Wall poster from Paris, May 1968.
Welcome to SHMATE #9. Why is it that most Jews and most Leftists have a double standard when it comes to Israel? I expect many readers of SHMATE would agree with me that the Jewish establishment often defends absurd things Israel does, while criticizing the same acts when performed by others. Two articles in this issue deal with that inconsistency. However, I am equally appalled — if not more so — by the inverse phenomena evidenced by Leftists, Jewish or otherwise. To put it simply: much of the Left has a habit of criticizing Israel for things it barely takes note of elsewhere.

The Committee for Academic Freedom in the Occupied Territories (CAFIOT) is concerned with Israeli treatment of the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank. Good! But why are there no similar committees of the Left concerned with academic freedom in the occupied territories of East Timor, Tibet, and Lithuania, let alone places like Libya?

A million are massacred in Cambodia and untold thousands in Uganda with hardly a passing glance from the American Left. Yet statements still emanate from the Left speaking of the Israeli massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. I would think that at least some Leftists would complain about the patronizing racism inherent in denying the Lebanese the responsibility for their own crimes.

An Arab death during a demonstration in Israel and the Left is activated to call for a whole range of appropriate — and sometimes inappropriate — responses. Yet hundreds have died in fighting between Hindus and Moslems in India during the past few weeks and the Left hardly takes note of the fact. What are we to conclude from this? That the life of an Indian is worth less than that of an Arab? That hypocrisy is a normal human attribute and should be condoned? That Leftists are intellectually lazy? That anti-Semitism is at work?

My basic scepticism about protestations from the Left that it is not anti-Semitic comes from two things: 1/the disparity of Leftist response to the struggles of the Palestinian people and those of other people around the world; 2/the disparity of its treatment of Jewish identity compared to its treatment of other ethnic identities.

The Left frequently ascribes racism, imperialism, and occasionally genocide to Israel. Where were the cries of racism and genocide when hundreds of thousands were killed in the Biafran War, a war greased by multi-conflicting oil interests? And when millions died in the struggle for independence by Bangla Desh, how many Leftists signed petitions, demonstrated in the streets, or formed solidarity committees? And when Czechoslovakia was invaded by an imperialist Soviet military force proportionately larger than that used by the United States in Viet Nam, where were the words and deeds of outrage and support?

The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, first to support Black and Latino efforts toward ethnic culture, attacks "... the zionist (sic) strategy of recruiting large numbers of Jews to take up studying their cultural and religious heritage." A Michigan Free Press article on an ethnic fair states, "Nobody cracked Polish jokes when traditionally costumed Polish American dancers deftly launched into fast Carpathian steps.... Stereotypes crumbled. Blue-eyed Tina Galardi said that she inherited her blue eyes from her northern Italian father.... "Shalom means Peace' a sign on the Jewish American booth proclaimed, implying that the white settler state in Palestine was inclined that way."

A "democratic secular state in Palestine" is sought after by much of the Left. Why is this not coupled with similar demands regarding all states in the Middle East? The cultural and religious lives of people in Iran and the Arab countries are considered legitimate sources of identity and strength. Yet Israeli Jews are not accorded the same rights. If Zionism is racism, if Israel is simply a white colonial settler state, then who the hell are the majority Sephardim and Mizrachim in Israel? If it is wrong for an ethnic group to be made to feel it must leave its ancestral homeland and if those who have been forced to leave are entitled to some piece of turf to call home, then why are the rights of Israeli Jews any less legitimate than those of Palestinians? Where does the Left think the Jews in Israel came from, the Catskills and Florida? Why does the Left think a couple million people went to Israel? Because they like long military service and incredible inflation? Because the climate is good for their asthma?

It is entirely appropriate for the Left to be concerned with the legitimate desire of Palestinians for a homeland. But when that concern fantasizes simplicity where there is complex reality, I must ask, "Why?" King Hussein caused the death of more Palestinians than Begin, yet I have not noticed the Left calling him a Nazi or his policies genocidal. Iran and Iraq are busy slaughtering each other at a rate exceeded only by their own propaganda and the Left responds with deafening silence. The demand is made for Yitzchak Shamir to accept Yassir Arafat as
the representative of the Palestinian people, yet no equivalent demand is made of Haffez Assad. It does little good to mouth slogans about recognizing the P.L.O. when half the organization is busy trying to destroy the other half. Just because the Israeli government stupidly cheers on the fratricidal wars within Lebanon does not mean that the conflicts are not real, that they are not deadly, and that Syrian imperialist motives are not involved.

"Mirageism", the tendency to see that which is not there, is not confined to desert countries. From the calendar of La Pena, a major Bay Area Leftist community center, announcing a movie sponsored by Non-Intervention in Chile: "The film culminates with the 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising where the Jews, with the support of the Polish underground, take up arms against the Nazis ... This deeply humanistic film shows the solidarity between the Jewish and non-Jewish Poles. "Mirageism": the ability to see in history that which you wish would have occurred.

The Left's predilection for self-delusion is not confined to Israel and Jews. Nonetheless, when combined with an analysis declaring Israel as the only roadblock to peace in the Middle East, or with the view that the Jewish people is an anachronism, or with the practice of fronting Jews as spokespersons for statements on the Middle East, or with the view that Jews within the left should not be so assertively Jewish, then such self-delusion leaves the Left open to legitimate concerns regarding anti-Semitism.

The degree to which the attitudes of the Left and the Jewish establishment mirror each other has frightening implications. For both, history is a Rorschach Blot. For both Israel is a caricature of reality, extraordinarily evil or extraordinarily just, singularly blameworthy or singularly blameless. In both cases the country is vested with super-human attributes. It is hard not to conclude that this has something to do with the fact that what we are talking about is Jews. It is one thing for individuals or a people to be different in a pluralistic sense. But it is an entirely different matter when one is considered not merely different, but alien. And for Leftists and Jews to buy into the notion of Israel as a different type of entity than other nations is nothing but a continuation of the old anti-Semitism that views Jews as a different type of being.

STEVE FANKUCHEN

FRENCH WALL POSTERS

1968 was the year when the post-war baby-boom came into its own, as rebellion swept Western nations from Turkey to the United States. No longer willing to let their elders define reality for them, millions took to the streets to protest, challenge, celebrate, destroy, and create. In Spain a generation born after the Civil War erupted against Francoism. In Mexico hundreds were massacred as the government tried to "clean things up" for that quadrennial exercise in non-political good sportsmanship, the Olympics. In Czechoslovakia young people celebrated the "Prague Spring" and then led much of the resistance against neo-Stalinism after the Soviet invasion. Even perennially placid Switzerland was not immune from the ferment.

In France, what started as a spontaneous revolt at a suburban university, turned into a broad challenge not only to de Gaulle, but to virtually all social institutions. In spontaneous actions schools, factories, and cultural establishments, such as the National Theater, were occupied by students and workers. The traditional Left parties and unions, always a major force in France, were outflanked, and reluctantly drawn into the movement to salvage their own influence.

From the first "The Events of May" were viewed as much as a cultural challenge as a political one. One of the most significant forms of expression of this period was the wall posters. It is pictures of these which are the graphics for this issue of SHMATE. The pictures are printed just as I took them, on the walls, trying to preserve a bit of the feeling of art as politics, art as spontaneous creation dedicated to the moment. They were not intended to be cropped and sanitized, or hung in the Louvre. I have not translated the posters for a simple reason: literal translations would not significantly improve their comprehensibility. Virtually every poster would require an explanation of the organizations, events, people, and statements referred to. If SHMATE readers would like an annotated translation, let me know and I will provide one in a future issue.

STEVE FANKUCHEN
I think Issue #7 was very good, especially the articles on Nicaragua. I am very appreciative that you reprinted my letter regarding Billy Aalto. Readers of SHMATE, as a result, had an opportunity to see him in a somewhat different light than portrayed in the original piece.

Vince Losowski
Rochester, N.Y.

[Several days after writing to SHMATE, Vince Losowski died at the age of 71. Vince was a volunteer in the Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War and a member of the O.S.S. during World War II. When asked recently why he joined the Brigade, he stated, "It was an instinctive act... It was something that had to be done." —ed.]

Thank you for sending me SHMATE #7. I especially enjoyed reading "Jewish Art", by Gerre Goodman and I was intrigued by your piece, "New York Street Games". Having spent a good part of my life in New York City, I will attest to the accuracy of your "Dictionary". Many was the game of stoop ball I played in the East Bronx; and, how I enjoyed listening to the summer concerts in "Minnie Guggenheim's hangout".

Ben Iceland
Warren, New Jersey

Every issue of SHMATE has been wonderful, especially the Spanish Civil War one. I'd like to suggest a theme issue on Jewish music, something I wish I knew more about. Has it always expressed protest? What is contemporary Israeli music like politically? Etc.

Maida Tilchen
Boston, Mass.

I would like to use Issue #7 at a music event the Brooklyn chapter of Agenda is organizing with a coalition of Salvadorian groups. We are very interested in combating Reagans's use of the Jewish religion and people for his own political purposes (i.e. claims of anti-Semitism in Nicaragua).

Paul Tick
Jamaica, New York

I enjoyed Issue #8 and your article. Your ambivalence was quite resonant for me. Would you please consider printing more negative letters. You must get a few. The two pages of compliments last issue seemed a bit too self-congratulatory.

Burton Levine
Hamden, Conn.

Issue #7 devoted almost 25% of its print to defending Nicaragua against charges of anti-Semitism. Even a casual reading shows you have failed. The Sandinistas have supported the P.L.O. for 15 years and continued their support after their successful revolution in 1979. The first article states that "Nicaragua... has warm relations with the P.L.O., which maintains an embassy level mission in Managua." That, combined with the refusal of the government to recognize Israel, explains a basic cause of their anti-Semitism. The P.L.O. and its supporters don't bother distinguishing between Israel and Jews.

The article seeks to defend Nicaragua by saying Jews supported Somoza. In a socialist country you may be executed for supporting capitalism. Is this the kind of test the writer is using to condemn those Jews who support Somoza?

The article beats the dead horse of Israel selling arms to "Central American dictators". Israel, as other countries, sold to anyone who would buy. Do you suggest Israel sell to the Arabs who won't buy from it? Let the Soviet Union stop selling arms before you call on Israel to do the same.

I hope to read a more balanced SHMATE.

Simon Fellner
Long Island City, N.Y.

Thank you very much for Issue #8. Since I am in the process of trying to create my own Jewish identity, it was absolutely thrilling to read. I have been chewing over the idea of converting to Judaism for about six months, and even though it's a matter of "when", not "if", Issue #8 confirmed my desire and made me want to stand up and shout, "This is why I want to be a Jew!"

The thing that is keeping me from starting my conversion process right now is a fear that I won't be able to find the right rabbi for me, one that will take my questions regarding Judaism vis-a-vis feminism as seriously as I do. I know somewhere in my heart it is possible to reconcile the two, but I will need to do a lot of talking and thinking with people I trust and respect to get there from here.

Meredith Parnell
San Francisco, Ca.

I just finished Issue #8 sitting on a bus in Norfolk, Virginia. In the end it was a disappointment — probably because your piece came very close to expressing what I would have said, but the others seemed less relevant. Of course, for others another piece would have hit home. That makes for a better magazine, I suppose. It's rare enough that any magazine article gets to me.

Lesley Apt
Newton, Conn.

Your new issue on Jewish Identity is superb. The range of responses made think through my own answer to the question in new ways.

Dorothy Kaufman
Oakland, Ca.

On Jewish Identity: I'd like to read more by Andrea Behr. She is the one who said most nearly what I have

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LETTERS:continued

been thinking now for quite some time, but was too timid to verbalize. To use her metaphors, but twist them my own way: I also perceive our unresolved old chauvinisms being mixed into a can of bright new paint that says “Outrageously (radically, i.e. fashionably) Jewish”.

Oh, I have applied some of that sleek stuff to my own hide. I’m “with it”. But lately, it has been flaking off. And under it I find festering flesh that smells only too Jewish. And who is going to love the chronically-festering? Even the festering-themselves can’t stand it. Where will it end?

Ruth Friedlander
Berkeley, CA

I enjoyed the articles in #8 even though the issue of identity is not particularly important among most radicals; a few of the writers tried to indicate this by their emphasis on acts rather than flags or gods.

To claim an identity, especially one that one has been taught was despised (to borrow from lesbian poet Michelle Cliff), and however courageous or necessary it may be at times, it is essentially a conservative impulse. It’s a kind of patriotism, one that calls on the one hand for an allegiance which feeds off inherent tendencies toward dogmatism, separatism, and puritanism, and on the other hand, promotes a style of cheerleading that usually degenerates into loud defensive and suppressive reaction. We’ve recently been unfortunate witness to this on virtually all fronts of “left-progressive” politics, particularly feminism, gay and lesbian movements, and anarchism; it comes naturally from the establishment and advertising of any kind of -ism.

The marginalization of people, especially when combining identity and economics, has a very valuable function for those in power, because the pressure increases the desire (need, really) to be accepted simply from a sheer standpoint of survival. One can either erase an identity, or use it to validate a system’s self-serving mythology. The goal for the minority is to lessen the physical or psychic violence the system inflicts. The biggest customers of religion are in fact those who seek “joy” and “peace of mind;” this narcosis was a theme in many of the articles. And to maintain and defend this expensively traded-for security, the Good Jew/Black/Gay/Woman/Poor White will be among the most visible and vocal of the ruling order’s servants and among the most anxious to pull the trigger on its enemies.

Even the popular gender-bending of traditional text and ritual is but another variety of assimilation. Conservatism is built on fear and a consequently understandable cowardice. The fears of marginality are exploited by offering ritual as a solution, but tradition always carries the coercive weight of necessity, so that however much reform is desired, it is the dynamics of nostalgia (one of the emotions of vulnerability) that determine the degree to which continuities are altered. These connections can never be completely broken; the original intent, the basic belligerence, has to remain intact. Rituals may be refined — indeed, they have to be, because the realities (such as sexism) raised by forward-moving sensibilities cannot long be denied — but as a show of liberalism, reform is nothing but retreat and surrender in the face of a call for resistance and escape.

The editor asks us to consider as a part of Identity “the absurdity of circumcision without a bris.” Let’s just consider the absurdity of circumcision itself — a self-righteous infliction done by and for the anxieties of adults, wherein the new-born are given over to an arbitrary Identity through the violence of an amputation, now recognized as a medically unnecessary form of child abuse, a surgical initiation into a cult dominated by one of the most homicidal deities ever imagined by the human mind. So who needs it?

David Sonenschein
Austin, Texas

There was something distinctly curious, even mischievous, in your assorted pieces on Jewish Identity. I read the testaments of a group of highly articulate men and women busy at disclaiming any belief system that Judaism rested on, championing systems of thought that included more rejection of belief systems than they included. Whatever was left after the disclaimers seemed a very pareve kind of universalism, which no self-respecting paragon of Third World idealism would claim. Only bright, articulate Jews champion a never-never brand of Oneness, World Brotherhood, and all those good things, all of which lead me to suspect that this brand of forward thinking is at bottom a desperate wish to shake one’s self free of Judaism, to stand free of any vestige of Jewishness. God, what a twisted, convoluted way of claiming Jewishness! In this Passover week our bright, articulate Jews will rush to re-write Haggadas to call attention to Third World victims of oppression. It is not only tiresome, it is embarrassing.

Even Sigmund Freud, that arch secularist, stood before the Vienna Lodge of the B’nai B’rith and declared his affiliation with Jewishness by describing a feeling of “die Heimlichkeit der inneren Konstruktion” which, freely translated, comes to mean “the safe privacy of a common mental construction” He spoke of “dunkle Gefuehlsmaechte”, (obscure emotional forces.) Secularist or no, Freud freely admitted to a mystic bond to his people, a bond he felt and acknowledged all of his life. He had no problems about Jewish Identity. He didn’t have to do a number of intellectual acrobatics before he could say, “ess light mir ihn kishkes”. It’s in my gut. (The latter “Yiddishism is my enrichment of Freud’s more sober rendition.)

And the chutzpah of playing cute games like deciding that either Sammy Davis Jr. or Elizabeth Taylor isn’t Jewish because the one offended the liberal sensibilities of our otherwise assimilated Jews
I am 88 yrs old and religiously orthodox, but my thinking is youthful and secular, and nothing less than zealotish and onedimensional. Without a binding subscription may I enclose a donation of $10. with my thanks for the copy and best wishes for your further fine work.

Hartwig Heymann
Berkeley, CA

I am pleased to see that you plan to focus an issue on the “Christian, radical[?], anti-Semitic, and armed ‘Right.’” I presume you know of the groups in Northern Idaho, and the Posse Comitatus, which are more widespread. An example of the latter’s work is enclosed.

Although I take it, from the phrasing of the topic, that your focus will be on these groups rather than merely on their anti-Semitism, I presume that their anti-Semitic character will be explored in some detail. May I suggest, then, that some other future issue focus on the anti-Semitism that exists on the Left?

A fascist’s anti-Semitism is easily recognized, especially as he or she considers it a badge of honor. Anti-Semitism on the Left, however, is characteristically denied by those who harbor and/or practice it, and frequently glossed over by those who are its direct victims.

I think that anti-Semitism among otherwise progressive people—both Jews and non-Jews — is a much harder topic to grapple with than its existence among reactionaries. However, an exploration of this topic may be of more value to SHMATE’s readers, most of whom I suspect have had to and do deal with this phenomenon in their everyday working and political relationships.

Ken Stern
Milwaukie, Oregon

I read Issue #8 from cover to cover and enjoyed it thoroughly. The cross section of opinion and experience forming Jewish identity helps bring home the depth and variety it contains.

Rabbi William Leffler
Lexington, Kentucky

I was pleased to receive the much-awaited Issue #8. It was the best issue so far, better than #2 even. Of course, we all could have written our own article, and I’m sorry I didn’t have the opportunity. This is a subject on which I could have written with feeling.

But the reason I’m writing is to comment on something you said in your piece titled “Jewish identity.” It was in the second paragraph, dealing with Sammy Davis Jr. Ever since Sammy Davis Jr. embraced Richard Nixon I, and most of my left-leaning friends, have had difficulty accepting him, not necessarily as a Jew but as someone we would expect to be a good person. Imagine, then, my surprise last summer when I was in Chicago for the Gay Softball World Series, in which the top teams from 16 gay softball leagues around the country competed for a national championship. At the awards banquet after the championship game, we learned that Sammy Davis Jr. has, or so we were told, an adopted son, who is black, gay, and an attorney, and who has connections with one of the teams in the tournament. And then there he was, not Davis, but his son, and guess what — turns out Sammy Davis Jr. is very supportive of his gay son, and of gay softball, including as financial donor to gay softball activities. How many of our own left-leaning parents have been so supportive of our gay identities and lifestyles?

I think I understand the point you were making in your article, and I know it wasn’t that you were attacking Sammy Davis Jr. Rather you were revealing the workings and makings of your Jewish identity, and it was a very good piece, one of the best in the issue. But it just got me thinking about how little we know sometimes, and how much more there sometimes is than we see.

Bob Schwartz
Atlanta, GA

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LETTERS: continued

Some SHMATE readers may be familiar with the debate over Jesse Jackson that took place between two Jewish progressives, Jack Newfield and Barry Commoner, in the Village Voice this spring. Jack Newfield argued that Jackson is a tragedy for progressive politics because of his long history of "Jew baiting." According to Newfield, "Jesse Jackson has a long history of saying things that hurt Jews, that stereotype Jews, that are insensitive to Jewish history, that lump Jews together, that see Jews or Jewish influence where none exists." He then goes on to state that he’s not referring to Jackson’s political views on Israel, but rather his references to "Jewish reporters," to "Jewish businessmen" and other bigoted comments that single out Jews for attack.

Barry Commoner did not deny any of the anti-Jewish quotes attributed to Jackson by Jack Newfield. Instead, he made the case that Jews should overlook Jackson’s anti-Semitic remarks because he is basically "a gifted, courageous progressive."

There are some people who would argue that Jackson’s apology for his "hymie" remark clears the record. Murray Kempton wrote in Newsday that this was a "graceless apology" for Jackson’s "first reaction was to treat questions about his remark as a worse offense than the one he had committed." And Newfield pointed out that, even in his apology, Jackson made references to a conspiracy against him by Jewish organizations, an accusation which Newfield, no establishment Jew himself, clearly disproved. Nor did Jackson attempt to apologize for any of his other anti-Semitic statements.

In a more recent article in the May 29th issue of the Village Voice, Nat Hentoff argues that the refusal of Jackson and many other black leaders to repudiate Farrakhan’s violent threats against Jews is seriously endangering any future black-Jewish coalition. Hentoff is also concerned that should some maniac attack Jackson, Farrakhan’s consistent attacks on Jewish "influence" could lead to possible violence against Jews, especially in Jewish neighborhoods that border on black areas. (Hentoff points out that Farrakhan’s anti-Semitism preceded Jackson’s campaign and when Farrakhan was leader of the Nation of Islam in New York City, its mosque in Harlem was one of the few places in the city where you could buy copies of the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion. And Farrakhan continues his threats against Jews. In a recent statement quoted in New York Magazine, Farrakhan warns Jews that the "Angel of Death" could stop at their doors unless they believe in Jesus.

As Jews, we learn from the Passover story that self respect is a prerequisite for liberation. The day may come when the Reverend Jackson will truly face his own prejudices and extend a genuine invitation for coalition building and the day may also come when Jackson will fully repudiate the anti-Semitism of Farrakhan. Until that day comes, Jackson does not deserve the support of decent progressive people and it is time that organizations like New Jewish Agenda take the lead in fighting this kind of anti-Semitism. Those who want to lead and teach their community must also know when to defend it.

When I was 14 years old, I was an assistant counselor at a day camp of mostly Black and Puerto Rican children. It was that summer I began to become more involved with my Jewish identity, and the kids in my group were aware of my new Jewish feelings and pride. One day when we were on an outing in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, a large group of Hasidic boys walked by, all dressed in black and all wearing side curls. A couple of the boys in my group began to laugh and make fun, but the majority of the kids, looking at me, hushed them. "These are Jeff's people," they said, "Show respect." The wisdom of these children is a truth that some of us, unfortunately, still need to learn.

Jeff Oboler
New York, N.Y.

F R E E R A G S

To the first ten SHMATE subscribers (old, new or new gift sub) who can correctly identify the following items of transcendent political significance: your subs will be extended an issue for each correct answer. One small catch: your entries must be accompanied by a “Letter To The Editor”, saying something of greater significance about the magazine. No extra credit for positive letters. August 20 is the deadline.

1/ What was the location of the Snuffy Ledoux santo riot?
2/ What two roads intersect at Kremer Junction?
3/ After 1654 appearances in a 20 year career, Takamiyama recently retired as one of his state’s great heroes. What is his non-professional name?

4/ What was the most notorious event to occur in baseball west of the Appalachian Mountains in 1951? East of the Appalachians? (You must get both parts right to demonstrate you are not a regional chauvinist.)
5/ For what song was Gladys Gooding famous?

N I T T I E S A N D G R I T T I E S

Please do not send any more poems and short stories until November. The next issue of SHMATE will be devoted to the political Right.

If your address label code ends in an 8, your subscription expired last issue. If it ends with a 9, it expires this issue. In either case you must renew to receive another issue. Please save SHMATE the cost of time of followup letters by renewing right away. If you change your address, PLEASE let me know.
When I was six years old, Dracula came to the Marlboro Theater and no woman in Bensonhurst was safe. Not even me, whom even infantile paralysis avoided like the plague. Even kidnappers feared to come near me. Even if my father had money, and he did not, I was safe from kidnappers. But not from Dracula. Blood is blood, and beggars can’t be choosers. So my older brother purchased fennel seed from a man who peddled the stuff in front of the local delicatessen and then took his packets onto the subway and hawked them from car to car while he ate a corned beef sandwich. Even men were afraid. My middle brother slept with a nickel package of fennel seed under his pillow although everyone knew his blood was clearly poison. I slept with two packages. For women were in real danger, else why did Mrs. Susskind faint dead away in the middle of the Marlboro theater and set off a chain reaction in the balcony and the orchestra?

Susskind, who went regularly to the matinees with his mother, wept with glee to see his mother languish in the aisle and other ladies similarly inspired. He even helped to pour water on their heads and tried to bring them round by kicking them. Men did not attend matinees so the only other boys around were boys like seven and who rather liked to pull ladies around and slap them.

No, it was women, not men whom Dracula terrified, although I repeat, blood will have blood, and in the night all the fountains are gray. What was it that ladies feared in Lugosi’s Dracula more than in Karloff’s monster, for example? Well, for one, there was nothing attractive about Lugosi, and people do, as a rule, forgive what is somewhat attractive, like a monster who likes flowers or a vampire like Louis Jourdain. M. Jourdain could have a pint of my blood anytime he asked for it, nicely. Lugosi was something else, especially in Bensonhurst. He was like a bat out of hell, and his jugular rape had no charm.

But more than this was the real feeling of helplessness a vampire inspired in Bensonhurst. Against the vampire’s satanic will there was, and is, only one weapon. You can forget fennel seed. Everyone knows fennel seed is for the birds. You can stuff it into a vampire’s mouth before you decapitate her, and it won’t help. What has really killed her is the stake through the heart. You can throw whole packages of fennel seed at the vampire, pepper him with it, and it won’t even make him sneeze. No the only weapon was and is the cross. The Crucifix. The Christ. And in Bensonhurst what could one do with the Christ? We were all Jewish. My grandfather, a man respected for his piety and his wit, came upon my brother one day, the older one, studying geometry and picked up the book and threw it out the window. Why? Because it had not one but three crosses in it, all of them solid. So you see we were stuck. Crosses were anathema to us. Nor could we cry out to the holy ghost, or to the Virgin for succor, lest our own God descend upon us, righteously and wrathfully and chide: “I’ll give you a mother, holy yet. I’ll give you a cross. I’ll give you a misfortune. I’ll send you a Dracula; you’ll never be the same again.” What weapon did we have to defend us? What God?

So the ladies kept fainting at the Marlboro and at other local theaters in droves and in dozens. The management of the Marlboro kept a doctor in the audience for $2.00 a matinee and free admission for his wife. And at night from 6 PM to sunrise we quivered and shook, the ladies, the girls, and I. Until Phillip Susskind discovered the solution. He was a wise though cynical boy, who went every school day to cheder and laughed at his mother.

To his mother’s bosom while she slept he attached the following warning: “Strictly kosher! You will suffer a thousand mockes if you lay your fangs on this neck. If you fear the son, watch out for the mother. All of them. Ver gerhargit.”

And for me, while I was still awake, he hung a sign around my neck next to a bag of camphor: “You want her, you can have her, but she smells and tastes like matjhes herring.”

And Dracula never came to Bensonhurst, except in pictures. You can hardly blame him.

mockes: Plagues. The Egyptians suffered them during Exodus and other films.

Ver gerhargit: Drop dead! Get killed, why don’t you! matjhes herring: We used to find them in barrels and wrap them in newspapers. Now they are almost as exalted as lox. They are not pickled, but very salty. Vampires don’t like them.

Flossie Lewis of El Cerrito, California, is the founder of Halachah Productions, the only North American producer of shofars made from conch shells.

PEOPLE’S PARK

We will defend this place to the last drop of beer and the first drop of rain.

Julia Vinograd is the chronicler, as well as a part of, Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704, U.S.of A. Amen!
STREET MEMORIAL FOR FRED CODY

All I have is cliches;
I am almost angry at you.
You were a good man
but we liked you anyway.
We owe you plenty
but we liked you anyway.
You helped us and believed in us
but we liked you anyway.
And you were one of us
but we liked you anyway.

JULIA VINOGRAD
The Bolivian coup is a case study of the contradictory policies of Israel and its American supporters. They condemn others for moral compromises, while reserving Realpolitik for themselves. For instance, A.D.L. spokesman Rabbi Morton Rosenthal condemned the coup and called for the new government's international isolation at the same time his organization refused to acknowledge that Israel was a supporter of the coup and the coupmakers' international friends, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. Likewise, Rosenthal and other apologists for Israel condemn the U.S. for hiring Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie and then helping him escape to Bolivia. But they excuse by silence Israel for indirectly helping Barbie to stay free in Bolivia and possibly to continue his outrages.

Bolivia has a complicated political history with 189 coups since its independence and an average government length of nine months. During the late 1970s, however, political life in Bolivia improved. After 16 years of military governments the army surrendered control to civilians. In June 1980, Hernan Siles Suazo, leader of a leftist coalition, won a clear mandate to govern in what The New York Times called the "cleanest and fairest" election in Bolivian history. But on July 18, before Congress could formally elect Siles president, the military seized power.

The July coup was not merely the latest in a series of opera bouffe seizures of power by the army. The junta, headed by army chief Luis Garcia Meza who likened himself to General Pinochet of Chile, closed all newspapers, seized the radio stations, arrested opposition and leftist leaders, abolished all trade union rights, prohibited all unauthorized meetings, and declared a 24 hour a day curfew. Between 1,000 and 3,000 Bolivians were summarily arrested. At first Garcia Meza, imitating Pinochet, deposited prisoners in the La Paz soccer stadium, where they were "beaten with rifle butts, forced into rooms so packed that they had to sleep standing up, and relieve themselves in place." Later, the regime's henchmen tortured and brutalized prisoners in secret detention camps, prisons, military intelligence headquarters, and the ministry of interior. "In one incident three young priests were blindfolded and seated side by side... Officers thrust pistol barrels into the priests' mouths... Nearby another fired into the air... After, the three were made to lie face down for three days in a manure filled stable." One human rights activist was kicked so badly in his spleen and kidneys that he could no longer urinate. Other prisoners were mutilated, thrown off cliffs, tortured with electricity, threatened with castration, beaten to death or shot. As many as 1,000 were killed.

The rabbis and Jewish leaders... believed that they were clever enough to manipulate the powerful for their own ends. They forgot that morals and rights are protection for the weak against the strong.

Argentine President Videla helped Garcia Meza copy his country's "dirty war" techniques. As minister of the interior, Garcia Meza appointed military intelligence chief, Colonel Luis Aree who, even before the coup, organized a private paramilitary force that attempted to sabotage the elections with a wave of bombings. After the coup Aree and his Argentine advisers expanded the paramilitary units with military intelligence troops and civilians recruited from among criminals, delinquents, and the tiny fascist Bolivian Phalange Party. The unsalaried paramilitary group members paid themselves by robbing their victims and pillaging their homes. They roamed the streets of La Paz in army trucks and ambulances from the social service department, kidnapping or arresting enemies of the regime. The New York Times correspondent reported that "The most feared vehicles of destruction are no longer tanks that have traditionally been rolled into the presidential palace square to oust an occupant, but commandeered ambulances and Toyota jeeps with their license plates removed and members of Garcia Meza's anonymous..."
BOLIVIA: continued

People in La Paz joke grimly these days 'If I am hurt, please don't call an ambulance.' People forced to take a ride in them are never seen again.18

The world was as shocked as it is possible for it to be about a place long considered out of the way and inconsequential. The U.S., as part of its human rights campaign, began an economic and diplomatic boycott. Secretary of state Muskie cut off all aid and recalled the U.S. ambassador and a large part of the embassy staff.19 Belgium, West Germany, the United Kingdom, Austria, Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Spain, and the Common Market supported the American position.20 The Organization of American States condemned the coup with only Chile and Paraguay dissenting and Brazil and Argentina abstaining.21 The International Monetary Fund and international banks, especially in the U.S., refused to renew Bolivia's loans and credits.22 Even conservative Freedom House in New York condemned the Garcia Meza regime.23

For the next year until Arce and then Garcia Meza resigned, Bolivia was a pariah state. Fewer than a score of nations had formal diplomatic relations with it.24 Even the Reagan administration viewed Bolivia as a center for the illegal drug trade and maintained the boycott begun by President Carter. In fact, aside from some economic aid from international deadbeat Argentina, the drug trade chiefly sustained the nearly bankrupt and friendless government.25

Israel, however, was a dependable supporter of Garcia Meza and Bolivia. Immediately after the coup, while Arce's terror squads were at their busiest, Israel and only eight other countries extended formal diplomatic recognition to Bolivia: Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, Taiwan, Egypt, South Africa, and the U.S.S.R. While loudly proclaiming Israel to be the best ally of the U.S. and a champion of the West, Prime Minister Begin and his cabinet joined with the reactionary governments of the world to subvert one of the rare humane policies of the U.S. and its NATO allies. Beyond offering moral support and legitimation, Israel offered economic and military aid, continuing to sell and ship arms to Bolivia.26 27

Israel was not just trading diplomatic, military, and economic aid for support at the U.N. and other international forums from rightist thugs. It was supporting a regime that, at the least, was protecting Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie and probably employing him as the author of its savagery. Israel has always been curiously quiet about Barbie. The French government had been unsuccessfully trying to extradite Barbie from Bolivia since 1972. Yet Israel, despite its role as an arms supplier to the military governments, did not
BOLIVIA: continued

help extradite him. Michel Goldberg was told that “it would be ill-advised to irritate a country that was willing to vote in favor of Israel at the U.N.”

In 1980 Barbie’s situation changed. Hernan Siles Suazo campaigned for president with a pledge to rid Bolivia of corruption and people like Barbie. The military coup against Siles that Israel supported protected Barbie from the only Bolivian government that would bring him to justice. By busting the international embargo against Bolivia, Israel helped to prolong a savage and corrupt regime and to protect a Nazi war criminal for two years. Eventually, despite the efforts of Israel, still a minor power in Latin America, Garcia Meza fell, Hernan Siles Suazo came to power, and Klaus Barbie was expelled to France.

While Israel’s policies helped temporarily thwart Barbie’s capture, its Prime Minister, spokesman, and Jewish supporters in the U.S. never lost a chance to remind the world of the evil done to Jews during the Holocaust by men like Klaus Barbie. Their words sounded hollow given Israel’s collaboration with Barbie’s protectors in Bolivia and the rumors and allegations about Barbie’s actions during the coup. Barbie’s sinister activities did not end with W.W. II. He was charged with theft in post-war Germany, convicted in absentia in Peru of forgery and currency smuggling in collaboration with other ex-Nazis, and barely maintained the appearance of legality in Bolivia. His Transmaritima Boliviana purchased boats for landlocked Bolivia. Before his expulsion from Bolivia, the Siles government accused him of defrauding the state mining company of $10,000 and, most important, of organizing a network of mercenaries who intimidated opponents of Bolivia’s former military rulers. According to the government the money for the network of ex-Nazis and thugs came from the illegal cocaine trade. The government rewarded Barbie with protection and uniformed bodyguards in return for his services as an expert in chicanery and terror. The government charges and the knowledge that Colonel Arce, head of the Bolivian paramilitary squads, was also a key figure in the drug trade lend credence to the rumors during the 1980 coup that Barbie was advising the paramilitary and helping interrogate prisoners.

If Barbie did work with the paramilitary death squads, then Israel did more than hinder the capture of a Nazi war criminal. It allied itself with and protected a government that used the skills Barbie learned in the Gestapo against its own people. It showed that its alliance with the international Right was more important than its rhetorical opposition to Nazism. Worst, it helped maintain an atmosphere where Nazism could flourish and where Barbie could continue his cruelty.

Perhaps, despite the evidence, Barbie did not work with Arce’s death squads. Still, the death squads, secret prison camps, and torturers did operate with Israel as diplomatic supporter and arms supplier. Furthermore, beginning in the early 1970s, Israel supported and sold arms to the repressive military regimes that incubated the 1980 fascist style coup, openly protected Barbie, refused to extradite him, and used his services as an adviser to the police. At the same time Israel refused to intervene with the Bolivians against Barbie. After the 1980 coup and the widely published reports of Barbie’s involvement, Israel did not change its policy. Rather than denounce the coup against a government pledged to expel Barbie, Israel did “good for the Jews” to openly support a fascist-style government that everyone believed used the services of a Nazi war criminal. If Israel knew that Barbie was not involved in the 1980 coup, it did not tell its American Jewish supporters, who were still repeating the charges in 1983.

While the death squads, possibly with Barbie’s help, cruised the streets of La Paz, American Jews proposed a doctrine that explains Israel’s actions. After the bombing of a synagogue in Paris by unknown, probably French, anti-Semites, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President of the Union of
Hebrew Congregations and Maxwell Greenberg, Chairman of the B’nai B’rith Anti-Defamation League went to Paris as representatives of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. They lectured the French for failing to condemn terrorism by Palestinians. Greenberg told them that “You can’t wink at the P.L.O. and deplore the other incidents of terror.” According to Schindler, “If you encourage terrorism in one place, you must expect to find it in others.”

According to Schindler and Greenberg’s doctrine of the global unity of terror, Israel is partially responsible for the atrocities in Bolivia. The Schindler-Greenberg doctrine charges that the French government was directly responsible for terrorist acts in France, because of its purely rhetorical support for a group that Schindler and Greenberg believe to be terrorist. Schindler and Greenberg believe that no act of terrorism should go without condemnation or punishment. By giving tacit support to a supposed terrorist group, France became the moral accomplice of that and any similar group’s actions. Second, they believe that the French, by supporting terrorists who Schindler and Greenberg believe to be anti-Semitic, were unintentionally encouraging anti-Semitic terrorists in other places. According to these standards Israel’s responsibility must be much greater than that of France. France’s supposed support for terrorism is its policy that the P.L.O., after renouncing violence against Israel should be recognized as the representative of the Palestinians and allowed to negotiate peacefully in their behalf. The French government strongly condemned the supposed result of this policy, the bombing of a synagogue. Finally, little evidence connects the P.L.O. to the bombing. In contrast to France’s passive support of terror, Israel supported and shipped arms to a terrorist government, while it was openly committing its barbarities. Israel’s diplomatic support was not given on the condition that Bolivia renounce terror against its own people. Furthermore the Bolivian terrorist government was protecting a notorious anti-Semite, Klaus Barbie, who was responsible for the death of more Jews than the entire P.L.O. If France stimulated anti-Semitism by urging the P.L.O. not to kill Jews, then Israel, a Jewish state claiming to protect Jews everywhere, must have stimulated much more by giving arms to a country that protected and used the services of an important member of the leading anti-Semitic organization of the twentieth century, the Nazi Party.

American Jewish leaders like Schindler and Greenberg often speak of a double standard against Israel. They condemn other countries for supporting terrorism but ignore or excuse Israel’s complicity with murderers in Argentina, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Bolivia. When confronted with Israel’s involvement with Barbie, its supporters plead realpolitik, claim the accusation is a lie or, if more polite, deny any uncomfortable facts. They justly, if self-righteously, condemn U.S. Army Counterintelligence for helping Barbie, but ignore Israel’s own role in keeping him at large. They are right about a double standard. They hold other countries to a standard higher than that which they use for Israel.

Few Jews have been as perverse as the editors and writers of Commentary. Although obsessed with anti-Semitism, Nazis, and the Holocaust, their only complaint is that the U.S. did not support the coup. An article by Jean Kirkpatrick said about the coup, that “Even five years ago the U.S. would have welcomed a coup that blocked a government with a significant communist/Castroite component. Ten years ago the U.S. would have sponsored it; fifteen years ago we would have conducted it.” In the world of Kirkpatrick and editor Norman Podhoretz, America’s mistake was the firing, not the hiring, of Nazi Barbie.

In the 12th and 13th centuries Jewish leaders and courtiers pressured the King of Castile against their religious rivals, the Karaites. Rabbis, threatened by the Karaite challenge to their traditions and authority, asked their Christian sovereign to eliminate them from Spain. Even modern Jewish apologists admit that the Castilian Kings granted the Rabbinite
Jewish request by expelling the Karaites from the realm. Historians more sympathetic to the Karaites maintain that their requests led to their physical extermination.

The rabbis only had a few generations to enjoy their victory. Soon they were the targets of the same tyranny and intolerance that they had called down upon the Karaites. The rabbis and Jewish leaders were the victims of a common illusion among the weak. They believed that they were clever enough to manipulate the powerful for their own ends. They forgot that morals and rights are protection for the weak against the strong. Today the descendants of those rabbis and courtiers believe that compromises with tyranny in places like Bolivia, Argentina, and El Salvador are “good for the Jews.” They were wrong seven hundred years ago. They are wrong today.

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2. Liberation, Paris July 26, 1980 Page 7
11. Amnesty Action October 10, 1980 Page 1
15. Economist August 9-10, 1980 Page 9
17. New York Times August 14, 1980 Page 1
18. Latin America Weekly Reports August 6, 1980 Page 2
19. August 7, 1980 Page 1
20. August 10, 1980 Pt IV Page 5
22. Liberation August 4, 1980 Page 9
24. Country Reports Page 349
27. Latin America Weekly Reports August 6, 1980 Page 2
34. Michel Goldberg, Namesake Page 65 Yale University Press 1982
35. Facts on File 1983 Page 36
37. Facts on File 1972 page 215
38. Facts on File 1973 Page 566 Page 1093
40. B’nai B’rith Jewish Monthly August-September 1983 Page 16
42. Liberation, August 5, 1980 Page 9
43. B’nai B’rith Jewish Monthly August September 1983 Page 16
45. Personal Communications, mostly shouting matches
49. Zvi Ankori, Karaites in Byzantium Columbia University Press 1959
Dear Steve,

Thank you for your letter. I understand the decision not to print both poems, especially given the length of each. I had never considered printing one without the other; but I think that would be alright. However, I would like to tell you a little about the spirit in which these were written, and ask you to think about it again.

It was Rosh Hashanah, 1982, and I had just been reading/hearing about the massacre in the Lebanese refugee camp. None of the media could seem to separate the issue of this attack, or of the Israeli government’s militarism, from the issue of Israel’s right to exist. After listening all morning to gentiles saying that this incident only proved their point, that Israel should not be, I was furious. After talking to some Jews, who said, “Maybe they’re right; if this is what we do with power, maybe we shouldn’t have power,” I was tired and sad. I wrote TNYIJ/FRH in response to all this, as a way of saying, “Remember who you are, remember how hard Jews fought for the homeland, and how rightly; remember your pride!

None the less, Jews could no longer lay claim to truly being the Just; and I spent Yom Kippur in shame and mourning; for the loss of the Lebanese, for the loss of purity, for the loss that I felt the country was suffering under Begin. It was in this spirit that the second poem, TNYIJ/FYK came into being: as an atonement for acts that were shameful; but not a shaming of Israel.

Again, I understand the decision, but would like you to reconsider taking both poems. I won’t argue your point that one is better than the other; but I think that together they make a powerful statement that neither could make alone.

Sincerely,
T. W. Perkins

FOR ROH HASHANAH

"To next year in Jerusalem" we cried, "To next..."
and then again
all through the years
in exile
and the days when rain was blood
when air was smoke
and water gas
our children dead inside
yet we held on
to God, and knew
someday would come our time
"next year", "next year"
our age old cry
through time it echoes still
yet strange how next year
brought no change
when we sat back to wait

Then came the day the nations stopped
and breathed the rising smoke
and backs that had
till then been turned
began to feel their guilt
then again we asked
again we cried —
"our homeland, freely ours"—
but "children cannot rule themselves"
they said
and so they shied
and then we knew
the time had come
when fate was ours to make

For once we stood there
for ourselves
a people strong and proud
who would be free
of other’s rule
to govern by our Law
The fight was hard
the war dragged on
as mother fought by child
the world was shocked —
"disgraceful", "wrong" —
an insult to their God
but as they fought a
war with words
we won ourselves a home

Our children now
no longer stoop
neath blackened ghetto walls
but stand erect
beneath the flag
we chose to fight and die for

"To next year in Jerusalem"
we cried, "To next . . . . ."
and then again
all through the years
in exile
and the days when rain was blood

No longer is that
cry a dream
a wish we cannot have
for we have built
Jerusalem
we have our home at last

FOR YOM KIPPUR

"To next year in Jerusalem"
we cried, "To next . . . . ."
and then again
all through the years
in exile
and the days when rain was blood

They attacked us on the Sabbath
at worship and at prayer
They bombed us in our cities
on our farms
and at the Wall
In righteous anger
we struck back
our war was just and due
our strength was in our faith, we learned,
but also in our fists

Israel was ours to have
so said the sacred script
and Palestine, our enemy,
must be driven from the land

But did our bombs fall
on their barracks
of soliders strong and fierce
No, but in their cities' poorest quarters
on people fiercely tired

We wanted to destroy
the roles
to prove ourselves as strong
But in strength, we
made their game our own;
the roles are just reversed:
for we, the Just,
struck back in like,
to prove ourselves no better.

What say the scriptures of the man
who builds his home
between two borders?
Shall be be punished,
not for himself,
but for his race and creed?
The borderlands all suffer
their people terrorized
while one man sits in government
and speaks of righteousness

Our children's children cannot claim,
as we have done for years,
a history where we are just
and others damned wrong

The blame lies with our leaders
yes, who
often lead us wrong
But while we still
empower them
the blood falls on us too.

The rain again has turned
to blood
the winds are strewn with bombs
and people once more die
in camps
while knowing eyes are turned

Not ours, these people
dead in vain
not our blood spilled in hate
But ours the guns and bombs
and eyes
and ours the hands that kill.

T. W. Perkins from Plainfield, Vermont, is currently working on a collection of short stories. Her poetry has been published in anthologies, as well as the gay and feminist press.
ISRAELI ARMS POLICY

by BURTON LEVINE

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is concerned about the international arms trade. Its director, Nathan Perlmutter, recently declared that, “Cynical profiteering ill-becomes any state.” He denounced West Germany’s sales to Saudi Arabia and criticized the U.S. and other arms merchants. Typical of many Jewish bureaucrats he omitted Israel, the seventh largest worldwide weapons exporter, from his list of profiteers. Until recently, Perlmutter and others were able to foist their official amnesia about Israel’s involvement with the international Right and the repression business onto American Jewry. Now articles like Paul Glickman’s in SHMATE have cracked the official carapace of inattention. The outlines, if not the details, of Israel’s arms sales to repressive governments in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Argentina, Haiti, Indonesia, Thailand, and Chile, as well as its involvement with Nazis, Nazi sympathizers, and reactionaries in Bolivia and South Africa, are slowly penetrating the general Jewish consciousness.

Nevertheless, American Jews still do not know as much as they should. Both the U.S. and Israeli governments have used censorship and security classifications to hide information. Critics of Israel have further confused the issue with their own pieties and prejudices. For instance, some use religious doctrines of Judaism as the embodiment of morality or of Jewish ethics as champion of the oppressed to argue that Israel has special obligations in its foreign policy. They are quickly sidetracked into a swamp of double standards that enjoins Israel from Realpolitik. Others, by only discussing Israel’s financial motives, subliminally reinforce anti-Semitic images of Jews as international manipulators devoted to money and profit.

Consequently Jews are still barely aware of the victims of Israel’s policies—citizens of third world nations whose governments use Israeli arms, training, and advisers to stay in power. The victims are killed, wounded, kidnapped, imprisoned, and tortured. Their homes and farms are destroyed. Some just disappear. Their suffering evaporates in the murk midway between an inchoate general Jewish consciousness and the official amnesia. Meanwhile, citizens of Israel and other Jews are tarnished by Israel’s policies.

After the 1967 war Israel made the political decision to aim for military self-sufficiency. First it sold used and captured weapons to raise capital for weapons development. Then it sold weapons that its army could not use and that its economy could not afford to leave idle. Besides raising money and cutting its dependence on unreliable suppliers, the Labor government used the weapons business to further ingratiate itself with the conservative U.S. government. Already in the 1960’s Israel was a minor U.S. proxy and conduit for covert C.I.A. financial operations in Africa. After 1967 Israel, eager for U.S. political support and the advanced weapons it could not produce itself, sold arms to Iran, worked with SAVAK, and helped Kissinger circumvent congressional mandates against U.S. involvement in South Africa, Rhodesia, and Angola. The Likud government accelerated the trends begun by Labor. With an affinity within Herut for reactionaries and fascists, the government no longer quietly sold to dictatorships. It warmly embraced the thugs of the international right. Viola of Argentina, Pinochet of Chile, Mobutu of Zaire, Bokassa of the Central African Republic and Benda of Malawi were their kind of guys. Sharon and Meridor loudly declared that Israel aimed to be a surrogate for the U.S. “Israel hopes to work out an arrangement with the U.S. to sell arms by proxy to nations that Washington feels uncomfortable with.” At the same time Israel and the U.S. in the Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation expanded their “special relationship” beyond the Middle East. Israel was no longer just a bulwark against Arab nationalism. It became a part of the West’s struggle against the evil Soviet empire whose tentacles were in every isolated peasant village.

Since 1967 Israel’s military industries and exports have grown geometrically, but its economy has declined. On the one hand, military expenditures rose as a percentage of G.N.P. from a pre-1967 10% to 36.6% in 1982. On the other hand, a recent comparative report on the economic status of nations ranks Israel 92 out of 114. Israel has a trade debt of over $5 billion and a $5,000 per capital total debt, one of the highest ratios in the world. It has a domestic saving rate of zero and a current inflation rate of 392%. Of course all of Israel’s
economic problems are not directly related to the growth of its military industry. However, many ostensibly non-military causes of the economic decline are the result of Likud's buying support for its truculent policies with economically irresponsible measures.

With 300,000 workers, almost 25% of the total workforce, involved in defense-related production, Israel is no closer than in 1967 to weapons self-sufficiency. Israel might now make 70% of its arm but the 30% it imports from the U.S. are the crucial weapons it needs to win or even sustain a war. Furthermore much of Israel's arms production uses parts from the U.S. The Kfir and Lavie planes and Merhava tank have American engines. Eliahu Ben Elissar, a confidant of Begin and Israel's first Ambassador to Egypt, told the Wall Street Journal that, "If Israel had to produce its own engines the entire economy might become enslaved to military production." Under U.S. law Israel must have American approval to sell weapons with U.S. components. If the U.S. withheld approval, Israel would lose sales, its economy would be badly shaken and its ability to maintain production would be uncertain. According to Ha'aretz if President Carter had not allowed Israel to sell aircraft to Ecuador in 1977, 1500 of 6000 workers on the Kfir production line would have lost jobs.

**Israeli workers must hope for enough global instability...to stimulate weapons sales without revolutionary changes...that would deprive them of customers.**

The sharp increase in military expenditures after 1967 correlates with large increases in capital imports, especially from the U.S. Israel pursued weapons self-sufficiency with the contradictory policy of peddling its political and economic independence to the U.S. Israel could not raise sufficient capital to expand its military industry from sales alone. It allowed American and other large corporations to buy into Israeli defense industries and to set up subsidiaries with much too generous terms. In pursuit of weapons autonomy, for instance, the Defense Ministry sold its 50% share of Tadiran Electronics to G.T.E. To foreign companies willing to establish defense factories, Israel granted subsidies, multi-year tax waivers and reductions or exemptions on export and import duties. Other businesses and private citizens consequently paid higher taxes. Although the foreign companies were attracted to Israel by lower wages and costs of business, the wages they pay in quasi-government monopolies are higher than in competitive businesses. By driving up wages, the cost of living, and inflation, they ruin many small businesses. Rather than attaining weapons autonomy Israel has presented a key role in the dominant industry in its economy to more than 30 American and other foreign companies. Israel can never extract a fair share of taxes from those foreign companies for fear that they will move to another cheaper and more hospitable country.

In pursuit of the chimera of arms self-sufficiency Israel has mortgaged its independence in other ways. Arms sales are now the most important element of its export economy, accounting for 40% of total exports. Other sectors are in decline. Production and employment in chemicals, plastics, and diamonds have fallen drastically. Textiles and agriculture are also in trouble. Even the 20% of production in metal and electronics devoted to defense have a higher priority than the other 80%. Moreover, weapons sales are affected by the political conditions of Israel's customers. After the fall of the Shah, Sultam Enterprises laid off 2,000 workers because Iran cancelled its contracts. Later the Sandinista government refused to honor the debts to Israel and Israeli companies contracted by the Somoza government. Thus the economy of Israel and the welfare of its citizens are hostage to the military fortunes of the leaders of countries like El Salvador.
ARMS: continued

Haiti, and Honduras. Israeli workers must hope for enough global instability and tension to stimulate weapons sales without revolutionary changes like the Sandinista victory that would deprive them of customers.

Occasionally, critics mistakenly complain that Israel is a competitive threat to U.S. military exporters. They forget the many large U.S. corporations like G.T.E., Rand Information, Motorola, TRW, Control Data, Digital Equipment, and Gerber Scientific that dominate Israel's defense industry and profit from Israel's international sales. Likewise, American defense companies like United Technology, McDonnell-Douglas, Northrup, General Dynamics, LTV, and Gruman profit every time Israel sells a jet or tank with parts made in the U.S. or licensed by an American company. When an Israeli plane with an American engine is used by a repressive government, Israel, rather than the U.S. or an American company, is likely to be criticized. The critics forget that a key question for the last twenty years in U.S. foreign policy has been "Will it sell weapons?" Especially under Reagan with a President, two Secretaries of State and a Secretary of Defense who were employees of defense companies, the U.S. has a weapons merchandising policy more than a foreign policy. Israel's arms sales help sell American arms. Every arms sales stimulates rivalries within and between countries. If a country's air force buys a few planes from Israel, its navy may keep up by buying ships from the U.S. If Iran bought weapons from Israel, Saudi Arabia bought even more from the U.S. The mere existence of Israel helps U.S. sales in places like Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Israel also sells in order to buy more from the U.S. In addition other countries respect Israel's military judgment. Israel's use and purchase of weapons are endorsements for U.S. weapons. Finally the American defense establishment is not above using the possibility of sales to Israel to win approval of new weapons from Congress.

Besides being a defense plantation for the American government and corporations, Israel is one of their links to the international Right. Conservatives in the executive branch, especially the Defense Department, bridled under the human rights campaign that Congress began in 1973-74. They used Israel to circumvent Congressional restrictions. When Congress forbade American intervention in Angola, Kissinger persuaded Israel to send instructors and anti-insurgency equipment to South Africa to assist it to intervene. Likewise, Israel's huge sales in Latin America began after the 1974 human rights legislation forced the president to cut off sales to countries like El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Argentina. In 1981 the U.S. used Israel to funnel $21 million beyond congressionally approved limits to El Salvador. Although we do not have hard evidence like Kissinger's request over Angola, or tacit signals like Ford's and Carter's approval of Israel's involvement with South Africa, we do know that the U.S. could have stopped Israel's sales in Latin America. After all, the U.S. has a virtual stranglehold on Israel's economy from the combination of American corporate penetration and the largest per capita aid outlays by the U.S. to any country.

Furthermore, some of the weapons Israel sold, for example bombers used in Argentina, contained American parts and were subject to an American veto. (Some of the American planes Indonesia used in Timor were sold by Israel.) Even if the U.S. did not want to use drastic measures, it could have protested. Except in the case of Nicaragua, President Carter neither publicly nor, as far as we know, privately ever asked Israel to stop. In diplomacy silence implies approval.

In the wake of Viet Nam the U.S. moved away from large-scale, overt and direct involvement in counterinsurgency and anti-guerrilla activities. Under the Nixon Doctrine regional powers like Israel began to fill the breach. As relevant as the quantity of weapons are the trainers and advisers Israel supplies to Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, Costa Rica, Thailand, South Korea, Singapore, the Philippines, and El Salvador. Israel specializes in the complex counterinsurgency equipment that the U.S. began to
use in Viet Nam. This electronic battlefield equipment is indirect evidence for a link between Israel and the conservatives in the U.S. Almost half of the American defense companies in Israel produce computers or electronic warfare equipment. Some, like Control Data, were pioneers in the field for the U.S. in Viet Nam. Now they produce in Israel, while Israeli peddles electronic battlefield weapons to the reactionary friends of the U.S. Israel has sold electronic anti-infiltration fences to Costa Rica for its Nicaraguan border and South Africa for the Namibia-Angola border. Both El Salvador and Guatemala now use Israeli advanced “anti-terrorist” computer systems to monitor their urban populations. The Guatemalan army has also bought computers from Israel, as well as a regional telecommunications center with links to the U.S. counterinsurgency operation for Latin America at Fort Gulick, Panama Canal Zone. Finally, in November 1981 Israel ran an electronics and transmission school for the Guatemalan army. The chain of evidence points to passive U.S. government connivance and tacit approval of the Israeli counterinsurgency business.

As American citizens Jews should be upset by the plunder of Israel’s economy and its manipulation as a back channel for U.S. arms. As Jews we should be outraged by an overlooked service that Israel markets: not only does Israel sell guns and computers to distasteful governments, but it also retails American Jewry as customers, unofficial public relations representatives, and influence peddlers for dictators and military juntas. In 1982, Guatemala signed a bilateral tourism pact with Israel, with the unwritten corollary that Israel would encourage American Jewish tourism. In the same year, Foreign Minister Shamir offered Mobutu of Zaire the help of American Jews to polish his image. Later, in an interview on the American cable TV program “Hello Jerusalem”, President Chaim Herzog requested American Jews to write to their congressional representative praising Zaire. In the past Israel offered our services to South Africa and the Shah of Iran. Recently Costa Rica, a democracy that Israel has been helping the U.S. militarize against Nicaragua, obtained from Israel the services of American Jewish leaders to help renegotiate its debt to the U.S. and to help get American credits to build a railroad. Israel’s hawking of supposed American influence is presumptuous and to some extent undeliverable. It sordidly exploits the anti-Semitic myths of Jewish back-room influence, the power of Jewish wealth, and Jewish control of the media.

Israel’s surrogate status and strategic agreement with the U.S. have complicated mainstream Jewish political activities. Israel drew closer to the U.S. because of its dependence on American Jews. According to Nadav Safran total capital imports and total domestic investment in Israel since 1948 are equal. In other words, Israel could not grow without financial assistance from abroad, especially from Jewish communities. The largest non-government non-corporate source of funds for general development has been U.S. Jews. So in the 1960’s Israel drew closer to the U.S. both because of the power of America and because being close to America would please the relatively conservative, at least on foreign policy, American Jewish “leadership.” As the relationship grew, self-appointed leaders of American Jewry had less trouble explaining why they supported their government’s opposition to socialism, nonalignment, and nationalism in the third world but supported the somewhat socialist and non-aligned Israel of the early 1950s. The Likud government and the Memorandum of Understanding seemingly resolved the contradiction. With Israel an official member of the West’s team, indeed a first-string standout against the evil Soviet empire, the conservative leaders of American Jewry could now argue that the national interest of Israel and the U.S. were congruent. Even if they are correct, other Jews suffer. For example, large scale emigration by Jews from the U.S.S.R. collapsed along with the Nixon-Kissinger detente policy. The best hope for renewal of that emigration is a renewal of detente. But Jewish leaders who have staked Israel’s entire case for support on its being a bulwark in the fight against communism and the U.S.S.R., can not now argue for a U.S.-U.S.S.R. general accommodation that would also help Soviet Jews.

In 1981 at the First Latin American Congress of Relatives of the Disappeared held in San Jose, Costa Rica, delegates from 10 countries concluded that over 90,000 people vanished in the preceding years as a result of government policies. At around the same time former Zionist Organization of America President Jacques Torczner declared that, “we have come to a conclusion that rightwing reactionaries are the natural allies of Zionism and not the liberals.” Those reactionaries responsible for 90,000 disappearances and uncounted deaths may be the allies of some Zionists, but they are not the friends of most Jews.

Burton Levine is a writer living in Hamden, Connecticut.
Chantage, trucage, découpage, merchandage... Euh... Terrain: le marais parlementaire

grèves... assemblées... revendications... assemblées villageoises... notre terrain, la lutte!
In Issues #4 and #5 of SHMATE we ran an extensive annotated bibliography of Jewish resistance to the Holocaust. The following additions are from Martyrdom and Resistance, an excellent source of ongoing reviews and analysis of the subject. Included in our original bibliography was a section on World Reaction. That is being continued along with a new section on Teaching Material.

GENERAL HISTORICAL TREATMENT

RESISTANCE
Eckman, Lester and Lazar, Chaim, The Jewish Resistance. Shengold, 1977

WORLD REACTION
Druks, Herbert. The Failure To Rescue. Robert Speller and Sons, 1977
Morley, John F. Vatican Diplomacy and The Jews During The Holocaust. KTAV, 1980

TEACHING RESOURCES
Schechter, Jay and Moisel, Esther. “The Holocaust: Humanity on Trial.” In conjunction with the United Federation of Teachers and Jewish Labor Committee.

REVIEW
BESSIE
by MARGARET ROSSOFF

Quite by accident, I came across Bessie, by Lawrence Bush, a book about a Jewish Communist, a woman still politically active in her late eighties. What a treat: an intrinsically interesting story line and a delightful protagonist.

Themes of this book include the conflict between politics and family, the significance to a Communist of her Jewish heritage, and the meaning of a life spent in a struggle that has not yet prevailed. I certainly enjoyed reading Bessie; of course I recommended it to my friends; and, I want SHMATE readers to look for it in their libraries. Yet Bessie was a disappointing book.

There seems to be a new genre of fiction emerging: radical Jewish family sagas (such as Midwife and Rivertown Street), a spin-off of Roots and The Godfather. I suppose, Bessie is closer to history than many of these novels. This provides much of its strength: the focus of a powerful protagonist, authenticity of experiences, complex personal dynamics. It is to the author's credit that he communicates all this. At the same time, the weakness of the book also derives from its connection to reality. In fictionalizing the life of his grandmother, Bush has not transformed it into literature. The magic of the book comes from the force of Bessie's personality, not what Bush has done with her story.

As a result, I found myself resenting the author for coming between me and the historical Bessie. Reading about Joe Rapoport, for example, in The Life of a Jewish Radical by Kenneth Kann, I was free to be astonished and inspired by Rapoport for sustaining his activist commitment and continuing to grow politically. I had a similar reaction to Bessie, who clearly shared those qualities. But when I was struck by any particular incident or analysis, I could not be sure it was Bessie's, rather than Bush's, or a transplant from other models that may have gone into creating the character. I would have liked to have had Bessie undiluted.

Margaret Rossoff is going through an intellectual mid-life crisis in Oakland, California. Her two year old son couldn't care less.
yes the river gives permission to cross enter wade
no River Jordan the big river no home on the other side there is a
nation of tomorrows that we will inhabit milk & honey paying coyotes
thousands of dollars to bring all nine kids from guatemala till you show up on
somebody’s doorstep or get pulled off the bus at the checkpoint in sarita
and the coyote told you you were outside of dallas but who knows
where is houston in cuscatlan or quiche detained deported liberated murdered.
hope is tortured on the border as the flesh is quartered in salvador

los fresnos texas is the ellis island of the heart in 1983 that no one can
recognize or remember, my own grandparents linger there with bags and bundles
and the disappointments from which they nourished me rejected at
new york coming again in steerage to philly or baltimore puking from the
endless waves the crowded poor the sea so far from lithuania or kishniev
and they came, the antisemites crushed the heads of children cut open the
women drowned and beat us and they cursed us and we died or we left after 1905
they drowned the revolution in jew-blood my cousins from the vilna
teacher’s institute screaming doloy politsey! at the cossacks and they starved
in the labor gangs at hard labor, typhoid, winter. in el salvador they drag
the teachers from the houses, my sister and her husband, we found their
bodies after three days covered with burn marks and torture her eye cut out
by a bayonet brains splashed on the road and they also killed my son.
they came in the cells at mariona penal. they torture with electricity
tying you to the iron bedsprings and putting water on you. or vitriol.
they came for my brother at his house at three in the morning and took him half
naked they said dont bother to get dressed were going to kill you they said
dont come looking for his body or you’re next then I decided to abandon my
country. los fresnos texas, so we crossed the river los fresnos texas
PORT ISABEL SERVICE PROCESSING CENTER where all day in the sun you can watch
TV you can die of boredom till your hearing comes up and your children are
starving in san miguel which makes you only an economic refugee

and i fell in brownsville in progreso hidalgo san benito, in houston
it was there that I was grabbed america you are lying to yourself america
I am here to remind you who you are your grandparents spoke no english
they worked hard and were poor from the ‘storied lands’ they are the sons
of slaves they built the railroads speaking cantonese you wouldn’t let them
live then will you now the money of mexican italian finnish miners gunned
down in the minefields by militia you paid for are you only david rockefeller
or are you after all as brown as your people as brown as the .river that says
yes brown as the women in your sweatshops in L.A. as the dark semitic
eyes of my grandmother bent over her dressmaking in a fetid cellar eyes like
two flashing coals speaking only yiddish but striking with the italian girls
shrieking at the scabs on 34th street pulling them from their trucks one they
stripped naked and painted never giving up
america did you really think we came to steal the melons from your patch to take the good things from your table
we came to work you let us work sometimes and we are coming still we pick your fruit and weld your steel whose fruit whose steel whose circuits whose river america USA you are a latin american country you are a great african nation you are a goldeneh medina you are the pacific asian rimland you were europe without lords and bows america ADMIT IT LET US PASS now quickly what shall it profit you america to gain the whole world and lose your soul
your punks raped me and robbed me in brownsville and when I called for the police I was sent to be deported only those with money get out of here otherwise you sit and sit and sit strapped to the undersides of trucks to cross the bridge we are coming we wont take your shopping malls away from you I dont know what say paper they give to me. I no read. but in la unión no se puede vivir you cant live america they wont steal your milkshakes america we cant all be russian ballet dancers yearning to do TV specials with liza minelli in true freedom america or chinese violinists or rumanian athletes or socialist-hating cubans or byelorussian nazi collaborators with hot intelligence to offer hell let THEM come but let us come too america remember that the AMA spread hatred of 'foreign doctors' to keep out german jews in the thirties remember that it is never too late to stop supporting dictators even though they make you feel secure fawning over your ambassadors and screeching against the reds you will be ashamed later america I do have faith in you that is why I make you feel ashamed and when you are fully ashamed america I will no longer be a refugee I will enter my own country as a citizen of the future wading the river that separates us from the world's pain and my own y podré vivir por las dos orillas and I will know how to live on both sides and I will not need permission.

Jonathon Moore is an immigration paralegal in Harlington, Texas, trying to keep Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees from being deported. He is a self-described left-Bundist, pro-Yiddishkeit, unregenerate, who plans to go back to Nicaragua before Israel.
NICARAGUA FOLLOW-UP

The articles on Nicaragua in your Chanukah issue do not tell the complete story. The following points need to be made.

1. DeBare and Glickman present one version of events concerning the Nicaraguan synagogue. Members of the congregation contradict it in saying that the congregation left the synagogue in the hands of caretakers who remained until forced by the government to leave.

2. The Nicaraguan government failed to answer repeated inquiries about the synagogue for almost two years, responding only after the accusations were made public.

3. Rabbi Rosenthal of the A.D.L. maintains that the accusations of special treatment toward Jews are not based solely on the statements of any two individuals (who had no hearing at which they could respond to allegations made against them), but rather on the statements of a majority of the former Nicaraguan Jewish community. These charges have been echoed by the International League for the Protection for Human Rights and by an independent committee of the U.N.

4. As to the number of Jews who have stayed in Nicaragua, one of them, Jaime Levy, has stated that only "approximately three" remain.

5. DeBare and Glickman acknowledge that there have been numerous overtly anti-Semitic articles in El Nuevo Diario. That publication is not independent; it is essentially a voice of the junta in Managua. The anti-Semitic statements have not been censured. This is in vivid contrast to non-government affiliated news programs, which have been shut down, and the government's attitude toward the one independent publication, La Prensa (whose former editor was murdered under Somoza). It has been subjected to frequent censorship and shut-downs, along with repeated harassment by the "turbas", the government inspired thugs who victimize those who dissent too openly.

DeBare and Glickman are also misleading in their comments about the two "human rights organizations" in Nicaragua. The characterization that one is anti-Sandinista and the other pro-Sandinista is simplistic. The Permanent Commission on Human Rights was created in 1977 and helped expose the abuses of the Somoza regime. It has maintained its independence from government control. The junta has repeatedly harrassed it and even jailed its leaders for statements relating to Nicaraguan political prisoners. Others have been jailed and those who have cooperated with its investigations have been threatened. The second organizaton is government sponsored and has been used to whitewash government actions.

Many fervent supporters of the revolution have become disillusioned with the direction the government has taken since coming to power. These include political groups which supported the revolution, representatives of the indigenous peoples' organizations, and representatives of the independent labor federations. Many opposition groups joined in a statement criticizing attacks on political organizations by the junta (which included prison terms for engaging in restricted political activity) as showing "the decision of the Sandinistas to set up in our country a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship".

There is a double standard involved in much contemporary political dialogue. Reagan epitomizes it with his antagonism toward leftist regimes while considering Chile, South Africa, and the Honduran based Somocista led contras to be part of the "free world". The right has even developed an intellectual rationale in which rightist "authoritarian" regimes are considered far superior to leftist "totalitarian" regimes. As Timerman has pointed out, when you're being tortured such distinctions tend to lose much of their significance.

Unfortunately, this limited view of which oppression should be fought is not limited to the right. Issues like psychiatric imprisonment in the U.S.S.R., the use of anti-Semitism in Poland (against our tiny remaining remnant) to discredity Solidarity, and the invasion of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan are often ignored, or worse, defended. (References by the editor to Czechoslovakia and by DeBare and Glickman to Soviet anti-Semitism are welcome exceptions).

Concern about Stephen Biko in South Africa and not Ida Nudel in the U.S.S.R., or about Anatoly Sharansky in the U.S.S.R. and not Victor Jara in Chile raises a basic question: Is the person showing such concern genuinely interested in human rights or merely being politically expedient? The attitude of much of the left on Nicaragua in ignoring or defending the pattern of human rights abuses is another example of this phenomenon.

It is ironic that both apologists for the Nicaraguan junta and the Reagan administration present the situation in Nicaragua in such similar terms; that it is a struggle between counter-revolutionaries and the present government. Reagan presents the conflict in these terms to further his policy of massively aiding the Somocista led Honduran based contras. Supporters of the present regime use just as simplistic an analysis. Given that no one on the left supports the old regime, as "progressives" are are supposed to blindly

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE
support the Managuan junta.

**THIS IS A FALSE CHOICE. THERE IS A THIRD ALTERNATIVE.** The Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), based in Central America’s only democracy, Costa Rica, is waging its own fight against the Managuan junta. It is led by Eden Pastora, commonly known as “Commander Zero”. He was a leader in the struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the Somoza regime. Joined by many other disillusioned revolutionaries, who felt that their decades long fight against a rightist dictatorship was being betrayed by the establishment of a dictatorship from the left, they have resumed their struggle. Despite Reagan’s considerable pressure, they are refusing to ally themselves with the Somocista led contras. The democratic revolutionary forces of ARDE deserve the support of all those who oppose oppression regardless of its source.

Kenneth Knoppow
Farmington Hills, Michigan

**DEBARE AND GLICKMAN REPLY:**

Kenneth Knoppow’s letter has two main thrusts: (1) he alleges that we are “apologists” for an official Nicaraguan policy of anti-Semitism, and (2) he calls on American progressives to support not the Sandinista government, but the counter-revolutionary ARDE group, led by Eden Pastora. We beg to differ on both counts.

Concerning the Managua synagogue, Knoppow writes: “The Nicaraguan government … initially … claimed that it was … privately owned … and would not even acknowledge that it was a synagogue.” Apparently, the confusion over the status of the synagogue stems from the fact that when the property for the synagogue was purchased on behalf of the Jewish community in the 1970s, legal documents showing community ownership were drawn up — but the property was never entered into the government registry. We agree with Knoppow that the Nicaraguan government should have responded more quickly to the A.D.L.’s inquiries. But is that proof of a policy of anti-Semitism?

Knoppow also claims that, since almost all of the country’s Jewish population left Nicaragua around the time of Somoza’s overthrow, they must have fled because of anti-Jewish persecution. As we explained in our article, the Jewish community of Nicaragua numbered about 50 at the time of the Sandinista victory in 1979. Virtually all these people were middle class or wealthy, and many were Somoza supporters. Those 40 or so who left the country were part of a larger exodus of some 10,000 Nicaraguans who sought exile in the U.S. and elsewhere. To look at the flight of the microscopic Jewish community outside the larger context of the revolution is highly irresponsible. Our article hid nothing; in fact, we pointed out every anti-Semitic incident we know of which occurred in Nicaragua in recent years. If the handful of anti-Semitism incidents in Nicaragua constitute a government campaign of discrimination, then one would have to conclude that the United States is on its way to becoming another Nazi Germany.

Knoppow ignores the reports of several human rights groups which found no official anti-Semitism in Nicaragua, and instead tells us that the International League for the Protection of Human Rights and “an independent committee of the U.N.” have echoed the A.D.L.’s charges. The International League did back up the A.D.L., but it based its report solely on A.D.L. information. We were unable to substantiate Knoppow’s reference to a U.N. committee, because a staffer at the New York office of the U.N. Human Rights Commission says there’s no such thing as an “independent committee” of the U.N.

Knoppow dismisses Nicaragua’s National Commission for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights by saying it is “frequently used to whitewash the actions of the Managua junta. This government committee was created at the request of the U.N., making Nicaragua the first Latin American nation to create its own civil rights commission. During its tenure the Commission has played a major role in winning amnesty for many ex-National Guard members, and it has also developed rehabilitation programs for those prisoners.

The point of our article, given limited space, was not to present a history of human rights organizations in Nicaragua, but to show that groups on both sides of the political spectrum agreed that the anti-Semitism charges were unsubstantiated.

Turning to Knoppow’s second major point, he says that the “struggle between counter-revolutionaries and the present government of Nicaragua” is a “false choice,” that there is a “third alternative … Eden Pastora, commonly known as ‘Commander Zero.’” Knoppow correctly identifies Pastora as a former Sandinista hero, but unfortunately that’s practically the only thing he says about Pastora that’s true.

First, Pastora’s organization is clearly involved with and supported by the C.I.A. and the Reagan Administration, and thus is in a real—if not formal—alliance with the ex-National Guard and Somoza supporters, who make up the counter-revolutionary forces in Honduras. The Wall Street Journal of July 27, 1983, cited U.S. intelligence sources, who said ARDE was receiving some $200,000 per month in indirect U.S. aid, such as equipment and laundered cash. The Washington Post of September 29 noted that “ARDE officials admit they have had ‘mysterious’ infusions of money this summer from foreign sources — of whom they
choose not to ask too many questions." An investigative article in the October 6 New York Times highlighted one small link in this chain. The article traced the ownership of a Cessna plane used in a September, 1983, ARDE bombing attack on Nicaragua's airport to a recently formed "Investair Leasing Corporation" in Virginia, managed by a former top official of a C.I.A.-owned air company. According to a 1976 Senate Intelligence Committee report, this company "provided a variety of nonattributable air support activities, which were available for quick deployment overseas in support of [Central Intelligence] agency activities." Furthermore, the ARDE attack on the airport coincided with an attack on Nicaraguan oil terminals at Puerto Sandino by forces of the F.D.N., the "Somocista led contras" with whom Pastora supposedly refuses to ally. Shortly after the airport and oil facility attacks, F.D.N. spokespeople told the press that they had advance knowledge of both actions.

Pastora's ARDE is the junior partner in the alliance with the F.D.N., receiving much less funding and fielding fewer men. While F.D.N. forces reportedly number between 8-10,000, ARDE has only some 1,500 to 3,000. In June, 1983, Pastora's funds and supplies reached such a low level that he threatened to renounce the fight. The Reagan Administration does not appear interested in building ARDE into a significant fighting force so much as it is in using it as a "democratic" facade for the contras. Journalists Jack Epstein and J.H. Evans report that in January, 1983, "A State Department official admitted having frequent meetings with (ARDE leader and businessman) Robelo, while he did not have any direct interest in personal meetings with Pastora. 'If he has direct contact with us, he would be tarnished,' he said, 'and if he is tarnished he is of no use to us.'"

This situation is acknowledged by both admirers and detractors of Pastora. There is no mass of "disillusioned revolutionaries" inside Nicaragua waiting to rise up under ARDE's banner. Most Nicaraguans with whom we spoke saw Pastora as a traitor, because he took up arms against the revolution rather than struggling within its framework. Even that minority which sympathizes with Pastora's goals is skeptical in the face of his manipulation by the U.S.

Paul Glickman
Iliana DeBare
Oakland, California

WHEN REICH MET TROTSKY

by TULI KUPFERBERG

"Reich and Trotsky met briefly while the latter was still in Oslo, but I do not know any details of this meeting."
Myron Sharaf in Fury on Earth: A biography of Wilhelm Reich, 1983

Trotsky pulled his beard
And then he dropped his head:
"Comrade Willy,
We're lucky we're not dead,
And on the garbage heap of history
We are not yet a lump:
Europe's turned to offal—
Let's get off this dump!"

"Let's go to the New World
(Forget Wotan & Momus)
Everybody says
It is the Land of Promise."
They clinked their glasses
And raised their drinks to the sky
In the corner of the garden
The Agents caught each other's eye
In the bonny Cafe Metropole:
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At the heart of Western wisdom:
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