing" and how they "did it," about monthlies and positions. I considered her the epitome of adolescent sophistication. She planned to quit school, go to work and save money for her aliyah to the Holy Land. I had trouble picturing her, a partisan in braids and khaki with a knapsack, her pretty nose peeling in the desert sun. Meanwhile she buried it in Modern Romance and Silver Screen and smoked cigarettes behind Chava's back. I hung on her every word.

From her folding cot in my grandfather's kitchen, she was witness to the strange minglings and couplings that took place between my grandfather and

BARBARA UNGER of Suffern, NY, a new contributor, is a professor of English at Rockland Community College of SUNY. Her Dying for Uncle Ray and Other Stories has just been published (Kendall/Hunt, Dubuque, IA).

her mother. Since she could seldom fall asleep until after the grown-ups' glasses of tea and plates of cold chicken were washed and dried, she was able to see her elders in nightgowns and pajamas, pinching, caressing and kissing one another. Deprived of this opportunity by my own parents' thick bedroom door, I had no choice but to glean whatever information I could from Chava's Lilly, which I did with strict regularity.

Even at 14 I hated being bested by her worldly experiences. Thus I lied and told her I did things with boys.

"What things did you do?" taunted Lilly.

"Oh, things."
"What things?"

"Holding hands. Kissing. Stuff."
"That's nothing. Everyone does

that," she replied with disdain.

At first she was openly suspicious of me. She considered me a Jewish goy who went skating or to movies on Saturday and openly handled money even on Friday nights. To her, I was only half a Jew. What did she know of the torture of milk of magnesia and Czerny exercises, prudery and prunes, my own mother's special Gehennas? Or my father's naive idealism that saw utopian rainbows arching out of Stalin's Russia? Lilly knew about being a maid-of-all-work but little or nothing about the proper upbringing of a German Jewess.

When Lilly won a school prize for outstanding contributions to the Jewish Homeland, I wanted to know why. She rattled a blue-and-white collection can. Wracked with jealousy, I insisted on seeing it with the chance of having one of my own.

"What do I do?"

"Ask people to give, to drop in a penny or whatever they can afford."

"What's the Jewish Homeland?" I

asked.

Lilly's eyes widened, as if she were talking to a visitor from another planet. "Our home in Palestine, stupid. Eretz Yisroel. I'll bet you've never read Herzl. Doesn't your mother tell you anything?" She applied lipstick, gazing at her image in a hand mirror, pressing her lips together, flicking off the excess lipstick on her teeth with her tongue. Then she took out nail polish and began to paint her nails. I had trouble picturing her making the desert bloom or digging trenches for the Jewish Homeland but back then I believed anything possible.

"Well then, maybe I'll do it," I said. "Do you know what to say?" I reddened, "Of course I do!"

Lilly ignored me, making a bold crimson stroke on her big toe and then surveying her artistry. "Say that if we had a country now that Hitler is putting us in the camps, we could go there instead of here. Stop looking so stupid and take a can. And don't spend all the money you get on soda and candy," she warned darkly. Then she propped herself up on her cot in the kitchen and began to read a screen magazine.

When my mother saw the can with the blue Star of David and Hebraic writing on it, she asked me where I had found it. I told her it belonged to Chava's Lilly. "I don't think your father will be tickled about this," my mother said.

"Why not?" I protested that I had collected for the Russian and Chinese War Relief. Why not for a homeland in

Palestine?

"Because this is politics," she whispered and, although she didn't say as much, I knew she meant that politics was men's business. When my father heard about it, he took me aside. He sat in his favorite club chair and sat me

down across from him on the hassock. He said that he understood that Chava's daughter had given me a collection can

for the Jewish Homeland.

"Your mother and I would feel better if you didn't collect for this particular cause," he said. When I tried to argue, he replied, "Judaism is a religion, not a country. Not all Jews are alike and should not participate in an ingathering designed to produce a nation." I still didn't understand.

"Don't be so sure this is going to be an answer, this big Zion-in-the-sky," he warned. Without understanding, I nodded. He promised to explain more when I was older. The white tin can with palm trees and a Mogen David remained

empty on the credenza.

That night the doorbell rang and the men from the Norman Thomas Socialist League came in one by one for their weekly meeting. There was Pincus, the pattern maker; Greenwald, the cutter, Labin, the presser; and Bernstein, a small manufacturer. My father ushered them into the living room and my mother led me to my bedroom. She kissed me, tucked me in and turned out the light. When she left, I climbed out of bed and put my ear to the door to eavesdrop.

They used big words like "Zionism," "Internationalism," "British Mandate" and "Diaspora," as well as more familiar words like Hitler, persecution, the Russians and the war. Cramped in my corner, I could not tear myself away. So many questions. So many answers. So

many learned phrases.

"How will they herd the whole Diaspora into this tiny homeland?" asked one.

"Not a country there, on the edge of the Arab world," said a second.

"There was no Palestine until the Mandate," said a third.

"A model Socialist Labor government," said a fourth.

Still another praised the brave parti-

sans of Palestine who fought successfully against the Nazis in Greece and Yugoslavia.

"War," another said. "Peace," said the last.

Meanwhile I hunched over by the bedroom door, listening. Had great thinkers agonized over this tin can before? Was it possible that this innocent tin can could arouse such a sing-song clash of ideas, such a vain racket of words? Finally, drowsy and overcome by weariness, I climbed back into bed and fell asleep.

Every Christmas since I could remember, the Brennans, my grandparents' longtime neighbors, gave a Christmas party and invited us as a courtesy. My father thought nothing of the long drive from The Bronx, where we lived, to my grandfather's house in Queens. Proud of her deliberate truce with the Christian world, my mother always went and brought me. There, my father and grandfather would argue politics in the parlor, drink schnapps and play cards. There had always been a present for me beneath the tree. But now there was the matter of Chava and Lilly.

"But of course you're invited," my mother reassured Chava. Dressed in her bib-apron over a dark dress, Chava continued to rub a scrub rag across the counter and shook her head negatively.

"You go," she said.

"But Claire Brennan will be insulted."

"Go and enjoy yourself," said Chava. "I'm from the other side. It's different there."

My mother ordered me to bundle up, closing the flap of her fur collar against the cold. Outside I demanded to know why Chava had refused.

"Chava can't mix with Gentiles," said my mother, "Who would she talk

to?"

At the Brennans, everyone had gathered around the piano to hear a florid

Irish tenor sing melancholy ballads about lost love, Irish patriots and romantic places with names like Killarney and Galway Bay. Everybody's eyes misted over. Next came the inevitable Franklin Roosevelt imitation, encores and the passing of cups for the punch bowl. Then someone cleared the floor for a few rounds of the Irish jig to be performed by somebody's old aunt who would inevitably accept a glass of beer to slake her thirst. And then my mother would seat herself regally at the piano and treat everybody to Cole Porter, Irving Berlin and those patriotic songs baout sailing at break of day and amber waves of grain. This year, Mrs. Brennan's Christmas gift to me was a white rabbit fur muff, which I treasured. After sampling Irish soda bread and drinking more grog and punch than we wanted. my mother and I made our farewells.

When we returned, Chava and Lilly were seated at the kitchen table rolling pennies from the collection cans into small paper cylinders. Chava would not allow herself a whole smile and Lilly smirked at me as her nimble fingers

rolled the precious coins.

"So, how was it?" asked Chava in

her refugee's English.

"A Jew can share a Christian holiday with friends and neighbors," said my mother, removing her hat-pin and lifting off her hat.

"By you, maybe. Not by me," replied Chava. Her tone was so bleak that even my mother decided to go no

further.

That winter it began to look as if this Jewish Homeland and Chava's Lilly were never destined to meet, for she started courting a stocky young man from the factory and it looked as if they were going to get married. At Hanuka, Lilly left school and began working for a garment manufacturer. Her early tales of babies and bras were now supplemented by gory tales of abor-

tions, gangsters and street girls on West

37th St. and Broadway.

I spent the summer at camp learning rudimentary Yiddish and Hebrew and more about the Jewish Homeland. Inheriting Lilly's mantle, I had taken over the matter of the tin collection cans. I promised her that I would prove my mettle in the fund-raising department.

Without my parents' knowledge. I began collecting in earnest. I trekked across Van Cortlandt Park to Spuyten Duyvil, east to the Botanical Gardens and north to Woodlawn. Most people were polite but had no more than a penny or two to contribute to any charity. A few were deliberately rude. One even said, "Just so they don't dump a million Jews on our doorstep. We have enough already." Words like that set my heart pounding. But when I added up my revenues secret-ly in my room, I discovered that I had collected only a few dollars. Maybe the God of my summer camp lessons knew my heart was barren towards him and thus kept my coffers empty. Perhaps I was just not cut out to heap glory and reward on the Jewish Homeland.

I stepped up my pleas with memorized speeches until at last housewives produced crumpled bills and pushed them into my coin box. I took consolation from the thought that, in certain neighborhoods, I could be knifed or robbed just for being Jewish. From the Yiddish-speaking households I not only received dollar bills but, on Purim, raisins and noise-makers. I redoubled my efforts. Now I headed South towards Kingsbridge and Fordham Road into those neighborhoods where Jews predominated. As I discovered the more lucrative areas, my coffers overflowed. Where would I put the profits? I began to empty the cans and use the nickels, dimes and quarters for sustenance. Luscious treats of frankfurters and mustard. with forbidden German sauerkraut, sodas, chocolate bars and penny candies from the neighborhood vendors seemed a just reward for all my efforts. On expeditions like these, I invariably felt a twinge of guilt as I filched a quarter destined for homeless refugees of Hitler and instead spent it on a Flash Gordon comic book.

When I returned at dusk, the coin box hidden in my lunch box, my father was usually listening to the news commentators on our radio. He particularly despised H. V. Kaltenborn because he was against Roosevelt, the New Deal and unions. Sometimes he forced my mother and me to listen to his commentaries, proof positive that fascist sentiments were not dead even in our so-called American democracy. He would not read the Hearst papers.

But my afternoon expeditions came to a sudden end when my mother, in an untimely visit to my closet, discovered the tin can in my lunch box, hidden among crumpled brown bags and apple cores. "I thought your father asked you not to collect for this cause!" she said

in a shrill voice.

I sputtered something about Chava's Lilly and how I could collect just as much as she had. But my mother was not interested in my race with Lilly. She told my father that I had disobeyed.

That Sunday, at my grandfather's house, the men, as was their custom, retired to the parlor to talk politics, leaving the women to clean up in the kitchen. Firmly, my mother set the tin can down before Chava. "My husband and I feel that it's wrong to let Hannah go around collecting for the Jewish Homeland," said my mother. "Also another problem. Your Lilly is a little too old for my Hannah. I mean, she's already going with a fellow. My Hannah is not yet 15." I hung back in the doorway, watching Chava washing dishes at the double sink.

"The Bible promises us a homeland," said Chava. "It says so in the Scrip-

ture." Her voice trembled with right-

eous indignation.

Arching an eyebrow, my mother made no reply. Suddenly Chava let go of the soapy dish, untied her apron and walked out of the room. She strode directly to the parlor; no woman had ever dared interrupt the political talk after dinner. It was considered sacrosanct.

Hands on hips, Chava began to speak. "You know as well as I that not even after they knew of the horror of the death camps, they didn't open the doors to us. We had no government to appeal to, no tribunal to petition." The men looked up at the grave face of this dark avenger. "How can any Jew worth the name be against a Jewish Homeland?" she demanded.

My grandfather rose, placed an arm around her shoulder and tried to lead her back into the kitchen, but she pulled away and continued. "Every Jewish child has a right to raise money to reclaim our land. If not for God's mercy, my child and I would have gone the way of my whole family who were exterminated in the death camps!" The hoarded hurts of a lifetime were in her voice as her black eyes flashed and her

eyebrows worked excitedly.

She spoke of how the Romans had driven the Jews from the Holy Land, now Palestine, and how, to her, the intervening centuries were nothing more than vast stretches of occupation. Here Joshua brought down Jericho; here David slew Goliath. Here the Kingdom of the Jews would rise again. She had grown so excited that, for a second, I imagined Chava as the Queen of the Maccabees herself, leading an army into battle. Chava's speech brought out strong language and heated tempers among the men and the after-dinner talk turned into a shambles.

Inside the Studebaker on the long drive back to The Bronx, my mother kept up a constant tirade. "That boycrazy one! Putting Hannah up to such a

thing. I should have known better than to let her associate. Just like her mother. Always has to have some man

sniffing around her skirts."

My father quieted her and asked her to moderate her tone. He explained that I would surrender the can to him and he would count the proceeds and mail the total to the organization that distributed the cans. Dumbly I nodded in agreement. I bowed my guilty head and thought of those comic books, franks, candies and sodas I had enjoyed at the expense of the starving refugees of Europe.

"Anyway," muttered my mother, "who knows where that Lilly comes from. If you ask me, there's more to that than meets the eye." She turned around to me in the back seat. "And as for you, it's straight to bed after supper

for a week."

I could already sense from my mother's tirade against Chava and Lilly that they would soon disappear from our lives. I didn't know whether these refugees from Hitler to whom we gave asylum, allowing them to cook our meals and scrub our dirty dishes, were destined for a life in the Jewish Homeland or not. I could not tell, and, in the absolute finality of childhood, I sensed I never would. As for the tin can, a reminder of my disobedience, I knew I must make amends for my thievery. I can still remember bars of light on the bridge, as if the future were already wrapping us all in its shimmering web. Nothing would be the same after that. Never would the Jewish Homeland exist for me as Chava and Lilly's simple moral imperative. Like some Pandora's box, the collection can with its palm trees and Mogen David seemed to me to signify both unimaginable disaster and divine possibility. As I nodded sleepily on my mother's shoulder, we were already home in The Bronx and I heard the lonely roar of the El as it swept into the enormous gut of the city.

MAY, 1990 11

it spened SRAE

A high-ranking Israeli aliyah official startled an interministerial committee on immigration and absorption early in March when he predicted as many as 230,000 Soviet Jews might arrive this year, more than double the previous estimate. . . . But the Hungarian state airline Maley March 21 announced suspension of charter flights from the USSR to Israel via Budapest after a March 15 threat by the Lebanese-based Islamic Holy War for Liberation of Palestine to make such planes "direct targets" of terrorist attack. March 22 Maley asked Aeroflot to stop flying Soviet emigrants to Budapest. Aeroflot agreed March 23. Three quarters of the 1.500 Jews arriving in Israel each week had been using Budapest as a transit point. March 25 Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki told an American Jewish Congress audience of 500 that Poland is ready to fly Soviet Jews from Poland to Israel: "Just as in the Middle Ages, Poland did not evade giving help to Jews persecuted in other countries, so today Poland will not evade humanitarian assistance to Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union." Meetings March 26-27 among Maley-Israel-Aeroflot led to a March 28 agreement that Maley would resume transporting Soviet Jews to Israel. On March 30 two Polish diplomats, Bogdan Zbigini and Eva Sarkis, were wounded by two unidentified gunmen in Syrian-controlled West Beirut. . . . About 4,000 Israeli Arabs by March 3 had signed a petition urging the Soviet Union to stop Jewish emigration to Israel. They argued that the influx will take away jobs and funding from the Arab sector. . . . The government's goal is to settle 40% of the immigrants in the center of the country and 60% elsewhere, according to Absorption Minister Yitzhak Peretz. Many must be settled in development towns in order to stop the depopulation of these areas. Some 100,000 people have left the development towns.

West Bank Palestinian community colleges, closed since January, 1988, were allowed to reopen early in March after a significant drop in violent unrest. But the closure of the six Palestinian universities in the occupied territories was extended until at least May 31... Knesset Interior Committee members visited Jerusalem's Russian Compound jail during the first week in March. They were "dismayed" to find 40 Arab juveniles crammed into a cell built for 12. The dank, windowless, 13-by-7-meter cell reeked of urine. Most detainees had to sleep on the floor, using their three Army-issue blankets as bedding. Of adult males in a separate wing, nearly half were held at the jail though already sentenced to prison, due to a shortage of prison cells. The other half were awaiting trial... Following the opening of a Chinese tourist office in Tel Aviv in February, China formally registered an unofficial Israeli liaison office in Beijing in mid-March, hosted by the Chinese Academy of Sciences, not the Foreign Ministry.

Major General Matan Vilna'i, chief of the Southern Command, assured a high school audience early in March that raw recruits will no longer be used to police the occupied territories until they have completed their 3-to-4month basic training. Recruits had been sent to the territories for weekly tours of duty.... More than 100 Jewish leaders from 19 countries met in Jerusalem in February at the Emergency World Jewish Leadership Peace Conference. At the closing session, Abba Eban likened the Knesset's ban on contact with the PLO to McCarthyism in the U.S. in the 1950s. A conciliatory letter from PLO chief Yasir Arafat was read to the board of governors of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, organizers of the conference, after it ended. . . . Responding to criticism in the U.S. press of the slow pace of publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Eugene Ulrich, professor of Hebrew Scripture at Notre Dame University, said in a lecture March 9 at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem that publication had been marred by haste and errors, not by foot-dragging. "There are thousands of misreadings in the scrolls already published," he said, contending that the remaining scroll fragments must be subjected to painstaking scholarly analysis before they are published. With about a quarter of the remaining scrolls in his possession, Ulrich promised publication in 1992 or 1993.

During a three-day visit to Israel in mid-March, ex-Pres. Jimmy Carter voiced strong criticisms of Israeli policy. He charged that the military was abusing the rights of Palestinians by shooting demonstrators without cause, demolishing homes and jailing Arabs without trial. Carter described 1,000 of the 9,000 Palestinians in prison as "prisoners of conscience.". . . Late in February Ze'ev Schiff, military correspondent for Ha'aretz, replied to Ariel Sharon's boast that he, Sharon, is the only one capable of smashing the intifada. "The entire population is participating" in the uprising, wrote Schiff, adding that the conflict "cannot be solved by trampling with a foot on the will of a people.". . . Currently celebrating its 25th anniversary, the Israel Museum, already the largest cultural institution in the country, will open its newest addition, the Nathan Cummings 20th Century Art Building, in Sept., 1990. . . . An enterprising moshavnik (cooperative farmer) has launched a new venture: raising frogs in plastic hothouses. At prices ranging from \$10 to \$35, the little green creatures are in demand for use in laboratory dissections and as food, mostly in France.

A recent survey of 1,200 Israelis by the Israel-Diaspora Institute showed that only 42% preferred democratic rule, while 45% preferred strong leadership. The rest expressed no opinion. In a 1987 survey, before the intifada, 59% favored democracy while only 34% opposed it. . . . The roster of Israeli medical achievements keeps lengthening. A notable one is the Hayek Oscillator, a device that assists respiration externally, without intubation or other invasive techniques. Another is a wound-covering called Omiderm, extremely effective for wounds and burns with skin loss. A third is a medication that reverses memory loss in Alzheimer's Disease patients. Fourth is a new method of treating prostate problems without surgery.

JONATHAN HARRIS

MAY, 1990 13

The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917: Paradox of Survival, by Nora Levin. NYU Press, N.Y., 1988, 2 vols., 1,047 pages, indexed, \$100.

[The Editorial Board regrets that publication of this review was delayed until after Nora Levin's death on Oct. 26, 1989 (see the obituary on her in our

Feb., 1990 issue). —Ed.]

HE lot of Soviet Jews, as related by Nora Levin in this massive study, has not been a happy one. They have been buffeted by revolution, civil war, pogroms, socio-economic dislocation, virulent anticlericalism, political purges, Nazi genocide, "anti-cosmopolitanism," forced assimilation and unrelenting "anti-Zionism." Soviet leaders from Stalin to Chernenko banned virtually all autonomous Jewish community life. Still, Soviet Jews have retained a strong sense of identity and shared fate with their fellow Jews in the Diaspora and in Israel.

For many in the West, Soviet Jews remain the distant objects of petitions and postcard campaigns, aimed mostly at securing emigration rights for refuseniks. The exodus since 1970 of close to 300,000 Soviet Jews — one in every eight — has scarcely affected the fuzzy image that Western Jews have of their Soviet counterparts. The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917 should help to clarify that image.

Prof. Levin sets the tone for what follows by dedicating her two-volume

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survey "to the many thousands of men and women in the Soviet Union who have suffered and perished struggling to maintain personal honor, integrity, and freedom for the sake of Jewish survival, despite terror, wasting exile, and the breakdown of trust." The words "honor," "integrity," "freedom" and "trust" provide the key to what amounts in the author's view to a major historical disillusionment.

For Jews in the former Tsarist Empire the side-effects of the political and economic transformation of Russia came as a shock bordering on the traumatic. First, the Feb., 1917 Revolution brought about the abolition of the Pale of Settlement and political restrictions on Russian Jewry. Then, with the triumph of Bolshevism, came the suppression of all independent avenues of political expression (not only among Jews), the disenfranchisement and engineered pauperization of masses of Jewish petty traders, who were classified as bourgeois, and a virulent anti-religious campaign. The Jewish Sections (or Evsektsiya) of the Communist Party served as enforcers of the Party's policies on "the Jewish street," above all in the critical realms of religion and culture.

Prof. Levin views the depredations of the Evsektsiya as a result "of the civil war, war communism, and the elimination of Jewish political dissidence by 1921, which otherwise might have provided Jews with a natural, organically grounded leadership. . ." Instead, "many of the Jewish communities [were left] bereft, traumatized, suddenly wrenched from all familiar institutional and cultural support. . ." In addition, she portrays the Bolshevik faction of the former Russian Social Democratic Party as lacking deep roots among Rus-

sian Jewry: "The huge gap separating them from the communities existed because of two earlier Bolshevik shortcomings rooted in Marxist misperceptions of Jewish life: they had engaged in very little agitation or propaganda among the Jewish masses prior to the October Revolution, and almost no Bolsheviks were available who were familiar with Jewish life or Jewish traditions, or who knew Yiddish. Most politically active Jewish workers and intellectuals had joined the Bund, and the more assimilated intellectuals had joined the Mensheviks" (p. 48).

While a sizable proportion (15-20%) of delegates to Communist Party congresses between 1917 and 1922 were Jews, and while several Jewish Bolsheviks occupied party leadership positions as of Oct., 1917 (among them Lev Kamenev, Yakov Sverdlov, Leon Trotsky and Grigorii Zinoviev), "these Jewish Communists did not think of themselves as Jews and were completely estranged from Jewish life" (p. 49). This estrangement had disastrous consequences during the 1920s (i.e., well before the Stalinist purges of the Thirties) for hundreds of thousands of Zionists, Hebraists and religious Jews.

The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917 is a scholarly synthesis, based almost entirely on previously published sources. Two chapters on Jewish agricultural colonization in the 1920s and 1930s constitute an exception to this synthetic approach, reflecting the author's use of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's archives, lo-

cated at YIVO.

The "Joint" papers document that organization's efforts to assist Soviet Jews in establishing productive agricultural settlements in the Ukraine and the Crimea. These chapters constitute this book's most significant original contribution to Soviet Jewish historiography. The promising results yielded in the

Soviet Jewish agricultural colonies (as many as 255,000 Jews were settled on the land by 1931) were dealt a crippling blow by the collectivization campaign of the early 1930s, when cooperatives were turned into collective farms (kolkhozy), and ties with Agro-Joint were cut. Jewish agricultural colonization in the Ukraine was discouraged, and the remote, barren territory of Birobidzhan was heralded as the ideal location for the continuation of these endeavors.

The Five-Year-Plans affected Soviet Jewish economic, political and cultural life in many ways. Jews were encouraged to "proletarianize" — to participate as wage-earners and manual laborers in the massive industrialization of the 1930s. By 1935, according to Prof. Levin, the long-sought proletarianization of the Jews had largely been achieved. A corollary economic effect of the need for skilled technical cadres was that many salaried positions were generated. In 1939 some 700,000 Jews half of the economically active segment of the Soviet Jewish population worked in the state bureaucracy, universities or the professions (p. 253). In addition, industrialization drew hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian and Belorussian Jews to Russia proper, where by 1939 almost one-third of all Soviet Jews resided. These prewar economic and demographic trends facilitated the linguistic Russification of Soviet Jewry. The large scale Jewish migration into the Russian interior, caused by industrialization, also took many Jews out of the path of the Nazi armies.

The Five-Year-Plans were also accompanied by harsh political repression, culminating in the Great Purges of 1937 and 1938. Among the early casualties of this period were the Evsektsiya, which were abolished in 1930. Yiddish-language schools were closed and Yiddish-language courts disbanded in the late 1930s. Publishing of Yiddish books — one of the very few re-

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maining public outlets of Jewish cultural expression (along with the Yiddish theater) - continued, but on a reduced scale. The dictates of socialist realism proved too confining for a number of leading Jewish literary talents, including Isaac Babel (1894-1941?) and Moyshe Kulbak (1896-1940), both of whom died in Siberian labor camps. The trend toward the total silencing of the Jewish cultural sphere was well advanced by June, 1941. The war would temporarily interrupt that process.

The German attacks on the Soviet Union resulted in catastrophic losses to those Jews unfortunate enough to be left behind in the wake of the Red Army's retreat. Beyond that, as Prof. Levin notes, "The war transformed Soviet Jewry. The Nazi murder of one-anda-half million Soviet Jews brought losses to virtually every Soviet Jewish family and aroused intense Jewish feelings even among the most assimilated. The evidence of rampant European anti-Semitism and the singular victimization of Jews during the Holocaust drew all survivors into a Jewish brotherhood of fate, yet within the Soviet Union itself, many Jews found themselves unwanted" (pages 438-439).

The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, which, in its words, had been formed in 1942 "to help the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U.S. put an end to the bloody madness of Hitler" (p. 383), was summarily abolished in Nov., 1948, several months after the staged truck "accident" that killed its chairman, the great Soviet Yiddish actor Shloyme Mikhoels.

The years 1948 to 1953 — when all Yiddish publishing ceased, when the major Soviet Yiddish writers were arrested and executed, when Jewish heroism in defending the Soviet Union was written out of the official histories of World War Two, when a "cabal" of Jew ish doctors was accused of plotting to murder Stalin, when mass deportations to Siberian labor camps were only narrowly averted by Stalin's death — have become known as the "black years of Soviet Jewry." In March, 1989, at the founding conference of the Lithuanian Jewish Cultural Society, the Russianlanguage Jewish writer Grigorii Kanovich delivered a speech that could serve

as an epitaph for those years:

"Who could think that the long awaited victory over fascism to which we aspired with all our hearts, for which we shed so much blood, on the front lines and in partisan divisions, the victory of which we dreamed behind the barbed wire of the ghettos and concentration camps, the victory that we tried to hasten by our last prayers on the edge of dugout pits and at the threshold of the gas chambers — that this victory will become for us Jews, citizens of the victorious country, a defeat, a new variety of fascism?" (Quoted in The Forward, English section, March 31, 1989,

The death of Stalin put an end to the immediate, physical threat to Soviet Jewry. But under Khrushchev's leadership Jewish "economic criminals" were executed, anti-religious propaganda intensified, and most remaining synagogues were closed. The Brezhnev years witnessed the unleashing of an "anti-Zionist" campaign (in the wake of the Six Day War) with obviously anti-Semitic overtones, together with a revival of Jewish national consciousness that ultimately resulted in the first mass exodus of Soviet Jews to be permitted since the 1920s.

While emigration enables many Soviet Jews to escape the restrictions of a hostile political culture, Prof. Levin is not convinced that emigration is the sole answer to Soviet Jews' problems. She implicitly criticizes the Israelis' exclusive emphasis on "a Zionist goal, that of aliya to Israel" (p. 663). Elsewhere, she notes the efforts by a number of Soviet Jewish émigrés "to strengthen relations between Jews in the Soviet Union and in Israel through an international political struggle for the legalization of Jewish culture in the USSR" (p. 755), where, after all, the majority of Soviet Jews are likely to remain.

Prof. Levin's conclusion bears a rather pessimistic tone that is largely sustained by the evidence contained in these two volumes: "Survival of Soviet Jewry will depend upon the individual Jewish will to survive. This will have to be tested in a harsh environment. without the community supports that other Jewries have had, under a regime hostile to Jewish survival and, except for brief periods, taking extreme measures to crush any effort to sustain it. Yet, Jewish history is full of unexpected turns, adaptations, and resiliency and, although Soviet Jewry faces a cramped and confined future, without much hope for a full-bodied culture, it would be foolhardy to write it off" (p. 815).

The relative openness of the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev might have led Prof. Levin, had she been able to update this second conclusion, to revise her prognosis — if only tentatively. With a bewildering rapidity, glasnost has brought about startling changes in the Soviet intellectual climate. Public revelations of Stalin's misdeeds appear regularly in the official media — including the two Yiddish publications, Birobidzhaner Shtern and Sovetish Heymland (published since 1961). Jewish cultural societies have been openly established in dozens of Soviet cities. The growth of local nationalist movements in the Baltic republics has led to a considerable easing of govemmental repression in that region. Emigration of Jews is at an all-time high — something that Prof. Levin, writing in early 1987, was not able to foresee (p. 809). Diplomatic relations

with Israel, which had been severed in 1967, are gradually being restored.

While Prof. Levin's study is sobering in its layer-upon-layer of detail, and devastating in its analysis, it is not lacking in technical flaws that ought to have been corrected prior to publication. Place names are occasoinally misidentified, for example: "The small town of Molev" (p. 162) is a reference to the Yiddish place name for either of two cities officially named Mogiley, one in Belorussia, the other in Podolia; "Krivoy-Czero" (p. 244) is a misprint for Krivoye Ozero; "the dread camp Transnistria" (p. 357) was not a camp but a region in the Ukraine containing a number of concentration camps, to which 185,000 Romanian Jews were deported during World War Two.

Avoidable anachronisms also appear in the text. Prof. Levin describes "the June 30, 1934 issue of *Der Emes*" as "the Evsektsiya newspaper" (p. 174) whereas the Evsektsiya had been abolished four years previously, as she notes elsewhere (p. 279). A Dec. 23, 1939 diary entry by the Jewish educator Chaim Kaplan is described as being written "from the perspective of a man already confined to the Warsaw Ghetto" (p. 341), a ghetto that was not sealed off until Nov., 1940.

On a more substantive level, this study can perhaps be criticized for its nearly exclusive emphasis on the Ashkenazi Jews of the western USSR. What were the effects of Soviet rule on the Jews of Georgia and Central Asia? While non-Ashkenazim constitute a minority within the Soviet Jewish group, fruitful comparisons could doubtless be drawn between the Soviets' treatment of non-Ashkenazi and Ashkenazi Jews. Secondly, while the first volume (which covers the Lenin and Stalin eras) includes a substantial amount of information relating to changes in the social structure of Soviet Jewry, far less of

(Continued on page 42)

The	
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Diary	

· Old Jewish Radicals, Not Sour, Not Bitter

Here, in the pages of David Leviatin's Followers of the Trail: Jewish Working Class Radicals in America (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1989, 310 pages, 41 photos, indexed skimpily, \$29.95), are the oral histories of 17 old immigrant Jews and one American-born (11 of them women) whose individual stories blend into a collective account of honorable, culturally enriched, socially constructive lives that are a vital segment of the American working class experience. Oriented to the Soviet Union and the American Communist Party, these old-timers, nurtured by the Morgn Freiheit and progressive Jewish cultural institutions, shared in all the mistakes of the Old Left from 1930 to 1980. And if they are neither embittered nor soured on their ideals and their lives it is because they not only made mistakes but helped achieve irreversible social victories for themselves, for the American working class and for their chosen country. The anchor of their stories is their experiences at the Followers of the Trail camp they and a couple of hundred associates built as a summer week-end proletarian resort near Peekskill, NY, from 1929 to its peak in 1949. Then came its McCarthyite-induced decline to 1952, when it was reorganized as the Reynolds Hill Colony. Having in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s occasionally lectured there on Sunday afternoons, having enjoyed the fraternal hospitality of their tables and their solidarity, I read these pages avidly both as a participant and as a historian.

David Leviatin, now a lecturer at Harvard, was 18 when, in 1980, he conducted these taped oral history interviews. A third-generation American Jew, Leviatin is the grandson of four members of the Followers camp and brings his personal experience to bear on his perceptions and his analysis. Working with tapes that were from two to 12 hours long, he has restructured the material for greater cohesion and comprehension into three sections: the European experience before arrival here between 1905 and 1925, the American experience, and life, struggle and culture in the "Shtetl on the Hill," the camp itself. Unlike the other contemporary proletarian camps, Nitgedaiget (Yiddish for "don't worry") near Beacon, NY, and Unity, near Wingdale, NY, Followers of the Trail cooperatively owned and built their simple facilities, beginning with tents, moving up to small see-through, blow-through huts, then to summer bungalows and now, in Reynolds Hill Colony, to solid home structures, modern and well-appointed and inhabited by colonists who would spurn the Spartan, no-running-water, no-toilet facilities in which the proletarians of the 1930s and 1940s "luxuriated." Leviatin taped his interviews just in time in 1980; since then eight of his 18 subjects have died.

The European section is familiar in outline but refreshing in details: poverty, pogroms, frustrations that turn one to emigration. Harry G. (names are thinly veiled with a real first name and a real initial) remembers Balin in Ukrainia, a town of 72 families, only two of them Gentile; eight kids sleeping in one room; no shoes, no clothes, pants made of sugar bagging; "When I used to come into the home of a peasant and tell him I'm hungry, he used to give me a loaf of bread or a couple of pounds of apples or radishes. ." (pages 68-69). Wolf U. lived in a town with "no synagogue at all" (p. 49), while Max T. lived in a town with three synagogues but "was never bar mitzvahed" because his mother was too poor to pay and no synagogue would do it for nothing (p. 63). Bella S.'s father, during a pogrom, took the children to Gentiles, who hid them (p. 52). Rachel S. came to Ellis Island after seven days on the ocean, found "the quota was filled," was sent back to England and spent two years there until the quota was opened (pages 106-7).

The accounts of adjustment to the New York scene are also familiar but studded with rich detail. There is movement from the Lower East Side depths "up" to the East Bronx or Brownsville, the sweatshops, the unions and the strikes and the political struggles, the incessant sending for relatives, and the lust for culture. Harry S. "never joined the Party" but was attracted by "the ideas of communism. . . the idea of equality of people. . . Jews, black people, Indians. . . Especially I worked among the black people" (p. 190). Morris B. joins the Furriers Union, becomes a Business Agent and a left-winger, and in 1954 is one of eight who agree to resign so that the union could merge with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union and join the AFL (p. 151); he became a shop worker again (p. 170). Harry M. became a pharmacist and weathered the depression as a partner in a drug

store (pages 175-6).

The "Shtetl on the Hill" provides the richest material. Resting weekends (with lectures, concerts, dances), the Followers all fix on three experiences as profound. Supporting the Loyalists in Spain: "Contributing an ambulance to the Spanish Republican Army feels good up until now," said Harry S. "You feel even now that you didn't live only for yourself. This is the satisfaction that you live with as you get older" (p. 213). Supporting Russian War Relief in World War II was another heartfelt cause. But the Paul Robeson concert in Peekskill on Aug. 27, 1949 was a turning point. The neighborhood white racists, with at least the tolerance of the local and state police, rioted violently. Sarah A. was in a car driving out of the concert grounds and was hit by a rock (p. 229). A man seated next to Morris B. in a car had an eye knocked out (p. 239). (Sonya and I were in a car in which the windows were cracked by rocks.) When in the aftermath the House Un-American Activities Committee began to subpoena Followers of the Trail, many stopped coming and reorganization followed.

There was also an ideological shakeup. Disappointment in the Soviet Union because of anti-Semitism and suppression of Jewish culture coincided with the birth of Israel. Reva Y. recalls that "When Israel came into the picture, that created quite a bit of tension. . . . I am beginning to feel more Jewish than I ever did before. . . " (p. 259). Florence M. declares, "To me, Soviet Russia was a utopia, and now it's nothing. I can't forgive them that. . . they single out the Jews. . . " (p. 270). Have these 1980 views been

changed by the Gorbachev-conditioned Jewish cultural renewal?

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• Frederic Raphael's "After the War" on TV

January 7, 14, 21, 28, February 4, 11, 18, 25 Masterpiece Theater on Channel 13 Sunday evenings is one of our favorites, so Sonya and I looked forward to this series by Frederic Raphael, a literary figure of high repute. Born in Chicago in 1931, he was taken by his parents to England in 1938 for a short stay prolonged to date by World War II, although he lives in Paris most of the time. Since he wrote the novels and the screen play "at the same time," I obtained the book for Sonya to read to clarify what was obscure on screen (Penguin Books, N. Y., 1990, 528 pages, \$8.95, paperback). No use. Despite the excellent acting and direction on the TV screen, qualities that kept us eager to come back to the next part, we were too often mystified, baffled, uncomprehending — and referring to

the book for guidance was little help.

The series opens in England in 1942, after Hitler's invasion of the USSR relieved some of the pressure on the English population, with Michael Jordan a student at St. George's School, for the offspring of the upper-middle class. When Joe Hirsch, whose parents are refugees from Hitler, turns up at the school, one Fairfax says to Jordan, the one Jew on the premises, "Introduce us to the refujew." When Joe asks his mother, "Why did we come here? They hate us!" she replies, "They took us in. We should be grateful." Promising indeed, with promises unkept. The finale of the series is set in 1967 in Israel during the Six-Day war. Later Jordan remarks, "I was naive enough to imagine that Israel might do something never before done by the winning side: stick to the fine promises they made" about returning territory "before they knew they had won. But why should Jews behave better than anyone else ever has?" Michael Jordan's level of Jewish identification is suggested by his stoical comment: "Jewishness is a club from which one cannot resign." In the intervening episodes there is much to tease one's interest — Michael's sister Rachel takes money surreptitiously to Spain to help Jews get to Palestine; his father gets involved in helping a Nazi war criminal evade detection by the Americans; there is high life and low life about British theater and TV show-biz; anti-Semitism crops up here and there; the British instigate a civil war in a North African country just liberated — but there is little coherence and much muddle.

• "Carbondale Dreams"

February 11

With Sheldon Ranz to the Kaufman Theater way west on 42nd St. to see Steven Sater's three interrelated one-acters, Carbondale Dreams (Carbondale, IL — location of the University of Southern Illinois). In the first, Arnold, we come upon a well-worn, frayed marriage after the two sons and a daughter have left the nest. Arnold and Barone are as alone with each other as they were before their marriage. She has nostalgia for their early romantic days; he practices golf in the living room, ignoring her babble.

In the next, Beth, we meet their daughter, a compulsive overeater, bigger than Roseanne, whose husband, Barry, has provided her and darling little Betty with a \$250,000 home overlooking a lake. There is a family gathering in the kitchen. Parents Arnold and Barone are there, as are their two sons — David, in from New York, where he is into "organic whole

oats" and brings his own provisions; and Bradley, who is "doing cocaine" and intermarried to Candi, who has a jaw-set that keeps her from eating and is wasting away while trying to take care of their two children. We have a grim picture, flecked with boisterously funny touches, of the failure of communication of a family whose only ties are blood-kinship, a

family kept "together" mainly by Barone's sentimental insistence.

The final play, Bradley, has Bradley trying to get his brother David to "do cocaine," but David says no. Bradley is fed up with Carbondale and would like to leave but has fallen into an expensive life-style and can't leave his father's successful business. Bradley will cleave to his father's business but not join his Temple. So far, all three children are totally alienated from their parents, who are alienated from each other. The author has a good ear for dialogue and family bickerings. The Jewish consciousness of this family of Jews is minimal. Beth and Barry had Bradley and Candi "over for Hanuka." Beth's husband Barry tells David, "when you marry a Jewish girl, you're marrying the maid trained by her mother." Some of the food eaten or thrown around (in bursts of anger) is Jewish. There is no civic or social consciousness, no horizons, except "family" in name only.

• Salo W. Baron (1895—1989) Memorialized

February 19 Ended the Presidents' Day weekend by hying up to the Altschul Auditorium in the International Affairs Building at Columbia for the long-awaited "Remembrance and Tribute" to Baron by the Center for Israel and Jewish Studies and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University. About 300 of Baron's followers, friends and colleagues came out and heard brief remarks by Columbia Pres. Michael B. Sovern, Graduate School Dean Roger Bagnall, Philosophy Emeritus Prof. Paul O. Kristeller and very impressive descriptions of Baron's work and influence by two Jewish historians, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi of Columbia and Zvi Ankori of Tel Aviv University. Yerushalmi stressed that Baron was a modern historian, "sidetracked" into concentration on ancient and medieval history because he felt that the work of Graetz and Dubnow had to be redone. When, in a seminar conducted by Baron, Yerushalmi had once sneered, from an Israeli graduate student's point of view, at American Jewish history, Baron had taken him aside and rebuked him for scoming 250 years of history of a six-million member Jewish community. Baron had made Columbia the "mother of Jewish studies" before the Holocaust, before Israel, before the new trend of ethnicity, by stressing that Jewish history cannot be isolated from general history. Prof. Ankori supplemented by pointing out that Baron had opposed Graetz's "lachrymose view of Jewish history" and insisted that, before the Holocaust, there had been longer periods of well-being and creativity in Jewish history than of persecution. Furthermore, Baron's approach to the Diaspora, which even in ancient times coexisted with the land of Israel, conflicted with the Jerusalem Zion-oriented history. From both Yerushalmi and Ankori there was much insight into Baron's not merely fabulous diligence and linguistic mastery (of some 20 languages) but of his successfully challenging old methods of periodization of Jewish history and of views of contemporary Jewish life. I look forward to reading these papers in print.

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שכרו תשתסע מציעשל

Women Go for Peace

By IRENA KLEPFISZ

THIS April the Jewish Women's ■ Committee to End the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (JWCEO) completes its second year of protest. There's no cause for celebration: the reality is beyond what any of us imagined on April 25, 1988, when JWCEO held its first vigil in New York City in front of the offices of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. The intifada has lasted 21/2 years: the Palestinians remain determined to establish an independent Palestinian state. The Israeli government remains as intransigent and inhumane in its response to the Palestinians as it was in Dec., 1987.

Those of us working here in the Jewish community constantly try to interpret these hard facts. Anyone who returns from Israel and the Occupied Territories is immediately asked: "What's the mood? Are you optimistic? You think the Israelis will compromise soon?"

I have asked these questions myself and recently learned once again their uselessness. On Dec. 29, 1989, Rita Falbel and I represented JWCEO at the

IRENA KLEPFISZ is an activist in the lesbian/feminist and Jewish communities. She is the author of A Few Words in the Mother Tongue: Poems Selected and New and Dreams of an Insomniac: Jewish Feminist Essays, Speeches and Diatribes (Eighth Mountain Press). She last appeared here in July-Aug., 1988.

"Women Go for Peace" Conference in Jerusalem organized by the Israeli Women's Peace Movement Coalition. We stayed for two weeks of intense conversations and interviews with Israeli women - Jewish and Palestinian, feminist and non-feminist, long-time and newly initiated peace activists. We talked to women working in women's groups such as SHANI (Israeli Women's Alliance against the Occupation), Women in Black (from Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv), Gesher (Bridge) and Women Organization for Women Political Prisoners as well as women working in mixed groups such as Gesher le shalom (Bridge to Peace), Shutafut (Partnership), Association for Israeli and Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights, and the Alternative Information Service. Though all these women must wonder - as most Israelis do -"When will this nightmare end?" I don't remember the question ever being asked. They all know that peace will not come quickly and that the only worthwhile question is: "What should we be doing next?"

This question was being asked almost immediately after the Conference. No one was basking in the Conference's success, though the success needs to be reported, for such positive news of peace actions — especially by women - rarely gets into mainstream media, Jewish or non-Jewish. When Rita and I returned, few people knew that at the morning plenary at the Knes-

set Tower Hotel, Zahira Kamal (activist in the Women's Popular Committees in the West Bank and Gaza) and Masha Lubelsky (general secretary of Na'amat, representing 800,000 Israeli women) had shared a platform and addressed an audience of 1,400. Hardly anyone knew that by the time the final action of the day had ended — a march to East Jerusalem to the El Hakawati Theater over 5,000 women had participated in the protest. Few people knew that at the El Hakawati Theater Palestinian women (backed by a permit obtained by the Conference organizers) had the rare opportunity of assembling and making public political statements.

The Conference made clear that Israeli women have no intention of stopping, no matter how bad the news of their government's actions. SHANI has launched a pledge campaign to obtain 10,000 signatures supporting self-determination and an end to the violence. The Women's Peace Movement Coalition is planning a newsletter in Hebrew, Arabic and English so that Israeli women can facilitate coordination of their activities. WPMC is also planning weekend conferences and workshops and another international conference next year. Most women want to have more private house meetings and public educational forums. More confident after the Conference, Israeli women have become more ambitious about having a greater impact on Israeli society.

Such plans and actions, though they cannot bring immediate resolution, certainly inspire courage if not hope, and make evident that the Israeli women's peace movement must receive more support from the North American women's community. Jewish women especially must form closer ties with women peace activists working on both sides of the Green Line. We should disseminate information, raise money for women working there and address

the Jewish community here to take a stand for negotiations with the PLO and a two-state solution.

As JWCEO's Peace Bulletin attests. some of this work is evolving naturally. Jewish and non-Jewish women here are bypassing chic despair and gaining strength. The last issue of the Bulletin listed almost 30 different women's organizations and contacts in the U.S. and Canada and reported that in October "Jewish Women's Call for Peace -Days of Awe" vigils took place in Eugene, Seattle, Berkeley, San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Ann Arbor, Tucson, Washington D.C., Montpelier, Syracuse, Philadelphia, New York City and Toronto, Canada. More groups held vigils in March in response to the Women in Black's call for solidarity on International Women's Day.

The increase in women's participation in peace activities and the obvious need for resources and information have prompted JWCEO to edit The Jewish Women's Call for Peace: A Handbook for Jewish Women on the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict (Firebrand Books). Intended to help Jewish women organize by providing feminist and general analyses, the *Handbook* contains the writings and speeches of Israeli (Jewish and Palestinian) and North American Jewish women who have spoken out on the issue, have addressed Jewish fears. The Handbook gives information on U.S. Jewish organizations, workshops, the media, bibliographies, and Palestinian and Jewish peace organizations in the U.S., Israel and the Occupied Territories. For the Handbook (\$5.95) and the Bulletin (free, suggested donation \$10) write: JWCEO, POB 1178, 163 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, NY 11201 (checks payable to JWCEO).

The response to the *Handbook* reflects women's understanding that peace is not imminent but we're ready for the necessary hard work to achieve it.

Barcelona Monument to Jewish Volunteers in Spanish Civil War

By ARIEH LEBOWITZ

On March 25, on a rainy morning in the Fossar de la Pedrera section of the cemetery atop Montjuich ("Jews' Mountain) in Barcelona, nearly 150 participants gathered to dedicate a memorial to the estimated 7,000 Jewish volunteers in the five International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Veterans, relatives of fallen fighters and representatives of the city, including Luis Armet, Deputy Mayor of Barcelona, listened as names of Jewish volunteers were recited, along with messages from members of an international support committee headed by Willy Brandt, leader of the Socialist International. Estimates of the total number of volunteers in the International Brigades vary from 35,000 to nearly 60,000.

The project to commemorate these Jews was initiated by the Union des Anciens Resistants Juifs de Belgique (Union of Jewish Veteran Resisters of Belgium), headquartered in Brussels, according to Dov Liebermann. A native of Poland now living in Brussels and himself a civil war veteran, Liebermann spent a full year to bring this project to fruition, including assembling the international support committee and designing the monument, which was fabricated in Brussels,

In addition to Willy Brandt, the support committee of 29 includes Gen. Alexander Osipenko, head of the Spanish Section of the Soviet War Veterans organization; Mikhail Chlenov, president, Jewish Associations of the Soviet

ARIEH LEBOWITZ, a new contributor, is the editor of Israel Horizons in New York, a Socialist-Zionist publication.

Union; Israel Kessar, secretary general, Histadrut; Lionel Kopelowitz, president, European Jewish Congress; and from the USA, Elie Wiesel, Bella Abzug, the Yiddish journalist S. L. Shneiderman, and Abe Smorodin of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Over the past year, Liebermann reports, the project was able to locate and bring 140 Jewish veterans ("ex-brigadistas") and/or their surviving spouses and children in 15 countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, Hungary, Israel, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, the United States, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Ed Lending was the only U.S. vet present.

According to Liebermann, the Jews were proportionally one of the largest ethnic groups within the Brigades. I. Bobby Brown of Antwerp, Belgium, who went to Spain in 1936 and worked as a mechanic, and now lives in Brooklyn, NY, told me that the Belgian Jews who fought were Polish refugees expelled from Poland in 1934 and 1935. When the civil war broke out, they decided to fight. Albert Prago, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigades and author of Jews in the International Brigades in Spain, a pamphlet reprint from JEWISH CURRENTS (1979), estimates that Jews made up about 30% of the North American contingent.

The monument, a six-foot-tall star, is located in a section of the Montjuich cemetery in which also stands a monument to the Austrian members of the International Brigades as well as the mausoleum of Luis Companys, leader of the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, a Catalan left-Republican nation-

alist party which signed the Popular Front pact of 1936. (On this mountain, the Inquisition once burned Jews at the stake.) Made of granite and marble, the monument combines a grey triangular image of the International Brigade symbol with another triangle, which together make a Mogen David (Jewish star). On the monument are engraved inscriptions in Catalan, Spanish, English and French that give "homage to the Jewish heroes who, out of 7,000 Jewish volunteers, from all countries, fighters of freedom, fell in Spain 1936-1939." At the base of the monument, in large Hebrew letters, is engraved the word "L'kavod" (Homage).

Also quoted are two statements. One is by Luigi Longo (Luigi Gallo), Inspector General of the International Brigades: "Immense is our debt to the Jewish heroes who, in all our Brigades, have written magnificent pages. We will show the world these glorious examples of sacrifice." The other is by Haim Herzog, president of the state of Israel: "The triumph of fascism in Spain paved the way for Hitler and led to the annihilation of human dignity: millions of people, among them six million Jews, paid with their lives. Honor is due to the thousands of volunteers who, arms in hand, took a stand here against fascism. Among them, the Jews formed a very great contingent."

Why did they fight? One woman in Barcelona, speaking for the Belgian ex-brigadistas, said that in 1936 they came to Spain knowing full well they were fighting to preserve the liberty of Spain, of their countries and of the world. Salman J. Salzman, who fought alongside the Italian Communist Enrique Lister in the latter's 11th division, and now lives in Israel, stated in response to a journalist's question that, "I was in the war against fascism in Spain. I didn't struggle in the Spanish Civil War [i.e., didn't take sides within

internal Spanish political affairs]. Neither did I struggle in the revolution [i.e., the social revolution of the Spanish anarchist movement of the FAI and CNT]."

Prago, in describing Jews in the International Brigades, noted that they "went to Spain as internationalists, as humanists, as antifascists, as communists — and while they might not have denied their Jewish heritage, they did not go to Spain identifying as Jews. This is particularly true of the American Jews." Several decades later Prago began to understand that "Despite our assimilationist posture, there remains the stubborn, pregnant fact that so large a percentage of the American volunteers were Jews. . . . Obviously rising anti-Semitism had had a powerful effect on us." Only the Naftali Botwin Company of 150 Yiddish-speaking Jews from Poland was explicitly a Jewish unit, with a high level of Jewish consciousness. Two Botwin veterans were present, Company Commander Emanuel Mink and Henry Sulevic, Recruit Commander.

When Barcelona's deputy mayor Armet addressed the ex-brigadistas, he asked them to return to their countries and relate that Barcelona, and Catalonia as a whole, "is now tolerant and free."

Among the people at the dedication was Patrick Liebermann, Dov's grandson. A "voluntary militant," as he described himself to me, Dov Liebermann, who is involved with the secular Jewish community center in Brussels and its biweekly magazine, Regards, has been an activist for over six decades. "Probably the project to get the monument created and dedicated will be my last big action. . . . it was one year of work, 12 hours a day, to make all the contacts, etc. Now I give the message to my grandson to go ahead."

Have you renewed your sub?

The Children's King

By ESTELLE TAMBAK

The King of Children — A Biography of Janusz Korczak, by Betty Jean Lifton. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, N.Y., 1988, 345 pages, indexed, cloth, \$24.95; paperback (Schocken, New York, 1989), \$14.95.

S a great admirer of Janusz Korczak (born Henryk Goldszmit to an assimilated Polish Jewish family), I am delighted that Betty Jean Lifton has written *The King of Children*, which indeed he is!

As one who has worked with children my entire adult life, I had the rich experience of teaching arts and crafts to Jewish orphans in the Janusz Korczak Kinder Heim (Children's Home) in Lower Silesia, Poland, 1947 to 1948. There his theories were put into practice, with his emphasis on children's democratic rights, his deep respect for children and his sense of justice; these drew me to learn more about him. I met a young couple, raised in his orphanage, who appeared to be quite secure and whole people. They were in great contrast to people I knew, including some cousins. who were raised in American orphanages and whose lives were warped as a result. I appreciate Korczak's great contributions to children, to those who interact with them and to humanity. Thus he became a mentor of mine: I have tried to put his theories into practice in my teaching.

ESTELLE TAMBAK for her 75th birthday was the subject of a column by Carol Jochnowitz in our Jan., 1989 issue, and of an "Editor's Diary" entry in the same issue. She last appeared here in April, 1969. It was particularly appalling to me to find that Americans, including educators, are totally ignorant of Janusz Korczak's theories and achievements. In April, 1969 I reviewed Joseph Hyman's book, A Field of Buttercups, for this magazine. At the time I hoped this sensitively written book would open the world of Janusz Korczak to the American people. Unfortunately, the book was under-publicized and reached few readers.

Ms Lifton's extensive research involved people around the world who are Janusz Korczak's children, teachers who trained and worked with him, some of his friends and the children of his friends, his workshop archives, the records of the Beit Lohamei Haghettaot (ghetto fighters' house) in Israel and his own prolific writings. The result is a full-blown portrait of the man, the doctor, the philosopher, the pedagogue, the psychologist, the writer of children's books, the Old Doctor on the Polish radio and much more.

Lifton gives us Korczak's childhood with its middle-class restraints, his adolescence, the sudden burden of family responsibility which fell on him at the age of 18 when his father committed suicide, his education in medical school and the "Flying University," an underground college, his becoming a pediatrician and, finally, his involvement in running a Jewish orphanage with the steadfast Stefa Wilczynska.

The author portrays his struggle with his double identity as Pole and Jew, feeling allegiance to both his country, which he served as a doctor in two wars, and to his people, the Jews. The anti-Semites made it crystal clear that to them he was no Pole, but a Jew. He had visited Palestine and was in a dilemma as to whether to settle there or return to his children in the orphanage. The Nazis made the decision for him by surrounding him and his orphanage

when they invaded Poland.

However, despite her great research, I must take issue with some of Lifton's implications, interpretations and con-clusions. She quotes from Korczak's book, Confessions of a Butterfly, that his friendship for a contemporary 14year-old friend, Stash, bordered on "love," recalling especially how they shared a beautiful sunset and became so carried away that tears came to their eyes. She implies that he had homosexual feelings. This may or may not have been the case. Adolescents, myself included, frequently have crushes on people of the same sex without necessarily having homosexual leanings. She questions the fact that he never married or begot children. To me it seems clear that, since he was a very sensitive person, he feared passing on the insanity from which his father suffered. His father's condition deeply affected his life; when, in his teens, he was burdened with the responsibilities his father could not fulfill, the two in effect exchanged roles.

Girls as well as boys were his children. I can especially relate to that. When people ask me how many children I have, I reply, "Not one but thousands!" Every child I have ever taught (I am a nursery school teacher) is mine. Like Korczak, I have never had a biological child, but I feel that every child I have taught is a part of me. I try to reach out to each child with love. empathy, understanding and respect. The author interprets the fact that Korczak never went to bed without checking and recording the breathing of each child as the sign of a hypochondriac. I think, rather, that it shows his great concern for each child as well as his

SAMUEL PERLMAN

In loving memory of a wonderful *mentsch*

Marcia
Joni and John
Peter and Nancy
Michael and Rachel

New York

care as a pediatrician and a scientist. (He kept records of his findings, which were destroyed when the Nazis levelled the Warsaw Ghetto.) Her research on his sometimes acting the buffoon in order to collect food or money to keep his children from starving isn't questioned, but she portrays him merely as a clown, someone who is off his rocker, rather than as a man so dedicated to his children's behavior that he would go beyond all bounds to achieve their welfare.

Other than the questions I raise, I greatly admire Betty Jean Lifton's *The King of Children*. She deserves our appreciation for her thorough research and I trust that this important book will at last bring the vibrant Janusz Korczak to the American people and the world.

The Land

By BEATRICE VERNE

"The Gnat is of more ancient lineage than man"

—Hebrew Proverb

I N the beginning there were pests out of the order Diptera and how they were begot is lost in the mystery of the stars and comets speeding on their trolleying orbits and they were called Gnat.

And out of the order of Diptera in the twilight, in the enfolding twilight they begot and they danced Darwinian and multiplied and they were fruitful and frolicked madly on the dance floor of the evening air and they dipped and bore through tubers and gnatted into mushrooms, and there were gall gnats and midges and out of the order of Diptera they bit wherever the blood was warm—and they were called Gnat.

But they had no Torah or Talmud and Yahweh did not thunder unto them and they did not send out prayers in the mysterious language of their tongues but slept on bedded earth and dreamed the joy of sting and stinger on the warming blood and the script of wings on air and they knew the land was theirs.

And as the ages crept upon the ages and the years grew ringed in fire and steel and the stones cried out of the Wailing Wall, they counciled in the cabala of their crazy tongues on the torrid blood of Arab and Jew and they felt the shock of scorching heat, knowing of blood, but not of war and in the flare, they knew the land was theirs.

BEATRICE VERNE last appeared here in Sept., 1967, with poems on the Six Day War and Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner.



The Legacy of Emma Goldman

Fifty Years Later

By LEONARD J. LEHRMAN

Emma Goldman in Exile: From the Russian Revolution to the Spanish Civil War, by Alice Wexler. Beacon Press, Boston, 1989, 301 pages, indexed, \$24.95.

MAY 14, 1990 marks the 50th anniversary of the death of one of the greatest speakers in the history of the American Jewish left, a pioneer of free speech, reproductive freedom and war resistance and "the most dangerous woman in America," according to J. Edgar Hoover (who had her deported in 1919), the anarchist Emma Goldman.

Emma Goldman in Exile is the latest book about her, published last June 27 (on her 120th birthday). It is the second of Alice Wexler's two biographical volumes about her. The first (Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life, 1984) was later reissued in paperback as Emma Goldman in America. Together they form the first two-volume politically critical biography of a subject who has undergone both deification and demonization, but has rarely been explored thoroughly from both a positive and a negative viewpoint.

There is enough in Wexler's first footnote, on works inspired by Emma,

LEONARD J. LEHRMAN last appeared here in Nov., 1986 with an article on Berlin's Jewish music theater.

to engender an entire essay. At latest count Emma has been a major figure in six films (Yvonne Rainer's Journeys from Berlin, 1971; Warren Beatty's Reds, 1981; a CBC documentary by Paul Kennedy, 1983; and, in progress: a docu-drama by Lea Woods; If I Can't Dance, I Won't Join Your Revolution by Zimya Toms-Trend and Bound by a Thousand Threads by Mindy Washington and Holly Wolf); four works by novelists (Ethel Mannin's Love Under Another Name, 1935, and Women and the Revolution, 1936; Theodore Dreiser's Gallery of Women and E. L. Doctorow's Ragtime); Karl Shapiro's poem, "The Death of Emma Goldman," 1940; a trio for viola, cello and piano in her memory by Christian Wolff; numerous songs including Holly Near's "Dancin' Emma"; six plays in which she is or inspired a character (Eugene O'Neill's The Iceman Cometh, 1946; Rochelle Owens' Emma Instigated Me, 1977; Martha Boesing's Antigone Too, 1983; Mary Kyte, Mel Marvin and Gary Pearle's Tintypes, 1981; Michael Kaniecki and Daniel Zippi's Czolgosz, 1988 and Nicky Silver's Siblings in Paradise, 1988); four one-woman shows (Stephanie Auerbach's A Woman of Valor; Jessica Litwak's Emma Goldman; Mindy Washington's Fire from Lucifer and Holly Wolf's Emma Goldman Living Her Life); and five fulllength biographical plays (Carol Bolt's musical Red Emma: Queen of the Anarchists, 1974; Howard Zinn's Emma, 1976; Michael Dixon's Live Tonight: Emma Goldman, 1981; Lynn Rogoff's Love Ben, Love Emma, 1984; and this writer's E.G.: Scenes from the Life of Emma Goldman, 1984, with Karen Ruoff Kramer).

While Wexler does not quite approach the depth of that definitive study of Emma in Spain, Vision on Fire (1983) by David Porter, her contribution is a valuable one to lay beside Richard Drinnon's Rebel in Paradise (1961) and his and Anna Maria Drinnon's Nowhere at Home (1975).

Wexler's two 300-page volumes also inevitably provoke comparison with Candace Falk's 600-page single-volume Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston the same year as Wexler's first volume, 1984. Both books are full of fascinating details and loving analyses of Emma's struggles with both the

personal and the political.

Neither book, however, goes very deeply into what Wexler refers to on p. 10 as Emma's alleged concern with "the rights of homosexuals." The fullest treatment of that subject is found in the pages on and by Goldman and her lifelong comrade-in-arms Alexander Berkman in Jonathan Katz's Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A. (1976). There in 1925 she expressed sympathy for all oppressed groups, including homosexuals, but never really did touch on the question of their "rights."

Wexler goes a bit further than Falk in adding to what we know of Emma's influences on and relationships with many people, including Paul Robeson and Roger Baldwin. And in doing so Wexler seems to find what she feels was her subject's Achilles' heel. On May 15, 1925, Baldwin wrote to Goldman in response to her unabating criti-

cism of the Soviet government, "I am through with indicting evil in the world merely for the sake of satisfying myself that I have spoken out" (p. 106). "I had to speak out," Goldman wrote to Havelock Ellis the same year, "no matter the consequences" (p. 110).

Details such as these bolster Wexler's contention that Goldman's anti-Bolshevism was more emotionally than rationally motivated. Her initially enthusiastic embrace of the Russian Revolution gradually dimmed after she was deported there in 1919. Two years later, after the massacre at Kronstadt, she and Berkman fled back to the West and began a campaign against the tyrannical abuses they had seen.

Wexler lists detail after detail of Emma's carelessness with facts and figures to support Wexler's own contention that Goldman "contributed to the emergence of an anti-Communist consensus" in America (pages 2-3). Wexler cites Irving Howe's praise of My Disillusionment in Russia and comes close to blaming Goldman for helping to fashion the ideology of the Cold War. Wexler's is thus the first cogent, coherent American critique of Goldman and anarchism from the left. But a complete picture will have to await publication this year, by Falk, of Emma's 40,000 extant letters, and the release of documents just promised by the Soviet government.

A full portrait of Emma as a Jew also remains to be written. Wexler touches upon the resurgence of Goldman's Jewish consciousness, especially as she saw for herself the effects of anti-Semitic raids in areas only recently retaken by the Red Army. "When I was in America," Emma wrote to her niece, Stella Ballantine, from Russia Nov. 3, 1920, "I did not believe in the Jewish question removed from the whole social question. But since we visited some of the pogrom regions I have come to see that there is a Jewish question, especial-

My Cousin Guarding the North

By ADAM B. SCHONBRUN

Y little book covered in mud; His pins, clips, the grenade launcher on the small M-16, unloaded on the desk.

I read somewhere that copies of Leaves of Grass were found in the trenches during WWI—

My cousin patrolling the North says civilians don't know mud, that only a foot soldier knows mud—

My cousin, Ishmael, was once our brother.
I remember how peaceful the olives

along the border.

ADAM B. SCHONBRUN of the English Department of Penn State University is a new contributor. The poem was written in Israel. Since 1985 he has had ifour poetry chapbooks published.

ly in the Ukraine." No matter how much Goldman would later criticize the Soviet government, Wexler does note (p. 41) that she had nothing but praise for its efforts to stop the pogroms and to keep anti-Semitism "rigidly in check."

May those efforts continue, as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe grope their way to a society Emma Goldman dreamed of, even if she was, as William Marion Reedy wrote in the St. Louis Mirror Nov. 5, 1908, "about eight thousand years ahead of her age."

Going Back

By MARILYN McCOMAS

IDS still pitch pennies and scrawl walls up when they're bored. Bikes wheel the streets when cars don't. What's cracked is a sidewalk, a culture,

but others replace it.
Spanish is king, killing
Yiddish that couldn't adjust.
Arroz con pollo drifts
from open windows, spicing
appetites and air.

You can ride the elevator, though it wobbles, fret at mailbox mayhem gaping, see garbage piled where flowers used to grow. Glass shards scatter.

Deadend: the City College gleam from parents' eyes, the access upward. Over. You can loiter, but somehow you won't. You won't even turn to look back.

MARILYN McCOMAS of Richmond, VA, a new contributor, has had her poems published in various literary magazines.

THE MANAGEMENT
COMMITTEE
mourns the death of
Life Subscriber
TOBIAS LEMISCH
August 24, 1905—March 4, 1990
Husband of the late Beatrice
Father of Lisa, Ellen and Jesse
Father-in-law of Naomi
Honor to his memory

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

American Jewish Congress Convenes

New York Mayor David Dinkins was the keynote speaker at the national convention of the American Jewish Congress Feb. 16-19 in West Palm Beach, FL. He affirmed the "historic alliance" of African-Americans and Jewish-Americans, calling it the "bulwark of progress in this nation over our lifetime," and urged reinvigoration of the alliance to pressure the Federal government to

do more to ease poverty.

Resolutions adopted reflected liberal positions on women's equality and contraceptive research, pro-choice as a continuing priority, and opposition to government intrusion into behavior of pregnant women under the guise of protecting "fetal rights." Other resolutions dealt with criteria for judicial selections, support for Central American refugees. the Japanese boycott of Israel, a call for "deep cuts, not merely cosmetic changes" in the defense budget, and support for the efforts of Secretary of State James Baker to hold free elections in the occupied territories of West Bank and Gaza. Robert K. Lifton was reelected as president.

Since the convention AJC has faced a defection movement by the Bronx division which voted to "disband" itself in protest of the organization's dissenting positions on Israel's foreign and defense policies. The division board said it was "inappropriate" for American Jews to voice public criticism of Israel and complained that AJC had been a "dissident force" in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Henry Siegman, executive director, dismissed the move, saying "they can't dissolve a chapter.

All they can do is individually resign." He defended AJC's positions and called the defection part of a tendency to crush criticism in Jewish circles, comparing it to McCarthyism. Many of the leaders of the Bronx group are associated with Rabbi Avi Weiss of Riverdale, an ardent right winger, who had engaged in a war of words with Siegman regarding Weiss's provocative demonstrations at the Carmelite convent near Auschwitz.

Returning to its more usual concerns, AJC issued a statement March 8 welcoming the recommendations of the National Bi-Partisan Commission on Health Care (the "Pepper Commission"), which AJC characterized as proposals which "help move us toward the day when all Americans will have access to adequate and affordable health care." March 15 AJC termed the efforts of the Census Bureau to reach non-English-speaking people "inadequate."

1990 Civil Rights Act

A press conference Feb. 26 at American Jewish Committee offices to announce unified support for the Civil Rights Act of 1990 was attended by leaders of Black and Jewish organizations determined to reverse the setback to civil rights inflicted by the Supreme Court last year in three decisions affecting employment. A front-page headline March 3 in the N.Y. Amsterdam News, largest Black community paper in the country, read, "Blacks-Jews together again in Rights fight." The paper named as participants in the conference NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks, NAACP Legal Defense Fund Counsel Julius Chambers, Dr. Dorothy Height, president, National Council of

Negro Women, Dr. Roscoe Brown, president of the 100 Black Men. Albert Vorspan, vice-president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Henry Siegman, AJCongress, Daniel Ginsberg, Anti-Defamation League, Gary Rubin, AJCommittee, Judith Hertz, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, Joan Bronk, president, National Council of Jewish Women, and Congressman William Green.

Hooks opened the conference by warning that the "regressive narrow majority" in the 5-4 Supreme Court decisions is "trying to resegregate and destroy freedom in this country." Vorspan urged Congress to "rectify the wrongs

inflicted" by the Court.

Feb. 20 Sholom D. Comay, president of AJCommittee, and Meyer Eisenberg, chair of ADL's Legal Affairs Committee, testified before a joint session of Congress on behalf of the bill. Feb. 27 John E. Jacob, president of the National Urban League, testified

at another joint session.

The new bill, introduced Feb. 7, is sponsored by a coalition led by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) and Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA). One potential obstacle was removed when Siegman announced that AJCongress and other Jewish and Christian groups had dropped their push to add a "religious accommodations" provision. Most members of the coalition feared the provision would make the bill more difficult to pass. A separate bill on employees' religious rights is being introduced by Rep. Stephen Solarz (D- NY).

B'nai B'rith's Troubles

The worrisome family feud between B'nai B'rith International and B'nai B'rith Women entered a period of negotiations after an exchange of letters and press statements between Seymour Reich, president of BBI, and Hyla Lipsky, president of BBW. (See our column of Feb. and Billie Portnow's article of March, 1990.) The exchange came after charges of possible fraud and accusations that BBI is engaged in an "effort to entice our members." Finally the two presidents agreed to meet but Reich wants Philip Klutznick, former U.S. Secretary of Commerce and Honorary President of BBI, to facilitate along with someone of similar stature to be named by BBW. Lipsky prefers to have an "independent" mediator.

Meanwhile, the ADL is rumored to be preparing a breakaway, the rumors arising from ADL's no longer using the B'nai B'rith part of its name in recent communications. Burton S. Levinson, ADL chairman, asserts the name drop reflects a "legal technicality" needed to protect the name "Anti-Defamation League" but he also agreed that another motivation is to clarify confusion as BBI tries to be more "visible in public affairs." Reich and BBI executive vicepresident Tom Neumann see no problem.

Also

• The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, meeting in Phoenix in February, passed by a narrow margin of 216 to 207 a resolution warning Israel that building homes for Soviet immigrants on the West Bank could damage fundraising efforts in America. Theodore Mann, past president of AJCongress, supported the resolution but Seymour Reich opposed it. • The Jewish Fund for Justice, 920 Broadway, New York 10010, announced Feb. 6 a list of 33 grants to combat poverty. A sampling of the grantees shows: Asian Immigrant Women Advocates, Oakland, CA, Assault on Illiteracy Program, Houston, TX, Coalition for People, New Haven, CT, Hotel Tenants Rights Project, N.Y., Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, Chicago.

JOSEPH DIMOW

Commemorating 25 years since the passing of SASHA SMORODIN

Devoted exponent of Jewish culture
Husband and comrade-in-strugle
of

Sima Smorodin

His extended family:

The Smorodins

The Siminoskis

The Goldsteins

The Tropps

The Polins

The Sarbers

Zelda Alberti, Eric Tachibana, Jeff Rothwell



Opinions expressed in letters are not necessarily those of the magazine. Letters will not be published unless accompanied by the name and address of the writer. Names will be withheld from publication on request. -- Ed.

Synagogue in Kiev

More about Jung

I was surprised to learn (p. 70, Dec., 1989 issue) that the Popular Front in the Ukraine called for "the restoration of Ukrainian synagogues, the last of which was closed in 1963." I visited a huge, functioning synagogue in Kiev in Aug., 1980, and talked with both those at peace with the system and those not.

ERIC GORDON

New York, Dec. 7, 1989

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I was saddened and amazed at Dr. Herman Weiner's account of my presentation to the recent conference on Jungians, Freudians and anti-Semitism (Sept., 1989).

Luckily for me, audio and video tapes of the conference exist as well as reviews by other people. A cursory scanning of this material will confirm that what I said reflected a critical and not a tolerant approach to Jung. In fact, I went beyond questions concerning Jung the man to look at the anti-Semitism in his thought, something which was not easy for a Jungian analyst to do. (Incidentally, who said that "the verdict on Jung's intellectual contributions was not on the agenda of the conference"? Nobody told me or some other speakers.)

Just to give your readers a flavor of what I had to say about the anti-Semitism that lies at the heart of

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Rockaway, OR, MA, Feb. 14

SANDRA POLISHUK

Enclosed is \$300 for a Life Subscription in memory of my mother, Sonia Chovenson, and Max Gordon.

Santa Fe, NM, Feb. 15

DOROTHY PERRON

(Dinah Stern of Milford, CT; Nahoma Boxerman of Van Nuys, CA; Lillian Freed of New York [solicited by Jack Schulman]; Saul Niedorf of Los Angeles; Ben and Lillian Erenberg of Fort Lee, NJ; Norty and Terry Wheeler of Prairie Village, KS and Harry Bloch, M.D. of South Orange, NJ have all sent in \$100 each to bring their original bargain price of \$200 for a Life Sub up to the current \$300! How's that! Next?)

Jung's thought will also explain why I chose to focus on "nationalism" and not "racism." Basically, what I did was to juxtapose what Jung had to say about the nation and nationalism with what Hitler had to say. For Hitler, the Jews, represented by "their" international capitalism and their international communism, constituted a threat to the healthy and inevitable struggle of nations for world domination. For Jung, the Jews, represented by psychoanalysis ("Jewish psychology"), constituted a threat to the maintenance of certain important innate, psychological differences among nations. For both of them, the Jews level out differences and thereby gain an opening for their hegemonistic intentions.

Thus far, pretty awful, mindless, and a ridiculous expansion of psychology as an explanatory system. And yet, some of the things Jung raises still constitute key themes in psychological discussions today. For example, how valid are the claims of psychoanalysis to provide a universal description of outer and inner events in the family? Do they have the Oedipus complex in India? Even some psychoanalysts say not. Then there is the fascinating issue of the psychological influence of a per-

son's national, ethnic, religious and racial background. If such background does exert an influence, then at what level does it operate? Is it innate or culturally acquired? What I was saying is that some of Jung's questions intuitively plug into today's debates and anxieties about these issues.

I will move now to contradict some of the appallingly inaccurate summaries of my ideas given by Dr. Weiner. I did not plead for understanding of Jung rather than condemnation of him. What I said was: "The goals (of the paper) are to comprehend, emotionally and intellectually, how on earth it is that Jung, anti-Semitism and the Nazis come to be discussed in the same frame — and to consider the implications for us today." I went on to criticize the defenders of Jung and to say that I saw a similarity between attack and defense in that both attackers and defenders of Jung want to settle a whole series of very complicated questions in a simple way: "Let's clear our man once and for all — or, let's finish the bastard off."

I also said that "Sensing and recasting Jung as the psychologist of nations does not do away with the problem of his racism."

Turning to the question of Jung's

leadership and political ambitions, I believe I am the first Jungian analyst ever to have written about this (in my book Jung and the Post-Jungians, 1985). In the paper to the conference I said things like: "The part played by Jung's own desire for power in bringing about the break with Freud is often underestimated." And I was among the first to bring out the horrific implications of what Jung said about "the Leader" in an interview on Radio Berlin in 1933. I questioned whether Jungians' investment in Jung as an "other-worldly poetic genius" should remain unchallenged. It is a ridiculous distortion to quote me as saying that we should "stick to" this view.

I am sure I have done enough in this letter to dispel any false impressions given by your reviewer (though you yourself now have a responsibility to look into the matter).

JERRY TRAUBER
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I hope you publish this letter because it gives me an opportunity to conclude like this: it is by reading and re-reading Jung's ideas ever more rigorously that we can come to see the functional anti-Semitism contained therein. Concentration on the man's psychological inadequacies is not the best way to make reparation. For reparation is needed and, at last, and thank God, is being made.

ANDREW SAMUELS

London, England, Dec. 8

Dr. Herman Weiner comments:

In your submitted conference paper (not heretofore available to me), it seems clear that you did *not* suggest

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that we should "stick to Jung's unworldly and poetic view of himself." Chastened by my error, I re-read all of the relevant materials very carefully. I admire much of your thoughtful analysis of Jung's "Jewish psychology" as it parallels Nazi ideology about Jews. However, I remain struck by your emotional inability to unequivocally judge and condemn Jung's appalling behavior during that terrible period of German

history.

In order to ward off "a final solution to the Jung problem," you assure us of the "immense complications" involved, and then proceed to a lengthy interposition of "the intricate ideograms of nation and leadership" between Jung and his rabid racism. Almost totally lost in this rather exculpatory text, a single sentence on p. 5 suddenly announces that the problem of Jung's racism may still remain unresolved. I would like to believe that your podium statement that for Jung "it was not race, but nation" was merely an unintended reversal. However, you do confess that your goal was to "comprehend emotionally and intellectually, how on earth it is that Jung, anti-Semitism and the Nazis come to be discussed in the same frame." Most of your colleagues did not seem to share this astonishment over the "frame" so incongruous to you. Reframing Jung's anti-Semitism, however artfully, will not pass muster.

You attack both the defenders and attackers as simple-mindedly unanalytical. But you make special note that you are not criticizing "the intent... accuracy or cogency of the defenses, but responding to their flavor and taste." Your partisanship is loud and clear here! Yet, you go on to attack even those who would "weigh up the competing claims... to reach a balanced point of view" as "disengaged, morally supercilious, pseudo-mature, and just as riddled with certainty as overt attack or defense. The 'shadows' are going to

'linger' anyway." The Conference on Jung largely succeeded. It did dispel those "shadows" of ambiguity you still

cling to so tenaciously.

Your severe ambivalence toward Jung is strikingly demonstrated in your letter of complaint published here. In it, you admit that Jung's nationalistic "psychology" was an "awful, mindless, and ridiculous expansion of psychology." Indeed — and very destructive, I must add! Yet, you abruptly reverse yourself in the following sentences to extoll his murky notions as "key themes. . . questions [which] intuitively plug into today's debates. . ." Today's psychology evidences little or no interest in this garbage so avidly devoured and regurgitated by the Nazis.

Finally, I marvel at your self-styled role as a practicing "analyst" compelled to straighten out "the mess" left by all previous Jung scholars. You set out in "a cautious. . . disciplined way. . . "guided by your "professional imagination, which gets called counter-transference"!? Such hutzpa brings to mind Jung's struggle with his similarly paternal transference as he dares to psychoanalyze the Hebrew god in his tome on

Job.

As a Conference reporter for JEWISH CURRENTS, I did attempt to present a "balanced view among competing claims." Ironically, I have been criticized in another letter (Jan., 1990) for obscuring Jung's pernicious role in a style "typically Jungian."

New York, Dec. 29

With love and longing
I remember
the yortzeit of
my husband
DAVID GREENBERG
who died April 23, 1986

Tillie Greenberg

In Memory of

ROSE

My thanks to all those
who bought trees for
Israel
and those who
sent cards and called me

Especially to

Sam and Fannie Borun

Century Village

West Palm Beach

and

JEWISH CURRENTS

Max Noon

MAY, 1990 39

The Rosenfeld Family
Norman, Ethel
and children
honor the memory
of
RUBE DIAMOND

RUBE DIAMOND
A progressive Jewish secularist

Los Angeles

In loving memory of ABRAHAM MAYMUDES A wonderful teacher in the IWO Kindershule in Los Angeles

I was a student of his in the 1930s.

Julia (Agranovitz) Eisenberg

In memory of
my beautiful cousin
MOLLY LEVIN
Jan. 19, 1908—Jan. 20, 1990
She loved life, music, justice
and her family:
Daughter Wendy
Son-in-law Len
Grandchildren David and Jessica
et al.

Carol Jochnowitz New York

CORRECTION

• Feb. issue, p. 14: "The Collar Stud" was by Betty L. *Pollack* (not Pollak).

Navick and Glasnost

Paul Novick's article entitled "Problems of the Soviet Jews" appearing in your Dec., 1989 issue is a reminder of our meeting in the *Morning Freiheit* approximately five years ago when my husband and I made a stopover in New York while bound for the Soviet Union. Novick commented that he would visit the Soviet Union again when true Socialism prevailed, when Jewish culture developed and expanded, and the threat of anti-Semitism had eroded.

Gorbachev's glasnost raised the lid of Pandora's Box, thereby uncovering a simmering cauldron of economic ills,

> The Editorial Board congratulates Neil and Robin Salzman on the birth of their son GABRIEL SIMON February 12, 1990

In loving memory of
My wife ROZ
My friend ZELDA HASENBERG
Henry Schuldenfrei
Los Angeles

In memory of HARRY OLIVENBAUM

We mourn a dear friend and member of the Sholem Aleichem Club, whose quiet mentshlikhkeit and many talents did so much to make our personal and Club life stimulating and alive over more than 30 years.

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of
my wife
BINA CYMES
Died April 15, 1988
You will always be
in our hearts

Arnold
Daughters Annette
and Lenore
Grandchildren Mark,
Cindy, Rony, Michael,
Nina

In loving memory
of
RUTH SCHWARTZ
DIED MARCH 6, 1988

Chaim Schwartz
Harold
Sheindl
and
Neil — grandson

political dissension and cultural and religious repression in the Soviet Union touching every facet of life of Jews and Christians. The virulently anti-Semitic, Russian nationalist Pamyat movement flowered again, arousing hatred in its path.

Conversely, glasnost has created a positive atmosphere for the expansion and development of Jewish cultural group activities. In the current changing climate in the Soviet Union it is incumbent on Jewish cultural leaders to make the pursuit of Judaism a life-long cause. Haver Novick's optimistic perception and predictions are hovering on the horizon.

SELMA GREENBERG Los Angeles, CA, Dec. 25

> In loving memory of ZELDA HASENBERG

Sam and Selma Greenberg Los Angeles

> In honor of LU BLECHER 65 years young

Supporter of Women's Rights Jewish Secularism Human Rights

Browns — Rosenfelds
Los Angeles

Soviet Jews. . .

(Continued from page 17)

this appears in Vol. II, which focuses instead on official anti-Semitism, the rise of the Jewish national movement and what the author describes as the "permitted margins of Jewish life" (chapter 33). The social structure of Soviet Jewry was not fixed as of 1939; an outline of its development since the war would have enhanced our understanding of postwar Soviet Jewry, as would a more extensive discussion of the contributions that Jews have made during the past four decades to Soviet society as a whole.

Another flaw is the lack of a bibliography. Because Prof. Levin's study includes over 165 pages of footnotes, the reader all too often encounters frustrating references such as "quoted in Korey, op. cit., p. 81" or "Rubin, op. cit., pp. 308-12" (both citations selected randomly from p. 939). A comprehensive list of sources cited in the work would have been useful.

Like any work of Zeitgeschichte, The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917 is necessarily unfinished. Its publication nevertheless stands as a substantial achievement.

In loving memory of our parents and grandparents ESTHER and PINKUS SHEFFER

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Sadie Blecher, his wife
and his children,
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and great-grandchildren

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MAY, 1990 43

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Bernard Batt, MD, San Diego, CA (Incomplete, to be continued)

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AT HOME

In the House of Representatives Feb. 5, 10 members of the Congressional Black Caucus sent a letter to every Congressman urging a cut in U. S. foreign aid to Israel, Egypt, the Philippines, Turkey, Pakistan and El Salvador, which together receive 70% of all U.S. aid, in order to increase aid to Africa and the Caribbean. "In sharp contrast," said the letter, signed by Ronald Dellums, CA, George Crockett, MI, Mervin Dymally, CA, Walter Fauntroy, DC, Donald Payne, NJ, Alan Wheat, MO, Charles Hayes, IL, Augustus Hawkins, CA, Gus Savage, IL and William Clay, MO, "Africa, the world's poorest region, is always at the bottom end of the aid spectrum, receiving less than 6% of total U. S. foreign assistance," and the Caribbean less than 2%. At present "every Israeli would receive \$700 in U. S. aid, while every African would receive just a little more than \$1. How can that be justified when Israeli per capita income is \$4,990 and African per capita income is only \$683?". . . In mid-March, the 24-member Black Caucus, in its 10th annual comprehensive Alternative Budget to the Administration's federal budget, asked for an increased foreign aid appropriation in order to aid poorer countries, especially in Africa.

The Merchant of Venice was characterized by Howard Fast in an article in the N. Y. Observer March 5 as "a passionate exercise in anti-Semitism, as vicious a document of the kind as exists.... I see no reason for its presentation to any civilized society.... Shylock is a lie, a vicious lie and a burden Jews have borne for centuries." As for Dustin Hoffman's performance of Shylock,

which was a phenomenal financial success both in London and New York, where it closed its limited engagement in mid-March, Howard Fast concluded, "it enlightens no one and can only do harm to Jews. . . ." (Those who want an elaborate exposition of the anti-Semitism embedded in the structure of *The Merchant of Venice* may get it in my 1962 pamphlet reprint, *Shylock and Anti-Semitism*, available from us for an SASE.)

The United Negro College Fund was given \$50 million to distribute among its 41 Black colleges by Walter H. Annenberg, 82, billionaire owner of a communications empire of newspapers and magazines, and U.S. Ambassador to Britain 1969-1974. Active in support of the UNCF for more than a decade, he has also given money to Howard University in Washington and Xavier University in New Orleans, as well as to the University of Pennsylvania (\$300 million), Harvard, Northwestern, Temple and Southern California Universities.

For teaching that the Holocaust was a "myth" in his course in Western Civilization 101 at Indiana-Purdue University in Indianapolis, Donald Hiner was suspended March 1 after a student, Rene Arbuckle, taped one of his lectures Feb. 9 and brought it to Dean John Barlow and the Indianapolis press. Hiner has an M. A. in history and a strange past: in 1970, as a student, he was convicted of stealing books on Hitler from his university library; in 1980 he was convicted of theft; in 1988 he was convicted for stealing Nazi memorabilia.

Chicago: After five terms in the House

of Representatives, Gus Savage barely won renomination in the Democratic primary March 20 by 51% from his Black challenger's, Melvin Reynolds' 43% and 5% for a LaRouche candidate. In a working class district that is over 70% Black, Savage has consistently won 51-52% of the vote. In his one election rally March 17, Savage, surrounded by Nation of Islam security guards, denounced by name Jews who financially supported his Black opponent and complained about "pro-Israeli money" coming into his district. An editorial in the Chicago Tribune March 22 scored Savage's "venom" and compared him to David Duke, former KKK leader who won a Republican seat in the Louisiana senate with a racist campaign. Early at the March 17 rally, Black Democratic leaders William H. Gray 3d, House whip, and Charles B. Rangel, had spoken in favor of Savage's reelection. (He has been supported by the AFL-CIO, Americans for Democratic Action, ACLU and the Consumer Federation of America for his liberalprogressive positions.) March 26 Gray declared: "After reviewing the videotape of Mr. Savage's speech before the Illinois primary, I find much of his language and remarks unacceptable, divisive and bigoted. Such language I reject and condemn." Rangel was reported in the Chicago Sun-Times March 23 as "shocked and surprised" by reports of the rally, which he, and Gray, had left before Savage spoke. If Savage made such remarks, "I would not have hesitated to refuse any requests to come to Chicago and indeed to endorse him." Democratic National chair, Ronald H. Brown, first Black to hold that post, said March 23, "I understand there were some controversial remarks. If they smacked of racism or anti-Semitism, I abhor it." Former Chicago Mayor Eugene Sawyer condemned Savage's naming of Jewish donors to Reynolds' campaign.

South Africa: The release of Nelson Mandela, African National Congress leader, on Feb. 11 after 27 years in prison for fighting apartheid, was generally welcomed by Jews the world over (see our April editorial, "Mandela, Jews, the Continuing Struggle"). On Feb. 27, however, when Mandela visited Lusaka, Zambia, and was greeted enthusiastically by many African heads of state and leaders, he and Yasir Arafat embraced, and Mandela remarked that "there are many similarities between our struggle and that of the PLO" and that both Israel and South Africa practiced "a unique form of colonialism," a big rift appeared in Jewish public opinion. (In Ha'aretz Dec., 1989 an article by Emmanuel Sivan, "Is Israel a Colonial Power?" answers yes.) The S. A. Board of Deputies declined to comment but Solly Sacks, head of the S. A. Zionist Federation, found Mandela's views "very upsetting." Asked at a news conference Feb. 28 whether his remarks might alienate South Africa's 100,000 Jews, Mandela said, "If the truth alienates the powerful Jewish community in South Africa, that's too bad. We expect everybody who is exploring the possibility of lasting solutions to be able to face the truth squarely."... Israel's comment was that "Israel, as is known, supported Mandela's release throughout the years he served in prison. Any meeting with Arafat, the leader of a terrorist organization who is brutal and violent even against his own Palestinian fellows, cannot contribute to the advancement of the principle of justice and equality. If it's true what Mandela says, there's no doubt that we have to express our regret." (Since U. S. diplomats and Israeli legislators have been meeting covertly with Arafat to accelerate the peace process, this assertion that "any meeting with Arafat" puts one outside "the principle of justice and equality" was seen as no help to the peace process.). . . In New York Rabbi Alexander Schindler, head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), found Mandela's statement "deplorable" and American Jewish Committee Pres. Sholom Comay called on Mandela "to reconsider his positions, and adopt a more constructive stance that recognizes Israel's democratic character and furthers the Middle East peace process." Criticism of Mandela also came from the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. . . . In mid-March, a delegation from the S. A. Board of Deputies met with police officials to protest anti-Semitic acts in Johannesburg. The police assured the delegation that the incidents were getting "close attention."

USSR: Jewish emigration in March was 7,298, compared with 4,240 in March, 1989; all but 20 went to Israel. The total for 1990 through March is 17,799, compared with 9,461 in 1989 through March. . . . In Moscow Feb. 16 to March 4 a "Survey of Political Tolerance and Anti-Semitism" was conducted by University of Houston Profs. James Gibson and Raymond Duch, who had 506 adults answer their questionnaire. In New York March 29 the report by the researchers was released in their own tabulation of the Jewish aspect. Question I: "I am going to read you a list of some groups that are currently active in social and political life. [Do you] dislike the group very much, like the group very much, neither like nor dislike the group?" Like Jews-18%, like Pamyat—14%; dislike Jews — 18%, dislike Pamyat — 63%; neutral to Jews -65%, neutral to Pamyat-23%. Q2: "More than any other group in society, it is the Jews who are responsible for the problems the Soviet Union is experiencing today." Agree— 8%, disagree — 79%, uncertain — 13%. Q3: "When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will

choose money." Agree — 33%, disagree—38%, uncertain — 29%. Q4: Jews have too much influence over Russian culture." Agree — 23%, disagree — 56%, uncertain — 21%. Q5: "Jews deserve to be punished because they killed Christ." Agree-10%, disagree — 75%, uncertain — 15%. O6: '. . . anti-Jewish feeling is on the rise . . . diminishing, or. . . about the same. . . ?" On the rise-48%, diminishing -5%, about the same -44%, no anti-Jewish feelings - 3%. Q7: "... Would you say that most people in the Soviet Union are anti-Jewish, only some. . . or very few. . .? Most are anti-Jewish — 17%, only some — 60%, very few— 19%, almost no anti-Jewish feeling- 4%. Q8: "Jews should be free to decide. . . whether they want to remain in the Soviet Union or emigrate." Agree - 91%, disagree - 4%, uncertain - 5%. 09: "Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel are a subversive element in society." Agree — 9%, disagree — 84%, uncertain —7%. Q10: "The government should make every effort to see that the rights of Jews to equal educational opportunity are respected throughout the Soviet Union." Agree—90%, disagree - 5%, uncertain - 5%. Q11: "The government should make every effort to see that the rights of Jews to equal employment opportunities are respected throughout the Soviet Union." Agree — 88%, disagree — 5%, uncertain — 7%. Q12: "Do you think the government should be doing more than it is to control anti-Semitism today in the Soviet Union?" Yes - 74%, no-21%. no anti-Semitism — 5%. Q13: "It would be fine with me if a Jew who had a similar (economic) background as mine joined my close family by marriage." Agree— 31%, disagree — 31%, uncertain — 38%. . . . Now please turn to our editorial on p. 3 to see how these data were misrepresented to the press. M.U.S.

47

MAY, 1990

Honoring

the Fourth Yortzeit of

ABE BOXERMAN

April 12, 1910—May 15, 1986

Your friends remember and we miss you.

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