

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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Reading the Birobidzhaner Shtern

IRANGATE, REAGAN and ISRAEL

Herbert Aptheker

WEST MEETS EAST

Craig Marin

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THEY DARED TO SPEAK OUT

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**TIKKUN: A COUNTERWEIGHT TO
COMMENTARY**

Alfred J. Kutzik

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IRANGATE, REAGAN — AND ISRAEL

By Herbert Aptheker

On March 4, President Reagan said: "I told the American people I did not trade arms for hostages. My heart and my best intentions still tell me that is true, but the facts, and the evidence tell me it is not."

What is the meaning of such a statement? When he said he did not do something, he really meant that, but he now sees that he really did do what he says he did not do; but he didn't mean to do what he did. One need not be a clinician to know that this is the statement of a paranoid; a pathological liar is confessing before a national audience his compulsion to falsify.

Two minutes later, in the same speech, the liar gives away the game: the goal of the effort, he states, was "the geopolitical strategy of reaching out to Iran." And what does that mean?

It means that Washington was attracted to the Tehran regime for the same reason it is attracted to Pinochet and to Botha; Tehran attracts Reagan for the same reason that he is enamored of the Contras. The Khomeinie regime has betrayed the great 1979 revolution of the Iranian people, whose Constitution promised a democratic government, an empowered trade-union movement, a distribution of the land to the peasants, and freeing of the women, the improvement of living conditions. Every promise of that hard-fought revolution has been betrayed, and its leaders have been systematically hunted down, tortured, and executed by the thousands.

Superstition has been enthroned, chauvinism intensified, and a bloody war has been maintained for years as a pretext for repression and a rationalization for reaction.

There were signs, on the business pages of the bourgeois press, beginning some five or six years ago, of a certain understanding between Washington and Tehran; deals were reported, loans were announced, profitable trade was resumed. The political-military rapprochement goes back at least four years and the intelligence services of both governments were co-operating certainly by 1984. It is admitted, for example, that the CIA was giving leads to "subversives" in Iran to that regime's torturers.

The granting of arms by Washington to Tehran was part of the policy of keeping the war between Iraq and Iran as bloody as possible. Both were given military intelligence by Washington and both were deliberately fed erroneous information by Reagan's officials.

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West Meets East . . .

By Craig Marin

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EDITORS NOTE: In the past two weeks we have had two contradictory exposures to current Soviet policies. One, the excellent coverage of free wheeling, wide ranging interviews with Soviet youth by Phil Donohue, taped in Moscow in which they spoke out clearly of their desire for friendship and closer ties with their counterparts in America. The other was the disgusting anti-Soviet TV show put on by ABC called "Amerika," deservedly criticized by the right as well as left - Wall Street Journal and Advertising Age - among many others.

This article by an 18 year old Jewish boy is therefore, important.

"The most interesting part of this trip is going to be meeting people who are completely different from me," was the comment I made to my parents as we entered the hotel in London where I was to meet with my grandparents. They had chosen that summer of 1985 to go to the Soviet Union, and since I'm their oldest grandson, they agreed to take me along.

My grandfather knows a professor of Slavic Studies who has friends in Russia. Through this connection, we arranged to have dinner with this family, the Urnovs, on our second night in Moscow. Thus, the stage was set for my first meeting with Fedya, their sixteen year old son.

I was rather anxious about meeting Fedya because I had no idea what to say. I didn't even know how much English he could speak. It was difficult for me to imagine what we could possibly have in common to talk about.

We met the Urnovs outside our hotel, the National. My first impression of Fedya was that he was taller than I expected, about five feet nine inches. His brown hair was not parted, but was instead combed straight down. His hair was long in front, hanging just above his brown eyes. It looked almost as if he was waiting for a barber to come by and cut it. Although he was not overly thin, he was basically slender. He had on a grey sport coat covered his grey slacks with a collar on underneath. The coat covered up his grey slacks midway to the knees. He wore white tennis shoes which had three vertical stripes on either side. I thought at the time, "I have a pair like those in my closet at home." Only later did I realize that this was just one of the many similarities between the

two of us.

Fedya was not shy at all. In clear English, he immediately began to tell me about the places he would take me during the next two days. I had been concerned about talking about political subjects. He, however, clearly wasn't. As soon as I told him where I was from, Whittier, a city near Los Angeles, he quickly brought up the subject of the Olympics, not the athletic aspect. He wanted to discuss the boycotts. Even though we could conceivably get into a debate about this, we didn't. We merely discussed the issue and actually tended to agree with one another. We both felt that the competitive level was slightly higher at the Moscow games, but the Los Angeles Olympics were more Hollywood type entertainment.

At dinner we discussed more pleasant topics. For instance, I was surprised at how much he knew about the NBA and famous American athletes. Larry Bird, Carl Lewis, and Kareem were familiar names to Fedya. I gradually began to feel more comfortable talking to him. We reached a real comradeship when we began to share information about applying to colleges in our respective countries. It was a jolt to hear from his mouth, "I'm worried about how well I'll do in college. I hear it's a lot of work." I felt almost like I was listening to myself talking. I would never have imagined just a few days earlier that I would hear a Soviet teen-ager express one of my own frequent concerns. Though Fedya was only sixteen, he had been accepted to Moscow University as a biology major and planned to enter there as a freshman that fall.

As the evening drew on, we moved to more traditional U.S.-Soviet topics. It was during this time that I learned how patriotic he felt towards his country. **Rather than seeing himself as being oppressed, he believed that beyond any doubt, his country has the best economic system in the world. This fact made him even more interesting to me, because I felt like I was talking to a legitimate Soviet counterpart. As one might expect, he didn't think very highly of Ronald Reagan.**

Despite our political differences, we share some common feelings in regards to fearing the possibility of having to fight a war. We both agreed that we would defend our country in time of invasion, but did not want to fight outside the country. He told me that until recently, all males had to serve in the military for two years once they reached the age of eighteen, unless they were university students. However, the government had just passed a law negating the university student clause. He openly expressed disapproval of this law. Not only was

he concerned about the increased possibility of someday seeing combat abroad, but he was also concerned that after going to college for two years, he would forget a lot during the interruption.

Throughout the following two days, I traveled with him to different sights in Moscow, such as the zoo, the movie theatre, the circus, and a soccer match between the Soviet Union and Italy.

He always tended to stand rigid and consistently dressed the same way everyday. In addition, he constantly went out of his way to be polite. For instance, he always insisted on paying for everything. "It's just a matter of a ruble," he would say. One day, we had to skip lunch because the restaurant we went to was too crowded. He spent much time after that apologizing for this incident.

As we talked more and more, I noticed him using street English quite a bit. For instance, he often used expressions such as "Oh my God!" and "Jesus H. Christ!" to express surprise. I was amused when Fedya told me that in the Soviet Union a gay person is referred to as "blue." He used the word "gay," not homosexual. At the soccer game, there was a great amount of reaction from the crowd when a Soviet player missed a clean shot in front of the goal. Fedya leaned over to me and said, "There are a lot of four letter words being spoken right now." He also had an incredible tendency to use the word "so" to begin a sentence, putting a great stress on the word before continuing his statement. Example: "So . . . Where shall we go next?"

Fedya never ceased to amaze me with how much he knew about the United States. For instance, he at one point asked in dismay, "Why did the Coca-Cola Company change the taste of Coke?" That was probably the last question that I expected to be asked in the Soviet Union. We discussed such books as *1984* and *Catcher In The Rye*, both of which he had read. He didn't like *1984* because he felt that it criticized the Russian people. *Catcher In The Rye*, however, he said was very popular there. Fedya also knew a lot about the political system in the United States and how the government is structured.

His knowledge about the economic differences between our two countries and of United States foreign policy did not extend to his awareness about Soviet foreign policy. For example, when I asked him if his country supports Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War, he replied, "I don't know. that's something nobody really knows. I'm sure we support somebody but I don't know whom."

Nevertheless, as you may have already gathered, Fedya was very bright. He could speak and read not only

Russian and English, but French and Spanish as well. This could partly account for why he knew so much. He clearly liked to learn through conversation and the sharing of ideas. On many occasions he told me things that he had learned by talking to other foreigners, such as the political systems of western Europe.

His talkative nature can best be revealed in a comment his mother made to me when I was walking with her and my grandmother. She said, "Craig you're so quiet. I thought American boys were loud. With Fedya, I can always tell if he's around. That's why we're sending him to college a year early; I just can't take it anymore."

The longer we were together, the more we broke down our ideological boundaries and just discussed things as one individual to another or, in some cases, as general. Lenin and Jefferson must have been rolling over in their graves, or in Lenin's case, his tomb.

As we walked back to the hotel National on my last day in Moscow, a man walked up to me and asked something in Russian. Fedya quickly looked at his watch, a basic windup kind, and answered the man for me. I noted at the time how symbolic this action was, showing that we were both just individuals, indistinguishable if you take away the East-West labels.

Today, whenever, I hear about the Soviet Union on the news, I can't help but think of it in terms of the individual as well as the national perspective. I was granted the rare opportunity of seeing behind the politics, and I found an individual whose values and hopes were very similar to my own. Without question, my exposure to Fedya was not just a symbolic friendship, but it was an event which is certain to endure as one of the most educational of my life. □

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BIROBIDZHAN, USSR: THE JEWISH AUTONOMOUS REGION

By Mike Davidow

The article below was excerpted from; *Moscow Diary* 2 by Mike Davidow, published by Progress Publishers, Moscow. Mike Davidow is a contributor to Jewish Affairs. He is the former *Daily World* correspondent and now resides in the USSR.

June 27, 1984

I attended an emotional celebration in Birobidzhan of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Jewish Autonomous Region. Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Region have much in common with the development of the 15 Union Republics and numerous Autonomous regions and republics. All rose on the basis of equality. All reached the uniformly high level of industrial, agricultural, cultural progress. All enjoy equal rights *in deeds not in words*. All this has been achieved thanks to the Leninist nationalities policy pursued by the C.P.S.U.

However, Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Region have their own specific features arising out of their particular development. The October Revolution broke down the walls of ghetto existence. Forbidden to live in big cities (with few exceptions), denied the right to own land or to work in all but a few occupations under the tsarist regime. Jews rushed to become part of the new Soviet life on every level. The overwhelming majority moved into the big cities. Today hundreds of thousands of Jews live in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev.

Soviet Government was ready to assist any in the Jewish population who so desired to participate in a state form of organization. Thus in 1924, a committee was set up. In 1927, an expedition led by Professor V.L. Bruk investigated the area lying between the rivers Bira and Bidzhan in the Far East. (The city takes its name from the two rivers.) The expedition found the land suitable for settling, and in 1928 Soviet Government adopted a decision setting aside the land in that area for the settlement of Jewish working people. In May 1928, the first Jewish settlers, mostly from the shtetels of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, arrived in the tiny village of Tikhonkaya, later to become Birobidzhan. In Birobidzhan's museum of regional studies, I saw photographs of the early pioneers, clearing the virgin land, while they slept in tents, building homes, organizing garment and shoe-

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making artels (collective workshops), tilling the soil. There were a number of American citizens among them: Elkin and Sarah Adler, Abe and Ethel Koval. By 1934 the project was so successful that the Jewish Autonomous Region, will all the rights enjoyed by autonomous bodies, was established as part of the Russian Federation.

From the very inception the Jewish Autonomous Region grew and developed in the spirit of internationalism. The Jewish settlers did not displace, disperse (least of all expel) any indigenous peoples. Nor did the Jewish Autonomous Region develop in an atmosphere of nationalistic exclusiveness foisting second-class citizenship on supposedly "inferior" peoples. As in all Soviet republics, autonomous regions, all the peoples of the Soviet Union took equal part in the creation of industry, the development of agriculture, and culture. Thus today, Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Region are proud of their multi-national population. I came across no one, least of all Soviet Jews, who bewails this basic feature of its and all Soviet life. On the contrary, they view this with pride. The Jewish Autonomous Region's growth is linked with the transformation of the Soviet Far East. Birobidzhan's development is connected with the rise of such cities as Komsomolsk-on-Amur which joined in the jubilee celebration.

Jews make up only 15 percent of the population of the Jewish Autonomous Region, and a little more of its capital, Birobidzhan. The population of the former is 200,000 and of the latter 75,000. Jews are a distinct minority, yet the state form of organization bears the name of the Jewish Autonomous Region and it is not only the name that matters. The Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Tatars, Chukchee and many other nationalities consider it quite natural and are not in the slightest resentful. (In our society it would be hard to imagine a similar situation.) On the contrary, all nationalities are proud of the contributions of their fellow countrymen, the Soviet Jews, toward making this one of the most advanced regions of the Soviet Far East. This was vividly demonstrated by the enthusiastic, multi-national participation in the festivities celebrating the jubilee. More than 9,000 representing the various nationalities performed before an audience of 12,000, in a gala program that dramatized the cultural riches of the Jewish Autonomous Region. Students (of many nationalities) of the machine-building technical secondary school took part in mass performance of Jewish folk dances. The popular violin ensemble of the Birobidzhan

Palace of Culture played a medley of Jewish folk melodies. All then joined in mass dancing of folk dances of all peoples. The Jewish Musical Theater staged an opera-ballet, *Goldene Haseneh* (Golden Wedding), in the beautiful concert hall of the Philharmonia which depicted, in song and dance, the 50-year history of the Jewish Autonomous Region. The concert hall is an architectural work of art. It was constructed by workers from all over the U.S.S.R. for the jubilee.

Though only a very small part of Soviet Jews chose to live in Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Republic, they play a special role in the development and promotion of Jewish culture.

A city of only 75,000 (only 11,000 of whom are Jews) has the kind of Jewish cultural institutions and organizations that even New York with its incomparably larger Jewish population could envy. They include the following: the Jewish Musical Theater, led by Mikhail Gluz, which has a permanent company of 118 including its own orchestra, 35 actors, singers, dancers. It has a repertory of six outstanding musical-ballet works based on classic Jewish and contemporary Soviet themes. It tours the U.S.S.R. and other countries nine months a year.

It has appeared frequently on Television in the Jewish Autonomous Region. Eleven of the 35 performers are not Jewish — they, however, have learned to speak Yiddish.

The Freilachs. A talented variety group of singers and dancers who specialize in Jewish folk music and dance. The permanent cast of 23 is led by 34-year-old Ilya Lerner who is the oldest of the group. They are on tour all over the Autonomous Region and the U.S.S.R. 11 months of the year. They, too, appear regularly on TV and radio.

The Jewish People's Drama Theater which performs classic Soviet contemporary plays in Yiddish. It is regarded as one of the best non-professional theaters in the Russian Federation.

The violin ensemble of 14 virtuoso violinists also specializes in classic and Jewish folk melodies. In addition there are a large number of amateur drama, song and dance groups.

The *Birobidzhaner Stern* a four-page newspaper is published in Yiddish five times a week. It has a staff of 45 led by 34-year-old Leonid Shkolnik, a poet, its editor-in-chief. It has readers in 160 Soviet cities and 13 countries including the U.S., and Israel. Emmanuel Kazakevich, a prominent Soviet writer, whose book, *The Blue Notebook*, is regarded as a classic work about

Lenin, got his literary start working on the *Stern*. Kazakevich's first poems in Yiddish were published in the newspaper in 1930. In addition to the *Stern*, a Russian equivalent, *Birobidzhanskaya zvezda* (which also means star) is published.

The Sholom Aleichem library. I doubt there is anything like it in the U.S. Established in 1930, today it has a stock of 170,000 books in Yiddish and Russian on Jewish literature, both classic and contemporary Soviet. Boris Berger, its distinguished director, showed me with particular pride the six volume edition of Sholom Aleichem's works in Russian which was issued in 100,000 copies. The library has a staff of 37 libraries in Birobidzhan and 150 in the Autonomous Region.

A Russian-Yiddish dictionary of 40,000 words has just been issued. News broadcasts on TV and radio are in Yiddish, as well as in Russian, and the signs on public buildings, railroad stations, sports stadiums are in both languages. One of the city's main streets is named after Sholom Aleichem. An illustrated primer of the Yiddish language (237 pages, hard-cover and priced at 60 kopecks — about 80 cents) has been issued.

Inter-marriage which is widespread in the Jewish Autonomous Region, as it is throughout this multi-national state of equals, has not led to the obliteration of the cultural heritage of the Jewish people. On the contrary, with its well-organized cultural life, it is reaching a greater audience than in the restricted ghetto existence under the tsars. The TV, radio, the tours of the Jewish Musical Theater, Freilach, Drama Theater, the publication of the works by the classical Jewish writers and the many Soviet writers writing in Yiddish in large editions in Russian and many other languages of the U.S.S.R. have vastly extended the scope of its influence. An important role in this respect is played by the literary magazine published in Yiddish, *Sovietish Heimland*, which with its circulation of 25,000 has a readership exceeding that of any Yiddish-language magazine in the U.S. Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Region play a particularly significant role in the development of Yiddish literature, in general and in respect to the *Sovietish Heimland*, in particular. Aron Vergelis, a poet and the magazine editor, got his literary start in Birobidzhan. Vergelis's family (like many other families) came to Birobidzhan from the "shtetels, products of forced "luftmensch existence".

The "shtetel" Jews who came to Birobidzhan learned to work with their hands, to build, to create. Celebrating their jubilee, Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Region vividly demonstrated how that dream came true.

Jewish Affairs

The dream was not transformed into a hideous nightmare (as in Israel today), because the building and creating was done together with the other nations, as equals, in the spirit of brotherhood. No one waxed rich on the sweat of others, none was oppressed.

Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Region today are important industrial and agricultural centers of the Soviet Far East. Typical of this development is the huge, modern Dalselmash plant, manufacturing unique rice and corn harvesting combines today, which started in 1934 producing wagon wheels. Its 3,000 workers of 17 nationalities live and work in harmony. Our first stop was the plant's memorial to Yusef Bumagin and other workers who have lost their lives in the war against fascism. Bumagin, Hero of the Soviet Union, died in the fighting for Poland. He threw his body upon a nazi machine-gun to clear the way for his comrades. Bumagin's spirit typifies the spirit of the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews who are as ready to defend their socialist homeland as he was.

We participated in an extremely moving peace demonstration in Birobidzhan on June 22. That was the day 43 years ago that Hitler's nazi armies invaded the Soviet Union. Assembled in the vast square were the three generations who had transformed this once wilderness into a beautiful, modern, thriving Soviet city. They held up peace banners in Yiddish and Russian. Among those on the platform was General David Dragunsky, twice Hero of the Soviet Union. Dragunsky, a Soviet Jew who heads the Soviet Committee against Zionism, had come to join the Jewish Autonomous Region's jubilee. 340,000 Soviet Jews received awards and medals for outstanding service in the war against fascism, among them were 117 Heroes of the Soviet Union.

Birobidzhan's power-transformer plant sends its products to large construction-sites throughout the U.S.S.R. The marble of the Jewish Autonomous Region is used in the construction of many Metro stations. Birobidzhan is also center for light industry. We visited its huge plant which annually produces 11,000,000 pieces of women's undergarments and more than 30,000,000 pair of fine quality women's hose and men's socks. Its young director, Zinoviy Dudkin, noted with pride that its 2,500 workers represent 20 nationalities. Birobidzhan (particularly its repair and house-building enterprises) and the Jewish Autonomous Region also played an important role in the project of the century, the Baikal Amur Mainline — BAM.

The agro-industrial complex of the Region includes 3/4 large state and two huge collective farms. The
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modern, industrialized Zavety Ilyicha collective farm, just outside Birobidzhan, was the pioneer. Some of the members of the 20 families who wrested the land from the wilderness are still alive. I met them (now for the second time — my first visit to the Jewish Autonomous Region was in 1970). Felix Glickstein, chairman of the collective farm, escorted us around the farm which would make up a good-size U.S. town. It has 4,000 hectares of cultivated land, besides vast tracts of pasture for its 1,450 cows and other livestock. It has 750 members, including 50 specialists and its equipment includes 20 harvester combines and 70 trucks. Most families have automobiles. The homes we visited would compare favorably with those of our average farmer family. Most are privately owned and were built by the collective farm interest-free or at a one-two per cent interest. The farm has a large sports complex, palace of culture, amateur theater group and other various amateur activities circles. Top professional artists from Birobidzhan, Khabarovsk and other large Soviet cities perform there regularly.

Perhaps, one of the collective farm's greatest achievements is its secondary school. Isaak Prishkolnick, its director for many years, came in 1937 to teach fresh from the Smolensk Yiddish school. He not only taught three generations of the Zavety Ilyicha farm, but kept a life-long contact with every graduate. The school has the same high-level comprehensive curriculum as any 10-year school in Moscow. However, agricultural sciences come in for special stress. Yiddish and Jewish culture are taught in a class of 45, 11 are non-Jews.

Glickstien took special pride in the multi-national character of this prosperous farm: Jews, Russians, Ukrainians, Tartars, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaidzhanians, Chuvash and Koreans.

The early pioneers could look back on half a century of progress. I could see the remarkable advances registered in the 14 years since my last visit. What struck me particularly was the transformation in housing. In 1970, Birobidzhan was still made up (for most part) of the old wooden structures. Today, it resembles a typical Soviet city — with its well-designed apartment buildings. Since 1971 Birobidzhan constructed 20,000 new apartments (this for a city of 75,000 population). I doubt any U.S. city of its size and much larger can match this record. Yet, there is no complacency about this impressive accomplishment. Lev Shapiro, first secretary of the C.P.S.U. City Committee and alternative-member of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, still regards housing as a serious problem. Shapiro pointed out that in the

forthcoming Twelfth Five-Year-Plan period the rate of construction of housing, schools, stores, polyclinics would double.

Shapiro who visited the U.S. (as a member of Soviet parliamentary delegation) was aghast at the abysmal conditions he saw in Harlem and South Bronx. "I would not have believed it had I not seen with my own eyes," he said.

I was also particularly impressed by Birobidzhan's beautiful Young Pioneers' Palace which has all that a child can dream of. Built four years ago, it includes 86 large rooms where children and youth participate in folk dancing (Yiddish included, of course), drama, art, sculpture, wood carving, ceramics, chess, radio circles and in puppet shows. There are two large indoor swimming pools and a 320-seat modern auditorium. It has a full time staff of 50 for 3,000 children. I know city of Birobidzhan's size (and much larger) in the U.S. that can boast of such a "palace" for children.

I found nowhere a greater sense of indignation against the vicious anti-Soviet propaganda conducted by Zionism than in Birobidzhan. The Jewish people of the Jewish Autonomous Region are particularly insensed against the provocative organizers of the infamous campaign in the U.S. to "save Soviet Jews."

Not a single Jew has left the Jewish Autonomous Region to go to Israel or the United States. "Who is it that are trying to 'save' us? Those whose hands are stained with the blood of children and women of Lebanon and the displaced peoples of Palestine? Those who have brought shame on the good name of the Jewish people? Those who are bringing grist to the mill of the rabid enemies of our Soviet land, who threaten all humanity with nuclear annihilation?" asked Shkolnik.

"Soviet Jews need no 'saviours'," he declared. "Look around you. Look at the beautiful city we have built together with our brothers and sisters of the great Soviet family of nations. Look at our industries, our farms, our rich cultural life. Look at the friendship and brotherhood of people. All this we proudly celebrate on our jubilee."

The entire Soviet people joined Birobidzhan and the Jewish Autonomous Region in their celebration. The celebration meeting was televised to tens of millions. A message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers congratulated the "working people of the Jewish Autonomous Region on its 50th anniversary." It declared: "The formation of

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They Have Not Forgotten by Sol Flapan

Warsaw: *In Memory of Those Who Lived With Us*, it says in Polish and Hebrew.

These words appear on an upright gravestone in the shape symbolizing the tablets of the *Ten Commandments*. This modest memorial plaque is made up of fragments of gravestones that had once told the living who rested beneath them. It was put up by the people of Przasnysz, a small town of 10,000 inhabitants in Warsaw Province, central Poland.

Just before the Nazi—German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939 and the ensuing five and a half years of genocidal occupation, this quiet Polish—Jewish "shtetl" (small town settlement) was home for 3,000 Jews living and working with and among not quite 8,000 Polish compatriots.

Jews had lived in Przasnysz since the Middle Ages in harmony and friendship with their Polish neighbors, recall *Folks Sztyme*, the weekly bi-lingual newspaper of the Socio—Cultural Society of Jews in Poland. In fact, Jewish merchants and artisans had contributed considerably by their labor and enterprise to the general well-being and significance of this long ago trading and commercial hub between Poland's Mazovian and southern lands with imperial Prussia.

But in 1943 the local Gestapo reported to their superior command that "Praschnitz ist ganz Judenrein" (Przasnysz is quite cleansed of Jews); and indeed, not a single Jew was left alive there.

Nor is there even a reminder of one of the most impressive synagogues ever to grace the Polish landscape. That exquisite piece of architecture erected in 1886 once reflected the influence of old Polish baroque, says *Folks Sztyme*.

The tragic Shabas eve (Sabbath) of September 1, 1939 was the **first day of the Holocaust**. The second day was September 25th, *Feast of Tabernacles*. Thirty families out of 500 survived that first wave of fascist and racist fury — but not for long.

Furthermore, two smaller synagogues were arsoned — the Jewish cemetery was plowed up and filled with feces; books and ritual objects were destroyed; Jewish gravestones were turned into thresholds for houses or roadstones.

Over the years in People's Poland these "matsavahs" (gravestones) have been searched for and collected by the Society of Friends of Przasnysz Land. While doing so an idea was born several years ago of laying out a

stone garden—cum—monument from the bits and pieces of these gravestones at the site of the old Jewish cemetery at Leszne Street. this initiative attracted the attention and the interest of local municipal authorities as well as of the Province (State) Conservation of Historic Sites office.

After two years of relevant preparations and consultations, the design by Wlajciech Ciesielski was approved and has been materialized into what *Folks Sztyme* praises as a “beautiful lapidarium” (collection of stones and stone fragment, a stone garden).

The recent unveiling ceremony was attended by province and town officials, delegations from social and civic organizations and community groups, and from youth organizations. Usually quiet Przasnysz, reports “*Folks Sztyme*”, became animated that say as well over 1,000 inhabitants assembled for a memorial unveiling service of moving speeches by public leaders and a flower—laying ceremony by visiting delegations and individuals.

The local museum mounted an exhibition devoted to the Przasnysz Jews “who lived with us” and are no more. And the town’s House of Culture (community center) hosted a scientific session on *The History of Przasnysz Jews and on The Martyrology of Poland’s Jews*. The Warsaw—based Jewish State Theater wrapped up the event with a relevant artistic program.

The Przasnysz initiative, observes *Folks Sztyme* shows that “among this town’s inhabitants there are people who have not forgotten, They remember their Jewish compatriots of pre-1939 and the occupation gehenna and holocaust they suffered. They haven’t forgotten that with and among them there lived fellow co-creators of their common cultural heritage.” □

Sol Flapan is a correspondent for Jewish Affairs who lives in Warsaw.

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the Jewish Autonomous Region became a practical embodiment of the Leninist nationalities policy and evoked a far ranging international response. The working Jews have become equal members of the united family of the peoples of the Soviet Union and acquired statehood with the formation of their Autonomous Region” (*Pravda*, June 23, 1984). Birobidzhan was accorded one of the U.S.S.R.’s highest awards — Order of the Badge of Honor — on the occasion of its jubilee.

Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the statehood is that, in stark contrast to the bloody and oppressive Zionist path, it was achieved in peace, equality and friendship of peoples.

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NEWS FROM THE SOCIALIST WORLD

GDR ABOLISHED ANTI-SEMITISM ONCE AND FOR ALL

By Helmut Aris

This article was originally published in the GDR Foreign Affairs Bulletin No. 4/1987

Helmut Aris, President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, paid tribute to the GDR as a state where Hitlerite fascism and anti-Semitism were abolished once and for all and where the legacy of all victims of Nazism was being upheld and cherished. In a talk with the ADN news agency he recalled the decision on the extermination of the European Jews taken 45 years ago at the ill-famed Wannsee conference. Meeting on 20 January 1942, the conference cynically ordered the “final solution of the Jewish question.”

According to conference records, Security Police and State Security Service Chief Heydrich bluntly informed the gathering of nazi bigwigs that Hermann Goering had put him in charge of the extermination of the European Jews, “In an inconceivably cynical move the murder of over eleven million Jews living in all states of Europe was planned in cold blood, with the countries listed including Switzerland, Sweden, Ireland and Turkey, i.e., states not accessible to Hitler,” Helmut Aris pointed out.

The speaker went on to say the conference should be seen as an expression of the immensity of fascist barbarity. it was, he stressed, an extension of what had begun in 1935 with the proclamation of the Nuremberg race laws and had been carried on with the Crystal night of 1938: the methodically planned murder of initially six million Jews following their expropriation and deportation. Graphic reminders of world-world notoriety are the names of concentration camps like Auschwitz, Theresienstadt, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrueck, Treblinka, Majdanek and others.

Helmut Aris, one of the few Jewish citizens of the Third Reich to survive the fascist outrages, went on to say: “I am an old man. I was made to wear the star of David on my clothing, and I went through the hell-fire which the Nazis had kindled. I cannot ever forget what happened then. To this day, 45 years after the Wannsee conference, I have been unable to erase from my memory those crimes to which many millions of human beings fell victim, among them close friends of mine.

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They Dare To Speak Out

A Review

By Dr. Elmer Berger

Findley, Paul, *"They Dare To Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby"*, Westpoint, Ct: Lawrence Hill, 1985, 332 pages, \$16.95.

These remarks delivered by Rabbi Elmer Berger at a session of The International Organization for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination are published as a public service, for the information of our readers. Rabbi Elmer Berger is head of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism.

It would be possible to begin these remarks by saying to the spirit of Diogenes, "Throw away your lantern." But although this is a happy occasion, it is also too suffused with serious matters to be so flip. For we are here to honor a man who really believes literally in the old maxim, "politics is the art of the possible." And we are here to acknowledge the import of a book this man has written which, if the grammarian purists will forgive me, translates the word "possible" in that maxim as an activist verb rather than a static noun or adjective. Paul Findley's *They Dare to Speak Out* is a testament to the truth of another injunction of democracy that works: "Let the people know." For Findley obviously believes that in knowing, the "possible" of politics is stretchable, expandable, extendible to horizons to be better than we are. So, honouring this man and acknowledging the merit of his book, we reaffirm our faith in the inherent superiority of freedom over regimes which operate on the premise that what is politically possible is limited to what a few know, or think they know, who confuse power with omniscience and are tempted to claim near-infallibility by virtue of their accessibility to memoranda stamped "top secret."

But the title of Paul Findley's book contains an implicit caveat. With deliberation, I am sure, he chose the word "dare" to characterize the action of those he selected for speaking out on one of the most politically hazardous public issues of recent American history. That the former journalist and congressman chose this particular word suggests two, following ideas. First, that in the problems of zionism and American relations with the state of Israel, a kind of mind-fix has set in among the American people. The two phenomena have been cultivated as subjects above and apart from the usual, hurly-burly of popular, political debate. They have been invested with a kind of sanctity, and the holy of holies is

perceived as a place not to be invaded politically without hazard. And secondly, in commending those who have taken the "dare." Findley implies that they have performed a service to our democracy by helping to ventilate a subject too long suffocated by a silence induced by methods of intimidation which, if not all illegal, flirt with the barest minimum of a free society's values.

The book is about much more than the unquestioned efficiency — if not the ruthlessness — of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, the official Israeli lobby, too often called "the Jewish lobby," in Washington. Findley documents meticulously the pervasive influence of AIPAC reaching to schoolboards to affect decisions about what text books may be used in local school systems, as for example in Tucson, Arizona. He lists universities throughout the country where zionist influences operate on academic authorities or boards of regents to nominate or veto who may or may not be invited as visiting lecturers, or who may, or may not be, approved for tenure. It penetrates church councils and pulpits where inter-faith dialogues are being held to persuade the participants, with not-so-subtle threats amounting to defamation. That pro-Israeli political positions have a proper place in the theological discourse involving Judaism and often Islam. And AIPAC influence on the managers of mass media of information often exceed conventional methods of competition for column inches or air time. I can testify personally to the truth of the examples Findley recounts in all these vital areas of American public opinion making. All of these activities are in addition to, as well as in support of, the more or less jungle rules followed by most of the more obvious lobbying efforts among the nation's political leaders. AIPAC, directly or through surrogates, reaches across legally established election districts, taking advantage of the obscene costs of modern political campaigns, making financial contributions supporting candidates voicing the most extravagant commitments to Israel and discouraging support for more responsible opinions expressing some objectively demonstrable concerns for wider American interests. In short, there is virtually no working part of the American public opinion machinery in which the zionist/Israeli lobby does not supply ample lubrication.

There is little real secrecy about these activities and, in a strict sense, certainly no deep, dark conspiracies. In fact, the AIPAC managers boast of their achievements, no doubt believing that nothing succeeds like success; and to underline, perhaps even to exaggerate public perception of their power increases the efficacy of their intimidation potential. So, after the 1984 election,

Thomas Dine, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, boasted that what he called "Jewish money" defeated Senator Charles Percy who had been Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee and had expressed serious reservations about the Israeli claim to have annexed Jerusalem. I suggest to you that such a boast from another's mouth would be labeled an anti-semitic canard. And Dine, the Director of AIPAC, in the same report described the present Congress as the "most pro-Israel" in history, as if its members should be awarded at least Boy Scout merit badges for such zealous minding of the business of the American people.

What is so worrisome and frustrating in all of this is not really the reach of the Zionist lobby into every hamlet of our nation's life. It is rather the apathy, the acquiescence of the American people, beginning with our political, academic, journalistic and clerical leadership. And the worry and frustration are intensified by the fact that many of these same leaders consistently remind the nation of the vital interests of America and the free world in the Middle East.

It would be inappropriate for me to preempt much more of this evening which belongs to Paul Findley. But I would speak less than my conscience and, I think, knowledge, if I failed to mention here a nuance of a difference of opinion with a few lines in the concluding pages of his revealing book. He says, "The Jewish community, action alone, could retrieve free speech from the casualty list" of victims of this peculiar reticence in our political dialogue about issues associated with this Zionist/Israeli phenomenon. He does add that Jews are "some of the most thoughtful and outspoken critics of Israel. But they speak out as individuals. They are not seen as Jewish leaders."

I am pleased to have been included in his list as I am always pleased to be on the hit list of the Anti-Defamation League, which, in its perceived passion for civil and human rights, exercises its right to vilify any who find the Zionist state less than saintly or who criticize the minions it directs through the organized Zionist movement in the United States. It is patently not true that those of us who will not be told what to think by the Zionist/apparatus all act or speak only as individuals. For more than forty years, I have had the devoted and generous support of an organized following who have made it possible for me to keep alive, and I think to enrich, the tradition of anti-Zionism which is older in American life by many decades than perceived, present, uncounted support of Zionism. And there are other organizations and numerous individuals who stand on a
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platform essentially the same as ours. We reject the anti-semitic conception of Jews as a separate national entity. Judaism, in free identity as Jews, we all insist has nothing at all to do with the gratuitous extension of Israel's extra-territorial nationality claims automatically to include all Jews. We recognize the national character of the Palestinian's, displaced originally by the discriminatory character of Israel's illegitimate "Jewish people" nationality claims, Palestinians still condemned to exile by the Zionist state's exclusivist citizenship laws and the institutionalized exclusivism of its social, political and economic structures.

The failure is not an absence of protest against the Zionist practices of repression and intimidation Findley inventories. The failure lies with the operators of the political power-structure of American life. The tinhorn, self-appointed spokesmen for a non-existent called "an American Jewish community" are welcomed at the White House and their advice is sought before the men elected to represent the interests of *all* the American people make a move involving Israel. But when one of us numbered among those who "dare to speak out" writes a letter to the Secretary of State, or asks for an appointment, we are met with stone-walling or a computerized reply. It is not that the policymakers do not know we exist. It is that they want to hang onto the claim of deniability. They do not want to know what we have to say. For to hear us and comprehend what we have to say would start a process of self-indictment for many of the power-brokers on counts of dereliction, of failure to enforce even existing legislation designed to maintain the integrity of the nationality of individual American citizens and of any voluntary organizations they may design to sustain their legitimate heritage. Those are harsh words. But the accusations can be substantiated. As my dear friend and frequent mentor, Dr. W. T. Mallison, has made clear more than once and about more than one aspect of this problem, one constructive action the United States Government could perform would be to enforce relevant legislation, without fear or favor.

Without presuming the multiple roles of prosecutor, judge and jury, I believe, on the basis of my own years of research and that of more specialized authorities, there is sufficient, credible evidence to warrant the suspicion that the tax laws, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the laws limiting the use of grants in military equipment are put, the espionage acts and the legislation requiring the licensing of certain sophisticated components of weaponry are all enforced with something less than the constitutionally-sworn application of the laws of the

land without regard to race, religious faith or ethnic division. We have had deals already made on the Pollard case. We have silence on the krytron trigger case. We know United Jewish Appeal funds finance settlements in the occupied territories in violation of both domestic U.S. and international law. When I review this dismal record of the elected guardians of our national integrity I am often reminded of Britain's World War I statesman, David Lloyd George, who is reported once to have said, "I am a man of principle; and one of my principles is expediency."

The second reservation I have about Paul Findley's well intentioned exhortation of American Jews is that, innocently, he employs zionist jargon when he speaks of "the American Jewish Community." While it is a convenient expression, it is dangerously misleading when employed in any political context. For in the political sense, not only is there no such entity as a community of Jews, it is a concept easily determined to be fictitious by any investigation of the genuine conceptions American Jews are proud to hold of their own identity. Ask the garden variety American Jew, walking the street or managing his shop or practicing his profession, how he thinks of his place in the political spectrum of his democracy and by far the majority will insist upon his status as an individual, American citizen. Ask him if the American Jewish Committee, or the collective called Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the so-called President's Club, or the Anti-Defamation League speaks for him on general American political issues or can deliver his or her vote and he or she is likely to be insulted. The chances are more than 100 to one he or she will not know the president of any of these organizations, even if one should happen to belong, let alone knowing anything about a litter of them all together. Not more than half of all American Jews belong to the ever-breeding number of listed, so-called "Jewish" organizations. Something like 4% of American Jews contribute to the United Jewish Appeal, and some of those do so under duress which threatens jobs or social ostracism. None of this is esoteric knowledge. It would be easily available to even amateur researchers on the staffs of our legislators and in the White House. But it would be inconvenient for the incumbents to know these things, for it might greatly alter a cliché in the usual, dull campaigning, and it would shift responsibility for a seriously flawed foreign policy to those who are responsible for declaring or financing it, instead of their posing as pragmatic politicians democratically responding to perceived attitudes of a small segment of American

voters.

I say to you with full confidence that there is no one, no organization and no conglomerate of organizations possessing legitimate mandates to speak for American Jews. If general characterizations are to be used, the old maximum that where there are two Jews there are always three opinions is much more accurate. There are no ballot boxes to be stuffed for the election of those with vested interests who claim to speak for his country's six million Jews; and if history tells us anything, it says, "woe to anyone whoever tries to erect an electoral structure for a separate constituency of this country's citizens who are Jews." "The corruption of language," said anonymous sage of another era, "is the beginning of the corruption of civilization." I have devoted this much time to some examination of the vocabulary often used to characterize Jews in American life because Paul Findley makes a point in his book. And I suggest to this audience that the imprecise use of language which often says "Jews" when it should say "Zionists" and which says "Judaism" when "zionism" is the accurate term,

. . . they (who dare to speak out) have performed a service to our democracy by helping to ventilate a subject too long suffocated by silence . . .

only serves zionist ends. The confusion is deliberately cultivated by the zionist apparatus. Where it is successfully employed it magnifies zionist strength many fold. We who oppose excessive zionist influence in American policy-making and who oppose zionism's discriminatory society in Israel as the root cause of the Palestine conflict should do everything possible to isolate the phenomenon, shrinking its perceived political clout in the public image by respecting the crucial, character difference between this movement of a foreign, theocratic/racist nationalism and the universally acknowledged moral and ethnical values of Judaism which are shared by the sister religious faiths of Islam and Christianity.

With apologies for taking so much of your time, I close paraphrasing the last few thoughts eloquently expressed by Paul Findley in the concluding paragraphs of his book. Not without justifiable apprehension he suggests that if we Americans fail in our responsibilities for a peace in the Middle East built upon justice we may

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PALESTINE 87

By Felicia Langer

At the end of last year the prominent Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer visited the WPC offices to speak about Palestinian territories, where she has worked for the past 20 years. Extracts from her statement follow.

WAR DANGER

We are compelled to promote the struggle for peace in Israel and the Middle East with greater urgency, now that we know for certain that the Israeli government possesses a terrible arsenal of nuclear weapons. Our task is to try to make more people aware of the danger of Israel's nuclear might, since we believe that Israel would not hesitate, in certain circumstances, to 'press the button'.

We are now in a situation where Israel is preparing for a war against Syria. Mr. Rabin has said that it is not a question of *if* the war takes place, but *when*.

The campaign against Syria is designed to portray that country as the chief supporter and promoter of world terrorism. This is being done to make Syria an easy, acceptable target for attack and to neutralize public condemnation of a war against that country.

Our task is urgent. We have to expose, this conspiracy, explain its underlying arms and encourage universal criticism of these war preparations.

ROLE OF PEACE MOVEMENT

I often think of the rapid growth of the huge peace movement in Europe. We admire, it tremendously. But this peace movement has not yet taken up the issue of peace in the Middle East and the need to foster it by granting self-determination to the Palestinian people. It is necessary to make clear how vital is the establishment of peace in the Middle East and how it can be achieved. It is important to raise this issue in the campaigns of European peace movement.

OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

We are now facing a new round of the Iron Fist policy in the occupied Palestinian territories. The Iron Fist policy is designed to eliminate all progressive forces among the Palestinian people who recognize and support the PLO and who oppose any solution which falls short of the creation of a Palestinian state. The Israelis intend to get rid of all political militancy which demands self-determination for the Palestinians and the existence of a state alongside Israel. They are less bothered about the kind of extremist people who say 'let's throw the Israelis into the sea'; they leave them alone because such people

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only bolster Israel's anti-Palestinian stance. But those who struggle to implement resolutions on the creation of a Palestinian state, and those who call for the International Peace Conference on the Middle East at which all parties would be represented- they are the targets of the Iron Fist.

Central to the Iron Fist method is the use of deportations to silence opponents. Deportations effectively mean the death sentence for the victims, if, as is usually the case, they are sent to Jordan.

The Iron Fist also means that the occupation forces demolish the property of those Palestinians accused of acts of violence. People are often shot dead by Israeli soldiers who claim they act in self-defense.

The cultural struggle against Palestinians is a major part of the Iron Fist. Sometimes the Israelis close the Palestinian universities. They also arrest students at exam time, hold them for a few days then release them when the exams are over. They do this to disrupt the educational process in the occupied territories. In these and other ways the Israelis are trying to intimidate and eradicate the intellectual elite among the Palestinians.

Unfortunately, Israel is succeeding with its Iron Fist policy. World public opinion is neither aware nor concerned about what is happening. Israel is making full use of people's ignorance and the misinformation often disseminated about the plight of the Palestinians.

INCREASE SOLIDARITY

In 1987 we are observing a number of important anniversaries (see box) in Palestinian history. We urge the WPC and other organizations to mark these anniversaries as extensively as possible, and to publicize them. We hope that 1987 will be a time of intensified action for Palestine and for peace in the Middle East. □

ISRAELI NEWS BRIEFS

ISRAELI-USSR TIES UP TO ISRAELIS

Addressing a UN Conference on human rights, USSR delegate to the UN asserted that: "The key for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel is in Israeli hands".

ISRAEL AS A HAVEN FOR JEWS BEING SORELY TESTED

Israeli Prime Minister of the tottering National Unity Government of Israel, Yitzhak Shamir, is demanding of the US government to so define "refugees" as to curb

the continuing growing percentage of Soviet Jewish "drop outs" among the emigres who choose any number of western countries in preference to Israel. Aliyah, the emigration of Jews throughout the world to Israel, is failing as Jews reject settling in Israel.

"US policy," said a US State Department official "has always been that a person has the freedom of choice of a country while a refugee . . . We can't force people to go where they do not want to go." Shamir persists in demanding that US require that Soviet Jewish emigres go to Israel. The war-prone Israeli government is making a sham of Israel as a place of refuge for Jews resulting in growing emigration from Israel and diminishing aliyah to Israel.

VOA OPERATIONS IN ISRAEL

The partners of the US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance, the only alliance since WWII Rome-Berlin Axis to declare the USSR the enemy, "are jointly accelerating ideological subversion against the socialist countries" reports The Democratic Journalist, 11/86.

While on a visit to Israel Vice President George Bush participated in the signing of an agreement between the US and Israel arranging for the erection of 16 radio stations to transmit the Voice of America, Liberty and Free Europe. The US has allocated over \$200 million for the project as part of its strategic cooperation with Israel.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CHARGES ISRAELI AUTHORITIES WITH TORTURE

Amnesty International charged that Adnan Mansour Ghanem was beaten and tortured by his Israeli interrogators who charged him with being a terrorist. Attorney General Yosef Harish denied the charge but his reply was described as "miserable" by Ghanem's attorney, Leah Tsemel.

YEHOSHAFAT HARKABI CALLS FOR A PALESTINIAN STATE

Former chief of military intelligence, Prof. Yehoshafat Harkabi, accused Israeli authorities of "betraying" the children by adamantly refusing to negotiate with the PLO and to agree to the establishment of an independent State of Palestine alongside the State of Israel.

Harkabi, speaking at a symposium sponsored by the government's information center rejected the argument that there is no one with whom to negotiate peace. "We have no choice but to talk to the PLO," he argued.

TEACHERS AND PARENTS PROTEST CUTS IN EDUCATION BUDGET

Hundreds of teachers and parents, despite bitter cold weather, demonstrated in front of the Knesset against the proposed cuts in the education budget. The protest rally was organized by the Teachers' Union and the national parents' organization. Their main sign read: "People of the Book Should Not Skimp on Schools". □

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Communists, Socialists, Jews, Christians and many other humanists suffered and fought together."

Looking back over the years, Helmut Aris continued, he was happy and grateful "to be able to live today in a German state where Hitlerite fascism and anti-Semitism were eliminated once and for all and where the legacy of all victims is being honoured and fulfilled. I share this gratitude with my Jewish fellow-citizens. Their and my own ghastly experience impose on us the obligation to join the ranks of those millions who are sincerely and firmly committed to preserving peace and saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe which in its scope would surpass even all the misery which the maniacal rulers of the Third Reich brought upon mankind."

Helmut Aris recalled that citizens of the Jewish faith are an integral part of GDR society and can freely live according to their belief. "This is one reason why they wholeheartedly support the GDR's humanist peace policy", Helmut Aris pointed out. □

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invite the apocryphal catastrophe of modern war. A prelude to that unspeakable horror could well be that we Americans have lost the delicate, sensitive skills to maintain the precarious balances of freedom which are the soul of our democracy. In the last, eloquent sentence of his book, Findley puts in this way:

in short, when a lobby stifles free speech nationally

on one controversial topic — the Middle East — all

free speech is threatened.

He might have put it somewhat differently. He might have said that if we Americans allow this to happen we will be default have surrendered one of our most precious birthrights. But however it is said, this veteran on the hustings says to Paul Findley, a solemn "Amen!" and offers a rousing "Salute!" for his book and a prayer which says, "More power to your good right arm." □

TIKKUN:

A Counterweight to Commentary

By Alfred J. Kutzik

The new magazine TIKKUN, (Hebrew for "repair" or "reformation"), characterizes itself as "Jewishly committed, politically progressive" and "the liberal alternative to COMMENTARY". Although nearly all of its fifty-odd editorial board members are Jewish (eighteen of them rabbis), TIKKUN advertises that it "is written by and for both non-Jews and Jews". The inaugural editorial adds: "While the editors of this magazine will write editorials using the language and frame of reference of religiously committed Jews, we are publishing articles from non-Jews and from secular Jews as well. We expect to learn from them.... We hope to create an intellectual arena within which the liberal and progressive camps in American society can discuss the most important intellectual, cultural and political questions". The editorial speaks approvingly of Jewish commitment "to both the radical and liberal traditions", "to the side of the oppressed" and expresses a commitment to "fundamental transformation" of the world based on the Prophetic tradition.

The appearance of such a magazine, with its religious orientation, seems to merit a *mazel tov* from secular Jewish progressives. However, analysis of this 10 page editorial, the other 115 pages of the magazine's first issue and the 128 pages of its second issue suggest that along with congratulations some critical observations are in order.

The editorial takes a progressive, even radical, stance on important issues.

"Jews have a deep commitment to the liberal ideals of democracy, human rights and fundamental liberties.... But we are not uncritically committed to liberalism.. We stand for freedom—but not for giving unlimited freedom to corporations so they can exploit the people and resources of the planet. Nor do we necessarily take at face value the claim of Western societies to be the living embodiments of the liberal ideals they so proudly proclaim. If radically alternative policies to those held by the dominant parties are systematically excluded from serious public consideration, if anti-nuclear and anti-apartheid forces must use civil disobedience to have their views even noticed (and, even then, not given a public airing), if U.S. military intervention can be financed despite the opposition of a majority of Americans, if freedom of the press actually

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amounts to freedom only for those with vast economic resources to buy media time or space, if economic power concentrated in the hands of the few pre-shapes the options so that the range of serious political choices becomes dramatically narrowed, then we get... an unfreedom that celebrates itself as the paradigm of liberal ideas....

"Radical politics has often adopted idealism and commitment to justice that are central to the Jewish tradition. The articulation of the needs of the oppressed, the unwillingness to compromise with unfair distribution of power and wealth, the historical link between the Left and the underdog, have brought many Jews into the world of radical politics. The utopian demand for (social, AJK) transformation is something we proudly identify with—it remains a central ingredient in Jewish vision."

Aside from the classless approach to all Jews as committed to progressivism or radicalism, there is little that progressives or radicals, including Marxists would differ with in the foregoing. The editorial goes on:

"Yet we are also very critical of the Left. The Left has almost always tried to force Jews into a false universalism— denying the particularity of our historical experience, the validity of our religious insights, the importance of our national survival.... The Left has often glorified 'national liberation struggles', seeing in other people's insistence on their customs and traditions a potential force for liberation. Yet it has often been demeaning and destructive towards Jews and Jewish culture. It is this attitude that explains the Left's ability to remain silent about the oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union, just as it remains silent about the overt anti-Semitism that characterizes some of the social movements it supports.

"Equally serious, the Left persists in equivocating about the bureaucratic totalitarianism of the Soviet Union and about the undemocratic tendencies within the third world liberation movements. As a result, they often end up with a caricatured view of the world— Western societies the embodiment of evil, and those struggling against the West representing virtue and liberation....

"Our point is that the structure of contemporary political discourse forces us to choose between oppressive state socialism and American liberalism. But we are reaching for a more complex account of the world."

There is little of the last-quoted passage that progressives and radicals, much less Marxists, can agree with. Above all, with its anti-Sovietism which accepts two of the biggest lies about the USSR in their strongest forms.

It not only contends that there is government-sponsored anti-Semitism but “oppression of Jews” in the Soviet Union, which is held to be not only “bureaucratic” but “totalitarian”. This is underscored elsewhere in the editorial when it states, “We would be critical of Soviet totalitarianism even if it did not specifically oppress Jews”. —one of the few sentences which the editor has lifted out of the text and repeated in large bold type.

This is immediately followed by:

“Similarly we reject the kind of apologies for unfreedom that is common among Jews of the right—the attempt to distinguish between ‘authoritarian’ policies of right-wing dictators and supposedly worse ‘totalitarian’ policies of dictators identified with Communism. This same commitment to liberal ideals makes us committed adversaries of Kahane, Sharon and other anti-democratic forces in Israel, and foes also of anti-democratic forces on the American right (including those who have newly become supporters of Israel now that they see a potential for using Israel to advance American military interest)”.

The first of those last two sentences shows that the editor does not really view contemporary politics in terms of a choice “between oppressive state socialism and American liberalism” but that he accepts “American liberalism” while rejecting “state socialism”, here equated with “totalitarian” right-wing dictatorships.

Despite the earlier-quoted questioning of the claims of Western societies to be embodiments of liberal ideals, the largest and most influential of these societies is not considered to be in much need of democratization.

The two areas in which the editorial sees the need for improvement in U.S. democracy is the treatment of women and “the empowerment of working people” — omitting any reference to the treatment of racial and ethnic minorities except for Jews.

It calls for “social organization that promotes respect and dignity for women and the end to patriarchal oppression” and for Jewish women to participate fully in Jewish communal and religious life. But it does not address the need for increasing economic and political equality for women. It minimizes the importance of the latter in stating TIKKUN’S “commitment to women’s liberation means much more than simple equality”.

“The empowerment of working people” does not relate such empowerment to the economic or political but the social and psychological spheres. TIKKUN is “for the empowerment of working people against the ability of corporations to dictate what and how things will be produced, and against the bureaucratization and

one-dimensionality of daily life that the corporate culture encourages”. Nothing more is said about corporations in this connection, but the labor movement is criticized for creating the alienation of working people by its leadership engaging in economic and political action. “The labor movement encouraged passivity and the isolation of its members from each other, as it developed a professional staff of business agents and union representatives who would win ‘benefits’ and press Congress for legislation.” After criticizing union leaders for acting in the economic and political interests of workers, the editorial criticizes Afro-American leaders for focusing their attention on demands for affirmative action.”* And it criticized the Democratic party for its 1984 campaign on the issue of the budget deficit,” not because it disregarded the crucial issues of peace and jobs but because it was “oblivious to the emotional issues (‘about family, about religion and spirituality, about ethics and traditional values’) that attracted people to more conservative politics.” Elsewhere the editorial includes the Democratic Party among “the liberal and progressive forces” along with the labor movement, the women’s movement, the anti-nuclear and peace movement, the movements for equality and economic justice.” But it has nothing more to say about these movements than that they “all have something important to learn from Judaism and the experience of the Jewish people.”

The editorial also is progressive in its opposition to “anti-democratic forces in Israel” but, while explicitly opposing Kahane and Sharon, it implicitly supports Begin, Sharon, Peres, Rabin, et al. in their aggression against and oppression of Palestinians, Lebanese, etc. For a footnote — written 19 years after Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights and 4 years after the genocidal shelling and bombing of Beirut and the Sabra and Shatila massacres — reads:

“We are also proud of the many ways that Israel has managed to create and sustain a society with a high degree of commitment to liberal and democratic traditions, a commitment that in practice has rarely been matched by any other society equally facing military insecurity. We are deeply angered by those liberals and progressives who apply a double standard towards Israel — criticizing it for the same abridgements of civil liberties that they find ‘understandable’ given the ‘context of external threat’ in societies like Nicaragua and Cuba.” The footnote ends with equally unwarranted criticism of “the knee-jerk anti-Israel sentiments that too frequently replace serious analysis in progressive

movement”.

This eclectic editorial policy can be understood if one knows something of the background of TIKKUN'S editor, Michael Lerner. According to the *N.Y. Times*, in addition to being an observant Jew who has studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary and an Anti-Viet Nam war activist and editor of the anti-war magazine, *RAM-PARTS*, until it went out of business in 1974, Lerner has since worked as a psychologist and teacher at the Institute for Labor and Mental Health in Oakland. From his ideological and professional background we can surmise why TIKKUN'S editor is more concerned with religion and alienation of working people than political consciousness and economic exploitation—and understand some of the reasons for his establishment views on the nature of capitalism and socialism, particularly the Soviet Union, which undercuts his commitment to peace. Given this editor and these editorial positions can we expect consistent opposition to COMMENTARY from TIKKUN except on the issues of peace and disarmament? The inaugural editorial informs us that its National Editorial Board “represents a wide range of views on almost every issue”.

There are indeed, considerable ideological differences among TIKKUN editorial board members. Some are well-known progressives, like economists Gar Alperovitz, Robert Heilbroner and peace activist Arthur Waskow; others like Martin Peretz, editor of the *NEW REPUBLIC*, are well-known anti-progressives. What the balance of ideological forces on the board is—or whether it matters—is unclear. One positive development is that Elie Wiesel, the professional Holocaust-obscurantist and perpetual rescuer of Jews from Soviet oppression, was one of two members who resigned from the board when TIKKUN announced it was an alternative to COMMENTARY.

Among the rabbinical board members we can recognize liberals like Rabbi Gerald Serotta, one-time national co-chair of the New Jewish Agenda, and Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of Hebrew Congregations. The ideological orientation of the other rabbis on the board is unknown to the present writer except for three who published statements of their aspirations/exceptions for TIKKUN in its first issue.

Although Rabbi Laura Geller is a leader of New Jewish Agenda, her statement's complete preoccupation with the position of Jewish women within Judaism tells us nothing about her views on other social and political issues. However, there is a world of difference between the outlooks of Rabbi Daniel Landes, who teaches *Tal-March/April 1987*

at Yeshiva University and is director of the Educational Project at the (anti-Soviet) Simon Weisenthal Center, and Rabbi Marshall Mayer, of New York City's important Congregation B'Nai Jeshurun and Special Counsel to the Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Among the chauvinist and reactionary views Rabbi Landes espouses is that Jewish life outside of Israel is “unnatural” and that nuclear war “is daily planned for . . . by all.” Particularly shocking are his contentions that the traditional Judaic and sound contemporary approach to poverty require “the poor . . . to accept employment and to work at it, or face penalties” and in labor relations “restricts adversarial relationships — such as strikes — in favor of mutual decision making — e.g., union members on the board of directors. . . .”

On the other hand, Rabbi Meyer ridicules the COMMENTARY-style neo-conservative “Modern Zoroastrian dualism” which maintains that “Ormuzd (the god of light and good) is represented by the Reagan Foreign Policy and Ahriman (the god of darkness and evil) is the Russian kingdom of evil which wants to destroy the earth,” that “the ‘contras’ are freedom fighters and Sandinista armies are about to invade the United States,” that “there is really no danger of nuclear annihilation of the world because nuclear warfare can be contained,” etc. He speaks out against “the ghost of McCarthyism . . . stalking our society today,” “the unbalanced analyses that plague the majority of our journals and newspapers today,” the auto-censorship of our mass media” and “the myth of the great American prosperity . . . with 35 million people living below the poverty line.”

Rabbi Meyer calls upon TIKKUN to serve as a vehicle for countering these and other such views. Editorial board member, Rabbi Serotta, and Bria Chakofsky, national co-chair of the New Jewish Agenda, in a letter to all Agenda members present TIKKUN as “a voice for progressives in the Jewish world.” The second half of this review article will examine whether TIKKUN'S first two issues meet these expectations. □

Alfred J. Kutzik, Ph.D., is director of the People's School for Marxist Studies. He has published extensively on Jewish subjects. he is co-editor of the encyclopedic THE TURBULENT DECADES: Jewish Communal Services in America, 1958-1978.

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IN MEMORY
 of
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Laura Ross, Boston

IN MEMORY
 of
LIBBY DAVIS
Dedicated Internationalist
Editorial Committee
Jewish Affairs

continued from page 2

Meanwhile, Reagan's Rapid Deployment Force was reinforced in the Mid-East, naval forces were increased, additional bases obtained, alliances with neighboring backward regimes intensified; all this to implement Reagan's "geopolitical strategy."

This was a piece with deliberately violating SALT II, attacking Libya and seeking to kill its leader — who refuses to sell his country to Washington; backing South Africa in its wars upon Namibia and Angola; carrying mayhem and ravishment to Nicaragua and preparing wholesale invasion against that heroic and martyred land.

This program smacks of Hitlerism and it is fueled by the ideology of Goebbels. It derives out of a systematic and basic crisis in the body of monopoly capitalism. And the foreign policy is mirrored by a domestic program which in its racist and exploitative essence also smacks of Hitlerism.

The so-called Iranian scandal derives out of a *class* line, an imperialist *strategy*. It is not a matter of "mistakes", or memory lapses, or styles of management or defective personnel. The scandal *is* the policy; the policy is scandalous, inhuman, war-threatening because that is the nature of the imperialist system which induces such policy.

The system is so outmoded that it produces insanity — grown men bringing others chocolate cake (baked in a kosher bakery in Tel Aviv!) and autographed Christian bibles (to Moslems!) and pearl-handled pistols — and artillery and tanks. And a leading spokesman who is a pathological liar.

The affliction is profound; the treatment must be radical. It should begin with the impeachment of the Reagan-Bush team.

And in the middle of all this is Israel — is the government of Israel, the great ally of Washington; the land which has sold its soul to the most reactionary, most chauvinist, most war-like regime in the post-Civil War history of the United States! Of course, each spies on the other; of course, each distrusts the other; of course, each blames the other — and they are both right!

Israel's tie to the imperialist monsters in Washington, threatens its very existence — and threatens the peace of the world. □

IN MEMORY OF IDA HOFFMAN
NAT HOFFMAN

AN OPEN LETTER TO RABBI WILLIAM FRANKEL

By Herbert Aptheker

Rabbi William Frankel, on the editorial page of the *Chicago Sentinel* for March 5, berates — in a hectoring tone unworthy of his profession — a woman reader who several weeks ago asked for clarification as to how it was known that 400,000 Jews in the Soviet Union wished to leave — the figure most often cited.

In response, Rabbi Frankel refers to a volume listing, it is said by the issuing agency, the names of eleven thousand who desire exit. This, of course, is evidence; it is not proof since it is offered by one side to a dispute. In any case, the figure is 389,000 short of the number being questioned.

Another "proof" offered by Rabbi Frankel is "the amount of letters received in Israel" asking for "letters of invitation." But here we are offered no figures whatsoever.

Finally, Rabbi Frankel refers to an unnamed "Soviet specialist" allegedly saying at some unspecified date — with no printed source cited — that from 10 to 15 percent of Soviet Jews "would seek" to emigrate. This percentage leads Rabbi Frankel to arrive at a figure of 180,000 to 270,000 who want to emigrate.

Even 270,000 is still 130,000 short of the figure questioned by the *Sentinel* reader whose inquiry he belatedly and rudely answered. □

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Sonia and Willie surenko

IN MEMORY

of

My Brother

SIDNEY RAVDEN

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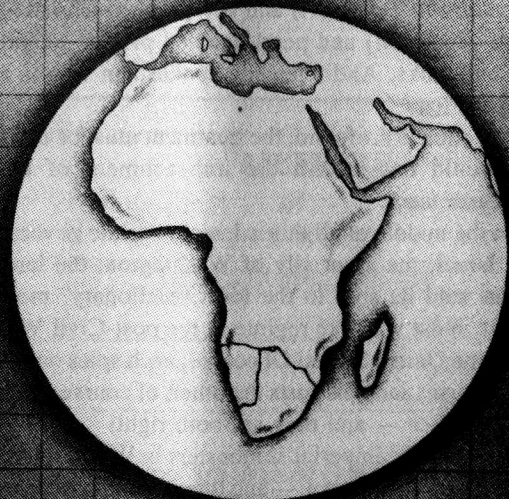
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ס'איז נייטיק אונטערצושטרייכן, אז ניט קוקנדיק אף דער וויסטער אַנטיסאָוועטישער העצע, רייסן זיך דורך אין ד שאַפונגען פון די ייִסראָלעדיקע שרייבער טענער פון פאַרנופּט און פאַרשטענדעניש פאַר דער לעבנסוויכטיקייט פון אַ סאָוועטיש־ייִסראָלדיקער קאָאָפּעראַציע, פון קעגנערשאַפט צו דער מילכאָמע־היסטעריע. אין זיין ליד (אין "ביי זיך", נומ. 28) שרייבער דער באַווסטער דיכטער י.כ. בילעצקי, אַז: "רייכער, רייכער דיין מאַכאַרקע, איך מיין ליולקע צינד היינט אָן. זאָל מיין ברענער זיין דיין גאַרק, ווייל נאַענט איז מיר דיין גאַרקיס טאָן".

ס'איז דעריבער וויכטיק, אַז "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" זאָל פאַרברייטערן זיין אַקטיוויטעט און זאָרגן קוידעמקאַל פאַר פאַרבעסערן די באַצוינגען צווישן די פּראָגרעסיווע יידישע קרייזן מיט "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד", עס זאָלן איינגעשטעלט ווערן ענגערע קאָנטאַקטן אַן אויסטויש פון אינפּאַרמאַציע און מיינונגען צווישן די יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע שפּערישע קרעפטן און "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד", ווייל דאָן וועט זיין מעגלעך צו מאַביליזירן די ברייטסטע יידישע פּאָלקס־קרייזן צום גוילרדיקן קאַמף פאַר פאַרמיידן אַ מילכאָמע און פאַר שאַלעם.

דאַנקענדיק פאַרן קאָוועד איינגעלאָדן צו ווערן צו דער פייערונג פון 25 יאָר "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" אין מאַסקווע, ווינטש איך אייך ווייטערדיקע דערפאַלגן אין אייער דערהויבענער און געבענטשטער אַרבעט, און זאָלן מיר האָפּן, אַז מיר וועלן באַווייזן צו פאַרמיידן אַ נייע גרויליקע מילכאָמע, און מיר וועלן לעבן אין אַן אַטמאָספּער פון שאַלעם אף דער וועלט, אַריינגערעכנט דעם מיטעלן מיזרעך. זאָל לאַנג לעבן "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" אַלס אַ ווירדיקער טייל פון דער גרויסער ליטעראַטור־מישפּאַכע פון די סאָוועטישע פעלקער!

פאַרעפנטלעכן שאַפונגען פון 31 יונגע שרייבער און דיכטער. קיין שום יידישע צייטשריפט אין דער מיירעוודיקער וועלט קאָן ניט באַווייזן, אַז ער האָט מיטאַרבעטער, שרייבער, דיכטער, וואָס זיינען געבוירן געוואָרן נאָך דער צווייטער וועלט־מילכאָמע. קיין שום יידישע צייטשריפט, קיין שום אַרגאַניזאַציע פון יידישע שרייבער אין די קאָפיטאַליסטישע לענדער קאָן זיך ניט דערלויבן צו שרייבן: "עס ווערט געשטעלט אָפּן פאַרערפלאַן די צוקונפּט פון אונדזער ליטעראַטור".

ווי לעכערעלך, ווי נעבעכדיק קלינגען אין דער ליכט פון אַט די פאַקטן די ווערטער פון איטשע גאַלדבערג ("אין ניר־יאָרקער זשורנאַל "יידישע קולטור", נומ. 5 — 6, 1986): "איך מיין, אַז דער אונטערגאַנג פונעם יידישן לעבן, פון דעם יידישן פּאָלק אין סאָוועטנפאַרבאַנד, ניט קוקנדיק אף אַלע אופּבליצן, האָט זיך אָנגעהויבן אַזוי פרי ווי אין 1918 — 1919 — 1920, ווען מע האָט פאַרבאַטן די יידישע רעליגיע, פאַנאַנדערלאָזנדיק די הונדערטער ציעניסטישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס..."

לויט דעם דאָזיקן פריידיקער פון אַנטיסאָוועטיזם, וועלכער רופט אין זיין ייעש און פאַרצווייפלונג צוריקצוגיין אין דער סינאַגאָגע, איז גאַר דער עצעם זיג פון דער סאַציאַליסטישער רעוואָלוציע אין סטירע צו די אינטערעסן פונעם יידישן פּאָלק. צי קאָן דער דאָזיקער "כוזיער בעטשווע" אָנווייזן אף אַן אויסוועג, אַרויסשטעלן אַ פּערספּעקטיוו? ניין!

דעריבער איז דערמונטערדיק דאָס דערשיינען פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד", וואָס איז ניט אַפּגעריסן, ניט איזאַלירט, נאָר אַ טייל, אַ וואָגיקער טייל פון דער גרויסער מישפּאַכע פון סאָוועטישע ליטעראַטור־טריבונעס. דער זשורנאַל, וואָס שפיגלט אָפּ די סאָוועטישע ווירקלעכקייט און דאָס לעבן פון יידישע מענטשן אין דער גרויסער פעלקער־מישפּאַכע, אַט דער זשורנאַל איז דורכגעדרונגען מיט האַפּענונג און גלויבן אינעם מאַרגנדיקן טאָג, ער ווייזט אָן אַ ליכטיקער פּערספּעקטיוו, — נאָר און בלויז דורך פאַרמיידן אַ מילכאָמע קאָן מען זיכערן דאָ לעבן פון אַלע פעלקער, אַריינגערעכנט דאָס יידישע פּאָלק. אין דער היינטיקער גוילרדיקער צייט איז דער קאַמף פאַר שאַלעם אַ לעבנס־וויכטיקע, צענטראַלע פּראָגע.

אין אַט דער גוילרדיקער פאַר דער מענטשהייט צייט איז "סאָוועטישע היימלאַנד" — די שטים פון מאַביליזאַציע פון די ברייטסטע יידישע מאַסן קעגן דער געפאַר פון נאָך אַ מילכאָמע. דאָס דאַרף זיין דער הויפּט־מאָטיוו אין די שאַפונגען פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" — אַפּעלירן צו אַלע יידישע פּאָלקס־מענטשן, ניט אַפּשטענלנדיק זיך פאַר די מיינונגס־פאַרשיידנהייטן, צו אַקטיוויטעט פאַר פאַרמיידן אַ מילכאָמע.

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איך וויל אונטערשרייבן, אַז "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" האָט געמאַכט אַ פּרוּוו נאָך מערער אויסצוברייטערן די ראַמען פּון דער איצטיקער קאָנפּערענץ אַרום די פייערונגען פּונעם 25-טן יוּוּל, איינלאַדנדיק פּון ייִסראָעל די אָנגעזעענע דיכטער יוסעף פּאַפּערניקאָוו און י.ב. כּילעצקי. ליידער האָבן די צוויי פּאַעטן איבער פּערזענלעכע סיבעס ניט געקאָנט קומען צו דער יוּוּל-קאָנפּערענץ אין מאַסקווע. איך וויל אָבער באַגריסן דעם דאָזיקן וויכטיקן פּרוּוו פּון דער רעדאַקציע פּונעם סאָוועטישן ייִדישן זשורנאַל.

באַם אָפּשאַצן די גרויסע וויכטיקייט פּון די פייערונגען פּון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" האָלט איך פאַר נייטיק אָנצוווּיזן, אַז די דאָזיקע אימפּאַזאַנטע יוּוּל-אַקאַדעמיע איז די בעסטע און כּוּלעטסטע אָפּלייקענונג פּון דער אַנטיסאָוועטישער העצע-פּראָפּאַגאַנדע וועגן דעם, אַז די ייִדישע קולטור ווערט קלוימערשט גערוידעפּט. דער עצעם פּאַקט פּון דורכפירן אַזאַ פייערונג, פּון צוטיילן "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" אַ הויכע מעלוכישע אויסצייכענונג איז דער בעסטער באַווּיז פּון דער גרויסער מאַראַלישער און מאַטעריעלער שטיצע מיצאָד דעם סאָוועטישן שרייבער-פּאַרבאַנד, מיצאָד דעם סאָוועטישער מעלוכע פּאַרן ייִדישן זשורנאַל. פירער פּון סאָוועטישן שרייבער-פּאַרבאַנד זיינען געקומען צו דער באַגעגעניש מיט רעדאַקציע-קאַלעגיום, מיט די ייִדישע סאָוועטישע שרייבער און מיט געסט, געזעלשאַפּטלעכע און קולטור-טוער, וואָס זיינען געקומען צו דער יובּיליי-פייערונג פּון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" און אַרויסגעבראַכט דעם ייִדישן ליטעראַרישן זשורנאַל.

אף נאָך אַ וויכטיקן מאַמענט וויל איך אָנווייזן. ווען מיר שאַצן אָפּ די באַדייטונג פּון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" איז אומבאַדינגט נייטיק אָנווייזן אף דעם אונטערשייד צווישן די ייִדישע אויסגאַבעס אין די קאָפיטאַליסטישע לענדער און אין סאָוועטנפּאַרבאַנד. די בירגערלעכע ייִדישע פרעסע פריידיקט, אַז אין רעזולטאַט פּון די רעדיפּעס, גייט אונטער דאָס ייִדישע קולטור-לעבן אין סאָוועטנפּאַרבאַנד. וואָס זיינען אָבער די פּאַקטן? אף דער קאָנפּערענץ פּון ייִדישע זשורנאַליסטן פּון די קאָפיטאַליסטישע לענדער, וואָס איז אַרגאַניזירט געוואָרן מיצאָד דעם אַזויגערעפּענעם "וועלט ראַט פאַר ייִדיש און ייִדישער קולטור" (19.1.1986) האָט מען גערעדט וועגן דעם, אַז אויב אין 1966 זיינען דערשינען 14 טאַג-צייטונגען אין דער ייִדישער שפּראַך, דערשיינען אין 20 יאָר אַרום, אין יאָר 1986, ניט מער ווי 4 טאַג-צייטונגען. צווישן די 4 טאַג-צייטונגען ווערט אַריינגערעכנט דער "כּיראַבידזשאַנער שטערן".

דער ניריאַרקער זשורנאַליסט ש.ל. שניידערמאַן

שרייבט אין דער "ייִדיש וועלט" (סענטיאַבער, 1986), אויסגאַבע אין טעל-אָווּוּ פּונעם "וועלט-ראַט פאַר ייִדישער קולטור", אַז: "פיל ערגער איז די מאַראַכע פּון ייִדיש אין די טפּוצעס, איינגעשלאַסן דעם 6-מיליאַניקן ייִדישן יישעוו אין אַמעריקע. די גרעסטע ייִדישע אויסגאַבעס, דער "פּאַרווערטס" אין ניריאַרק, די טעגלעכע "די פרעסע" אין בוענאָס-אייירעס און די איינציקע ייִדישע טאַג-צייטונג אין איראָפּע, דאָס פּאַריזשער "אונדזער וואַרט" זיינען אַלע אין דער סאַקאַנע אונטערצוגיין, ניט כּאָלילע צוליב מאַנגל אין לייענער, אָדער געלט, נאָר דערפאַר, וויל עס איז, ליידער, ניטאָ, ווער עס זאָל פּאַרנעמען דאָס אַרט פּון די שרייבער, וואָס גייען אַוועק אין דער אייביקייט". ד"ר הערשל קעלפּפּיש רופט אויס אין דער זעלבער אויסגאַבע אָפּן אַדרעס פּונעם "וועלט-ראַט פאַר ייִדישע און ייִדישער קולטור", דער פּאַריזשער פּון וועלכן ייצכאַק קאַרן האָט זיך צעשריגן וועגן דעם, אַז ייִסראָעל ווערט אַ צענטער פאַר ייִדיש, אַז: "ניט דורך אופּהענגען אַ שילדל אַנשטייט אַ גייסטיקער צענטער" ("ייִדיש וועלט", סענטיאַבער, 1986).

און אף נאָר אַ וויכטיקן מאַמענט איז נייטיק אָנצווייזן. די ייִדישע בירגערלעכע זשורנאַליסטיק און די שרייבערישע וועלט אין די קאָפיטאַליסטישע לענדער זיינען דורכגעזאַפּט מיט אומגלויבן און פעסימיזם, פּאַרשליסנדיק זיך דערביי אין אַ גייסטיקער געטאָ, ניט ווילנדיק זען די אַרומיקע וועלט, די אַרומיקע ווירקלעכקייט.

אין טעל-אָווּוּווער "בּיי זיך" (נומ. 29) שרייבט ד"ר הערשל קעלפּפּיש אין אַן אָפּהאַנדלונג וועגן מוישע מענדעלסאָן, אַז: "שימען אַווּיראַווּיטש, דער מזרעך-איראַפּעישער פּאַרשער, האָט געשריבן אין פּעריאָד צווישן די צוויי וועלט-מילכאַמעס, אַז מוישע מענדעלסאָן האָט אָפּגעשלאַסן די געטאַ-עפּאַכע... מענדעלסאָן האָט אָבער ניט אָפּגעשלאַסן די געטאַ-טקופּע... מיט ווייטיק קומט אונדז אויס פעסטצושטעלן, אַז "דאָס ייִדישע פּאַלק איז אַ שרעקלעך פּאַריינזאַמט פּאַלק, אָבער דאַפקע אין זיין איינזאַמקייט איז פּאַראַן זיין עכטיקייט"...

דער דאָזיקער גייסטיקער צוגאַנג פּון ייעש, פעסימיזם און דאָס פּאַרהערלעכן די אָפּגעזונדערטקייט דאַמינירט אין דער אַטמאָספּער פּון דער ייִדישער בירגערלעכער פרעסע און ליטעראַטור. דאָס איז געמישט מיט אַ גרויסער דאָזע אַנטיסעמיטיזם.

שרייבער איז דערמונטערט דער פּאַקט, וואָס סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" קאָן קומען צו דער יוּוּל-פייערונג מיט אַזאַ פרעכטיקן באַלאַנס פּון קענען ווידעמענען אַ גאַנצן נומער דער פּלעיאַדע יונגע ייִדישע שריפטלעכער.

די מיטגלידער פון דער "נייער יידישער אדזשענדע" זיינען נאך ניט אינגאנצן איינהייטלעך אין זייער קאמף, עס זיינען פאראן מיינונגס-פארשיידנהייטן בענעגגייע דער פראגע וועגן דעם, וויאזוי צו דערגרייכן א שאלעם אין אט דעם ראַיאָן.

מע קאָן ניט פארבייגיין אָנווייזן אף יענע יידישע קרייזן אין אמעריקע, וועלכע זיינען פארבונדן מיטן מיליטעריש-אינדוסטריעלן קאָמפּלעקס און פירן אַ פּרינציפּלאַע קאָמפּאַניע קעגן דעם סאָוועטפּאַרבאַנד, פאַרשפּרייטנדיק שעקער וועגן דעם קלוימערשטן "סאָוועטישן אַנטיסעמיטיזם". זיי באַמיען זיך אף אַזאָ אויפן אַריינזיען די אמעריקאַנער יידן אין אַ העצערישער היסטעריע קעגן דעם סאָוועטפּאַרבאַנד. "דזשויש אַפּערס" טרעט אַרויס קעגן אַזאָ העצע, וואָס איז געצילט אף אונטערצורייסן דעם שאַלעם-פּראָצעס אין דער וועלט. ניט לאַנג צוריק האָבן מיר פאַרעפּנטלעכט אַ פּאַמפּלעט אונטער נאָמען "ראַטעווענדיק די סאָוועטישע יידן", אין וועלכן מיר דעמאָסטרירן די רעכילעסטרייכער.

פון טאָג צו טאָג וואַקסט די אומצופרידנקייט און די אַפּאָזיציע בענעגגייע דעם רעכטן פּליגל פּונעם אמעריקאַנער יידישן קאָמיטעט, דעם אַרויסגעבער פון דער אַרכי-קאָנסערוואַטיווער כוידערשריפט "קאָמענטערי", און בענעגגייע דעם אמעריקאַנער-ייסראָלענדיקן קאָמיטעט פאַר געזעלשאַפּטלעכע איניאַניס, דער רופּאַר פון די ייסראָעלדיקע הערשנדיקע קרייזן. אין 1980 האָבן באַ 63 פּראָצענט אמעריקאַנער יידן געשטימט פאַרן פרעזידענט רייגאַן, און אין 1984

האַבן 73 פּראָצענט געשטימט קעגן אים. צו אונדז פאַרייניקן זיך אַלץ מער פּראָגרעסיווע קויכעס. די אמעריקאַנער יידן, פון וועלכע 15—20 פּראָצענט לעבן אָפּן נידעריקסטן אַפיציעלן דאַלעס-ניוואָ, ווערן אַלץ ברייטער אַריינגעצויגן אין די פּראָפּאַריינען, אין יוגנטלעכע און פּרויען-אַרגאַניזאַציעס, וועלכע פּאַדערן צו ענדערן די אימפּעריאַליסטישע פּאָליטיק פון די רעגירנדיקע קרייזן. צווישן די לאַזונגען, וועלכע ווערן אַרויסגערוקט, געפינען זיך פּאַדערונגען צו פאַרקלענערן דעם אומגעהייער גרויסן מיליטערישן ביודזשעט, קעדיי די געלט-מיטלען אויסנוצן אף עפּעקטיוו לייזן די פּילצאַליקע פּראָבלעמען פון איינזאַמע זקיינים, היימלאָזע, אַרבעטלאָזע, קעדיי פאַרבעסערן די לאַגע פון די קינדער-שולן, ליקווידירן דעם אַנאַלפּאַבעטיזם.

באַנאַד מיט אַנדערע פּראָגרעסיווע קויכעס פאַרשטייט די רעדאַקציע פון "דזשויש אַפּערס" איר פאַראַנטוואָרטלעכקייט אין דער זאַך פון שטיצן און פאַרשטאַרקן די מאַסן-שטרעבונג צו שאַלעם דורך רעאַלע אויפטוען. און אין אַט דער אַרבעט ניצן מיר אויס די דערפאַרונג פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד", די ווערק, וועלכע דרוקן זיך אין אייער זשורנאַל.

דער יאַמטעוו פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" איז אויך אונדזער יאַמטעוו. האַנט באַ האַנט גייען מיר אין קאַמף פאַר שאַלעם און פּראָגרעס, און מיר גלייבן, אַז דאָס איז דער ריכטיקסטער וועג צו אונדזער ליכטיקער צוקונפט.

ס'איז דאָך אַ פּאַקט, אַז פאַרשטייער פון דער יידישער סאָוועטישער געזעלשאַפּטלעכקייט האָבן זיך אין דער פאַרגאַנגענהייט ניט באַטייליקט אין קיין שום אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָנפּערענצן פון יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע אַרגאַניזאַציעס. פאַרשטייער פון דער סאָוועטישער יידישער געזעלשאַפּטלעכקייט האָבן אין 1937 יאָר ניט גענומען קיין אַנטייל אין אַלוועלטלעכן יידישן קולטור-קאָנגרעס און אויך אין 1948 אין דער יידישער קולטור-קאָנפּערענצן אין פאַריזש. איך באַטראַכט דעריבער די איצטיקע איינלאַדונג פון יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע טוער פון פאַרשיידענע לענדער צו דער יווול-פּייערונג פון "סאָוועטיש-היימלאַנד" אַלס אַ וויכטיקן שריט אין דער ריכטונג צו פאַרשטאַרקן און פאַרברייטערן די קאָאָפּעראַציע צווישן יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע קויכעס, אַ באַמיונג צו פאַרשטאַרקן דאָס יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע געזעלשאַפּטלעכע קולטור-לעבן, צוציען ברייטערע יידישע מאַסן צום קאַמף פאַר פאַרמיידן אַ נייע מילכאַמע, פאַר דערפירן צו שאַלעם.



יוסף ליפסקיס רעדע ביי דער פייערונג אין מאַסקווע

דאָס איינלאַדן צו דער פייערונג פונעם 25-טן יווול פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" אין מאַסקווע פאַרשטייער פון יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע צייטשריפטן און אַרגאַניזאַציעס פון פאַרשיידענע לענדער באַטראַכט איך אַלס אַ געשעעניש פון וויכטיקער באַדייטונג. איך האַלט, אַז דאָס איז אין איינקלאַנג מיט דער ליניע פון דעמאָקראַטיזאַציע אין אַלגעמיינעם סאָוועטישן לעבן.

יידישע ענינים

ביי דער פייערונג פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד"

לואיס מאָראַז און יוסף ליפסקי טרעטן אַרויס
ביים 25 יערלעכן יוביליי פון מאַסקווער יידישן זשורנאַל.

גרעסער און ברייטער. מיר קומען צו די ליינער מיטן
לאַזונג: "פאַר אַ פּראָגרעסיוון אַנאַליז פון די
איקערדיקע געשעענישן פון דער היינטייקייט, פאַר
קלאַרקייט אינעם קאַמף קעגן ראַסיוס אַנטיסעמיטיזם
און שאַוויניזם, פאַר אַ פּראָגרעסיווער קולטור פונעם
אַרבעטער-קלאַס, וואָס זאָל דינען דעם סאָציאַליזם און
דעם שאַלעם!"

מיר געפינען זיך אין אַ פאַרביטערטן געראַנגל מיט
די אימפעריאַליסטישע, שאַוועניסטישע און
נאַציאָנאַליסטישע קויכעס, אַנטפלעקנדיק פאַר די
ברייטע מאַסן די רעאַקציאָנערע ראַליע פון דער
יידישער בורזשאַוואַ-נאַציאָנאַליסטיער אַנפירונג און
אירע קלאַסן-פאַרבינדונגען מיט רייגאַנישע גלאַבאַלע
העגעמאָניסטן.

אַ שטענדיקע אַרבעט פירן מיר דורך צווישן דער
אַמעריקאַנער יידישער יוגנט. אין אָנהייב פון די 70-ער
יאָרן איז געשאַפן געוואָרן אַ יוגנטלעכער קאַמיטעט
"ברירע". ער האָט אַרויסגערוקט אַ פּראָגראַם פון
קאַמף קעגן שאַוויניזם, וועלכער באַהערשט די
בירגערלעך-נאַציאָנאַליסטישע פּאַזיציעס פון דער
ייסראַעלידיקער און אַמעריקאַנער ציעניסטישער
אַנפירונג. די ציעניסטן האָבן באַלד אָנגעהויבן אַ העצע-
קאַמפּאַניע קעגן "ברירע" - סיי פּאַליטיש, סיי
אויסנוצנדיק די טעראָריסטישע "דזשויוש דעפענס
ליג". שפעטער האָט דער קאַמיטעט זיך פאַרברייטערט
און אָנגערופן זיך "נייע יידישע אַדזשענדע". אין איר
האַבן זיך אַריינגעגאַסן נייע קויכעס. איצט איז דאָס אַ
וואַקסנדיקע און אַפּעראַטיווע קראַפט, וועלכע קעמפט
פאַרן פּראָגרעס און ווייזט אַרויס אַקטיווקייט און לייזן
די פּראַבלעמען, וואָס שטייען פאַר די אַמעריקאַנער
יידן און פאַרן גאַנצען אַמעריקאַנער פּאַלק.



לואיס מאָראַזעס
רעדע ביי דער פייערונג
אין מאַסקווע

"סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" איז אַ גלענצנדיקער
ביישפּיל פון דעם, וויאַזוי אין סאָווענטנפּאַרבאַנד
אַנטוויקלען זיך די ליטעראַטורן אַף אַלע שפּראַכן. דאָס
איז אַ באַווייז פון דער לענינישער פעלקער-
פּריינטשאַפט, וועלכע גיט אַ מעגלעכקייט פאַרן
אופבלי פון די נאַציאָנאַלע קולטורן.

פון זינט עס דערשיינט די צייטשריפט "דזשויוש
אַפּערס" האַלטן מיר אונטער ענגע פאַרבינדונגען מיט
"סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד". מיר האָבן געשטעלט פאַר זיך
אַ ציל צו קעמפן קעגן בורזשאַוואַן נאַציאָנאַליזם און
שאַוויניזם, וועלכע די רעאַקציע פאַרשפּרייט צווישן די
יידישע מאַסן פון אַמעריקע און ביכלאַל אין דער
קאָפיטאַליסטישער וועלט. אין מעשעך פון צענדליקער
יאָרן פירן די אימפעריאַליסטישע קרייזן פון פ.ש.א. און
ישראל אַ העצערישע אַרבעט צווישן די דאָזיקע מאַסן,
און "דזשויוש אַפּערס" איז איינע פון די אויסגאַבעס,
וועלכע זיינען באַרופן צו עפענען די אויגן אַף אַט דער
גיפטיקער טעטיקייט.

אונדזער טיראַזש איז דערווייל נאָך אַ באַשיידענער,
נאָר די ווירקונג פון דער צייטשריפט ווערט אַלץ