

Jewish FRONTIER

July - September 2002

Changes in Israel's Labor

Stanley Maron discusses the changing demographics
and trends in Israel's labor force

Escape

Ayelet Ben Ziv Appel, an Israeli living in the United
States, explores the impact of terror on the Israeli
psyche, as well as the guilt associated with experiencing
the terrorist attacks in Israel from a distance...

Poetry

Selections by the late Yiddish poet,
Yoysef Kerler (1918-1999)

...and more

JEWISH FRONTIER

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Since 1934

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If There Were No Israel

We have no idea whether President George W. Bush's verbal urgings or the Israel Army's virtual reoccupation of the territories will cause the Palestinians to end terrorism and resume peace negotiations. For there are simply too many Palestinians who cannot stomach a Jewish state on any of the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Nor can they abandon their belief that Zionism and Israel are responsible for nearly every problem in the modern Middle East.

To test the validity of this belief, imagine that Israel never existed. Or that it is going to disappear tomorrow. Imagine, as well, that with its demise will come a universal amnesia.

No one on Earth will have any memory of Zionism, the 1948 War of Independence, the 1956 Sinai Campaign, the 1967 Six Day War (in which Israel wrested East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, the Gaza Strip from Egypt, and the Golan Heights from Syria), the Oslo peace accords of the 1990s, Israel's offer in 2000 to withdraw most of the Jewish settlers and return some 95 percent of the occupied territories to the Palestinian Authority, or the present intifada.

What would this Israel-free Middle East be like?

For starters, the only democracy in the region will have vanished. And since there would still be inter- and intra-Arab hostility, dictatorship, cronyism, corruption, overpopulation, and socioeconomic dislocation, Yasser Arafat and the other Arab rulers would have to find a new scapegoat toward which to deflect the anger and despair of their people.

Palestine would still be as underdeveloped as are most of the surrounding twenty two Arab states, whose combined Gross Domestic Product is less than that of Spain. Saddled with one of the highest birthrates in the world, most Palestinians would be unemployed and unemployable, partly because of the inability or the unwillingness of the Palestinian Authority to create viable institutions and infrastructures, and partly because there would no longer be an Israel for the Palestinians to work in.

East Jerusalem and the West Bank would still be ruled from Amman, the Gaza Strip would still be ruled from Cairo, and the Golan Heights would still be ruled from Damascus. Syria would still be the de facto ruler of

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Changes In Israel's Labor

Critical changes have taken place in Israel's labor force. The result is a radical change in the labor movement and in the political forces that represent it. The source of these changes has been the rapid rise in the educational level of the labor force, due in large part to the massive immigration from the former Soviet Union. It has facilitated a major shift from traditional industries based on physical labor to hi-tech industries. One sign of this important transition is the growth in net exports from 11 billion dollars in 1991 to 26 billion dollars in 2001, with half of the latter based on hi-tech and the proportion continuing to grow. As a result, a major restructuring is taking place within Israeli society.

In 1991, Israel's population aged 15 years and over reached 3,427,600, with a median level of 11.7 years education. The civilian labor force was 1,770,300 or 51.6% of the population. A decade later, in 2001, the population aged 15 years and over reached 4,604,600, with a median level of 12.3 years education. The civilian labor force had grown to 2,503,600 or 54.4% of the population. Within that decade the population of working age had grown by 34% and the civilian labor force has grown by 41%. At the same time, the educational structure of the labor force changed significantly. The number of employed with 8 years of

schooling or less dropped by 41%, those with 9 to 12 years of schooling increased by 28%, those with 9 to 12 years of education grew by 89%, and those with 16 years of education or more grew by 102%. As a result, the current Israeli labor force is larger, better educated, and more attuned to the information age than workers in the traditional industries of 15 years ago.

The above data comes from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics. They do not include 280,000 foreign workers and 150,000 illegal Palestinians who do most of the low-paying jobs involving physical labor. But those workers do not have the right to vote, so politicians do not take an interest in them. In contrast, many of the Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel who once made up the core of the old-time labor movement are now pensioners or unemployed made redundant from labor-intensive factories that have been moved elsewhere.

EDUCATION DETERMINES INCOME

Improvement in the educational level of the labor force has facilitated significant growth in industries based on information technology, has reduced industries based on physical labor, and has pushed traditional workers to the wall. The overall economy has prospered, but the egalitarian basis of early Israeli

society has been lost. The rich have gotten richer, and the poor are poorer. Changes in education have created a new class structure that is far more vertical.

According to a survey conducted in 2000, employees with education up to 12 years earned an average monthly wage of 5,088 shekels, those with 13-15 years of education received 6,609 shekels, and those with advanced education of 16 years and over earned 10,014 shekels. Physical labor received the lowest compensation, only 3,108 shekels per month, while people in academic occupations received 10,586 shekels and managers received an average of 14,695 shekels. The Israeli economy follows America in that trend. A similar survey conducted in the United States for the years 1997-1999 also found a close correlation between education and income. Persons with a high school certificate earned an average annual wage of \$30,400, those with a bachelor's degree earned \$52,200, those with a master's degree earned \$62,300, and those with a doctorate earned \$89,400.

EDUCATION AND INCOME DETERMINE CULTURE

The evidence shows that the level of education determines the level of income, and both of them determine the level of an individual's consumer culture. A prominent feature of emerging consumerism is the use of household goods that require more than a casual grasp of technology. A survey in 2000 of household possessions requiring more than a minimal level of knowledge and purchasing power showed personal computers in 23% of households in the lowest income decile and in 72% of households in the highest decile. The difference is even clearer when it comes to the use of the Internet, which was found in only 4% of households at the lowest income level and in 48% of the households in the highest income level. There is a significant difference even in the use of microwave ovens, being used by 41% of bottom decile households and 80% of top decile households. Overall acquisition of these products for private consumption continues to grow at an accelerating pace with a corresponding extension of vertical stratification between different groups in the society according to education, income and culture.

THE ETHNIC COMPONENT

The Brandt Commission, also called the North-South Commission, made an impressive case for leaving the old occident-orient division of the world in favor of a realistic one separating industrial nations of the north from pre-industrial nations of the south. In defiance of that logic, the Jewish population of Israel is still divided according to so-called Ashkenazic and Sephardic origins. As a result, Jews from eastern Europe are called occidental, and Jews from Morocco to the west of Israel are called oriental. It makes more sense to use the logical north-south division, defining northern Jews as those who came from Europe, America and Oceania, and southern Jews as those who came from Africa and Asia. An essential point of division is that most northern Jews had experienced industrialization before reaching Israel, while most southern Jews had not. An important immediate consequence is that most northern Jews came with a higher educational level than southern Jews, and that factor immediately determined their respective place in both social and economic stratification.



Improvement in the educational level of the labor force has facilitated significant growth in industries based on information technology, has reduced industries based on physical labor, and has pushed traditional workers to the wall.



Most of the Arab population absorbed into Israel in 1948 lived in a pre-industrial society with almost no public education. In 1961, Israeli Arabs had a median of only 1.2 years of schooling in contrast to a median of 8.4 years of schooling among Jews, with a significant difference between northern and southern Jews that has persisted. In 2001, first generation northern Jews had a median of 13.3 years, first generation southern Jews had a median of 10.9 years, second generation northern Jews had a median of 14.0 years, second generation southern Jews had a median of 12.4 years, and Jews from the

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Escape

In Washington they run too. When I visited there I saw them. They ran down the middle of the path that goes from Congress on Capitol Hill straight to the Washington Monument, then turned right, toward the White House, and back again. They ran in a right angle propelling off into two equal distances, like an isosceles triangle missing its third side. They jogged between the tourists, in shorts and T-shirts, even in the rain, even when they got wet. They didn't care about the trash piled up on the sides of the road. Washington is a filthy city. There was one couple in which neither partner wanted to run alone. So they ran together like Siamese twins, lean and muscular, only their faces giving away their age. From the front it was clear who was the man and who the woman, from the back it was less so. They ran easily, legs raised, arms bent, head held straight, inhale, exhale, to keep on going. Like there is no tomorrow. Like everything is alright. When they are done, they'll shower, get dressed, she will make herself up a bit, maybe even put on mascara, he will smooth his gray hair, together they'll go to work. In the office with the bald eagle and the flags, with all the other runners, they will determine the future of the United States, the future of the world, the future of the Middle East, and

the future of Israel. As the adrenalin courses through their veins they will decide: We'll cut here, give there, add Britain and Saudi Arabia, bomb Saddam, mix it all together and the dish will come out perfect, hmmm, the sweet scent of a Middle-Eastern/American mix. Did they see the famous flowering of Washington's cherry trees? And what were the colors? Red? Pink? White? ...If only there were a flowering, and if only it were white, and if only they saw it. That is why I don't like to run!

In Israel they are too busy to go to the park and run. In any case, there aren't enough parks, and, mainly, it's dangerous outside. They wear jeans and sneakers and shuttle back and forth throughout the day, between work and home and the children and the PhD and Friday night dinner with the folks. But when there is a bombing, and a "holy" Muslim terrorist penetrates the land, they run quickly, having difficulty believing that they are one of the lucky ones, that they are not hurt, hoping that a second bomb is not hiding close by, waiting to explode. The men run, the women run, children run, and babies are carried on their fathers' shoulders. Blood flows, walls crumble, buses overturn,

shrieks are heard in the air, the Hevre Kadisha comes with stretchers. Even the CNN photographer runs, finally, caught in an attack without his running shoes on. Afterward, the report is sympathetic. It's a shame that no French photographer was there. They were too busy tasting leg of lamb on a bed of steamed basmati rice, an Iraqi menu. It is not very comfortable to run when you have one finger in your mouth and a second in your ass.

From a suburb of New York I called home to Israel to ask my parents if it's safe to come this summer with the kids. "Safe?" my mom stammered. "I don't know, I thought that if the situation continues," she cleared her throat, "I myself would tell you not to come," another clearing of the throat. "It doesn't seem safe to send the children to camp this year." I heard my father's voice in the background, "Who is on the phone, Anat?" "It's Yaeli," my mom answered. "They're not sure whether they'll come this summer, because of the situation. What do you say, Amos?" she asked him innocently. "They should stay there," he said. "Israel is no place for cowards." That is how my father talks, direct and to the point, without thinking twice, like a swift blow to the head (And what about Israeli children? Are they not going to camp this summer?). There is a slight chance that he will apologize later, though usually he is "always right." My mom clears her throat again and chuckles nervously, "Don't pay any attention to Dad, Yaeli. The truth is, it's a relief to us, knowing that the grandchildren are somewhere safe right now."

◆
*Blood flows, walls crumble, buses
overturn, shrieks are heard in the air, the
Hevre Kadisha comes with stretchers.*
◆

Mom clears her throat when there are words that she is suppressing, strangling. Later those words will creep forward, little by little, like sharp little knives. For example, she might say: "I saw Haya, the neighbor, the other day, and I told her that you might not be coming this summer, and she said, 'What? Even Israelis are not coming to Israel? Do you know when they'll come? They'll come here when it is good here, or bad there, and then they need us!'" "Haya, the neighbor, frowns

upon everything" mom tells me the next time we talk. "But anyway, what about you? What's happening in New York?", she quickly continues in a controlled tone, before those strangled words have another chance to escape. I answered without bewilderment and with great expertise: "In New York they are running in Central Park. There, they know how to segregate. The runners run in the middle of the road in designated paths. To the left of the runners there is a path designated for the bike riders and roller blades. Walkers walk on the sidewalk. The cars ride outside of this domain. I've heard that the fast walkers, those who are not running and not simply walking, a species unto itself, want their own path. The runners try not to bother one another, not to veer into another lane, and not to make contact. They cross over a lane only when they want to pass. When they're done, they put on suits and go to Wall Street. There they meet other suits and each one to its business. "What?" mom asked nervously. "The runners," I said. "You asked what was going on in New York." "Fine, fine," mom said, "Just don't get edgy," she cleared her throat. "How are you feeling?" she added in a troubled voice, hesitating. "The girl doesn't sound right," I knew she would tell dad later. "I'm very, very worried."

In the end, I started running too. I was fed up with looking at the scenery. I was fed up with thinking. I still haven't decided whether I will run like the New-Yorkers, smoothly without touching, or like the runners in Washington, easily, between the raindrops, as if there is no tomorrow, or like the Israelis, rushing, screaming in terror. In the meantime, I put on shorts and a T-shirt, and started to run in the rain. The treetops gathered behind me, chatting among themselves, complaining, so spoiled. Before I started running, I used to walk and see them tickling the sky, giggling with the sun, scattering the clouds in the winds. Not anymore. Recently they have begun to converge above me, hiding, sending long, dark shadows to the ground. Don't step on them, jump over them! Everything blurs before me: green, grey, blue. Foot chases foot, the breath shortens, a little bit more, keep on going, not to think, run, thrust off the path. "In the end everything will be alright, and we'll all be able to rest," mom says. That's because she didn't see how they run in Washington. When you run, the flame in your chest is all that there is. □

The Poetry of Yoysef Kerler

Translated from Yiddish by Jeffrey V. Mallow with the generous assistance of Professor Dov-Ber Kerler

*Yoysef Kerler was born in 1918 in Heysin, Podolye. He published his first book of poetry in 1947, and went on to become one of the major Soviet Yiddish poets of the generation following those murdered by Stalin. After imprisonment and long struggle, he made aliyah in 1971, and continued his creative work in Israel until his recent passing. His volumes include *Dos Gezang Tsvishn Tseyn* (*Song Between Teeth*, 1971), *Himlshaft* (*Creation of Heaven*, 1986), *Abi Gezunt* (*Just Healthy*, 1993) *Shpigl Ksav* (*Words in a Mirror*, 1996), this last published jointly with his son, poet and Yiddish scholar Dov-Ber Kerler, with whom he also coedited *Yerushalaymer Almanakh*.*

The Roads to Jerusalem

The roads to Jerusalem
Like fluttering wings
Up and down
Down and up
And higher, higher
Up to the large
Golden bird
Up there somewhere so high
Between the Seventh Heaven
And the Temple Mount...

The roads to Jerusalem
Enflaming,
My eternally thirsty longing

When My Love Falls Asleep

Sleep my dear,
Sleep tight...
Up the mountain I will roll stones,
I alone will wear chains—
But you should be happy,
My distant one,
My distant one...

It would be best if you forgot
Those splendid days and nights,
When we were happy...

Sleep my dear,
Sleep tight...
Let your faithful one love you,
You shall be his only fire,
As you were to me before!

Over me—the northern light,
Under me—the earth's abyss...
Quiet, my heart,— you should not rustle—
Sleep my dear,
Sleep tight,
My distant one,
My distant one...

Russia, Russia Fragments

Oh, Father of great mercy
In sunset's flame there fades
My cradle land
That was once nearer to me than my salt crusted shirt
Where with my brother Russian
I shared more than once
A measly bite of bread,
A last breath
At the brink of death.

And now I stand helpless
And all my song's stanzas lament:
You may turn me into
A dead pillar of salt—
I cannot do otherwise:

I have turned my face away...

And also for that far away, left-behind,
And estranged
For that—dear earth

Have mercy, O Almighty!

Untitled

Without a drop of glow,
Without a scrap of light.
And the gloomy anguish
Is so thick
Just take
And cut it with a knife,
Take an ax—and shred!
As much as I wished to ignore
There roars in me the cry —
That my language languishes
And my people is silent,
And the boor—
The same villain,
Stalks from everywhere.

My Wood of Words

My wood of words
Is not so thick
And also not too wild,
My wood of words

Around it there is pure flame
Of soft sunlight
And somewhere in the depths
A silent shadow hides.
And I scrounge around
Looking thirstily
For that shadow
Where in my wood of words
No one has yet trodden.

I seek it every day
As if with light
Although my wood of words
Is not so thick

It Is Senseless

It is senseless, Heavenly Father
To bargain with you
Still, give me strength
To sing along
As long as your air
Does not leave my lungs.

And should you wish to grant
Me in particular
Long years

I shall, trust me,
Not complain too much.

I only pray and ask to bless
my eldest years
With youthful strength.

My Little Land

My little land, so small
Bathed in spaciousness
How sweet, how soft, how ironclad and stony
Your much afflicted ground.

And nearby is every stride
In the tread of distant ancestors
And heart by heart, and side by side
Both flying and barefoot.

And not because people begrudge
Both me and you, the pleasure
But because incessantly the day breaks
No time to close one's eye—

Over all the plague and pain
In the world's flutter
Doubtlessly and endlessly shines
Your faithful sky.

One May Finally Write Letters

Of the twelve letters,
That I was allowed to send this year,
Eight didn't get there...
But why? But why?
I'd like to know for sure.

I would swear by all my desires:
The lost eight—were dreadfully similar
To the four that arrived—
There was written: "I live well
And I love you endlessly,
And endlessly I long for you"...

Could be, that it's prohibited to tell
About this, that one longs every month?

Or the censorious scissors
Wishes to separate us anew
With an abyss of anguished secrets?

Note to Our Readers:

In the last two years, the Jewish Frontier has been in a state of transition. Our publishing schedule has been irregular and we have not done a subscription billing. However, this issue is your third issue in 2002, and the fourth will follow shortly!

We ask that you renew your subscription for 2003, where you will receive four regular issues—and quality issues, as well, with new writers and fresh content! Following your subscription renewal we will be sure to mail you these issues.

See page 17 to subscribe.

Untitled

At first there was—
Darkness over the abyss
And with my sinful,
Bony body
I hewed out the darkness,
As with a crowbar
I broke through
To the sunshine
And to the shining human pair
In the shadow of the tree.
And darker than my simple truth
Remained the noblest dream—
Full with sap and fresh,
Just as after a rain
The land of my children's children
Lay before me...

To My Heir

But more than anything I would wish you
And with bread and death I will invoke it—
You shall not lynch your roots within you
And not fall at a strange threshold

You shall not kneel before false gods,
Blinded by their dazzle,
Let them glow as seven suns,
Or cut pieces from your body.

But if you turn away, if you betray,
I will not curse you, my child, no!
For you your father has no curse,
In time you will curse yourself.

You will remain deceived and lonely,
Like in a desert amid the human rush.
And from all gates and thresholds,
Stones will be thrown at you— remember!

Thus has your father chiseled out this word
With fists and with his head against the prison bars.

It Appears...

It appears, that you have been beaten too little,
Beaten, and bitten, and torn into shreds...
You clung with a slave's bite
Not only with your teeth—
With your whole soul!
And when they want to pry you loose—you change your name,
Your skin and your language, your father, your mother,
You drink up your sap...
But no matter how much you wish to be lost,
All the same, the dogs' noses will sniff out
The strange breath,
The Jewish odor—
Who will forgive you that?
Woe to you, woe to you!
You will be sniffed out, felt out, recognized
And once again crematoria will burn.

Misconceptions of the Left

To the Editor,

I am writing in response to Ariel Jankelson's absurdly self-righteous combination of hand-wringing and finger-pointing at Israelis who criticize the left ("The Challenge of the Left," April-June 2002). The fallacy of his argument begins with the moral equivalence with which he dispatches the origins of modern Israel. He refers to the fact that Israel's declaration of independence was seen as a disaster by the Palestinians and admonishes even-handed people not to make moral judgments.

The fact is that the creation of Israel in 1948 was accompanied by the creation of an Arab portion of what had been the Palestinian mandate. This was in addition to the creation of Jordan, which constituted yet another Arab state largely populated by the people who subsequently identified themselves as Palestinians and who were thrown out of Jordan in a campaign entitled "Black September" by those ejected--probably a day of relief, stability and good-riddance by King Hussein. Perhaps in his rejection of fraternal solidarity he was providing a lesson which leftists like Jankelson refused to learn.

It was the refusal of the Arabs to accept the significantly larger portion of the overall territory, and making it a

nation state, that prompted the current state of affairs. Palestinians exhorted by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and his ilk fled to return with armies of surrounding Arab states intent upon the obliteration of Israel in its paltry, barely defensible territory in which a democracy was born. Jankelson admonishes readers not to make judgements but to substitute understanding for conclusions. How absurd to posit illusion against realities, to juxtapose an adolescent dream of absolution and moral relativism for the practical application of ethics. Neighboring Arabs and Moslems have endeavored since 1948 to exterminate the Jews and eliminate the Zionist entity from the list of states. They failed. Rather than permanently lose credibility, international support, U.N. legitimization of perpetual hostilities, the support of their people, the legitimacy of their assorted dictators and demagogues, territories, conquered armies and oil fields, they found all restored to them with the few exceptions of such lands as Israel required for its defense.

How bizarre for an argument based on self-righteousness to outlaw righteous indignation in the face of terror. How ridiculous to insist that human beings cease and desist from making moral judgments, as though that were not a fundamental human enterprise and an essential characteristic of the Jewish tradition. Understanding one's adversary and

listening to another point of view have been vastly overrated. Palestinians honestly and sincerely do not want Israel to exist at all. Hamas and Hezbollah only state openly what Arafat states exclusively in Arabic while he provides an English translation stream of mendacity for the E.U., U.N. and leftists of the world who unite in condemnation of Israel's right to self-defense.

The fact is that after understanding what the Palestinians want one must conclude that their goals are illegitimate. They cannot be persuaded to be peaceful, and peace cannot be unilateral. Germany had to be bombed into unconditional surrender, Hitler had to be gone and the entire Nazi state had to be subjected to a process of de-Nazification to render the German people fit once again to take their place in humanity. Their fascist hegemony threatened the world in general and Jews in particular. Communist hegemony similarly threatened the world in general and Jews in particular and that ideology too was proven fraudulent. There never was a socialism with a human face. Even so, despite the decryption of the Venona cables and all the additional documents that have come to light in the years since the fall of the Soviet empire, leftists continue to refuse to apologize for their grave mistakes. Millions died because of their inability to confront the reality of the human condition and the totalitarian nature of their utopia. They preferred illusion to logic, doublespeak to truth.

What holistic approach can counter the shrapnel, nails, rat poison, flames and bullets that have destroyed hundreds of Israeli lives in the course of the most recent Intifada? The fact is that the West Bank was Jordanian, and Gaza was Egyptian. And the fact is, they lost those territories after making war on Israel and losing, while Israel had the temerity to survive. Although the left enjoys mourning Jews as victims, especially if they fell at the hands of the evil on the right, they seem unable to deal with Jews as victors, especially if they triumphed at the expense of evil stemming from the left. Nonviolence, peace, and reconciliation were never possible with Nazi Germany. It was the Allied victory in World War II that ended the Holocaust. Until the very end of the Third Reich, Jews faced genocide. The so called good Germans reacted more like the Arab street, feeding their anti-Semitic blood lust and enjoying the

spoils of war as long as they were advancing and winning. They only turned against war when they had to confront total defeat. Fortunately for them, they faced Allies, rather than the Russians, who met them with the aspirations for reconciliation that Lincoln voiced for a post Civil War America. They were democratized and rebuilt. The grievances of the Germans, Italians and Japanese could not be taken seriously by scholars, soldiers or statesmen because they were never legitimate. Their hysteria, demands for living space and breathing room, for empire and volk, for destiny and glory were no more logical than their scapegoating of Jews. There could be no compromise with evil.

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were never possible with Nazi Germany.
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◆

According to Jankelson's logic, we should listen to and acknowledge the arguments of the anti-Semites, address their grievances, employ a holistic approach, and somehow "take away" their motivation for wanting genocide. The left likes to think everything can be settled by debate, and that they alone are capable of idealism. Idealism should never mean casting aside sanity. Indeed, would you suggest that the Jews at the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising did not have clean hands?

Israel has suffered losses to the IDF to avoid collateral damage to Palestinians. It has not employed its own military might to try to win the war of world public opinion. That is an asymmetrical battle. The "world" hates Jews. That is one issue on which extremes of right and left agree. Europe, traditional home of appeasement if not adulation of dictators, excoriates Israel for its technological and military superiority while failing to acknowledge the numerical advantage, oil wealth, and state sponsored support of terrorism enjoyed by Islamist nations. Islamism is the enemy. It is bigger than Arafat. It threatens Israel. It cannot be argued with. It gives its

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Resolutions of the 33rd National LZA Convention

The following resolutions were passed at the 33rd Biennial National Convention of the Labor Zionist Alliance in Skokie (Chicago), IL, October 4th-7th, 2002. These resolutions will soon be posted on LZA's website, www.laborzionist.org.

1. Beth Am Sale

RESOLVED, that Labor Zionist Alliance, Inc. (the "Corporation") shall market and sell its interest in the real property and improvements known as "Beth Am," located in Brooklyn, New York... [For full text, contact the LZA National Office.]

2. Support for Israel and the Peace Process

The LZA reaffirms its support for Israel in its historic search for peace and security through a negotiated settlement with the Palestinian Authority. We demand that the Palestinian Authority renounce its involvement in violence, control parties that engage in terrorism, and demonstrate its commitment to a peaceful settlement. The LZA identifies with Jewish organizations that support the peace process.

3. LZA Statement on Labor and the Settlements

We reaffirm the resolution passed by the LZA National Executive Committee: The time has long since passed when Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza could be justified on the ground that they strengthen Israeli security. Most Israelis recognize that by and large these settlements are intended to preclude the establishment of a Palestinian state.

In the past year, the Sharon government has taken advantage of the continuing Palestinian terror campaign to expand existing settlements and create new ones. Israel's government has done this despite acceptance of the Mitchell plan, which calls for a cessation of settlement activity.

We call on the government of Israel, in view of the renewed prospect of negotiations with the Palestinian Authority, to freeze settlement activity and clearly express its readiness to withdraw most settlements as part of an agreement to create a Palestinian state alongside Israel. If the Sharon government refuses to take such a position, we call on the Labor party to withdraw from the governing coalition.

4. Religious Pluralism in Israel

The LZA supports pluralism in the State of Israel. In particular, we call for ending discrimination against non-Orthodox Jewish congregations, educational institutions, and publications, and for the recognition of the legitimacy of non-Orthodox rituals in Israel. Within the State of Israel, the Jewish Agency for Israel, the World Zionist Organization, and the Jewish National Fund, we call for equity in the allocation of financial resources for all of the religious "streams" of Judaism as well as for secular Jewish organizations.

5. Resolution on Campus Pro-Israel Activism

The LZA applauds pro-Israel student activists seeking to counter massive efforts to de-legitimize Israel on college campuses. In particular, we salute and pledge assistance to the maapilim of our own youth movement, Habonim-Dror, which proudly brings a pro-Israel, pro-peace message to college campuses.

6. Solidarity with the Jewish Community in Argentina

The LZA reaffirms its solidarity with the Jewish community in Argentina. We urge Argentina to do everything possible to bring about the successful prosecution of those responsible for the Israeli Embassy and AMIA bombings, and to ensure that the AMIA trial proceeds without delay. The LZA supports the efforts of the UJC, JDC, HIAS, JAFI and the State of Israel to provide that community with resources to help alleviate their suffering and assist those who choose aliyah.

7. Resolution on International Anti-Semitism

The LZA is greatly concerned by persistent, worldwide anti-Semitism. We urge government officials, political and religious leaders to condemn anti-Semitism and make it clear that neither violent attacks against Jewish individuals and institutions nor the rhetoric which immediately incites such attacks will be tolerated.

8. Commitment to Social Justice

The LZA recommits its membership to fight for social and economic justice policies that strengthen our nation, including investing in education, hunger relief, affordable housing and healthcare and providing assistance to the unemployed, senior citizens and others in need of a helping hand.

9. Resolution on Civil Liberties Issues Raised by War on Terrorism

September 11th taught Americans what Israelis have long known: terrorism can capriciously impact upon anyone's daily life. We recognize that terrorism, including the specter of chemical, biological, and nuclear attacks, may call for difficult, original and creative responses. At the same time, we call upon our government to ensure that, in its pursuit of these very real threats, we do not weaken the civil liberties that are an essential part of our democratic society.

10. Bush Administration Budget Priorities

LZA calls upon our American political leadership to reject the Bush Administration's budget priorities,

which include tax cuts for the rich and a budget that discriminates against the working poor and middle class Americans. LZA will continue to take an active role in fighting for progressive tax, economic and welfare policies, including the repeal of existing tax cuts.

11. Sweatshops and Worker Rights

LZA pledges to work with anti-sweatshop groups on campus and in local communities to fight the scourge of sweatshop labor and to advocate for trade policies that protect worker rights. LZA, as a member of the Jewish Labor Committee, will continue to ally itself with trade unions and other groups fighting for worker rights in the United States, Israel, and other countries.

12. Women's Rights

The LZA urges the United States to ratify the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), a landmark Convention that has been ratified by 168 countries, including Israel.

13. Consideration of Judicial Nominees

It is essential that nominees to the federal bench receive proper scrutiny by the Senate. The LZA urges that nominees for appointments to the federal bench be evaluated carefully and be rejected if that evaluation raises serious and legitimate concerns that such nominees intend to pursue an agenda that would undo legally established civil liberties.

14. Hayim Greenberg

2003 will mark the 50th *yahrzeit* of Hayim Greenberg, founding editor of the Jewish Frontier, longtime editor of the *Yiddisher Kemfer*, and the acknowledged ideological leader of American Labor Zionism, whose influence extended far beyond the movement itself and resonates to this day. The incoming administration is asked to develop a series of programs dedicated to the thinking and writings of Hayim Greenberg and their continuing relevance today, through branch and city events, regional-seminar sessions, and symposia in both of our publications. □

If There Were No Israel

Continued from page 1

Lebanon and its large Christian minority, and it would still be a threat to Palestine and Jordan, which it considers to be part and parcel of southern Syria.

As for non-Palestinian issues, the Arab states without oil would still resent those Arab states who have oil — and the wealth and power that flow from it. And water, always in short supply, would eventually become the most precious liquid in the Middle East.

The intra-Islamic animosity between the 85 percent who are Sunnis and the 15 percent who are Shiites would not abate. Egypt would still be persecuting its ancient Coptic Christian minority. And Cairo, the capital of the only real nation-state in the Arab world, would still be vying with Baghdad, Damascus, and Riyadh for the leadership of that world.

The Kurds would still be pressing Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and Iran for a state of their own, and the latter would still be refusing to give them one.

Iraq would still covet Kuwait, which it considers a renegade province. Iraq and Iran — like their Babylonian and Persian ancestors — would still despise and occasionally go to war with each other. Both countries would still be seeking weapons of mass destruction. Iran would still be run by the Ayatollahs. And America would still be facing the specter of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein perpetrating an atomic, biological, or chemical version of September 11.

Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda network, funded in no small amount by Saudi money, would still be trying to punish for, among other transgressions, the sin of stationing its infidel soldiers—especially its women soldiers—in Saudi Arabia, the home of Islam's sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.

Finally, even without a Jewish Israel, there would still be at least 1.2 billion Muslims on the planet. If only one percent of them are radically violent Islamists and Jihadists, that means twelve million people who are bent on terrorizing Unbelievers back to earlier centuries of both real and imagined Islamic glory. □

Changes In Israel's Labor

Continued from page 3

third generation or more (many of mixed ethnic parentage) had a median of 12.6. The non-Jewish population, largely Arab, had a median of 11.2 years.

In 1991, first and second generation northern Jews formed 33% of Israel's population, first and second generation southern Jews formed 31%, Jews of the third generation or more formed 18%, with Arabs and others forming the remaining 18%. A major shift took place during the following decade. First and second generation northern Jews dropped to 30%, first and second generation southern Jews dropped to 24%, Jews of third generation and more increased to 23%, with Arabs and other non-Jews increased to 23%. That is the present ethnic division of the society, but it is not reflected in the occupational structure.

Northern Jews continue to dominate the economic elite. First and second generation northern Jews form 51% of the academically trained professions, and hold 46% of all managerial positions. Age is taking its toll on them and they are beginning to be replaced by the third generation, which is now the fastest growing social group in Israel, both numerically and in influence. Their electoral weight has become crucial. The phenomenon of third generation Israelis needs closer study since it reflects the emergence of a new ethnic entity combining families of northern and southern Jews, with a lot of native input creating an original Hebrew culture. The incidence of mixed marriages is so prevalent that many of the young refuse to identify themselves as belonging to one side or the other.

THE FUTURE OF ISRAELI LABOR

The outstanding characteristic of Israeli labor is the rapid rise in educational levels and the equally rapid adaptation to advanced technology. A firm indication that that trend shall continue is found in the rapid growth of the universities. Students are the clearest indication of future human capital in the economy. Their numbers have grown in the seven Israeli universities from 71 thousand in 1991 to 113 thousand in 2001. The number of persons receiving a bachelor's degree grew from 10 thousand to 17 thousand, a master's degree

from 2.7 thousand to 7.4 thousand, and a doctorate from 404 to 859. In addition, dozens of colleges have sprung up offering a wide range of specialized training. Altogether, the number of persons in the labor force with higher education doubled between 1991 and 2001, from 637,500 to 1,243,800.

The potential for continued rapid progress in the current technological revolution is there, and under improved security conditions it could spread to neighboring countries. Much depends on whether the human capital in the political field can match the extraordinary achievements of human capital in the technological field. □

Letter To The Editor

Continued from page 11

son the gun and its daughter the veil. It poisons its populace with updates of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. It inflames in madrassa and mosque, in media and U.N. forums.

Jankelson scolds Israel to “grow up,” as though its insistence on its existence, on defensible borders and on skepticism about rearming and surrendering more territory to a Palestinian Authority implacably intent upon the destruction of Israel were manifestations of prolonged adolescence. What lesson in history supports the Palestinian contention that questionable claims, disputed territory and recourse to terrorism after they rejected all that they were offered by Barak two short years ago should grant them their goals? A win for terrorists is a loss for Israel and the Western World. There is no win-win solution possible in this situation. Of course, that is a concept that runs counter to the leftist canon. This canon is not optimistic, it is self-deluded. It is not idealistic, but apologetic about envisioning Israeli victory. And indeed, only continued victory will guarantee Israel's survival.

Contemplate for just a moment one Palestinian military victory. Can you truly imagine the continuation of Israel as a Jewish state? Would your optimism function to save even one Israeli from being slaughtered? The most difficult thing for a leftist to do is to contemplate evil, although many leftists have had no difficulty apologizing for evil. After thousands of years of Jewish

history, of world history, of the Holocaust, of the recent slower paced but no less adamant genocide against Israelis by terrorists, how can you continue your insouciant embrace of moral equivalence? Moral clarity, not compromise, is called for. Cliches about peace provide cover for Islamist terrorist forces intent upon the peace of the grave for their foes. Remember the fate of Danny Pearl. He went to meet with terrorists seeking to understand, to report their perspective, grievances, mind set in print for the world to consider their point of view, he went with optimism about living in a diverse world and he found that he was a Jew at the mercy of the merciless. They made him bow and “confess” to having been born of Jewish parents, to admit to the crime of being a Jew, and they tortured him and cut his throat and decapitated him. This is what you in Israel are facing, what we in America are facing. In the face of that I say the only way forward, the only way to peace is to destroy the forces of global terrorism first. That is the chronology of logic— and ultimately of compassion— for those who deserve it.

Dana Willens
Green Valley, Arizona □

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For More Information...

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Camp Na'aleh in Milford, PA (near Port Jervis, New York) serving New York, Northern New Jersey, and New England, contact 1-800-646-1277 or naaleh@aol.com or visit our website at www.naaleh.org

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