

UNFORGETTABLE, UNFORGIVABLE

An *EDITORIAL*

# Jewish Currents

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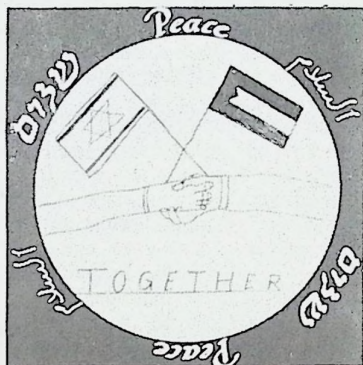
1985

THE WEST BANK'S FUTURE

By *LARRY MAGARIK*



By *Jesse Finn, 9, Jewish*



By *Jeffrey Courey, 12, Arab*

JEWISH LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By *HERMAN MERKEL*

WHAT'S HAPPENED TO ISRAEL

By *LOUIS HARAP*

ABOUT KLEZMER

By *SHOLEM ALEICHEM*

THE INVISIBLE BRUISE

By *CAROL JOCHNOWITZ*

# Jewish Currents

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*Our Cover:* Jesse Finn, 9, of Hopkinson, MA, is Jewish; Jeffrey Courey, 12, of Canton, MA, is Arab. The posters were produced under the guidance of Mitchell Kamen, head of Artists for Mid-East Peace, 99 Burlington St., Lexington, MA 02173 (617-861-1653). Rabbi Cary Yates of Temple Isaiah in Lexington and Father George Corey of St. George Orthodox Church in West Roxbury, MA cooperated with Kamen in getting children in their religious schools to draw the posters; Kamen provided a poster with the empty circle, and lettering around it in Hebrew, Arabic and English; the children filled in the circle. The set of 24 posters is on exhibit at Brandeis University Hillel until May 17. Consult Kamen for other showings.

### HAVE YOU MOVED?

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

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# Unforgettable, Unforgivable

An EDITORIAL

April 19

What are we celebrating, what are we commemorating on the 40th anniversary of V-E Day May 8? We are celebrating the victory over Hitler; we are commemorating those who paid the terrible price for that victory: Allied soldiers slain in battle, millions of civilians done to death in territories Hitler occupied—and especially and distinctively the six million Jews, two-thirds of the European Jewish population that Hitler had earmarked for his “Final Solution.”

Pres. Ronald Reagan's clumsy and unsuccessful attempt to obfuscate the issue by deciding to honor Nazi Germany's war dead, including war criminal Waffen SS men, has precipitated a passionate discussion that reveals the profound anti-Nazi feelings of the American people as a whole. Not only Jews but the American Legion too could not swallow Reagan's unpalatable “reconciliation.”

The new commandment that came out of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising is still binding: “Never to Forget—Never to Forgive!” Never to forget the crime nor to forgive the criminal! Hitler's war was not only a war of conquest but a war of genocide. Conquests may come and go, genocide is permanent, genocide is unique. We who danced on Hitler's grave have long memories and an active passion for justice.

Reconciliation? Not with the crime or the criminal, not with the SS nor with the brutal German occupations. Reconciliation on the basis of anti-Nazism, with post-Hitler, anti-Hitler forces, and with new generations of Germans who reject the crimes and the memory of Hitler.

We American Jews have not forgotten the kind of reconciliation with the Confederacy after the Civil War that to this day makes Lincoln's birthday not a national holiday because the Southern states have

refused to take part in such a holiday. The heritage of that premature reconciliation has been a history of racism that plagues our country to this day. With Nazism—no reconciliation; “No Pasaran!”

It is sometimes said and often thought, especially by survivors of the camps and by those who lost family at Hitler's hands, that, whoever may have won the war, the Jews surely lost it. *Did* we lose the war? The answer is: had Hitler won, where would Jews be today?

With full respect for the anguish that leads to the judgment or the feeling that Jews lost the war, we must differ. True, the price we paid for the victory was the greatest—bar none. But too too high price for victory is not the same as a defeat.

Israel's existence is one sign that Jews were among the victors. The price paid by the Jews in the Holocaust was a decisive factor in winning the UN majority in 1947 to sanction the birth of the Jewish State of Israel and to welcome it into the UN community of nations.

Following the May 8 festivities in Europe, Israel will, on May 10, have its commemoration. Secretary of State George P. Shultz has been invited. Has Andrei Gromyko been invited? Did not the USSR have “something to do” with winning the war? Is it forgotten that, as was widely and loudly said at the time, Tel Aviv was saved at Stalingrad? Yes, the USSR has broken diplomatic relations with Israel, unjustly, and to its own as well as Israel's detriment. Would not an invitation to the USSR to come to Yad Vashem May 10 have been an act of statesmanship?

The victory over Hitler was achieved by the Grand Entente, based on the USA and USSR. If a Grand Entente now is out of the question, can we not work to renew the Grand Detente—to remove the danger of mutual assured destruction?

# Jewish Life in South Africa

## 50 Years of Observation

By HERMAN MERKEL

*[Herman Merkel describes himself as a "Litvak who has lived in South Africa for 50 years." He and his wife recently joined their children and grandchildren in this country — in Sherman Oaks, Calif. and "lost little time in taking advantage of the enriching Jewish cultural life enjoyed here." A civil engineer, he now serves his new community "as a hospice volunteer, coordinator of 'Bikur-Holim' program and as co-director, with his daughter, of their Temple's volunteer services."*

*We publish this article at a time when the tide of opposition to apartheid is rising, especially in the USA. On page 45 of this issue and in the past few issues, we have reported the widespread picketing of the South African Embassy in Washington, of its Consulates in other cities and of institutions selling the South African Kruegerand and of the significant participation of Jews in these demonstrations. Mr. Merkel's long-range on-the-spot experience in South Africa and his observations and conclusions provide information we believe our readers can use, whatever their opinion may be of his viewpoint. — Editor]*

As reports of the current unrest and political dilemmas of the country continue to flow in, interest focuses on their implications for its 120,000 Jews.

The white Afrikaners' relationship with the Jews goes back over 150 years to the time of the Voortrekkers, who liked to compare the Biblical Exodus with their own Great Trek into the uncharted interior to end their discrimination by the British at the Cape. The connection continues today as

the descendants see a parallel in the encirclement of their land and that of Israel by enemies superior in numbers but not in strength.

Gen. Jan Christian Smuts (1870-1950), as a member of the British War Cabinet at the time of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, is reputed to have been an active participant in promoting its acceptance, while the first head of state to visit the new State of Israel was none other than the first Nationalist Prime Minister, the initiator of apartheid in 1948, Dr. D.F. Malan (1847-1959), a doctor of divinity, who conversed with Ben-Gurion in fluent Hebrew.

Despite the country's present economic troubles, arising out of the disastrous drought and collapse of the price of gold, the transfer by Jews of campaign and investment funds for Israel has not been restricted.

Israel's political leadership, however, remains divided over its relationship with the Nationalist Government. A recent reception for its Foreign Minister, Roelof 'Pik' Botha, hosted by Deputy Premier Yitzhak Shamir, was attended by Likud ministers, but with Ezer Weitzman as the sole Alignment representative.

An editorial in the *Jerusalem Post* reminds its readers that it was during the Labor-led times that the close ties between the two countries were forged and that the African states, the reason for the labor faction's ambivalent attitude, carry on an unpublicized import-export trade with its southern adversary which exceeds in volume that of Israel's own. One also knows that Africa's present positive response to Israel's overtures follows on its

failed hopes for promised Arab petrodollars, but a noticeable change in the voting pattern at the U.N. remains to be reported.

The Jewish Board of Deputies recently celebrating its 80th anniversary, is the representative body of Jewry with which every social, cultural, welfare, religious and Zionist organization is affiliated. Since delegates from these are active in all political parties, any consensus of opinion regarding official government policy is impossible but the Board does voice its abhorrence of some departmental practices.

Thus a recent Board press digest reported that a deputation of the Board's senior officials appealed to the minister responsible for the destruction of the squatter shelters to suspend the practice, which results in the exposure to the elements of Black, men, women and children. The deputation is quoted as stating that, on humanitarian grounds and on the grounds of the Jewish

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### *In Parliament Helen Suzman is the outspoken critic*

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people's own history of suffering, the minister was urged to put an end to an inhuman practice which causes such hardship to people. The bold action of the Board and the immediate favorable response it elicited were widely acclaimed in the press of the various groups. Jews participate in the political life of the country at many levels. In Parliament the liberal Helen Suzman is the outspoken critic of Government policies. The country's Consul General here, in America, is Jewish. Johannesburg has elected a succession of Jewish mayors, as have many country towns with predominantly Afrikaner populations.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement attracted many activists who were Jews by birth

only. Several were imprisoned, a few still play a leading role in exile but though they have never in any way identified themselves with their Jewishness, the Anti-government, anti-Semitic and anti-Black right-wing extremists hold the Jewish community responsible for their work. Blacks have never recognized Jews as distinct from the white establishment and militant groups strongly resent any help with their political struggle from any quarter.

In three areas of communal endeavor South African Jews are acknowledged to lead the diaspora per capita: Aliya to Israel, Jewish Day School attendance and percentage of communal affiliates.

Called a colony of Lithuania when 'landsleit' followed 'landsleit' in this century's first quarter, Litvaks made up 70% of the Jewish population: an influx of some 6,000 German Jews in the 30's, with the remainder of British origin, left a legacy of a strong, dedicated and committed community.

Johannesburg's 80,000 Jews support, in addition to many other institutions, three multi-level day-schools set on many acres of land replete with tennis courts, swimming pools, ruby fields and sports grounds. Judaic and academic studies are provided up to college level and attended by a third of all children of school-going age in the Jewish community.

Two modern homes care for a thousand Jewish aged, and a subsidized hevra Kadisha provides the burial plot, casket and all services for a nominal charge of \$500, with a request for a donation — one of \$250 is considered generous.

*Emigration, which accelerated over the* past decade, has not affected the size of the community because of the arrival of ex-Rhodesians from Zimbabwe and the influx of Israelis. Emigres are not motivated by any form of official discrimination nor by a desire for economic advancement. Family men in their thirties and forties, the age group from which the bulk of emigres

come, must, on relocating, return to their studies for several years to obtain certification to practice their professions.

The harsh restrictions in the transfer of capital, including savings, coupled with the current unfavorable exchange rate of currency, now add to the difficulties of emigration. Hence the hesitation to exchange an affluent life style for one as an emigre on a tight budget in Israel — the only haven with an open invitation to newcomers. Only special skills can nowadays gain anyone entry into other countries. America included. But few Jews here, as few Jews anywhere, are constantly preoccupied with political problems. They go about their daily business, attending to their livelihood, caring for their families and meeting their responsibilities as members of the community and as citizens of the country.

*Weekends finds them in one of several* Jewish country clubs, the youngsters swimming or playing soccer, their parents on the golf course, tennis courts or on the popular crowded bowling greens — perhaps competing in a tournament to raise funds for the Maccabi games.

Nevertheless, many thousands have left their country of birth for good and more plan to leave, several for a reunion with families after a long separation, and to begin other ties with close relatives, life-long friends and good neighbors.

While some emigres profess moral principles which would not allow them to live with apartheid, the moral principles of many more have left them a guilty conscience for leaving the land which provided them with the education and wherewithal to make a fresh start elsewhere.

All who remain question the faith of their departing friends in finding a better and safer life for themselves in the future in this world filled with strife and turmoil everywhere. But it is thought of the future which motivates the traumatic move from kith and kin. Looking ahead one visualizes,

by the end of this century, over 40 million non-whites (24m today) sharing the sub-continent with under seven million whites (5m today).

An outsider sees this as a blurred Black and white picture. A longer and closer look would reveal the distinctive features of Zulus and Xhosas, Swazis and Vendas, Sothos and Shangaans as well as Hindus, Muslims and Cape Malays, each with their own language, culture, skills and needs.

*Europeans, as official documents identify* all whites, of whom two-thirds are Afrikaners of Dutch descent, with the English community next in size, include settlers from everywhere. Jews are outnumbered by Portuguese, Italians and Greeks, who never learned the meaning of a melting pot nor retained the citizenship of their countries of origin.

Should statesmanship and sacrifice resolve the present day political issues, great economic challenges loom ahead. Within a decade over 300,000 new job-seekers will be added to the Black labor force every year. Only an expanding mining industry can absorb such numbers of mainly unskilled workers — an industry wholly dependent on the vagaries of the world economic cycles.

When J.C. Smuts was asked why he devoted so much time and energy to world affairs and ignored the dilemma of the disenfranchised majority in his own country, he replied offhand that there was ample time to leave this for the attention of future generations.

Even this eminent statesman and scholar, who drafted the Covenant of the United Nations, with its eloquent references to Human Rights, failed to take to heart the message of the midrash which introduces the most momentous of all Covenants. "...for I, the Lord your God, am an impassioned God, visiting the guilt of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of those who reject Me..." (*Exodus 20:5* in the new J.P.S. translation). ■

# GIVING UP TOO SOON

## The West Bank's Future

By LARRY MAGARIK

*The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel's Policies* by Meron Benvenisti. American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., 1984, 98 pages, \$12.50.

The sole possibility of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors is the extension of the land-for-recognition formula, the basic Camp David exchange, to the remaining occupied territories. Israeli urbanologist Meron Benvenisti's 1984 Report concludes that this formula has already been rendered impossible by Israel's *de facto* annexation of the West Bank, and that the negotiations expected to follow the last Israeli elections are therefore doomed to failure.

Benvenisti's highly publicized Report sparked an intense debate — in Israeli politics, in the Palestine National Council and in dovish circles. Considered on the left of Israel's political spectrum, Benvenisti writes as a (sympathetic) critic of Zionism. Thus he candidly describes the Zionist self-perception as "a conflict not between equal peoples but between one legitimate collective and a local population that happened to be squatting on that land" (Report, p. 19).

On the other hand, Benvenisti's Project was heavily supported by mainstream and right-wing institutions. Initially financed by the City University of New York,<sup>1</sup> the Project received massive support from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and the American Jewish Committee, employing 14 Researchers (all Israeli Jews). The Report was published by the conservative American Enterprise Institute.<sup>2</sup>

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LARRY MAGARIK, a New York lawyer, is a new contributor.

In his role as an administrator of occupied Jerusalem after 1967, Benvenisti reportedly supervised the destruction of Arab housing and Israeli building policies which were sharply criticized by Arabs;<sup>3</sup> and his Report apparently accepts the annexation of East Jerusalem. The Report essentially bolsters the claims of the World Zionist Organization that its plans for the thorough absorption of the West Bank are an irreversible success.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, a WZO representative was quoted as wholeheartedly endorsing Benvenisti's Project: "Ignore his politics, because his data are absolutely correct. We couldn't have done it better ourselves." <sup>5</sup>

Does the Benvenisti Report (purposely or unwittingly) serve the propaganda aims of an Israeli drive to colonize the West Bank? Is Benvenisti's intent or effect to disarm movements towards a negotiated peace or Palestinian self-determination? Is his pessimism a kind of "defeatism" which objectively speaks for the powers-that-be in Israel and the U.S., which now wish ideologically to convince public and diplomatic opinion that annexation is irreversible?

Or, on the other hand, has Benvenisti accurately reported reality? Is he correct in ruling out the only hopes of a negotiated settlement?

*Benvenisti concludes that the Zionist "maximum territorial goal" of control over the entire Mandatory Palestine has been achieved in "quasi-permanence" (pages 64-69). He firmly diagnoses that the "critical point has passed" and that Israel has created facts which preclude re-partition. The result is that Israel has become a society composed of a 60% Jewish majority, among whom there is an Athenian or South African "democracy of Masters" ruling over a subservient 40% Arab minority. While Benvenisti gloomily warns of the danger of this "internal problem" (page 69), he neither offers nor foresees any solution.*

Does Benvenisti prove his assertions?

The Report is superficially impressive because its staff has presented its research in

technical jargon and because Benvenisti's findings are seemingly contrary to his dovish politics. However, Benvenisti's conclusions are based on five arguments, each of which is considered below, none of which withstands close scrutiny. There is no doubt, as Benvenisti shows, that Israel intends to annex the West Bank. Benvenisti does *not* prove that this annexationist process is factually irreversible.

The first and strongest leg of Benvenisti's case is the "Jewish suburbanization" of the West Bank, a WZO plan to settle 100,000 Jews (by 1990) and 800,000 Jews (by 2000) in *toshavot*, West Bank condominium complexes. If accomplished, this plan would create a constituency economically tied to annexation, and controlling enough Knesset seats to block any giveback of the land.

There are now about 30,000 such settlers, most of whom are within commuting distance of Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. Jewish speculators, sometimes using phony Arab "front-men," have bought West Bank real estate, hired cheap Arab construction labor and sold these apartments to Israelis at a cost lower than prevails in Israel's tight housing market. Not unexpectedly, these profiteers are also the financial mainstay of Gush Emunim.<sup>6</sup>

The problem with Benvenisti's "suburbanization" theory is that it is based entirely on the WZO's grandiose plans, rather than on reality. Significantly, Israelis who have bought West Bank apartments signed contracts terminating their ownership if the territory changes hands. These colonists are also frankly unperturbed about the prospect of territorial compromise, since they expect to be compensated no less generously than were the displaced Sinai settlers.<sup>7</sup>

In reality, despite early enthusiasm and boasting, these West Bank settlement plans have apparently already fallen through. WZO recently stated that "not one agora" more of its money will go towards new settlement plans, since West Bank development has been "stopped for lack of funds and established settlements are

collapsing"; the Jewish Agency states that the settlements have not even attained a "minimal level of subsistence in terms of population." <sup>8</sup>

The failure of this "third phase" of settlement should come as no surprise since, as the Benvenisti Report demonstrates, the first two phases (the Allon Plan and the illegal Gush Emunim drives) were themselves unsuccessful. Benvenisti blames their failure on a scarcity of ideologically-committed Jews. The failure of the current phase is more objectively rooted. Inherent in the "third phase" projections was the creation of an economic infrastructure, i.e. industrial parks with jobs for Jewish settlers on the West Bank, which has never materialized.

Instead, Benvenisti's empirical evidence supports only a Jewish colonization of East Jerusalem and its immediate environs, not a general integration of the West Bank. The Report's Map 11 starkly demonstrates that even the third phase *plans* aim only at an urban sprawl of Jerusalem and suggest territorial compromise rather than annexationist irreversibility.

**Second, Benvenisti's economic arguments** — that Israeli occupation and industrial development have precluded the West Bank from ever becoming a viable economic entity — revolve around a meaningless tautology. The West Bank was *never* an independent economy because the Palestinians never had their own state. This hardly proves that such a state or economy could not be viable. As Benvenisti demonstrates, Israel treats the West bank in a classic colonial manner: using it as a market to protect "high-priced and low-quality" Israeli manufactures; prohibiting Arab industrial development; stifling Arab farming to protect Israeli agriculture; taxing Arabs to pay for the occupation. But this hardly demonstrates the impossibility of de-colonization.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, Jewish industrial investment in the West Bank is non-existent, a fact which the Benvenisti Report overlooks. Such investment was a total failure.



according to the Israeli Ministry of Finance.<sup>10</sup> Plans for rapid West Bank economic development were halted in 1981; since then there has been a *lower* gross local product.<sup>11</sup>

The Histadrut-owned paper *Davar* recently noted: "In the territories, there are practically no real sources of employment. There is no industry, no infrastructure... There are fewer than 10 real factories on the West Bank, and since 1967 the freeze has been almost total. The reason is simple: any firm that is established will compete in some way with an Israeli firm, and that the government won't do..."<sup>12</sup>

Third, while Benvenisti persuasively argues that Israel has expropriated Arab land on the West Bank in violation of international law,<sup>13</sup> he has not proved that this process is irreversible. After all, the seizure of uncultivated land by fiat and sophistry can easily be undone by dictate or treaty.

Fourth, Benvenisti's reliance on Israeli administrative measures, such as creating a municipal government for Jewish settlers separate from the Arabs, is misplaced.<sup>14</sup> These are little more than semantical devices, which could just as easily be interpreted as preserving the potential for repartition.

Fifth is Benvenisti's elaborate demographic argument. Shrewdly rebutting the common "dove" argument as to the supposed threat of Arab numbers overwhelming the Jewish character of the State, Benvenisti demonstrates that the Jewish-Arab ratio in whole of Mandatory Palestine is stable because the growth rates of the two populations are relatively equal. However, Benvenisti's "numbers game" can easily be stood on its head. Jews constitute only 3.5% of the West Bank's Arab population, and are demographically insignificant; and Jewish settlement is spatially uneven.<sup>15</sup>

As William Wilson Harris' more detailed study demonstrates, Jewish settlers are concentrated only in areas where massive numbers of Arabs fled in 1967. Harris finds

that the only area of substantial Jewish settlement is non-Druze Golan: "Elsewhere, in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, Jewish and Arab settlement patterns will be geographically mixed with the Jewish presence, currently only 7% of the total population, continuing to be dwarfed by resurgent Arab numbers."<sup>16</sup>

Harris' study suggests that the real demographic question in an annexation is whether the Annexor can occupy the territory *without* constant military presence and action. No one, least of all Benvenisti, has suggested that this is even remotely possible in the West Bank.

Furthermore, Benvenisti's prediction of a low Arab growth rate is premised upon continued forced emigration of Palestinians from the West bank, through deportation or economic discrimination. Since these measures are aimed, as the Report shows, at the educated white-collar class of Palestinians who may reasonably be expected to put up resistance, this demographic premise seems tenuous.<sup>17</sup>

A final criticism I must make concerns the Benvenisti Report's almost ritualistic anti-Arab bias, which perhaps flows from the exclusively Jewish viewpoint of the study. For instance, Benvenisti asserts, without proof, that the occupation has benefitted the occupied population in the area of health. U.N. data, and a comparison of occupation health statistics with those of neighboring Arab countries or with Israeli Jews, rates the health record of the Israeli occupation as poor.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, Benvenisti focuses unsubstantiated attacks on the Palestinian leadership (perhaps to legitimize his criticisms of Israel), arguing that the PLO has somehow "forced" Israel to take whatever actions he now criticizes. Benvenisti paradoxically admonishes the Palestinians to be conciliatory while declaring that there is nothing left to negotiate.<sup>19</sup> He seems to suggest the need for a non-PLO West Bank Arab leadership even though his Report reviews the failures of both the Labor and Likud governments'

efforts to find a "company union" in the occupied territories.

**Jews on the left, who recognize Israel's** importance to Jewish peoplehood but are critical of Israel's path, must present an entirely pragmatic critique to have any impact. The Zionist movement will not listen to, and Israeli people will not be swayed by, altruism, ideals or philosophy. Firmly rooted in the Zionist consciousness is the belief that Israel has done only what was narrowly possible, and that its choices were always limited to exactly what it has done. A Jewish Left which is merely the "conscience of Israel" is, in my opinion, fundamentally irrelevant to the Middle East question. Israel will (rightly or wrongly) reject being "preached at" from the outside or from within. The challenge for the Jewish Left is, rather, to demonstrate — if it can — that present policy is imprudent and that there is a practical, safer alternative. Thus, one of Benvenisti's important comments is that *settlement* has no military value to Israel but represents a risk.<sup>20</sup>

The viability of the land-for-recognition formula disproved the alleged impossibility of negotiating with the Arabs at Camp David. The military and economic drain on Israeli resources is the most potent rebuttal to Israeli "rejectionism." Annexationism, far from being a matter of "*ain breira*" (no choice), is a reckless and dangerous gamble with Israel's future.

### Footnotes

1. David K. Shipler, "Israel Changing Face of West Bank," *N.Y. Times*, Sept. 12, 1982.

2. Four years earlier, the American Enterprise Institute published quite opposite views. See Emile A. Nakhleh, *The West Bank and Gaza: Toward the Making of a Palestinian State*, AEI, (1979), which argues that municipal and social institutions on the West Bank will provide the basis for transition to a Palestinian state. See also Emile A. Nakhleh, ed., *A Palestinian Agenda for the West bank* (AEI, 1980).

3. Elia T. Zureik, "Benvenisti's Palestine Project," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Fall, 1984, pages 91-105. Israeli modification of the physical make-up of the Old City of Jerusalem, involving the bulldozing of some 600 buildings involving Moslem religious and historical sites, provoked sharp Arab and

UNESCO criticism. *The Guardian*, Dec. 25, 1974. For Benvenisti's views, see his *Jerusalem: The Tom City*, Minneapolis, 1976.

4. The original WZO plans for West Bank suburbanization were introduced at the same time Congress at which Likud took over the WZO from its traditional Labor leadership. *N.Y. Times*, Feb. 23, 1978; see also WZO, *Master Plan and Development Plan for Settlement in Samaria and Judea* (Jerusalem, 1983) and *Jewish Industry: A Master Plan and Development Plan for Industrial Estates* (Jerusalem: 1982.).

5. Ze'ev Ben Yosef, quoted in Lesley Hazleton, "The Israelis' Irreversible' Settlements," *The Nation*, Dec. 18, 1982.

6. Shipler, *op. cit.*: "Israel Building New Suburbia on West Bank." *N.Y. Times*, Feb. 12, 1982.

7. *N.Y. Times*, Feb. 12, 1982; Sept. 12, 1982.

8. "Settlement Plan Comes under Fire" and "The Hebrew Press." *The Jerusalem Post*, Int. Ed., Jan. 26, 1985, pages 5-6. Two recent *N.Y. Times* articles demonstrate the highly politicized nature of the issue. The first, Thomas L. Friedman, "In Israel's West Bank Debate, Money Is Now the Main Issue," Feb. 3, 1985, reveals that West Bank settlement is failing, that money is not coming in, that the settlements are poorly run, that the developments are tiny, and that Labor leaders are choking further development financially while rhetorically supporting settlement. The follow-up article, Friedman, "Jewish Settlers Are Put at 42,500," Feb. 11, 1985, permitted Benvenisti to defend his thesis by revising his figures upward and now arguing that settlement plans will be achieved by expansion of old complexes rather than creation of new ones. While Benvenisti's new number may or may not be accurate (the *Times* reported 35,000), the alleged rate of population growth is still small.

9. As Irene Genzler aptly commented of the WZO plans when they were announced: "Other nations have surrendered their colonies," "Israel's Colonies, Settlements Deeply Implanted," *The Nation*, Feb. 27, 1978.

10. *Ha'Aretz*, May 24, 1984, reported in *Israelleft: Bi-Weekly News Service*, No. 246, June 5, 1984, pages 8-10. One of the disincentives to investment in the West Bank is the lack of an infrastructure due to Israel's refusal to spend any money on the West Bank for any but the barest public necessities. Benvenisti's revelation that U.S. aid intended for West Bank development has been systematically diverted by Israel toward defraying the cost of the military occupation created a furor in the U.S. *Israel Press Highlights*, April 8, 1984.

11. Yehuda Litani, *Ha'Aretz*, Aug. 16, 1984, p. 3: *Israelleft* No. 250., Sept. 5, 1984, p. 6.

12. Dan Rubenstein, *Davar*, Oct. 9, 1984, reported in *Israelleft* No. 252, Oct. 30, 1984.

13. Benvenisti Report, pages 33-35. Moreover, Israeli land machinations have engendered resistance led by the PLO, including what the WZO's Settlement Department describes as a "cancer" of "intensive Arab development around Jerusalem." *Davar*, Aug. 15, 1984, p. 1, reported in *Israelleft*, No. 250; Benvenisti

## **HIAS SCHOLARSHIPS TO SOVIET AND IRANIAN REFUGEES**

Six Soviet and two Iranian Jewish refugees March 18 were awarded \$500 each as a Scholarship by HIAS, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society.

- *Eugenia Gertsovich*, 14, of Forest Hills, N.Y. left Leningrad in Dec., 1978. Despite a hearing handicap, she is a 9th grade honor student, on her school newspaper and on the debating and bowling teams.
- *Dr. Galina Gorodetsky* of San Francisco arrived in Sept., 1979 with her husband and daughter. A psychiatry resident at Stanford University Medical Center, she is active in the Jewish community.
- *Dr. Anna Lokshina* of Minneapolis came from Moscow in 1981. Combining private practice and service at Mt. Sinai Hospital she has published 16 articles in medical research journals here.
- *Sofya Liberman* of Chicago arrived from Minsk in 1979, is a computer science major and third-year honor student at the Illinois Institute of Technology and a graduate of the Crown Jewish Academy.
- *Eugene Goreshter*, 12, of Long Beach, Ca., left Kishinev in Dec., 1980, he attends elementary school and Temple Beth Shalom Hebrew School, and is a violinist in youth orchestras.
- *Eugene Shusterman* of Rochester, came from Kiev, Vienna and Rome in Oct., 1978. He is a senior at Brighton High School and a member of Temple Sinai.
- *Menoucher and Yacov Kamel* of Brooklyn, coming from Iran as students, have been granted political asylum (their parents are in Iran). Menoucher is organizing a club for Iranian Jewish students of engineering.

Report, pages 20 and 35; *The Jerusalem Post*, May 29, 1984, P. 1.

14. Benvenisti Report, pages 39-47. Benvenisti convincingly argues that these measures were instituted, before the ink was dry on the Camp David accords, to prejudice the "Palestinian autonomy" talks and to dictate the terms of "autonomy," which amount to Israeli annexation.

15. Elishu Ephrat, *Ha'Aretz*, May 24, 1984.

16. W.W. Harris, *Taking Root: Israeli Settlement in the West Bank, the Golan and Gaza-Sinai 1967-1980*, (New York, 1980), p. 160.

17. Israel's creation of a Palestinian proletariat entirely dependent on menial jobs in Israel may also trigger sharp Palestinian resistance, especially as the Jewish workforce in Israel faces large layoffs and demands the layoff of Arab workers first. Unemployed Arab workers, who have no farms to return to, are expected to pose a major security threat. Y. Litani, *Ha'Aretz*, Oct. 12, 1984, p. 9.

18. In 1978, the World Health Organization reported

that health services in the occupied territories had not even attained the minimal technical level that they should have attained after such a long period of time, *N.Y. Times*, May 5, 1978. Similarly, the International Labor Organization found that there have been no positive changes for Arab workers under Israeli occupation. *John Herling's Labor Letter*, May 15, 1982. See the critique by Elia T. Zureik, *op. cit.* which unfortunately dwells only on Benvenisti's relatively unimportant comments in this area, appears to miss the point of Benvenisti's overall conclusion, and faults Benvenisti for "not saying" things he does say.

19. Benvenisti, "The Turning Point in Israel," *N.Y. Review of Books*, Oct. 13, 1983, p. 11.

20. Benvenisti derides the "outmoded" defense strategy of frontier settlements. Other commentators have shown the strategy to be militarily absurd. See Israeli Gen. (Res.) Matityahu Peled, "Disassociating Israeli Security from More Territory," *N.Y. Times*, Dec. 16, 1977; Harris *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

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# ISRAEL

**Arab-Jewish relations...In Lebanon: The first phase of Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon** was accompanied by escalation of attacks by the Shiite Moslems of the area. The Israel Defense Forces retaliated with massive reprisals. On March 12 Israeli troops assaulted a town two miles north of the area they had evacuated and left 34 killed who, they said, were suspected as "terrorists." March 21 the IDF returned in force and raided a number of Shiite towns and left 21 killed. In many towns they rounded up hundreds of residents, searching for suspected "terrorists." ...In the March 21 operation Israeli soldiers killed two Lebanese civilians who were members of a CBS television crew. After an exchange of conflicting accounts, CBS finally granted that the shooting was probably accidental....March 21 the toll of Israeli soldier deaths since the Lebanese War started was 642....Aziz Shahin, a founder of El Fatah convicted in 1967 of possessing sabotage materials, was deported Feb. 17 to Lebanon after the Israel Supreme Court denied his appeal against deportation. His lawyer's claim that Shahin's life was in danger in Lebanon and a request for his deportation to Cyprus was ignored by the government....Following the Arafat-Husseini agreement Feb. 11 to negotiate jointly, Knesset Member and dove Shulamit Aloni in an article in *Yediot Ahronot* Feb. 17 admitted for the first time that she believed Arafat wanted peace....Following reports of inhumane conditions and prevalence of an infectious skin disease at the Al-Fara detention camp in Nablus, the Israeli Human Rights League requested on Feb. 24 more sanitary conditions at the camp, investigation of the disease to prevent its spread and care of the victims....When the right-wing student Gilad group at Hebrew University affiliated with Likud and the extreme right Tehiya, presented Pierre Yazbeck, local representative of the Lebanese forces in Israel, to speak on Feb. 20, he was met by about 100 Arab students who howled him down and prevented him from speaking for several hours until security forces ejected the fighting students; then he spoke to a few students....A multi-party group of Arab Knesset deputies joined in mid-Feb. to form a "Palestinian Lobby" to pressure for establishment of an Arab state on the West Bank....Early in March, four conservative U.S. senators led by Sen. Jesse Helms and including the Jewish Chick Hecht of Nevada and about a dozen representatives addressed a letter to Pres. Ronald Reagan recommending that the U.S. abandon its long-standing concept of "exchanging territories for peace" in the Middle East.

**Government and parties...The U.S. March 4 signed with Israel its first-** ever free trade pact with any country, providing for eventual elimination of all trade barriers and tariffs between the two countries within about 10 years. At present the U.S. sells Israel about \$3.2 billion while Israel exports to the U.S. about \$1.8 billion in goods....Yielding to U.S. pressure Israel agreed early in March to relay from a non-Israeli source Voice of America broadcasts to Soviet Asian republics....According to an early Jan. poll in Israel, not only is Prime

Minister Shimon Peres far ahead of Yitzhak Shamir as preference for that post, but Abba Eban is preferred by 32.1% for foreign minister as against 22.5% for incumbent Yitzhak Shamir...The party situation is shifting. The mainly North-African oriented Tami Party seems headed for oblivion and its leader, Aharon Abuhatzzeira, is said to have been rejected by both Labor and Likud for a cabinet post in exchange for adherence....Meetings on the left are going on all over Israel to discuss the feasibility of a united left party, with the Citizens Rights Movement and Mapam as its main base, together with individual footloose left wingers around the country. Mapam's affiliation with the Kibbutz movement is regarded as an important asset for such a party. There is dissatisfaction among important members of the Liberal party in the Likud coalition with remaining tied to it.

*Ethiopian Jews in Israel...In strict secrecy the U.S. succeeded in* evacuating from Sudan by airplane "virtually all" the Ethiopian Jews left there after the Israeli airlift of Ethiopian Jews was prematurely forced to stop in mid-Jan. About 800 were flown to Israel by the U.S. planes....Absorption of Ethiopians is rendered more difficult because so few Israelis know Amharic, the language spoken by the Ethiopians. A majority are illiterate, and there is no Hebrew-Amharic dictionary. Histadrut reports that almost all who want to work are employed, many are women. Most work at manual work in factories and are hard-working and conscientious. Some are at universities and some, attracted to socialist ideas, are interested in going to kibbutzim.

*News briefs...In an ominous article in Davar Dec. 7, 1984, Dan Horowitz,* professor of political science at Hebrew University, wrote that "Israel is ripe for fascism." The "political base" of an "emerging alliance of tribal beliefs, religious zealotry and market-place populism" are now present, and potential leaders in Ariel Sharon, Rafael Eytan and Meir Kahane are also there. When the people finally become "victims of the genie they have helped to let out of the bottle," it will be too late....A 1983 U.S. immigrant, Dr. Thelma Peskin-Halpern, has organized an umbrella coordinating group for the four battered women's shelters in Haifa, Herzliya, Jerusalem and Ashdod. She estimates that between one-fifth and one quarter of all Israeli women are victims of violence at home....55 tons of food, medicines, tents and mobile kitchens donated by Mogen Dovid Adom, Israel's equivalent of Red Cross, arrived in Kenya late in Feb. to help famine victims there. Funds were provided by an appeal to the Israeli public....Denis Goldberg came to Israel Feb. 28 after release from a 22-year imprisonment in South Africa when he agreed not to participate in violent activity against South Africa. His fellow-prisoners had advised Goldberg to seek release on this condition because he could not endure prison any longer. Goldberg came only to visit his daughter in an Israeli kibbutz; in a press conference he denounced Israel's relationship to South Africa; after fumbling with the Palestinian issue for a while, he declared March 10 he would say nothing until he studied the problem. He has left for London, where his wife lives....Israel is selling what is said to be "military" know-how to China....A handwritten MS text by Yevgeny Yevtushenko of his "Babi Yar" poem was deposited in the Yad Vashem in Jerusalem in mid-Jan....Hebrew is the primary or sole language of 83% of Israeli Jews, up from 77.5% in the 1972 census, while 95% of non-Jews speak Arabic, a stable figure....Mordecai Oren, Mapam activist who was imprisoned in Prague in 1951 and released in 1956, died Feb. 27 at 79.

L.H.

# What's Happening to Israel

## Historical background for the political crisis

By LOUIS HARAP

With the exposure of the anti-Arab terrorist conspiracy and arrest of 27 Jews, mostly leading West Bank settlers, Israeli Jews were stunned. How could such aggressive terror be perpetrated by Jews? Israel turned to soul-searching. In pre-State days, organized Jewish groups had engaged in illegal activities under the British mandate to evade British restrictions on immigration and for self-defense against Arab attacks. But this present clandestine, Arab-hating conspiracy was illegal under an Israeli regime, planned and executed with arms and explosives stolen from the Israel Defense Force.

The terrorists had launched aggressive attacks against Arabs and their institutions, flouting elementary human rights of West Bank Arabs even though the area was sternly policed by Israeli troops. The fanatical Jews took the law into their own hands, justifying their vigilantism by claiming that the army and police had not protected them. In fact, the occupying authorities were dilatory in dealing with settler criminality, as the official Karp Report showed.

Unlike the current illegal actions, the pre-State illegality was undertaken in genuine self-defense. At that earlier time, even though the Holocaust was in high gear, British soldiery could not be depended on for defense, while today there are official provisions for protection. But Jewish terrorism today is indefensible and a dark moment of Jewish history. It is

impermissible that Jews, for centuries the targets of persecution and recently even annihilation, should themselves oppress another people. The settlement policy and most particularly the terrorist conspiracy are an aggression against the Arab people.

Shortly before the conspiracy came to light Amnon Rubinstein published *The Zionist Dream Revisited: From Herzl to Gush Emunim and Back* (Schocken Books, N.Y. 1984, 223 pages, indexed, \$14.95). The conspiracy is the logical conclusion to Rubinstein's analysis and a confirmation of its validity. He wrote the book to explain how Israel arrived at its present state as a divided country totally different from the land envisaged by the founding Zionist fathers. Zionism was largely secular and a product of 19th century nationalism. Throughout history Jews have been identified with ancient Jerusalem as the land of origin of their religion and as a people. While politics and religion among Jews were historically intertwined, Zionism was essentially a secular movement, reinforced in the Christian world by belief in the Second Coming of Christ, which required return of the Jews to Jerusalem.

Secularization of Jews was made possible by 19th century Emancipation, and even appeared in uniquely Jewish form in the Hebrew *Haskala*. Burgeoning nationalism in Europe by mid-19th century saw the unification of Italy and Germany. Also Jewish national longings were spurred by growing, overt anti-Semitism and finally

resulted in creation of Zionism by the end of the century as an internationally organized national movement. Biblical origins served as a national rather than religious influence on formation of the movement. For the most part, however, Orthodoxy opposed Zionism for decades (as some sects still do, vehemently) not only because they condemned its secular character, but also as a blasphemous attempt to preempt God's prerogative for selecting the time and mode of return to Jerusalem by the Messiah.

*Secular predominance for the first half* century of the movement was considerably weakened after the 1967 war. Orthodoxy and even zealotry gradually gained power within the Israeli regime. Many secular-minded Israelis converted to Orthodoxy and a fundamentalist Judaism. The religious political parties allied themselves with the right-wing Likud in the anti-Labor coalition which came to power in the 1977 election. The Gush Emunim program to promote Jewish settlement on the West Bank with a view toward annexation coincided with the long-time policy of Vladimir Jabotinsky and his political heirs in the right-wing parties. They claimed for Israel both banks of the Jordan, East and West.

Although Labor tried feebly to resist aggrandizing settlements near Arab centers of population, the settlement policy advanced virtually unobstructed and received high financial priority in the rightist Begin regime. After defeat in 1977, a stunned labor Party awoke to the consequences of its neglect of the massive Asian-African immigration after the 1967 war, which turned the Sephardi immigrants toward right-wing parties. A small number of fanatical religious nationalists gained power far in excess of their proportion in the population through their alliance with the secular right.

This shift of power from the predominantly social-democratic sector was accompanied by an unrestrained industrial development and a combined right-wing-

theocratic ideology which polarized the country. The ultra-Orthodox settlement movement felt itself so strong that it dared to consider itself above the law. Occupation of the West Bank became more oppressive and grievances of Arab residents had considerable justification.

*Then came the series of events which* rocked Israel to its foundations: the Sharon-Begin war in Lebanon; the bombing of Beirut; the Sabra-Shatila massacre by the Israeli-backed and financed Christian Phalangist militia; the Kahan Report on the massacre, which charged with "indirect" responsibility Begin, then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and then Chief-of-State Rafael Eytan.

The entire trend was climaxed with the exposure in 1983 of the terrorist plot. Its leading figures were army officers and important leaders in the Gush Emunim movement. Israelis were incredulous, but they should not have been, for the entire policy of the movement was to take matters into their own hands, including the crudest intrusion on the rights of West Bank Arabs.

Then, to top the trend, came the election to the Knesset of the racist Meir Kahane giving further warning of how far Israel had strayed from its earlier ethical and political outlook. Was this the "new Jew" which Zionism had hoped in practice to create? Was such an Israel to be a "light unto the nations"? Or was it to be indistinguishable from all others with their aggrandizing *Realpolitik*?

It is true that one must keep in mind that such behavior was not without a background in reality. Israelis have been harassed and subjected to terrorist attacks, not to mention wars by Arabs, ever since its founding. Nor has Israel been receiving impartial treatment by the United Nations, which the Arab states, joined with the Soviet Union and its bloc, have largely been able to control (except for the Security Council) through the oil power and its strategic importance. Nevertheless, responsibility for many of the problems brought

before the UN must be shared by both Jews and Arabs.

Israel is also the target of international attacks in which it is indiscriminately blamed for many problems, much in the manner of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. These attacks are instigated, tragically, by both the Arabs and on occasion the Soviet Union; there have even been anti-Semitic utterances on the floor of the UN Assembly. With indelible memories of the Holocaust, all these discriminatory measures by the UN and some of its members rankle in the minds of Israelis. Arab terrorism, UN anti-Israel biases, international anti-Semitism add fuel to all forms of Jewish chauvinism and fructify the fanatical views of those who base their aggressive claims on Biblical religious sanction.

But it would be the height of folly for the Israelis to indulge these extremisms, since this makes Israel's position in the world only more difficult and a solution to their knotty territorial and national problems more remote. It is not too much to say that Israel's entire future hinges on such a solution.

*Rubinstein shows how all these issues* came to be as they are today. He follows the growth of influence of the ultra-Orthodoxy and zealotry, which he calls a "caricature" of the "Judaism of the book." To go beyond Rubinstein, one may suggest that if the country insists on pursuing this course, there may be little future for Israel. However, the shock of the exposure of Jewish terrorism and the dire economic situation have led to some return to the Labor fold in the 1984 election. Sweeping departure of the religious zealots from the outlook of the Zionist pioneers may be temporary.

Post-1967 developments, Rubinstein holds, have brought Israel to a point where its policies are actually incompatible with Zionist principles. These policies share the blame for Israel's isolation from other modern nations and have reversed the process of "normalization" of the Jewish people, which was the central aim of

Zionism. The new fundamentalism and secular reaction have cast Israel, rightly or wrongly, into an international ghetto. In vivid terms the author delineates the relations of the political right and left, and of secular and Orthodox tendencies down to the present issue between a secular right wing allied to an extreme ultra-Orthodox right, on the one hand, and a debilitated left and center on the other. Israel is now, he concludes, a "house divided." The two sides are of roughly equal strength, the election of 1984 showed. The original Zionist objective of extricating the Jews from the physical and social ghetto in which they have lived through several thousand years has by no means been achieved as Zionism hoped.

*In more than three decades Israel has* created a new, technically modern state, absorbing into its small land several million Jewish immigrants from many drastically different cultural and political backgrounds. They have achieved astonishing industrial and technological levels of development. But they are now in crisis after five draining wars with Arab neighbors and perpetual friction with the Arab world (with the present exception of Egypt) as well as major national problems of a dominating occupation of a million and a half Arabs. Intransigency on both sides renders solution remote of this extremely complex historical situation.

While the Arabs under occupation have a rightful claim to self-determination, extremist Arab attitudes are a mirror image of those chauvinistic Jews who tend to identify all anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism, just as an undefined Zionism is identified with world Jewry by most of the Arab world. On a national level the Arab nations have forced on the United Nations the resolution embodying the false charge that "Zionism is a form of racism," and they have tried to alienate many nations from normal relations with Israel. The fact is that Zionism is a national movement of the Jewish people and, like all national



movements, embraces the entire spectrum of classes, strata and range of political outlooks from right to left. Of course there are racists among them, as there are in many such movements. But it is false that the movement as such is racist. Racist thinking can be found among some in any aggregation of people today, the Arabs included. The "racism" charge against Zionism is a libel.

*A closer look at Zionism itself will demonstrate the falsity of the "racism" charge. We have suggested that the origin of Zionism can be found, in part, in the nationalism of the 19th century. This was articulated in a number of ways evoking a variety of ideas among the early Zionists. Each contributed to the complex which constituted the national movement. The multiplicity of these trends is detailed by Shlomo Avineri in his *The Making of Modern Zionism* (Basic Books, N.Y., 1981, 254 pages indexed \$15.50).*

Avineri was director of the foreign office in the Labor regime from 1975 to 1977, professor of political science at the Hebrew University and author of scholarly critical works on Marx and Marxism, among others (he is not a Marxist). His book provides us with a brief but meaty prelude to the ideational history of Zionism from its 19th century beginnings down to Ben-Gurion, and it can amply support Rubinstein's contention that Israel has been moved far from its original aspirations by its current right-wing and clerical dominance. The Avineri book is a historical study and attempts no contemporary analysis beyond his general conclusion that Zionism is a "revolutionary" movement of the Jewish people. He expounds the contributions to Zionist thought of 17 leading figures of the movement in the past century or so which, taken together, comprise the underpinnings of what he calls this Zionist revolution. These ideas in their turn are applications to the Jewish situation of ideas in the general community of their time.

The initial impetus for Zionism came

from the pioneer Jewish historian Nachman Krochmal (1783-1840), who rescued the Jews from Hegel's influential relegation of Jews to the status of an obsolete people which had ceased having a history. The great historian Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891) next placed the Jews in the world history of nations. They were, he said, not solely a religious community, as the assimilationists believed, but had developed a national consciousness; thus he opened the prospect of thinking about revival of the ancient Jewish State in Palestine.

Even some Central European rabbis were caught up in the nationalist surge. Rabbi Yehuda Hai Alkali of Serbia (1798-1868) and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer of Germany (1795-1874) gave a somewhat secular turn to the Messianic idea of the return to Palestine. The propagation of socialist thought among the Jews, in part stimulated by the growth of anti-Semitism, brought forth the conversion of Moses Hess (1812-1875) to Zionism. In his book, *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862), building on the presumed nationhood of the Jews, Hess proposed the return of Jews to Palestine and the formation of a Jewish state on what he believed to be socialist principles.

With the exception of the Viennese Theodore Herzl (1860-1904), the most significant contributions to Zionism then shift from Central Europe to Eastern Europe, where the Russian and Polish Jews, subjected to oppression and pogroms, looked for avenues of escape. They produced leading figures of the *Haskala*, the Hebrew Enlightenment, whose work finally issued in the revival of Hebrew as a living language in Israel. Perez Smolenskin (1840/42-1885) was a leading *Haskala* figure who asserted the nationhood of the Jewish people and after the 1881 pogroms advocated emigration by organized, rather than individual, action to Palestine as a haven from persecution.

Moshe Leib Lilienblum (1843-1910) was motivated, like Smolenskin, after the 1881 events, to influence the actual initial organized emigration from Russia by the

Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) movement, which purchased land in Palestine and settled immigrants upon it. Such figures were persuaded by events that Enlightenment alone which had seemed at first to open doors to the general community, did not offer security from pogroms and persecution.

Under the same influences Leo Pinsker (1821-1891) in 1882 advanced the trend in his book *Autoemancipation* by urging that the Jews could emancipate themselves only by gaining a homeland, which they could acquire *only by their own efforts* and not by a free grant from others. Although he had no clear preference for Palestine as such a land, he accepted it as one of the practical possibilities and became strengthened in this belief during the few years remaining to him.

*What Avineri terms the "Breakthrough"* came with publication of Theodore Herzl's *The Jewish State* in 1896 and his organization of the First Zionist Congress the next year. Herzl was no thinker, either secular or religious. His crucial importance was his conversion of "the plight of the Jewish people from an issue debated" by Russian intellectuals scattered over Russia to a "subject for world public opinion" which indeed entered "the center of world attention."

It is fascinating to follow the several facets of Jewish consciousness as projected by different theorists with special interests. Thus, Eliezer Ben Yehuda (1858-1922) was the primary advocate of a proposal which seemed utopian at the time but later became a reality by the adoption of Hebrew as the national language of Israel.

On the cultural and spiritual side the most interesting and talented of them all was Asher Ginsberg (1856-1927), better known as Ahad Ha'am (One of the People). To him Palestine was above all the cultural and spiritual center of the Jewish people and he was skeptical even of the advisability of developing it as a Jewish state. He was a *Haskala* figure and a leading creator of

modern Hebrew prose. Despite his detachment from political Zionism, he was a keen observer of Palestine, as he made clear from his prophetic reports on his visits there at the turn of the century, especially on the dangers of Jewish mistreatment of Arab residents. His primary interest was in the intellectual, moral and spiritual problems facing the Jews. Palestine, he thought, should be their cultural, not necessarily the political, center.

Then there were the socialist Zionists, all-important for the actual history of Israel. Unlike socialists in Western Europe and Russia, they did not believe that the Jewish problem would be automatically solved by the coming to power of socialism. For their part the socialists of the Jewish Bund in Russia and Poland were vehemently anti-Zionist and believed a Jewish national life could be sustained by an organized Jewry given autonomy by the non-Jewish state, whether socialist or capitalist. But socialist Zionists held that the alienated condition of the Jews could be overcome, and anti-Semitism eliminated, *only* if the Jews had an independent political entity.

Perhaps the earliest socialist Zionist thinker (if we set aside Moses Hess, who was almost unknown in those years) was Nahman Syrkin (1878-1918) who projected a Jewish state based on socialist foundations as a way for the Jews to conduct the class struggle and strive for a normal life. His outlook, set forth in 1898, advanced Zionism as a model of class struggle, wherever the Jew lived, for emancipation in a Jewish context.

Another founding father of socialist Zionism was Ber Borokhov (1881-1917), who attempted a Marxist analysis of the overall predicament of the Jewish people and offered a socialist Zionist program as a solution. Borokhov located the main problem of the Jews in their distorted relationship as workers to the productive process. This distortion could be corrected by a "normalized" occupational distribution of Jews in the total economic structure. Such an integration of Jews in the

economy and relief from the persistence of anti-Semitism will be possible only in Palestine as a Jewish state, in which normal distribution of occupations will develop without discrimination. Borokhov's program of 1906 provided Labor Zionism with the doctrinal basis of the movement for years.

A critical aspect of Borokhov's view was the necessity of filling in an agricultural sector in Jewish life, which it lacked under capitalism. The labor involved in such a development was exalted in the ideas of the highly influential Aharon David Gordon (1856-1922), who immigrated from Russia at the age of 47 in 1904. Gordon was a Tolstoyan who worked as an agricultural laborer and who developed the mystique of the unity of the Land, Labor and People of Israel. He was one of the prime movers of the kibbutz movement. His doctrine of manual labor on the land was a "Religion of Labor," which played a part in the economic development of Palestine into a full-fledged state.

*The nature of Zionism as a national* movement is amply attested from its earliest years also by the creation of a right wing, as well as a left wing. Undisputed leader on the Zionist right was Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880-1940), also from Russia. He had authoritarian tendencies which manifested themselves by a leaning toward right-wing regimes and even to fascist Italy. He founded the Revisionist wing of Zionism antagonistic to the rest of the movement, anti-labor and vehemently anti-socialist. The Irgun Zvai Leumi in the last years of British occupation of Palestine stemmed from this movement, which continued in the State of Israel as the Herut Party under the inspiration of Menachem Begin, fervent disciple of Jabotinsky.

Begin led the right in Israel until he achieved power from 1977 to the fall of 1983. Throughout Israel's history Herut clung to Jabotinsky's position that both banks of the Jordan River, East and West, belong to Israel. Now, with the

collaboration of the ultra-religious right and the Gush Emunim settlement movement, the West bank is in danger of annexation by Israel. Intense nationalism has coexisted with the claim to religious Biblical sanction for annexation, totally ignoring the rights of Arab residents of the areas concerned.

We are not yet done with the influences brought to bear on Zionism: there is the religious, which emerged with full force quite late but, once released, proved powerful. In the United States, for instance, the only umbrella Zionist group before World War I was a weak American Zionist Federation. According to Melvin F. Usovsky's *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust*, its "Membership never extended to more than a minute fraction of American Jewry and even the masses of Russian-speaking Jewish immigrants, whom the *shtadionim* [Jewish establishment leaders] saw as overwhelmingly Zionist, remained largely indifferent to the movement." Orthodox Jews, led by their rabbis, were critical of Zionism for its secularism and for its claim to return the Jewish people to Jerusalem. The most important religious influence in Zionism before World War II was Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook (1865-1935), the first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, who developed a religious ideology integrating Judaism with Zionism.

He held that all Jews need to return to Jerusalem to lead a holy life, where People, Land and Torah became one integrated whole. All life outside of Jerusalem was unredeemed. Kook was a realist. Aware of political realities, he projected a future in which "redemption of Israel" involved also redemption of *all* people. In light of his benign universal outlook, it is ironic that the chauvinistic zealots of Gush Emunim, who purport to found themselves in Kook's vision, operate openly on the principle of Israeli national domination of the Arabs.

By the 1930s all these elements of the Zionist ideology were in place. By then, too, the Labor tendency was clearly dominant and led by that remarkable group of

### 1,096 WOMEN NOW IN STATE LEGISLATURE

With 970 women having been elected in 1984, the largest number ever at one time, the total of women now in state legislatures of all 50 states is 1,096, according to a release early in April from B'nai B'rith Women, using data compiled by the National Women's Caucus. New Hampshire has the highest number, 140, Mississippi the lowest, 3. Before the 1984 elections, the number of women in state legislatures was 997, an increase of 99.

- the 1,096 women now are 14.7% of all state legislators.
- 195 of them are in State Senates; 91 in State Assemblies (8 are in Nebraska's one-house legislature).
- 594 (55%) are Democrats; 494 (45%) are Republicans; 6 undefined.
- 73 Black women are serving in 29 state legislatures.
- At least 8 Hispanic women are in 6 state legislatures.
- At least 2 American Indian women are in 2 state legislatures.

No calculation has been made of Jewish women in state legislatures, but there is a National Association of Jewish Legislators, with Alan G. Heves, N.Y. Assemblyman, as president; Herschel Rosenthal, California Senator, vice-president; Arthur Berman, Illinois Senator, vice-president; Irving Stolberg, Conn. Representative, vice-president; Barbara S. Holme, Colorado Senator, secretary, and Ralph Goldstein, N.Y. Assemblyman, treasurer. Four issues have been published of a bulletin edited by Lisa Schwartz, *NAJL NEWS*.

immigrants of 1904 and 1914. Among them David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973) was the paramount driving force. The history of the State has since then been strewn with extraordinary technological, agricultural, and cultural achievements. It has also had damaging failures, most wounding of which is the inability to solve its problem of relations with its Arab citizens and neighbors. Also baneful has been the deterioration of political and social standards resulting from the timid, acquiescent yielding of the Israeli government to the pressures of an arrogant, aggrandizing, authoritarian religious zealotry empowered by its right-wing political partner, the Likud. The attempt to convert Israel into an oppressor of the Arabs under its occupation and to impose obscurantist and repressive restrictions on the secular Israeli public culminated in shocking vigilante violence by presumably pious Jews—all this has shaken Israel to its foundations. One must not of course, lose sight, as Amnon Rubinstein reminds us and as we noted earlier, that "Israel's troubles stem from geopolitical circumstances...

[which] have nothing to do with the religious, historical and psychological obsessions which have accompanied the dispersed Jews." But it must be recognized that Israel's predicaments owe much to Labor Zionist failure to keep Israel on a course compatible with its progressive outlook. Most particular is its failure to take advantage of situations that might have challenged Arab intransigency (for instance the opportunities for compromise opened immediately following the 1967 war), and to take measures to insure full equality to its Arab citizens.

As we can see from our quick oversight of the doctrines which went into the making of Zionism as a national movement, and of the Israelis' struggle to become a viable modern nation, too easy judgment cannot be passed. Nor can the Labor Zionist movement be absolved of their share of the responsibility for the deplorable events of the past few years which have so deeply scarred the Israeli people and contributed to the virtual isolation of the country from the international family of nations.

#### 40 YEARS AGO AUSCHWITZ WAS LIBERATED

On Jan. 27, 1945 during the offensive that started at Stalingrad and continued along the Ukrainian front, the Soviet fighting forces entered Auschwitz. They didn't encounter any resistance. The Nazi S.S. murderers with their auxiliary platoons of mercenaries from Eastern Europe had fled. The Soviet soldiers found thousands of dead and around 7,000 half dead human beings left to die. Most could not walk and were unable to comprehend the historic moment.

The S.S. guards left in a hurry. The gas chambers had been previously dismantled to remove the evidence of mass killings. The guards were terrified of the Russians and took with them all the prisoners that could still walk in a tragic death march deeper into Germany. Thousands of dead prisoners lined the snow covered roads. The total number of people killed in Auschwitz was around four million. Most died in the gas chambers. Most of the dead of Auschwitz were Jews, victims of the "Final Solution" conceived by the Nazi barbarians. About half a million human beings were murdered by forced injections of various chemicals, e.g., phenol, into the heart; others died in medical experiments. One of the main experimenters was Dr. Joseph Mengele, who in all probability lives today in hiding in Paraguay under the personal protection of Gen. Alfredo Stroesser.

The S. "Kingdom" was an efficient operation. The dead were stripped of everything usable by the Third Reich. Auschwitz was assigned from the outset to become the extermination place for Jews and other "inferior" peoples. In came the Gypsies, the Russian War prisoners and trainloads from all over Europe. As testified by Rudolf Hoess, camp commandant, at his postwar trial: "killing by shooting was too cumbersome and slow, we threw the Zyklon B. crystals into the chamber filled with people and in 15 minutes all the victims were dead."

I.G. Farben, the giant chemical trust, received tens of thousands of prisoners for their plants producing arms, gasoline and various petrochemicals. Other German industrial concerns also received their reward for bringing Hitler into power. The S.S. documents apprehended in 1945 at the concentration camp of Oranienburg, where the books were kept by the S.S. "management" office, revealed the profits from the prisoners as they entered Auschwitz to the day of their death:

Income from renting out the prisoners	
to industrial corporations	6.00 marks daily
less company supplies	0.70 marks daily
profit	5.30 marks daily

Average life expectancy of prisoners	270 days x 5:30 marks	1411 marks
Income from clothing, valuables, gold teeth etc.		200 marks

Total Net per prisoner: 1611 marks

(Ernst Antoni, *Faschistische Konzentrations Lager*, 1933-1945, pages 16, 125; *Der Neue Mahntref*, Jan. 1983, official organ of Austrian Concentration Camp Survivors.)

It all ended Jan. 27, 1945. By that time millions had been slaughtered by mass murderers led by an ideology—a brand of fascism called nazism which reflected the interests of the expansionist-adventurous German military-industrial complex. This monstrous ideology is not dead. Some of these criminals are here.

Mankind should not rest until all the vestiges of this ideology and its backers will be eradicated from our planet. This is the true legacy of Auschwitz.

JOHN RANZ, president, *Holocaust Survivors Association U.S.A.*

# The Editor's Diary

## ● P.S. to Wyman's Book

Last month here I praised David Wyman's *The Abandonment of the Jews* as comprehensive but not definitive. He has encompassed awesome prodigies of research. Yet he has limitations — and one limitation is so patterned that it amounts to an unbalancing and distorting bias. He mentions the Jewish Labor Committee but not the American Jewish Labor Council or the Jewish People's Committee; he mentions the Workmen's Circle but not the Jewish People's Fraternal Order; he lists as sources the Yiddish dailies, the *Forverts*, *Der Tog* and the *Morgn Jurnal* but not the *Morgn Freiheit*. Obviously his bias operates in two areas—the Communist-led left and the Soviet Union. On the former, he has one summary paragraph, which I quote in its entirety (p. 320):

"American Communists contributed virtually nothing to the rescue cause. In the wake of the Bermuda Conference, they publicly agreed with the diplomats: 'It would be foolhardy to negotiate with Axis satellites for the release of Hitler's captives.' They insisted throughout the war that the only answer for European Jewry was the swiftest possible Allied victory. Nor would they tolerate criticism of the President for his limited rescue steps. 'Roosevelt,' they argued, 'represents the forces most determined on victory'; those concerned about the Jews should 'speak helpfully.' This, of course, coincided with the Communists' view of what was best for Soviet Russia." His cited sources for this judgment are: "*Daily Worker*, 7/12/43, *Morning Freiheit*, 7/12/43, [found in] Palestine State Committee Scrapbook [Yale Library], *New Masses*, 5/11/43, 3-4, 11/30/43, 4, 8/15/44, 18-19" (p. 414n35). Checking all these references, I found his judgment faulty.

His first quotation is from *New Masses*, May 11, 1943, from an editorial on the phony Bermuda Conference entitled "Refugees without Refuge," indicting the Conference. Wyman quotes a half (not the whole) sentence correctly, but tendentiously *omits* what comes *immediately after* his quotation: "But steps could have been taken to provide havens now in the neutral countries of Europe where they starve, can find no work, and where each day is as barren and dark as the day before. We must open wide our gates to these refugees; we must exert our influence with Canada, Palestine, Latin America, and Great Britain to do likewise. There are refugees in North African concentration camps who were overjoyed when they heard that an American army of liberation had arrived; those anti-fascists are still in concentration camps—let down and without hope unless a chorus of powerful voices rise up throughout the democratic nations demanding the end of their incarceration." Does this *omitted* passage sound like indifference to rescue?

Wyman's second quotation, about FDR, comes from the *New Masses* editorial of Aug. 15, 1944, "Halt the Death March," which begins: "The fate, not yet consummated, of 400,000 Jews in Hungary, has brought together all sections of American Jewry in a vigorous effort to rescue as many as possible." There is reference to an American Jewish Conference-sponsored demonstration Aug. 7 of 75,000 Jews and Christians in Madison Sq. Park, which "heard a public

declaration from Franklin Roosevelt that those among the Axis guilty of acts of savagery would be punished." Since Hearst and others in the USA (and elsewhere) were agitating for a "negotiated peace" with Hitler, is there any doubt that "Roosevelt represents the forces most determined on victory" over Hitler? The editorial declares: "The final rescue of the Jews and other enslaved peoples can come only with the swiftest and most thorough defeat of Nazism on the battlefield." Does Wyman deny that "the final rescue" of the Jews required the military destruction of Hitler's armed might? Now Wyman has copious evidence that many an anti-Semite in the U.S. government often used the argument that winning the war has priority over attempts at rescue as an *excuse* for opposing *any* rescue effort. But Wyman then falsely assumes that anyone who says that winning the war is decisive in "the final rescue" is *ipso facto* indifferent or opposed to rescue. The quotations above from the two *New Masses* editorials cited by Wyman show the opposite to be true.

In the third *New Masses* editorial cited *but not quoted* by Wyman, that of Nov. 30, 1943, there is matter that only a severe bias could have led Wyman to ignore. He ignores this matter here and also in the Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference that opened Aug. 29, 1943, which Wyman includes in his list of archival materials he used. In my pictorial history, *The Jews in the United States*, p. 254, I wrote: "The Conference memorandum, *A Survey of Facts and Opinions on Problems of Post-war Jewry in Europe and Palestine*, informed the delegates that almost 3,500,000 Jews had already been exterminated by massacre, gas-ovens, torture, forced labor, epidemics and starvation. 'Of those who escaped, 1,600,000 were evacuated by the Soviet Government from Eastern Poland, White Russia and the Ukraine and later transported to various parts of Asiatic Russia....' " This statement was widely publicized both at and after the American Jewish Conference adjourned. Adverting to this statement, the *New Masses* editorial said pointedly that when it came to Jewish refugees the USSR had rescued "more than the rest of the world combined." Does Wyman question this statement? Then he should have given his reasons and cited his evidence—but to ignore it! Worse: on p. xi, Wyman writes, "...the American rescue record was better than that of Great Britain, Russia, or the other Allied nations."

What about Wyman's citation of the *Daily Worker* and *Morning Freiheit* of July 12, 1943, which he found in the Scrapbook of Samuel Merlin, leader of the Palestinian group of Zionist-Revisionists who had involved Ben Hecht in a loudly vaunted and sensationalized clamor for Jewish rescue that, as we noted last month, was more talk than act? Wyman's *two* citations refer to *one* article, published the same day in both papers, by the English columnist for the *Morgn Freiheit*, Abraham Chapman, and headlined there: "Hoover and Hearst Have No Place at Conference for Rescuing Jews." Chapman prints in full a letter by S. Merlin replying to an earlier column by Chapman. Then he denounces Hearst and Herbert Hoover as "defeatists" seeking to obstruct the drive to victory by exploiting for their own political anti-FDR ends the issue of rescuing Jews. Chapman writes: "The acceleration of the victory of the United Nations and the rescuing of the Jews are not two separate and isolated things, as this letter [by Merlin] seems to imply. The best way to rescue Jews is to open the Second Front at once, and destroy the killer of the Jews and the killers of all the peoples of Europe." Incidentally, had Wyman read the *Morgn Freiheit* of July 11 he would have found an excerpt from the speech of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise calling for the immediate opening of the Second Front made at the huge Polo Grounds welcome to the Soviet delegation of Col. Itzik

Feffler and Solomon Mikhoels. Was Wise too concerned only with "what was best for Soviet Russia"?

I submit that a reading of Wyman's cited sources does not justify his statement: "American Communists contributed virtually nothing to the rescue cause." I would add this: in going back to the communist press of that period I found many distressing and disturbing views by Communists and the Soviet Union. What is needed is an intensive study of that press to get a full picture. Wyman does not supply that.

### ● "The Ice Cream Parlor"

March 6

Managed, on the last evening of the First Holland Film Week at the Carnegie Hall Cinema, during which 18 films were shown, three of them with Jewish subjects, to see *The Ice Cream Parlor*, a memorable work acted by a splendid cast directed by the veteran Dimitri Frenkel Frank, dedicated to Georg Frenkel Frank, "An emigre." In this "fictional story based on a historical event," we see the German refugee owner Otto in Amsterdam under German occupation, avoiding confrontation ("I don't want to be a hero") but, because he is a *mentsh*, driven into heroism. And there is his Berlin friend, Gustav, now in Amsterdam as a German Major. They both love Mahler's 4th Symphony and rejoice in their reunion: Gustav warns Otto that the Nazis will deport the Jews in Amsterdam, but Otto will not listen. When Otto's friend Trudi insists, "Gustav is a Kraut," Otto insists, "No, he's a *mentsh*." In the showdown, when Trudi asks Gustav to rescue Otto from the Nazis, he "cannot" lift a finger. A fine film, complex, honest, moving.

### ● "The Rachel Plays"

March 10

With Fred Pasamanick to the American Jewish Theater at the 92nd St. Y to see two short plays about 9-year-old Rachel. In "I'm Hiding! I'm Hiding," gabby Rachel plays with a new neighbor, Dorothy, an Armenian, whining and cowering. In "Rushing Home," Rachel is with her parents in a 1939 depression setting in a New York tenement: poverty (Mother can't afford a newspaper—"Hitler's coming, I want to know when"); child molestation (the Insurance Man, coming to collect the weekly 25¢, gets his hands into Rachel's underpants); a battered wife (when depression tensions cause Papa to raise a fist against Mama, Rachel screams, "Papa, don't kill Mama"). You take away with you a one-liner. "There are certain smiles on your mother's face you never forget." But this is the stuff of sketches and stories, not theater.

### ● "Before the Dawn"

March 24

With Jesse Mintus to the American Place Theater to see "a new play adapted" by Joseph Stein (*Fiddler on the Roof*) from a play produced in Russian in Moscow Oct. 11-20, 1980, *A Ladies' Tailor*, by a Soviet Jewish writer, Aleksandr Borschchagovsky, whose wife had "lived through the tragedy of Babi Yar" (see our Dec., 1980 issue, p. 79); the play was also printed in Yiddish translation by Note Lurie in *Sovetish Heimland*. The retitled *Before the Dawn* shows us the household in Kiev of a Jewish daughter-in-law and a non-Jewish daughter-in-law of the



patriarchal ladies' tailor Isaak (sounding a bit like the grandfather in Odets' *Awake and Sing*). The sons are at the front. All the Jews of Kiev have been ordered to report next morning (for what we and the audience should know is the Babi Yar slaughter of Jews on Rosh Hashona). The non-Jewish daughter-in-law foresees doom; and the Jewish one is optimistic—just a train-ride. The Ukrainian anti-Semitic janitor is already preparing the premises for the Christian Orthodox family assigned by the Germans to move in. Restored in this production is a scene censored out in Moscow, in which the Ukrainian Christian grandmother, whose grandson has been shot by the Germans, begins to understand the fears of the Jewish grandfather, and joins him in prayer. The grandfather appears in yarmulke and huge prayer shawl—yet, oddly, the playwright does not allow him to know that it is Rosh Hashona. Schematically to parallel the “understanding” of the two grandparents, there is a sweet scene in which two pre-teen children, a Jewish girl and a Christian boy, quickly find friendship. There is a confusing attempt to foreshadow in two very brief scenes the horror of Babi Yar, but very little of the utter horror comes through. Whatever the powerful impact this play may have had on the Soviet Jewish audience, the effect here was only mildly grim.

### ● *“Marx, Marxism and the Jews”*

March 26

At the CUNY Graduate School Center for Jewish Studies, some 200 of us overcrowded a large classroom to hear two excellent papers on this subject by Princeton History Prof. Jerrold Seigel and Columbia Political Science Prof. Jack L. Jacobs (Neil Salzman, Gerald Stillman and Isak Arbus of our Editorial Board and Editorial Advisory Council also came, as did a number of our readers). Seigel thoughtfully placed Marx's 1843 work on the Jewish Question in its historical political and intellectual context, demonstrating that Marx was a defender of Jewish rights to equality and never had an anti-Semitic program; Jacobs discoursed brilliantly on “Marxists and the Jewish Question After Marx” in the work of Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein and Rosa Luxemburg. This is a welcome new, solid, unapologetic Marxist scholarship. I look forward to these papers when published.

### ● *Celebrating with the “Emmas”*

March 31

With about 200 members (and spouses) of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs gathered at P.S. 41 in Greenwich Village, celebrated International Women's Day. Vice-Pres. Miriam Silver, as MC, called attention to the 175th anniversary of the birth of Ernestine L. Rose (1810-1892), first Jewish woman crusader for women's rights, abolition of slavery, free schools and universal peace (too bad Yuri Suhl's biographies, one for adults, one for juveniles, are out of print). Ethel Pankin of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom spoke on Reagan's responsibility for the “feminization of poverty.” Emma Pres. Rose Raynes, after retelling the origins of International Women's Day, pointed to preparations for the centennial in 1986 of the Statue of Liberty—and then the Parparim Ensemble of bouncing, swirling, juicy and colorful young dancers wowed us all, as they had done to our JEWISH CURRENTS audience Nov. 4, 1984 (see our Jan., 1985 issue, pages 19-20). Seeing them perform now for the third time, I found their work fresh, entertaining and in very good taste aesthetically.

M.U.S.

# COMING HOME

## A Story

By **GEORGE I. BERNSTEIN**

In a small cemetery at Kibbutz Bar-Lev, a frontier settlement in Northern Israel, white tarp covers the gravestone of Shoshana Dagoni, who was the daughter of my comrade, Moshe. Heavy string is tied around the tarp near the base of the stone. Moshe stands with his wife, Shulamith, at the foot of the grave. Rabbi Ariel Ben-David chants in a low, rich, bass voice a haunting melody of remembrance, a song of peace. The Rabbi's shoulders sag, his frail body bends with the weight of this peace. We have come together at an unveiling ceremony, the day when Jews uncover the headstone, a year after a death.

On another dark stormy day, a year ago, when we buried the child, the Rabbi's voice was discordant, as if vocally probing my thought that we are all jokes unto eternity. Now his voice rings with hope, a requiem of meeting, a meaning for all our Shoshanas, for our land. The chant sings for Shulamith and Moshe Dagoni; a meaning for their tears, a why for forgiveness—surely a time to forgive.

Moshe stands at attention but his head slowly lowers, his eyes close and, like a small boy, his hand gropes for the hand of Shulamith. Shulamith stares at the headstone, lips compressed, jaws set and eyes dry. It is a year, and she had not cried. I cannot bear to see her this way; I turn away, for upon her face is the chill of death.

The Rabbi continues the service with a

**GEORGE I. BERNSTEIN** of Windsor, Ontario, an orthopedic surgeon, is a new contributor. Since 1979 he has published stories and poems in Canadian and U.S. periodicals and anthologies. He is now writing a biographical novel.

Hebrew chant. "Sweetly slumbering, here rests Shoshana, our departed child. She is the blossom that Death broke off. Peace unto her soul."

Peace...Shalom.

Shalom, a word of many colors. It can mean peace and hello and goodbye. Oh, the chimneys, the chimneys thrust into a carbon sky. To those living only in our memories, we whisper shalom. We shout shalom as we stand vigilant in our garden and hope it will not become our graveyard. Shalom—hello, my friend—goodbye, my friend—peace, my friend.

Rain batters the tarp clinging to the headstone. The cold wind from the north eddies about the stone base. The edges of the tarp, below the string, flap like a wounded, dying bird.

In the mid-November gloom, the dark horizon fills with birds approaching us at lightning speed. Screaming F-4 Phantom fighter-interceptors profane this moment, this moment of peace. Their sonic booms dislodge my Uzi submachine gun from its resting place on a nearby rock. It falls to the ground, just as it did on that cold and rainy night, a year ago, the night we lost Shoshana.

*One hundred yards to the north, a barbed-wire fence divides Northern Israel from Southern Lebanon. Along the fence and paralleled to it, the northern perimeter roadway follows its serpentine twisting, allowing rapid communication. The road, studded at intervals with strobe lights, is easily identified from the air as an international boundary. We lie in the wet, rocky grass, breathing quietly in the cold*

drizzle, listening for sounds that might betray infiltration of our perimeter.

Moshe Dagoni looks sharply in my direction, his finger placed to his lips, frowning. I carefully lift the fallen gun and cradle it in my arms, the only safe place for a soldier's weapon.

"Avram—remember our commando group in '48."

He pulls his parka firmly over his head and shivers. "Those were the days of history."

The wind dies from the north and freshens from the direction of stately Mount Hermon to the west. The cresting wind carries the salty tang of the Mediterranean.

Moshe turns to me. "Quiet, isn't it? I can almost hear the tinkle of the Sabbath wine glasses."

A muffled cough. The snap of an ammunition clip. I jerk my gun at the ready, tapping Moshe's shoulder in silent warning. We cock our Uzis and creep forward, crouching low over the soggy earth. We crawl to the fence and move parallel to it for 60 meters. Moshe probes the barbed-wire with the barrel of his gun. I cover him. The fence has been cut. A loose strand hangs weakly from a nearby post. Moshe flips his pocket flashlight on, inspecting the fence in better light. We roll away. No shots. Footprints in the mud. I follow them for a few meters.

"Where do the tracks lead?"

"Directly southward."

There are at least three pairs of footprints, maybe more. We will need help. We follow wheel tracks but lose them in the rocky ground.

*I unlimber my R.T., depress the switch, muffle my voice with a gloved hand: "Blue Leader, to Jezebel. Red Alert. Jackals on the loose. Call out the dogs. Estimate time of break-through, 1158 hours. Coordinate fix of infiltration point, 1-8 fiveer. Laughing Johnny and Blue Leader are moving for intercept. Require motorized reconn to plug our patrol sector. Bring up armor to break-through coordinate. Suspect further activity.*

*Have noted BM-21 Rocket-Launcher tracks. Re-transmit, using Code Blue priority through tango station. Terminate on Jeremiah frequency. Todah Raba Jezebel. Shalom, Shalom. Blue Leader Out."*

I snap off the unit. We move southward, tracking the prints, checking several times with our flashlights. Marauders are heading straight for Kibbutz Bar-Lev.

We know the land. Those who lie under its blessed soil are our people, our family. In other lands, there are monuments, shrines, great buildings built by people. Our monuments have been built with blood.

We run full out, our Uzis loaded with 33 rounds of nine millimeter ammo. We have plenty of spare clips. After sprinting two kilometers we sound like two wheezing asthmatics.

"Avram, I hear shooting to the south."

I listen. Muffled staccato popping of automatic small arms fire. "Moshe, we won't make it this way. Let's get off the road and take to the fields. We'll move in from the flank on their dark side."

*We creep through dense foliage and marsh grass and ford a rain-swollen stream. Keeping our heads low, we race through a maze of mounds left from an archaeological dig. Now, in the open, we see tracers criss-crossing and bursting like fire-works in the sky. Sprinting to the tree line surrounding the kibbutz, we press into the shelter of a wet, jagged rock wall.*

"Look to your right."

I whirl and see Elazar, the night guard, soaked in dark blood, lying at the entrance to the children's dormitory, his right arm flung in front of his head still clutching his Uzi.

The fog is creeping in; damp, heavy, swirling toward us from the olive groves. The dormitory's windows are dark. On its new concrete block walls, the brilliant red graffiti of children. The fog surrounds the dorm. The building becomes an island in a heaving sea.

Gun's bark, Muzzle flashes. Three P.L.O. raiders, holed up in the children's dorm, are

firing AK-7 Kalashnikov assault rifles, on automatic, sporadically. The villagers cannot directly return their fire for fear of hitting the children inside.

"Can't use the Uzis," I whisper, "have to go in from behind, the dark side, with the knife." Quickly unslinging our Uzis, we shove them under a juniper bush.

Moshe unsheaths his knife. He does not wish to kill. He looks at his large bony hands.

We creep through the cold drizzle, through the foggy darkness; we edge around the sheltering tree line of dark green olive groves. We drop to our bellies, our knives between our teeth. A villager sees us in a clear patch in the fog and directs his gun fire over the roof of the dorm as a diversionary tactic. If the terrorists see us, the children are dead.

Another 40 meters, and we make it to the nearest rear window. The fog is thick here. We can barely see each other. Search light beams begin their dance through the dark, the rain and fog, seeking a partner to embrace. We wait for the light to swing away, and as the automatic fire resumes, we jump through the window into the rec room. We hug the darkest corner, still, silent.

Three marauders are firing out of adjacent side windows toward the main portion of the kibbutz. Rough wood flooring creaks as the Arabs dart about their window posts. The light ascends the walls in its cyclic probes and we see the children's paintings hanging there and the chalk scribbling on the blackboard. On the floor, a piece of red chalk squashed by a heavy boot.

The light pirouettes and then we see them, the children, huddled in the corner adjacent to the gunmen's firing posts. Shoshana gathers the children about her. Each holding firmly the other's hand, she herds them to the most remote corner, away from the gun fire. She smiles and speaks to each one in turn, nodding answers to their questions. Their voices are hushed and calm. Only Moshe and I are afraid.

Shoshana is thin, taller than the oldest of the children. Her hair is black and straight. It falls over her eyes and she brushes it away with her hand. Tails of her white shirt hang loosely over faded jeans. Around her neck, a small golden star of David hangs from a thin chain. Her feet are bare.

Shoshana half-turns from the children and checks the position of the enemy. As the reflected light crests across the floor, she sees first in silhouette, and then in full view, an Arab boy of 15 or 16. He stands at the centre of the recreation room. Cat-like he watches Shoshana's every move. He halves the distance between them, his Kalashnikov slung over his shoulder.

"What is your name, my fearless sabra?"

Shoshana knows that he is in command. She takes a short step toward him and answers, "I am called Shoshana. may one of us take a message to our parents, stating your demands?"

*The young Arab unslings his rifle. The children begin to cry again. He places the gun at his feet, then turns to the children moving his finger to his lips.*

The boy's cheeks are smooth. His chin and mouth show the hard lines of defiance. The Arab boy is as tall as Shoshana, and handsome. The muscles of his wiry body stand out in the oblique light, as it advances and recedes. He wears the camouflaged fatigues and cap of an Arab irregular. His uniform shows no insignia of country nor rank. His mission is to conquer Muslim lands from the infidel. His reward is eternity.

Achmed turns to the children and gazes at Yehudit, the smallest of them. Her white cotton dress has a floor smudge on the skirt. Then he stares at his comrades, hunched over their weapons, watching him—waiting.

He lowers his eyes...he gazes into the sun at the silhouette of his little sister Rochella, his rose. She plays with a brown puppy. It has large ears and a long tail. Her white dress is spotted with dark loam. Achmed's knees feel soft and warm as he kneels in his

father's tomato patch. Rochella giggles and mimics Achmed, as he chews on a ripe tomato. His father carefully tilts a large rusty battered British army canteen, measuring out a few drops of water for each plant. It is soon prayer time, for the bright red Israeli school bus bounces along the gravel road as it passes Rashid El Rahaman's little farm in the lower Galilee, a few kilometers from Degania. Achmed smiles widely as he hears the squealing children tormenting the old man driving, hiding behind his sunglasses and dreaming of battles fought long ago...

Shoshana stands close to Achmed; she holds her hands together, finger tips pointing upwards. In the echoing light, they are tapers of supplication transcending the room, and penetrate the fog.

In the darkness, the children rise as one, carefully stepping forward, the small ones at the rear pushing the older ones.

"*Sh'ma Yisroel...*" Hear Oh Israel, The Lord our God, The Lord is one...the most solemn of Jewish prayers—the confession. Then their faltering voices sing the *Hatikva*—the Hope. The soprano grows stronger, haunting, a song of life and a chant of death.

***Anwar and Yassir keep up a steady*** barrage of fire from their adjacent windows. A ricocheting round hits Anwar in the face. The force of the bullet spins him around still shooting, his face covered with blood. The bullets strike Shoshana Dagoni as she prays. She stumbles, her hand extended to the Arab boy for help. Achmed catches Shoshana and sinks with her to the floor.

"You killed her! Allah will curse us all! We are dead men."

Yassir shouts, "They have shot Anwar! Achmed, your gun! Pick it up! Quickly! Back to your post, or we *will* die."

Moshe springs from the shadows and dashes to his fallen child. Yassir fires. I break cover. I dart to the left, away from the children and hugging the blackboard, get behind Yassir. I grip my knife. Yassir fires another shot, and Moshe dives to the floor. I sink my knife into Yassir's back. He drops

like a stone, his gun clattering across the floor. The round grazed Moshe's cheek, and blood flows along flesh and bone.

The tempo of the dancing search lights quickens. They weave through the rain and fog and darkness and cast a hundred shadows in the room, each moving to embrace and then retreating. I cannot distinguish between friend and foe.

Anwar darts from his post at the window and rakes the rear of the room with automatic fire. Moshe rolls away from his daughter. The bullets hit her body. Moshe abruptly rights himself after spinning behind Anwar. The pulsing, cresting, dazzling light and the blood running down his face, blind Anwar. Moshe strikes Anwar's neck with the side of his hand.

The Arab solemnly bows as if acknowledging a performance. His knees buckle and he falls; his hand reaches out for help and he clasps Shoshana's hand.

The boy, Achmed, yells, "Yassir! Anwar! Where are you? Answer me! *W'allah-i-l-eazim!* Answer me!"

Light and fog and rain swirl about the room as the children rush to the open windows and climb out. Panic-stricken, they run to their parents in the kibbutz square.

The boy, Achmed, in a frenzy, scrambles toward the rear of the rec room where the three bodies lie, body touching body. He shouts in Arabic, "The blood of Ishmael—the blood of David—mingle only in death. We all are to die, none will be left to pray. What will then happen to our God?"

Moshe and I creep back into the shadows. The Arab boy has picked up his AK-7. We must disarm him.

Achmed stands beside the bodies. His eyes roll upward. He prays, he cries, he curses. Then, with his free arm, he grabs Yassir's gun and in the shifting shadows stumbles to the front of the building. He sprints to the door. The light hits him full in the face as he runs out, shouting. The *Kaleshnikovs* fire wildly. The search lights, probing and accusing through the rain, take the Arab boy in a final embrace. Moshe

cries out in Arabic, "Achmed, you young idiot! Drop your guns!"

The Uzis fire as one, the shots striking the young Arab. He pitches headlong into the mud. His legs twitch. He lies broken and crumpled in the mud and the rain washes over him. His eyes are open, sightless. The fog becomes his tomb.

As an animal creeps into the dark to die, so a man makes for the light.

Moshe hunches over Shoshana. He kneels beside his dead child and speaks to her. He speaks and says he is sorry he has failed her. He smooths her dark hair and wipes the blood from her face. He takes off his jacket and folds it beneath her head. I am a man who cannot cry nor pray yet I must look upon other men who do so. Moshe weeps for Shoshana.

Nehemiah, our sage, taught that he who saves a single life, saves the world; he who takes a life, destroys the universe.

Moshe weeps for his child, for all the children of Zion and Jerusalem, and for the innocent ones in every age, in every land. They have a place of honor in the world to come—so it is written.

Moshe carries Shoshana out of the dormitory, through the receding fog and the rainy mist. We blame ourselves for the dead and feel guilt because we live.

Settlers avert their eyes and slowly disperse with their own rescued children. Search lights no longer point their fingers. All are innocent. All are guilty. Acrid fumes of death hang low over the kibbutz. I hold my handkerchief over my mouth to filter out the sour, polluted air and stifle my coughing.

*Shulamith, apart from us, remains* alone at the gravesite. The wind whips the embroidered silk scarf tied about her head and shoulders. Stray curls flutter around her face. Her tall thin body bends as a Hasid bends in prayer. Her face has become a granite mask. She now resides in a sepulcher of silence. I place my arm about Moshe's broad shoulders. I envy him; he prays while I cannot. Must a father behold his children's

gravesite? Moshe's long black hair is matted down by rain.

Rabbi Ariel Ben-David rests one hand on top of the gravestone and unties the string. He hesitates. Perhaps—but no—the laws of His Universe—we cannot tamper with them. He removes the tarp. So it is written:

Shoshana Dagoni

13 Years of Age

A Child of Valor

Died on the 15th Day of Heshvan

In the 5733rd Year

Of the Beginning of Creation

The Lord gives and

the Lord Takes Away

Blessed is the Name of the Lord.

Moshe opens the presentation case holding his military decorations and places them on the gravestone. He takes Shulamith by the arm and guides her slowly toward the kibbutz. The wind rises and lashes at a patch of tall grass around a small white gravestone set within a cyprus grove. The wind strikes and strikes again and the branches of the trees groan. The boy's body was never claimed. Burial for the non-Jew, as prescribed by Jewish law, occurred outside the walled cemetery.

Shoshana returned to the land. The Arab boy, too, came home.

To the left, screaming Katyusha rockets from Lebanon zero in on our sister kibbutz, Boker-Dan, four miles to the south. Deep staccato booms echo through the valley as our long range 155 millimeter guns answer.

#### ***V-E DAY GREETINGS***

*Harold Millet, Santurce, P.R.*

*Jack G. Levine, Los Angeles*

*Abraham Kolb, Brooklyn N.Y.*

*Joseph/Betty Edwards,*

*Forest Hills, N.Y.*

*Sylvia Lampert, Great Neck, N.Y.*

# ABOUT KLEZMER

By **SHOLEM ALEICHEM**  
tr. by Max Rosenfeld

"...The gifted folk artist, the talented klezmer, could always find the path to the aesthetic feeling of the listeners. And we can say that among village musicians there were always richly talented personalities, true artists, who touched and moved the broad masses with their art. We have many descriptions of such folk artists in the literature. Folk tales and legends were told about them. It is enough just to recall with what love one used to speak of such folk artists as *Pedotser* (Aron-Moyshe Kholedenko), *Stempenyu* (Yosele Druker), *Alter Tshudnover* (Alter Goyzman), *Mitsi* (Avrom-Yitskhok Berezovski), and others...  
"...Little has also been collected of the klezmer repertoire — and all at the time when there was scarcely a large village in Russia that did not have a klezmer. In cities like *Berdichev* there were over 50 klezmerim in the late 19th century, making up three large bands — *Pedotser's*, *Stempenyu's*, and *Moyshe-Abe's* — with several smaller ones. In the second half of the 19th century there were a couple of thousand klezmerim in the Ukraine alone, among them tens of talented artists, including performers and composers...."

From the writings of *Moshe Beregovski*, in *Old Jewish Folk Music*; ed. and tr. from the *Yiddish* by *Mark Slobin*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982)

o

**S**tempenyu is a kind of nickname that he inherited from his father. His father, *olev ha-sholem* (may he rest in peace), who was a klezmer, was called *Berl*

*Bass*, because he played the bass fiddle, or sometimes he was called *Der Stempenir*, because he came from *Stempeni*, a village in the neighborhood of *Mazepevka*, which is near *Stristsh*, which is a stone's throw from *Kasrilevka*, which is in *Kiever-gubernia* (Kiev province).

*Stempenyu's* father was also a popular *badkhn*, a wedding entertainer, who could roll his eyes, dance like a bear, or imitate a woman in labor screaming *Mama, Mama, I swear to you on a pair of Tefillin that this will never happen again, this is positively that last time!*

Music had been in *Stempenyu's* family for generations. His father, as you already know, played the bass fiddle; his grandfather, *Reb Shmilik Trumayt*, played the trumpet; his great-grandfather, *Reb Fyivish Tsimbler*, played the cymbals; his great-great-grandfather was *Reb Efraim Fifer*—and you can figure that one out for yourself.

In short, *Stempenyu* comes from a family of klezmerim all the way back to the tenth generation, and he's not ashamed of it one bit. *Stempenyu's* world reputation is nothing to sneeze at. Jews everywhere consider it a treat if they can hear *Cantor Nisi Belzer* sing, or *Gadik the Badkhn* recite, or *Stempenyu* play. Jews love music, they understand melody and song. Even our enemies won't deny that.

To hear *Stempenyu's kapelya* (ensemble) play a number with the soup course — for that we'd gladly give away a whole barrel of *borsht*. All the guests sit there quietly, listening to the fiddle weep. Everybody feels as if they're being

enveloped in a sweet melancholy. Everybody has their own thoughts — they don't have to borrow them from anyone else. And every sigh of the fiddle finds an echo in the hearts of the wedding guests. The Jewish heart itself is a fiddle — if you pluck the right strings you can evoke a variety of melodies, mostly sad ones. All you need is a real musician, an expert, an authentic klezmer — like Stempenyu...

Oy is that Stempenyu a genius! When he grabs the fiddle and slides the bow over the strings, the fiddle starts talking, but I mean talking — with words, with a tongue, like a living human being. It pleads, it argues, it sings with a Jewish groan, a *krekhits*. Stempenyu holds his head to one side, his tousled hair down to his broad shoulders, his eyes — black, burning eyes — look upward to the ceiling and his handsome face suddenly turns pale as death.

All you can see is his hand going up, down, up, down, and the people watching him feel like they're about to swoon, they grow weak in the knees, their hearts fill up with emotions they didn't even know they had. But Stempenyu is in a world of his own. And when he finally stops playing, there's a long silence, and then the people slowly wake up from this sad but sweet sleep, and everyone starts expressing wonderment at this astonishing performance.

Äi, is that a Stempenyu! *A rikh in zayn tatin arayn, aza mamzer* (the devil take his father, such a wizard), that Stempenyu!

**And the womenfolk? Don't ask.** It's doubtful whether there are as many tears shed in the synagogue at Kol Nidre as there are when Stempenyu plays one of his special numbers at a wedding. "May God grant that for my youngest I should be able to have Stempenyu play at the wedding, *zol mir eyn got nor helfn* (may the one God help me)..."

The excitement that Stempenyu causes when he comes into a town to play at a wedding with his *kapelya* is indescribable. The young housewives start blushing even

before the wagon carrying Stempenyu and Company arrives. Jewish girls start combing and braiding their hair. The little kids roll their pants-legs up to their knees and run out onto the road to welcome the honored guests. And even solid citizens with respectable Jewish beards appear on the street, smiling broadly, the sound of Stempenyu's music in their ears even before he starts playing. The square fills up with people, everybody is eager to get a good look, they elbow their way to the front of the crowd.

"Hey! Quit shoving! You've never seen a klezmer before? Take it easy! Nobody's going to kidnap him!"

That's what they say, but they still keep pushing, until finally the wagon screams to a halt and the *khevra* (group) klezmer starts piling out, one at a time:

First comes Reb Yukl Contrabass, an irascible man with a squashed nose and pieces of cotton in his ears. After him Reb Leybush Clarinet, a sleepy little fellow with big lips. Then Khaykl the Badkhn, with a squint. Then a swarthy, hairy man who looks like the old man of Borneo — that's Shneyer-Mayer Secunda, the singer. Then two or three young apprentices, who work for nothing. And finally, out of the wagon rolls Mekhtsi Barabanchik, with a drum that's bigger than he is. Mekhtsi is just starting to sprout a little blond beard, but it's growing only on one side of his chin.

An hour later the ceremony of "Seating the Bride" begins. Stempenyu does not simply stand there and play his fiddle. It's more like a holy ritual, full of mystery and feeling. Stempenyu takes up his position opposite the bride and delivers a discourse to her on his fiddle, a moving discourse on how happy and free her life was — up to this moment — and how dark and bitter it will be for her, after tomorrow, when she becomes a *yidene*. The words seem to rise from Stempenyu's bow as it touches each string. The married women present know the meaning of those sounds, they feel them in their insides, and they all start weeping copiously for their lost youth...



But after the Wedding Supper, the whole *kapelya* really shows what it can do. The guests whirl around to every *freylikhs*. Reb Yoneh the *Shokhet* dances a *kozatchka* and the mothers-in-law come out on the floor and all the guests clap their hands and Reb Yoneh is so carried away by the music that he doesn't even notice he's dancing with a forbidden female. Soon all the men have taken off their long black coats *kapotas* and are prancing around in their shirtsleeves.

And in all this, where is Stempenyu? Stempenyu is out on the floor too, mingling with the girls. But that's Stempenyu the Klezmer for you! Not for nothing do the town wiseacres say: "Mothers, lock up your daughters, Stempenyu's coming to play at a wedding!"

[I'm sure the reader has guessed that this Stempenyu is a character created by Sholem Aleichem in a novella of the same name. But in his autobiography, *Sholem Aleichem*, in the third person, tells about his own hankering to become a klezmer. So listen. M.R.]

Whether he would ever turn out to be a writer, our hero didn't know. But one thing he did know — he had to be a *groyser kenner* — he had to know everything. Even the violin. Playing the violin was, in those days, part of the liberal education of any enlightened person, like learning French. Nobody expected any practical use to come of it. Almost all the sons of the leading citizens in town took violin lessons. Why should Sholem Rabinowich be any different? Why, you ask? Only one reason: his father said no. A waste of time! Did Sholem expect to become a klezmer? Mathematics, geography, grammar, rhetoric — that's something to learn. But scraping away on a fiddle — what on earth for?

Maybe he was right, from *his* standpoint. But what about Bentzi the Klezmer's standpoint? Bentzi was also an upstanding member of the community, with two thick *peyess* (earlocks). And Bentzi said:

### YIDDISH AT OXFORD

The Oxford Program in Yiddish this year will be conducted Aug. 5-30. For information write to: Ms Jean Nightingale, Administrative Director, Oxford Program in Yiddish, Oxford, Centre for Hebrew Studies, 45 St. Giles, Oxford OX1 3LW, England. The tuition fee is £200.

"What does one thing have to do with the other? I have sons too, no worse and no better than any other Jewish children. And each of them can play every instrument in the band!" It was Bentzi who gave our hero his first lesson on the violin. "The boy definitely has talent," he insisted.

Whether "the boy" had "talent" or not, Sholem didn't know, but he did know that he was dying to learn the fiddle. All his life he had been surrounded by music, a world of *khazonim* (cantors) and *klezmerim*. His father's inn was always filled with them. Never a Friday afternoon passed without at least one wagon stopping at the inn and depositing a gang of strange-looking creatures, always lively and always starving. Like locusts they would descend on the inn and devour everything in sight..

So the Rabinowich kids heard plenty of music and singing in their day. Their home was filled with melodies, and sometimes a tune would get into your head like an evil spirit and give you no rest.

Bentzi the Klezmer lived not far from Sholem's *heder* (schoolroom), so our hero had to pass his house every day. Well, he really didn't *have to*. In fact, if he hadn't passed the place, the way to *heder* would have been a lot shorter. But Sholem loved to stop outside the window and listen to them rehearse. So one day, Bentzi's oldest boy caught him and — to make a long story short — Sholem soon became almost one of the family in that houseful of musicians. Through them he met a whole bunch of othe klezmerim and learned about their ways and their special klezmer lingo that he later used in his stories.. ■

# JEWISH WOMEN NOW

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## *The Invisible Bruise*

By CAROL JOCHNOWITZ

Here's a quick, easy consciousness raising experiment you can perform in less than a minute—at home, at school or on the job. Tell somebody you write a monthly column for a Jewish magazine about issues of interest to Jewish women today. Then, when asked what your next column will be about, say wife-beating. Note the reaction.

What was it? Probably, if not a guffaw, then a chuckle. At the very least an incredulous smile: "*Wife-beating?*"

The reason most commonly given for that reaction is the belief that "Jewish men don't do that." That statement, I believe, expresses a confluence of attitudes. One is that Jewish men don't because they're morally above it. Closely related is the belief that it's not in the nature of the Jewish family to generate such a pathology—the same sentiment actually, but expressed in terms of social psychology rather than ethics.

Then there's the question of class perceptions. People don't think of domestic violence as a middle-class phenomenon either, and Jews are widely perceived as an exclusively middle-class population. Then there's one more thing—and here, I submit, is where the guffaws come in. I'm talking about the images people, Jews and gentiles alike, have of Jewish men and women today. Jewish men bullies? Jewish women victims? Not anywhere in the popular imagination that I can see. It's been a long, long time since Henry Roth wrote *Call it Sleep*, and in the intervening years Henry has been replaced by Philip—with consequences we all know.

All these factors have tended to insulate Jewish sensibility from the problem. But there is one more: the critical lack of input from the victims themselves.

Wife abuse has traditionally been a substantially underreported crime because the women who suffer it live in a closed system of fear of their husband's reprisals should they complain and a paralyzing sense of shame: first, because they frequently believe they have done something wrong to merit such "punishment," and second because they feel they have sunk to a very, very low degree when they find themselves in such a situation. And if that's true for the gentle abused wife, how much more true must it be for her Jewish sister, told all her life that "Jews don't do that"?

Thus is perpetuated a vicious cycle. The battered Jewish wife imagines no Jewish husband has ever done this except hers, and that therefore he must have a good reason—her. And so she adds herself to the conspiracy of silence against the next victim, whose bruises, like hers, will continue to throb invisibly.

*I've attended two public discussions of Jewish wife-battering in the past year. At both of them it was fascinating to note the audience's spoken and unspoken responses. The first was sponsored by the progressive New Fund for Israel early last September. The second, in November, held at the American Jewish Committee's headquarters, was attended mainly by sisterhood officials from the three synagogue women's groups—Orthodox,*

Conservative and Reform—which had co-sponsored it. The audiences at each, which might not agree on all political matters, were identical in the bemused uncertainty with which they responded to their speakers' assertions. Ruth Rasnic, speaking for the NFI, told us that the Israeli government's estimate of 100,000 battered women in the country was probably an underestimate. She especially cited Jews from Arab countries, for whom she said such abuse was a behavior assimilated from the host culture.

"But what about the Ashkenazim?" someone asked. Rasnic drew in a deep short breath as if to ingest patience from the air, then said, "Some batter, some do not." We shifted in our chairs and looked at each other. Was that, we were wondering, really all there was to say?

At the AJC meeting two months latter, Barbara Harris, director of the Transition Center, a shelter operated by the Gustave Hartman YM/YWHA of Far Rockaway, N.Y., told us that statistics on the Jewish incidence of wife abuse were only now beginning to be collected. Still, she said 25% of all calls received at the Center were from Jewish women, and they'd had to install a kosher kitchen to meet the demand. (A 1980 study of 209 questionnaires from 9 temples and synagogues—Orthodox, Conservative and Reform—in the Los Angeles area yielded 22 incidents of spouse abuse.) "If you know 10 women," Harris concluded, "you know one abused woman."

Again, that rustle and stir. We were aware of the problem, horrified by it in fact, and at the same time uncomfortably aware that we too believe Jewish men didn't do that. One woman stood up and said, "These things you're telling us are very hard for us to relate to personally. How do we recognize that woman? What do we look for?"

The signs vary, Harris replied. A woman might seem to sustain repeated injuries from what she reports as "household accidents." Or she simply might wear dresses with high

necks and long sleeves all the time, even in the hottest weather, to hide the bruises.

We looked at each other, thinking of what we would look like rushing to call the police from the nearest phone booth the next time we saw a woman in long sleeves in July. And then I remembered Sybil. She'd been wearing long sleeves and a high neck that summer evening long ago when she visited me with her Jewish husband of one year. Never in a million years would I have guessed that she was wearing that dress to cover the bruises on her collarbone—never until the next winter when, her marriage annulled, she visited me again to tell me the whole story. A couple of years later, I met another pretty and gifted Jewish woman, also divorced from a violent husband — after 12 years of beatings.

I pushed these memories to one side, convinced that I was the only woman in the room who knew such cases. They pushed their way back. There was the testimony, they said, and here was the evidence. How many more Sybils would I need before I acknowledged the world was not exactly as I had thought it?

And that is the thought with which I would leave you. Not that wife-beating is endemic among Jews; it's not—it's a pathology, which means something that doesn't happen normally. And not that it's as common among Jews as anywhere else, either. The L.A. survey posits a 10-20% incidence in the Jewish community; general studies suggest a 10-50% rate in the overall population. The point is not how spectacular it is but that it exists at all. For many Jews this assertion represents a central dislocation in the way they define themselves, their culture and their relation to the outside world. But if it is true we must learn to shape ourselves around that dislocation—and realize that the world is not exactly as we had thought.

#### **CORRECTION**

- April issue, p. 38, col. 1: Ben Axelrod was 89 on April 27 (not 90 on April 17). On to 90—and 120!

# INSIDE THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

## *National Jewish Council Meets*

The National Jewish Community Relations Council, representing 111 local and 11 national Jewish agencies, at its Plenary Session in San Francisco Feb. 18-19 heard Dr. Daniel Thursz, executive vice-president of B'nai B'rith International, tell the 450 Jewish leaders present that the invisibility of the poor, homeless and hungry in America, whose increase he termed "shocking," has "made possible the dismantling of programs and structure that aimed at a more just society." He stated that a restatement of the commitment to social justice is necessary to reverse the current trend of "social dislocation and despair for some, and uncaring affluence for others."

Another speaker, San Francisco Archbishop John R. Quinn, past President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, stated that "Economic practices which violate the common good or violate human dignity in the name of private property are not morally defensible." Therefore, monopolistic pricing, unfair labor practices, sub-minimum wage rates and environmentally destructive practices are "immoral."

● *On Church-State Separation:* Theodore R. Mann, American Jewish Congress President, told the delegates: "The crèche on the courthouse lawn" and the prayers in the public schools that mark the weakening of church-state separation "threaten the integrity of Judaism itself in this land." He called the current erosion of the constitutional principle of church-state separation potentially "devastating," threatening to transform American Jews into "outsiders" and "strangers in their own land."

Rev. Charles W. Bergstrom, executive director of governmental affairs for the Lutheran Council in U.S.A., denounced the current assault on the separation principle, terming it an "intolerant attempt to Christianize America." It is based on a misreading of the Constitution and a misinterpretation of Scripture. He criticized the role of Pres. Reagan, whom he called a "political fundamentalist." The Lutheran leader sharply attacked "the religious Right."

## *ADL Actions*

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Feb. 27 criticized two members of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for asserting that civil rights laws are not meant to protect all Americans. Nathan Perlmutter, ADL national director, stated that this idea "is an echo of the very racist principles and policies which spurred the enactment of our civil rights laws." He added: "it is a melancholy revelation that Civil Rights Commissioners, charged with the responsibility and authority to appraise federal law and policy in the area of non-discrimination, themselves lack a fundamental belief in civil rights for all Americans."

○ *Anti-Semitism in Egypt:* ADL March 14 called upon Egyptian Pres. Hosni Mubarak to act against the "vicious anti-Semitism" emanating from his country.

According to an article prepared for the *ADL Bulletin*, "some of the most vicious anti-Semitic writings to be found anywhere have come out of Egypt recently." The authors of the article, Abraham H. Foxman, ADL associate national director, and Kenneth Jacobson, director of the ADL Middle Eastern

Affairs Department, state that Pres. Mubarak told four visiting U.S. Congressmen last year that he totally opposed the expressions of anti-Semitism in Egyptian media. The authors cite numerous instances of blatant anti-Semitism in the media, both government-controlled and the opposition press, as well as in books from the '60's and '70's. In addition, new books are appearing with centuries-old anti-Semitic motifs.

### ***A Great Accomplishment!***

The National Yiddish Book Center in Amherst, Mass. will celebrate its Fifth Anniversary Sun., June 9, at its library annex. Founded by Aaron Lansky in 1980, the Center has collected over 300,000 volumes; established a huge library annex with shelves for half a million volumes; has a world-wide membership of over 10,000 individuals; won an increasing role in the scholarly development of Yiddish studies; and stimulated a great upsurge of support for Yiddish culture in general.

The celebration will feature exhibits, klezmer music, guest speakers, dancing, refreshments and a formal dedication of the annex itself, the largest Yiddish book repository in the world. Congratulations, Aaron Lansky and your co-workers!

### ***On Affirmative Action***

In a symposium on Affirmative Action, Hyman Bookbinder, the Committee's Washington representative, taking a welcome flexible and realistic view, wrote: "While the American Jewish Committee rejects quotas, we recognize that the use of numerical data may well be necessary to monitor the effectiveness of affirmative action programs. Thus we support the proper use of reasonable goals and timetables. An employer should never be expected to displace existing employees or hire poorly qualified applicants to meet the goal. Goals are flexible and can be adjusted if they are shown to be unrealistic.

An employer is not subject to sanction if he or she has demonstrated good faith outreach efforts. We urge the Government to adopt a policy which clearly differentiates between good faith goals and *de facto* quotas and to communicate this policy clearly to all those responsible for carrying out Federal affirmative action programs.

"I believe that the Civil Rights Commission made a mistake in making quotas and affirmative action the front-and-center issue. There is a feeling out there among civil rights groups that that is the only thing the commission thinks about. Some perspective is needed. The country is not going to the dogs because there are some unfortunate quotas around." S.P.

### ***SECULAR JEWISH CONFERENCE***

"Images of the Modern Jew" is the theme of the 1985 conference of the Congress of Secular Jewish Organizations to be held May 24-26 at York University, Toronto. Groups represented will come from scores of cities in the U.S. and Canada. Featured speaker will be Gabriel Glazer of Tel Aviv, who will discuss the Israeli Secular Jewish movement, and also, at a public meeting, "Prospects for Peace in the Middle East." Some of the workshops will deal with classroom problems and techniques, since most of the organizations in the CSJO are schools for Jewish children. Other workshop themes are: "Language and Jewish Survival," "The Jewish Woman in the 1980s," "Developing a Rosh Hashona Program" and "Contemporary Jewish Literature." The keynote address will be delivered by Sociology Prof. Robert Brym, University of Toronto, who will speak on "The Modern Jew." For details write to: Gary A. Levy, 15 Gainsville Ave., Unionville, Ontario, Canada, L3R 1W7; or call (416-477-8120).

# letters



FROM READERS

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

## **Paging Gerald Newman**

Recently, I had the pleasure of getting acquainted with our attractive and well-edited magazine through its Dec., 1984 issue.

I enjoyed reading many of the articles; to name a few — the editorial “Lonely Landslide,” “The Old Poet” by Martin Birnbaum, the “Three Hanuka Candles” by H. Leivick and, especially, “Escape from Camp Les Milles” by Gerald F. Newman, which I found most fascinating but frustrating by its abrupt ending.

The above-mentioned excerpt from Mr. Newman’s “Miraculous Survival” is extremely well-written, with the suspense of a “super-thriller.” There must be many other readers who like myself are very eager to learn of the many adventures our author and brother were to experience after their daring escape from Camp Les Milles in France. Will there be a follow-up soon?

The enclosed \$10 check is for a one-year (Senior citizen rate) subscription.

TONY DRAGO

*Jackson Heights, N.Y. Jan. 14*

## **Who’s Got Money?**

This was a great fund-raising letter — and I’ve seen a lot of them. From one who doesn’t have \$1 “here’s \$10.” *Shalom!*

MICHAEL BROWN

*Brookline, Mass. Jan. 30*

My best to Morris U. Schappes, Louis Harap—and the rest, doing an amazing job! Here’s \$25.

BERNARD BURTON

*Los Angeles, Jan 31*

Was greatly amused by your forthright letter, “Do we think you have money?” We each reply, obliquely, “according to our ability.” I’m probably in a more fortunate position than the lady in the Bronx, but there are many times I have had to consign letters to the waste basket. There is a limit to the amount one can contribute, and many times my son and wife will say, “You have already contributed to this or that organization,” and want to throw the letter away.

Jewish Currents has one of the higher priorities, along with “Klan Watch,” “N.J.H./AC,” etc.—Good luck in your efforts (\$35 enclosed).

HY KORTH

*Columbia, MD, Jan. 31*

Who can resist Morris? Here’s \$20.

MOSES CAMMER

*Larchmont, N.Y., Feb. 6*

[You’d be surprised how many can and do — M.U.S.]

Enclose \$13 donation plus a gift sub. Shall try from time to time to help. Appreciate your devoted efforts. Enjoy JEWISH CURRENTS.

PAULINE BOONE

*Ontario, Calif., Feb. 5*

### 360th LIFE SUBSCRIPTION TO JEWISH CURRENTS

I believe that Jews in the free nations must stand against the repression of their brethren in the USSR; we must fight for freedom of emigration, freedom to participate in one's own culture, and the right to free press, free speech, free thought, and liberty in all its manifestations. Equality and liberty need not be mutually exclusive—as the West increasingly proves. JEWISH CURRENTS reports on the steadily deteriorating status of Soviet Jews while pushing for freedom, equality and justice everywhere. Here is my Life Subscription (\$200). Keep it up.

JOSEPH DREW

Washington, D.C., March 7

You'd have to have a heart of stone to turn down that appeal letter! Thanks for the articles on Jewish feminism. Enclosed \$10.

R.S.K.

Madison, Wisc. Feb. 15

#### On Fishtein's "The Milkman"

My experience in writing to the editor is practically non-existent and that of a critic even less. However, the poem, "The Milkman" (Feb. issue), impels me to take both these unfamiliar routes.

To my way of thinking, Oscar Fishtein writes darn good poetry. ("Oyf mir gezogt.") His reaction to the beauty of the early morning hours startlingly coincides with mine—a love that I maintain to this very moment, and that is precisely when I function best.

Nevertheless, I can wax less than euphoric in my own recollections as a milkman's helper—when helping a milkman tired me so that, young as I was, I became totally impervious to all about, except for moments needed for self-preservation, when I had to avoid slipping, falling on icy sidewalks, or bumping into objects in the semi-darkness. Certainly I felt no aesthetic exhilaration in refilling trays and cases.

A moment of exhilaration did come when I accomplished the feat of carrying two capped quart bottles with one hand.

It was with no great eagerness, during the winter months, that I left the bed I shared with my brother Sam and put my feet down on the cold floor of a cold-water flat. Then, dressing quickly, out into the dark, bleak winter blasts of the street, to a momentary treat of a hot roll and cold buttermilk from the driver of the milk wagon.

The drive or impetus to brave all this was the dime or the quarter and an occasional bottle of milk, to help the family economy.

Indeed the spring and summer months were tolerable, and then, as now, I was infatuated with the sights and sounds of the early mornings. The smells were quite another thing.

Winter, however, tested my endurance and loyalty to my family. Bottles were burning-cold to the touch. To this day I feel the chills of my youth whenever I touch a cold pane. My hands would grow numb from the cold and were brought to life by a kindly driver, whose fingers were miraculously warm, as were those of the other drivers, who generally seemed to be a gracious lot.

As for the dogs...I do not know by what magic Fishstein allayed these beasts. For me they were a constant menace and terror. When my fingers grew numb, I feared the dropping of bottles more than the cold. The drivers usually countenanced the loss of a bottle or two. Now and then

there was an irate customer or two to deal with...chapped hands, rickety steps, and odors that tried my soul, from hall toilets as well as stale cooking. I also remember the meager breakfast at home in the few moments I had before I dashed off to school.

Fishtein's portrayal of the "Days of Awe" (the High Holidays) is a nostalgic gem. It brought back vivid memories of those days in Williamsburg and Brownsville: how the streets grew hushed with the sobriety of the holidays, during which we paraded in those blue suits whereof Fishtein speaks with such eloquent nostalgia. The synagogue scene he paints throbs with reality. (I sang in one of those choirs). His poignant memories of his father brought a lump to my throat.

Both poems will awaken in many of us that phase of life we encountered in our youth in those transplanted ghettos of Brownsville, Williamsburg, the Lower

East Side, Harlem—as well as those in other cities of our land.

YUDEL COHEN

Brooklyn, Feb. 9

### Children of Singles

While I am fully in agreement with the argument on "Who Decides How Many Children?" by Carol Jochnowitz (Feb. issue), I wonder if I may be permitted a slight but significant extension of her principled thesis.

Jochnowitz writes (p. 31): "I continue to insist that a couple's right to determine the size of its family is an inalienable as any

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### CORRECTION

◊ March issue, p. 24, col. 1: in identifying Leah Zazuyer as translator of the poems of Israel Emiot we incorrectly called him a "Soviet Yiddish writer." Emiot was a Polish Jew who in 1935 and 1936 published two volumes of Yiddish poetry in Poland. When the Nazis invaded Poland, Emiot escaped to Soviet Bialystok and began to be published in the Soviet Yiddish press. In the Summer, 1941, after the Nazis invaded the USSR, he was evacuated, with other writers, to Alma Ata, from where he went to Birobidjan in July 1944, and was published in 1946 in the *Birobidjan Almanach*; he had also been writing in the *Birobidjaner Shtern*, which resumed publication in Jan., 1945. In 1947 he was among those arrested in the frame-up of the Birobidjan leadership, and sentenced to 10 years. Released after Stalin's death in 1953, he returned to Birobidjan, and then back to Poland, where he published a volume of Yiddish poems in 1957. In 1958, he came to Rochester, N.Y. Max Rosenfeld translated into English Emiot's *The Birobidjan Affair*.



of those other rights more commonly discussed." Not so commonly discussed, though these days more than in the past, is the right of a *single* woman to bear children and raise them. I do not think that Ms Jochnowitz would object to this, but if she does, I would like to have her response for the record.

One further clarification on the question: I would insist on equal rights for single women or couples, whether they be heterosexual or homosexual.

ERIC GORDON

*New York, Feb. 11*

[Of course, I agree — *Carol Jochnowitz*]

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Love,

Jacki  
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Russ  
Ceil

Susan  
Dottie  
Seymour

**WE MOURN THE DEATH**

of our beloved  
husband and father

**SAMUEL MICHELSON**

Oct. 10, 1909—Feb. 5, 1985

o

He was a fighter  
in the cause  
for justice,  
a compassionate and  
caring man,  
with a keen  
awareness and love  
for his  
Jewish heritage.

o

*Jessie Michelson  
Franklin L. Michelson*

*Deerfield Beach, Fla.*

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There was a soul named  
Mordecai Yardeini,  
and now the soul is gone,  
but will not be forgotten.

A soul is like a song,  
like the stars in the skies,  
with all their million eyes  
shining in the summer nights.

Yes, a soul is gone,  
but there is a song to remember.

**Nina Rosenberg Yardeini**  
Miami Beach

**In loving memory of**

**SAM MICHELSON**

A progressive and a scholar of  
Jewish life and culture. His death  
is a great loss to all who knew him.

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love and heart-felt sympathy.

**Evelyn Pearlman**  
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*(Incomplete, to be continued)*

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Connecticut	287.00	3
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Ohio	98.00	2
Arizona	95.00	2
Minnesota	85.00	7
New Mexico	60.00	2
Texas	45.00	
Oklahoma	50.00	
North Carolina	40.00	1
Indiana	38.00	1
Wisconsin	35.00	
Colorado	32.00	
Georgia	30.00	
Tennessee	25.00	1
Vermont	20.00	
Oregon	18.00	1
Virginia	13.00	1
South Carolina		1
Iowa	10.00	
Delaware	10.00	
Utah	8.00	
Maine	5.00	
USSR		1
	\$23,315.75	111

## OUR GOALS

Fund Drive	\$80,000
Received to date	23,315
New Subs Drive	700
New Subs to date	111

# AROUND THE WORLD

## AT HOME

**The MX missile was backed by the U.S.** Senate March 19 when it voted \$1.5 billion to build 21 missiles; the vote was 55 to 45. Of the 8 Jewish Senators, 5 voted for and 3 against. March 25 the House voted for the missiles, 219 to 213. Of the 30 Jewish Representatives, 20 voted against the missiles, 4 in favor; 2 abstained.

**N.Y. Gov. Mario M. Cuomo March 25** sharply criticized Pres. Ronald Reagan for statements he made at a White House press conference March 21 when asked why he had decided not to visit Dachau when in West Germany at the time of the V-E Day celebration. Reagan said: "...since the German people have very few alive that remember even the war...they have a...guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them." Gov. Cuomo, who is a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, in his letter declared that Reagan's comment about imposed guilt feelings "only serves to aid the cause of those who have spent the years since 1945 attempting to expunge the memory of the Holocaust and to deny its reality....Your comments...have made it more difficult to explain to young people the necessity of remembering the events and meaning of the Holocaust...."

**Ratification of the U.N. Genocide Convention**, signed by Pres. Harry Truman Dec. 11, 1948, and since then by 95 other states, is now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee again (Richard Lugar—R-Ind., chairman). The ultra-right Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) is continuing to oppose ratification, demagogically arguing that the Convention could be used unfairly against Israel for its treatment of Arabs. But

Israel ratified the Genocide Convention March 9, 1950, one of the first states to do so.

**Black-Jewish relations: March 10** Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young addressed the 85th Rabbinical Assembly (Conservative) in Miami Beach. With Pres. Alexander M. Shapiro of the Assembly, Young called for a national Black-Jewish conference to heal the current rift. Young pointed out that "The Black community of 20 years ago was essentially totally dependent on the Jewish community for support....because of the legacy the future of Black and Jewish cooperation is assured....[but] there are real differences that cannot be glossed over....For almost a century, quotas were used to discriminate against Jews...but affirmative action quotas have proved beneficial for Blacks." Rabbi Shapiro stated that after the convention regional rabbinical assemblies will be sent materials on how rabbis can reach out to Blacks....March 3 in Atlanta, members of the local Black/Jewish Coalition bussed to Selma, Ala. to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge in observance of the 20th Anniversary of the Selma to Montgomery march. Atlanta City Councilman John Lewis, co-chair of the Coalition, a Black leader of the Selma action in 1965, said: "We go back to call to the attention of the nation the distance we have come and the distance we still have to travel." Rabbi Alvin Sugarman of The Temple in Atlanta addressed the Rally in Selma....Since Nov., The Temple (Reform) has served as a night shelter for 51 homeless couples (including Blacks) in Atlanta. Shearith Israel Congregation (Conservative) also provides a homeless shelter.

**South African Apartheid: as of March 15,** Washington police had made 1,419 arrests of people demonstrating at the South African embassy....March 19 the NYC Bar Association awarded honorary membership to a South African Jewish lawyer, Arthur Chaskalson, director of the Legal Resource Center, who came here from Johannesburg to receive the honor. The Center, the first public interest law office in South Africa, has defended opponents of apartheid. Mr. Chaskalson said the prestigious award "will help considerably what we are doing in South Africa....It validates that work....[However] You cannot through litigation bring about the changes in the fundamental structure of apartheid."...March 22 in the *N.Y. Times* Op-Ed page Elie Wiesel, in "Apartheid's So-Called Law," wrote, "When the law itself becomes criminal, its authors are doubly criminal because they deprive their victims of the basic right granted to all human beings: recourse to justice....I had no hesitation, after leaving Soweto, about denouncing apartheid in all my lectures [10 years ago]."...April 11 Seattle Municipal Court Judge Ronald Kessler dismissed charges against 104 arrested in Jan. and Feb.

**The leader of the violent neo-Nazi** group believed by police to have murdered Alan Berg, a Jewish radio talk show host in Denver June 18, 1984, began March 28 to serve a 20 year sentence in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for counterfeiting. When seized March 27 in Rossville, Ga. Bruce Carroll Pierce had a van full of bombs, grenades, machine guns, dynamite, automatic weapons and a crossbow and arrows. Pierce's group, The Order, is connected with an "Aryan Resistance Movement" in the Northwest which calls the U.S. "the Zionist Occupation Government of North America." The pistol used to kill Berg was found Oct. 18 in the home of Gary Lee Yarbrough, convicted in Idaho of assaulting Federal agents and 10 other charges. March 29 he was sentenced to 25 years in prison.

#### ABROAD

**France: In Paris March 31, the Sunday** after the Friday on which 18 persons were wounded when a bomb exploded in the Rivoli Beaubourg Cinema showing Jewish films, over 8,000 Frenchmen (by police count) demonstrated against anti-Semitism and racism. The parade went past the City Hall, into the old Jewish quarter known as Marais and on to the Memorial to an Unknown Jewish Martyr. Grand Rabbi Rene-Samuel Sirat scored the slogan, "France for the French," of the National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen saying, "The results are what you have seen. It is the banalization of violence," referring to attacks on Jews and Arab immigrants.... Theo Klein of Paris, president of CRIF (Representative Council of French Jewry) told the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations in New York early in March that "Racism is racism, whether it is directed against Jews or Arabs or any minority group. For that reason, we feel a sense of solidarity with the immigrant population, many of whom are Arabs. And we long ago learned that we cannot ask the non-Jewish world to join our struggle against anti-Semitism if we ourselves are blind to racist attacks against other groups."

**Morocco: Before the U.S. House of Representatives** Subcommittee on African Affairs, Johana Ohana, vice-president of the Moroccan Parliament's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, declared March 21 that the 20,000 Jews in Morocco enjoy full equality as citizens, including the right to emigrate and to return. Mr. Ohana, an active member of the Moroccan Jewish community, was elected in an entirely Muslim district. He added: "The Israelite citizens of Morocco keep a faithful picture both in their heart and their mind of the late Mohamed V, who was the only head of state to oppose the Nazis from touching a single hair of his Jewish subjects. We did it with courage in defiance of the redoubtable and barbaric force of the occupier."

**West Germany: Jan. 1, 1985** there were 27,561 Jews registered by the Central Jewish Welfare Agency in Frankfurt, a decrease of 130 from a year before....In Frankfurt, for the first time since the war, there are three generations of Jews; 1,000 are aged 12-35. West Berlin has absorbed in the last five years 3,000 Soviet Jews who went first to Israel; another 80 went to Offenbach....Early in March the Young Guard of the opposition Social Democratic Party launched a nationwide campaign to de-Nazify all sites in West Germany named for Nazis. They believe the Bonn government should celebrate the 40th anniversary as the liberation of Germany from Nazi rule, not as a day of "collapse," as it is being called.

**Cuba: March 19 in Havana, Jose Felipe Carneado**, appointed in Feb. to head the new Religious Affairs office, assured Jewish community leaders Dr. Joseph Miller, Moses Asis and Abraham Berezniak that visiting rabbis will be able to conduct services on major Jewish holidays, that a kosher restaurant may be opened and a religious Sunday school established.

**USSR: Jewish emigration in March** totaled 97 (in March, 1984-51). In the 10 years, 1975-1984, Jewish emigration totaled 160,219: 1975-13,221; 1976-14,261; 1977-16,736; 1978-28,864; 1979-51,320; 1980-21,471; 1981-9,447; 1982-2,688; 1983-1,315; 1984-896....Late in March, Jews in Moscow were being invited to come to the visa of office to renew applications for emigration, without repeating the tedious process of filing new applications. April 2 the United Press International reported that Israeli radio said 280 Jewish families (about 1,000 persons) would be allowed to leave in April. In Jan., Lionel H. Olmer, U.S. Undersecretary of Commerce, was told in Moscow by Vladimir S. Alkhimov, head of the Soviet State Bank, that he believed 50,000 Jews could emigrate if trade relations improved. Among those invited to

renew applications after having been once refused are Abe Stolar and Bernard Lampport, American Jews who came to the USSR in the '30's; Aleksander Brusilovsky, a violinist, Aleksander Golenko, son of a mathematics professor, and Mark Reitman, active in an unofficial peace group. Prof. Aleksander Y. Lerner, a physicist who has been refused a visa for 15 years, Boris Gulko, a chess grandmaster, and scientists Leonid Ozernoi and Valery Soifer have written to U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. to plead their cases April 8 when he comes to Moscow with a Congressional delegation. It is also hoped that when U.S. Commerce Sec. Malcolm Baldrige comes to Moscow in May there will be a further thaw in US-USSR relations that would facilitate emigration. Sympathetic observers deplore that the basic human *right* to emigrate is thus held hostage to economic and political considerations....The visit to Moscow of Edgar Bronfman, president, World Jewish Congress, scheduled for March, has been postponed following the death of Konstantin U. Chernenko March 10 and his replacement by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, who may relieve some of the pressure on the Jews...At the World Jewish Congress Governing Board meeting in Vienna late in Jan., Union of American Hebrew Congregations Pres. Alexander M. Schindler warned against activists for Soviet Jewry becoming "cold warriors and urging an acceleration of the arms race. We reject the damning caricature of the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire' totally devoid of all humanity [and must avoid] joining the shrill voices of those who wish to sink Russia and America ever more deeply into incendiary rhetoric and reciprocal military confrontation." ...The first Jew in space was not, as we wrote in our Oct., 1984 issue, p. 45, Judith Resnick but Boris Volynov, Soviet cosmonaut, launched aboard Soyuz 5 in Jan., 1961 and in another Soyuz flight in 1976....March 19 Kharkov Hebrew teacher Evgeny Aisen was arrested for defaming the Soviet state. M.U.S.

## "HOW AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT ISRAEL"

In a study analyzing three decades of American public opinion on Israel, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) has found that "support for Israel over the Arab nations is one foreign policy issue on which there has been a wide consensus in the United States for over 30 years. Americans have consistently favored Israel by margins of four and five-to-one." Furthermore, "Israel is now substantially more popular than it was at the time of the Camp David breakthrough in 1978."

The 60-page study by Steven J. Rosen and Yosef I. Abramowitz assembles, for the first time in one place, Gallup, Roper, Harris and other polls, giving conclusive evidence of the American public's strong feelings for Israel. The data are categorized by demographic group and by specific issue. The results are striking and consistent. Writes AIPAC, "majority support for Israel comes from every region of the country, from women as well as men, from Catholics as well as Protestants, and from all social groups."

One of the monograph's interesting findings deals with Black Americans. A recent *Washington Post/ABC News* Poll reveals that Blacks support Israel over the Arab nations by a margin of three-to-one. Moreover, 16 of 21 members of the Black Congressional Caucus (a higher percentage than their white colleagues), have consistently voted for foreign aid to Israel and against major arms sales to Arab nations still not at peace with Israel.

Contrary to a widespread misconception, young people actually have *stronger* feelings for Israel than their elders, and support for the Jewish state among 18 to 24-year-olds has increased over the past decade. (This phenomenon can be explained by the greater number of people completing high school and college, because the more educated are the more supportive of Israel.)

The study also finds that Americans adopt pro-Israel positions on a variety of issues. On U.S. arms sales to Arab countries still at war with Israel, "virtually all polls...show clear majority opposition to such sales." In 1978, the public was opposed by four-to-one to the sale of 60 F-15 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia; in 1981, opposed the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia by two to one; and in 1982, opposed selling anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan by more than three-to-one.

On disposition of territories occupied by Israel since 1967, AIPAC finds: 22% prefer that Israel hold on to all the land; 54% propose that Israel retain only territory important to its security; only 9% believe Israel should return all the land. However, no question was asked whether Israel should be prepared to return territories in exchange for real peace. No question referred to UN Security Council Res. 242, widely accepted as the basis for settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. One could reasonably conclude that the percentage of Americans favoring territorial compromise would exceed the 63% quoted by AIPAC.

No questions were posed to ascertain the American attitude toward the right of self-determination of Palestinian Arabs alongside the State of Israel. Questions were asked only in terms of sympathy for Israel versus the PLO. The results showed 60% favoring Israel, 16% PLO, 11% neither, 2% both and 11% not sure.