



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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Poland, 1982.



Poland  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
January 17, 1982

On a cold January day during the second World War an American patrol plane was criss-crossing the North Atlantic, and one by one its engines failed and, ultimately, the pilot had to ditch the plane in the stormy waters of the ocean. The three-man crew managed to escape into a rubber dinghy and they huddled together there against the cold, and suddenly one noticed that there was in the water a bottle and they reached out and brought the bottle into their little dinghy and they opened it up and inside there was a note which said: to the finders, whoever they may be, I, the genie of this bottle, offer the gift of the positive response to any wish they may have. And the three young fliers thought about their wish and one said, you know, I come from San Diego, it's warm there and I'd love to be home in the warmth of my family and off he went. And the second one said, you know, I come from Miami and it's probably even warmer there and certainly my family's there and I'd love to be home with them, and sure enough, off he went. One man's left alone shivering in the dinghy. And he says to himself, you know, I come from Cleveland and it may be colder in Cleveland than here in the North Atlantic, but one thing I know is I'm cold, I'd like my friends to be back.

I'm glad to have a few warm friends here this morning and I guess this story which, as you probably surmised, is a rabbinized version of a Polish joke, is as good a way as I know to get to the theme of the morning. The question before the West, particularly before the whole country, this last month has been what to do, if anything can be done, about the rather brutal crackdown by the Polish Communist government of General Jaruzelski on the free trade union movement which had emerged in that country of the last eighteen months. Hundreds have been imprisoned. Newspapers have been closed. The trade union movement has been disbanded. Universities have been closed and we're told that they can open again only when their faculty is verified which seems to be a process which is



a cross between being vetted by the FBI for security clearance and making one's professional loyalty oath to Senator Joe McCarthy. In other words, Poland is back again under the heavy hand of an autocratic, tyrannical, communist government, and the West which saw the possibility of there developing in Poland something on the order of a free society is frustrated, unable, really, to know how to respond.

You recall two previous instances of movements within the Soviet block towards freedom: Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968. Apparently there were some contingency plans about what to do if the Soviets again crossed a border to put down a rebellion by people, but the next war is very rarely like the last war; and in this case it was not a small cadre of those in power who had moved to gain power that would free them from Soviet domination but, rather, a kind of grass roots movement among workers to achieve the rights and freedoms which workers understandably believe they have every right to demand.

Now, the response of the West, of the United States at least, has been verbally quite powerful, in terms of action much less strong. We have denied to Polish fishermen the right to fish in our waters. We have denied to the Soviet and to the Polish government the right to import technological equipment and machinery from the United States. We have cut off the number of flights of the Polish airliners into these United States, but we have not cut diplomatic relations, we have not called in the debts of the Polish government to Western banks. We have not taken the kind of economic action which could be called a truly effective sanction. And our allies have not been willing to go that far. They have under some pressure, the last meeting of NATO agreed to condemn the actions of the Polish government, but they have not been willing to end their trade with the east, and for a number of reasons. The first is that their trade in technological equipment, machinery, is much more important in the balance of trade of those countries than it is with us. We tend to send to the Soviet Union raw materials, particularly agricultural food products rather than sophisticated



machines. And second of all, there's a real fear in Germany particularly and in Europe generally that if enough sanctions are put on the Polish government they will default on their debt. And in the last ten years the bank loans which have been offered by Western banks to Poland have been sizable, they run into the twenty billions of dollars, and there's a great fear that if the Polish government were to default on these loans the whole banking system in Europe particularly might be shaken to its foundation. And so we've had the strange relationship develop between some financial circles in the West and the repressive government of General Jaruzelski, both eager to see to it that repression remains and that the trade union movement is aborted not because the bankers in the West necessarily want that but because they are very much afraid of the consequences for themselves if loans which probably never ought to have been made in the first place are defaulted and they have to accept those kinds of losses.

Now, as a Jew my first reaction to this whole mess is to say, let the Poles at each other, that I really couldn't care less. I don't know a country in the world where the poison of anti-semitism runs deeper. It's interesting, is it not, that just in the month since General Jeruzelski has imposed his government and destroyed the Solidarity movement, the emergence of virulent anti-semitism has been heard again on the media and in the newspapers of Poland. A great deal has been made of the fact that two of the members of the Solidarity Central Committee, a man named Bronislav Geremek and a man named Adam Michnik come at least from Jewish backgrounds, the day after the takeover a certain Professor Kossecki was given an hour of time on Warsaw television for a diatribe against Zionists and against Jews whom he claimed had taken over and subverted not only Solidarity but the interests and activities of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. And the leading cardiologist of Poland, a man named Dr. Marek Edelman, one of the great heroes of the Polish resistance to the Nazis during the second World War, was immediately incarcerated and only with a great deal of



pressure from the West has secured in recent days his freedom.

We tend to believe, most of us, that Jewish life in Poland ended with the Holocaust and, of course, three million of Poland's three and a half million Jews were destroyed by the Nazis. What we forget is that after the second World War about a quarter of a million, maybe 300,000 Jews, remained in Poland or returned to Poland largely from the Soviet Union and that immediately after the end of the war there were any number of vicious pogroms by Poles against these Jews, led by Poles who had expropriated the houses of Jews, the businesses of Jews, and who didn't want to return these to their rightful owner. The police stepped back. In towns like Kievska Jews were murdered openly on the streets and no action was taken to protect them. And so in 1945 and 1946 well over half of the Jews who had returned to Poland fled, preferring the insecurity of a displaced person camp in Western Europe and the uncertainty of their future there to remaining in their homeland. It's well to remember that there are documents which quote Herhanu as explaining the reasons that the German government was building the death camps in Poland rather than in Germany by saying to those who were organizing the final solution, we can trust the Polish masses as being reliable in this area, we cannot trust the German masses in the same way.

Of those, probably 80 or 90 thousand Jews, who did not flee in the 1945-46-47 era their attempts to build any kind of group life were defeated by Stalin and the Stalinists who were in power. ORT and JDC and groups of this type were refused permission to operate in Poland. And when in 1956 there was a new struggle of power after the death of Stalin, both sides in that struggle blatantly used anti-semitism as a weapon against the other and all but 30 thousand of Poland's Jews fled to the West or wherever they could flee to at that time.

And then again in 1968 when there was another struggle for power between the disciples of Gomolko and the disciples of Mr. Gerek, again Jews were made the scapegoats. Mr. Gomolko, you will remember, said Jews in Poland must



make clear to everyone that their loyalties are to Poland and not to the Zionists. And there was at the time a Minister of the Interior by the name of Muczar who adopted a policy called Polandization, which was based on the idea that no Jews should have a role in the apparatus of the government, they were a minority and a minority was not to be trusted. And at this point all but 9,000 or so Jews who are now in Poland, most of them elderly, fled the country. And so we find ourselves with a handful of Jews in Solidarity out of 8-9,000 Jews in all of Poland of the Polish government, of the Polish spirit still expressing this old, vicious anti-semitism.

When Poland was for a brief period in this century a free country, the Jews of Cleveland ceased to leave in the great numbers they had left up to this first World War. The Jews knew the nature of the people among whom they lived, and for awhile they were able to enroll in universities. They were allowed to enter the professions. The period was brief, and by the end of the 1920's, the early 1930's, Polandization, the removal of Jews from the professions, the denial of Jews to place on university roles was in full swing, and by 1939, a fact which many have forgotten, one-third of all the Jews of Poland, one-third of the three and a half million Jews of Poland, dependent entirely for their support on overseas relief, a relief by Jews of Jews.

And so if a man or a woman with a Jewish memory looks out at what is happening to Poland today their one hope is that whatever action is taken by the West or by the East will not lead to another world war and, really, these people are not worth our concern which, of course, is an unworthy position to take even as we feel it.

Jews came to Poland well over a thousand years ago. There was a synagogue in Poland long before there was a church. Jews were brought into Poland in large numbers in the thirteenth and fourteenth century by the kings, particularly Kazmir the Great, who looked upon the Jewish community as creative and as the group which would provide him with the special skills, literate skills,



which would allow him and his party to develop the great natural resources of Poland. And the Jews who came to Poland in those early centuries were granted rights they enjoyed nowhere else in Europe including the right to bear arms. And they, in fact, did a great deal towards developing the farms and forests and the incipient factories of Poland, adding to Poland's wealth. But because they served the king and they were a foreign group, the Roman Catholic Church, which has always looked askance, at least in medieval times, upon the Jews having any role in government, any say over Catholics, began to unleash one of the most vicious and poisonous anti-Jewish propaganda campaigns which could possibly have been put together and continued this drum beat of the Jew as a Christ killer, of the Jew as a deicide, the Jew as a pariah, the Jew as the outsider, for centuries. Church disciplines and orders that were published by the Polish church from the 15th century on are among the most viciously anti-Jewish pronouncements that the church made anywhere in the world. And ultimately they poisoned the spirit of the peasants, the serfs of Poland, and they made the Jew seem to be the guilty of all of the poverty and of all of the insecurity and whatever misfortune occurred to them. And they were insisted on this by the German artisans and craftsmen who wanted to take over from the Jews the places of privilege which they had enjoyed under the monarchy, and they brought into Poland a more literate anti-semitism, the pamphlets and the books, the spurious claims about Jews doing this or that and the other. And the result was that by the 15th-16th-17th century you had incidents of the blood libel, claims that Jews were poisoning the host, the whole panoply of anti-semitic claims which we know all too well.

And so when the doors of the West opened up in the nineteenth century the Jews of Poland tumbled out as fast as they could because Poland had not been able, had not been allowed to develop its economy in peace. It suffers from geography. It lies on a flat plateau land which runs between the German states and the Soviet Union. It's the battleground between East and West in Europe, inevitably so, and so armies marched across, one way or another, the Lithuanians,



the Swedes, the Germans, the Austrians, the Russians, the Cossacks; they marched and countermarched and, of course, the poor and the peasants and the serfs suffered the most. And whatever plans the kings may have had to develop their country often fell victim to these military actions.

In the 18th century there were several attacks by the Cossack hordes and then the three partitions of Poland in the late 18th century which ended the independence of that country as it was partitioned between Prussia and Austria and Czarist Russia, an independence which remained lost until the end of the first World War.

Poland, then, represents for the Jew pain and anguish, anti-semitism, and a recognition, really, deep down that the Poles have never been able intelligently to manage their own affairs. We had to be brought in to manage their affairs for them and they, in a sense, couldn't allow us to do what needed to be done and so I suspect that for many of us the inability of government to adjust to Solidarity and for Solidarity to adjust to government is simply another proof of what seems to us to be a basic incompetence. But times change, and people change, and Poland has been moving out of medievalism at a very fast rate in the last twenty or thirty years, and though we bear within ourselves all these old wounds and all these old scars I think it would be very unwise for us not to recognize that what we are seeing in Poland is in a sense the convulsions attendant upon any society as it emerges into the modern world.

If you think back to your grandparents or great grandparents who may have come from Poland or from that area, you know from their own lives that they moved from a medieval world into America to the 19th or 20th century in the six weeks or whatever it took them to go by ship from Danzig, Ostetin or Hamburg to the United States. If the Jewish community was still in the Middle Ages so was the Polish community itself, and whatever attempts were made in the 19th and early 20th century to industrialize, to urbanize Poland, were to a large degree undone both by the second World War and by Russian economic and political



actions after the second World War. You will recall it was Russia's undertaking after the second World War to turn eastern Europe into a vast colony which would provide the raw materials and the foodstuffs for her economy and for her community and would provide a ready market for the finished products which the Russian government would send in. And so the Russians dismantled whatever factories there were. They reduced Poland to a primitive agricultural base and they undid the economic developments of the pre-war years. And so around 1955-1960, as Poland began to reindustrialize, as Stalin's policies had proved feckless and self-defeating, she began with very little, she began with an untrained work force. Most of the members of Solidarity are in their twenties and thirties and they come from small villages of Poland where their fathers for generations before were serfs or peasants or illiterate men of the fields.

As Poland has moved to industrialize, she's had to face the same kind of challenge which has been faced by each and everyone of the countries of eastern Europe, and that is that you must make accommodations with Marxist ideology in order to accomplish your ends, that state planning from above is not the best way of adjusting to the realities of the marketplace. Now in a number of the eastern European countries, Hungary and Yugoslavia being the prime examples, there has been a willingness on the part of the government or an understanding of the economic reality to the degree that a certain amount of democracy has been allowed in factories and in the marketplaces, that the technocrats have been able to have a say which outvotes that of the party commissar whose expertise is in ideology, not in producing a particular piece of machinery, and that the workers themselves, meeting in small workers' groups, are allowed to talk through the means of production, talk through the kind of product they will produce, the quality of the product they will produce, and the wages of the workers are to some degree adjusted to the profitability of that factory. The result is that in those countries at least the quality of the work and the efficiency of the



work force has been increased. In Poland, on the other hand, the heavy hand of central planning has been retained throughout with the result that not only is the Polish work force inefficient but that many of the products it produces are unsaleable in either the quality or the variety or the kind for which there is a market. And in the last fifteen or twenty years, despite the vast amounts of money that Poland has invested in her economic infrastructure and machinery and factories, monies largely gotten by signing for long-term loans from the West, she has not been able to increase the profitability of her economy and the wages of the workers has remained low and the morale has remained lower yet. And it had become increasingly evident in a country like Poland that despite the ideology of the Communist Party that they completely and totally represent the interests of the working class, in point of fact those who are the cadres, those who are the popular workers' party of Poland, the Communist party of Poland, represent the interests of the party, their political interests, their bureaucratic interests, their own interests and not the interests necessarily of the working man.

When the strike in Gdansk in the spring of 1980 was able to win from the government a number of concessions, among the most important to the workers was at the special stores and the special privileges which were the prerogative of the party workers should be disbanded, that everybody would be able to buy at the same stores and only at those stores, there would not be a two-level society with privileges only for party members. Poland's economy stumbled. Poland became heavily in debt to the West and already in 1970 when there was the first strike at Gdansk, a strike which was rather brutally put down by the Polish army, there were clear indications that something was wrong, that the whole ideology which legitimatizes the Communist movement was awry, that the Communist Party was over here and the workers' interests were here and so the whole ideology which legitimatizes the left had to be rethought because, in fact, it was not effective.



In 1976 in Warsaw there were bread riots in the coal mines of Salisia. There were strikes and, finally, when in the summer of 1980 the shipyards in Gdansk went on strike, strikes and similar movements for an independent trade union movement developed throughout the Polish nation almost instinctively. It was a movement from below and the demands of what came to be called Solidarity were essentially these: that there be an independent trade union movement in Poland; that the government be forced to release accurate economic figures so that trade unionists could have some understanding of the decisions that they must make; that workers in factories would have a say in the production schedules and the quality demands in the product lines which were being produced; and all privileges of the Communist party bureaucrats be rescinded; that strikes be allowed; there be an increase in wages; and all this was done under the proviso that there should be an understanding that the Communist government would have a leading say in the final decisions. And this was the fly in the ointment because in a country that is Communist economic decisions can really not be separated from political decisions. They are the obverse and the reverse of a single coin because the political apparatus of the government is also the economic planning apparatus. There is no independent planning function. And so although the workers in August of 1980 agreed that the Communist government should have a leading say in all of this, it was never made clear how this in fact would operate.

And we did watch with growing amazement the ability through strikes and confrontations of farmers to create their own union; of the universities to develop a degree of freedom that they never had before, of libraries to be open so that anyone could go in and read; of newspapers to begin publication of things which were not precensored by the government; a degree of freedom which had not existed since the second World War in any of these European nations and which set up vibrations of empathy and sympathy throughout the West.



The question was could the needs of the workers be resolved in any kind of secure way without the workers ultimately confronting the state and the power of the state. Now, the Communist party changed its leaders. Urik was put out, Kania was brought in, Kania was put out, Jaruzelski was brought in. A number of senior officials who were accused of mismanagement of feathering their own nests or of bribery, other crimes, were released; but wherever you look throughout Poland there were a million and a half of these Communist Party bureaucrats who made every decision as to production, as to distribution, as to censorship, as to the organization of the community, and in each case what Solidarity was doing was threatening their well-being and their security and their power. And on the other hand, the membership of Solidarity though it tried to walk a fairly cautious line was being pushed from below by young people, young workers in their 20's and 30's, the first truly workers' socialist movement in all of history, to move further faster. They were impatient, and they felt that unless they solidified their gains now they might never get the freedoms and the higher wages and the job security that they sought for. And on the other hand, from the West and from the government, there were concerns that all of this turmoil was in fact making the Polish economy operate less effectively rather than more, and that Poland was more and more in danger of becoming a bankrupt state because she is so concerned with all of this inner turmoil and the efficiency of the factories and the output of the factories had not increased. And so there was a strange symbiotic relationship that developed between many of the banking interests of the West and the governing interests in Poland because efficiency, essential control, seemed to be the way which would allow the Poles at least to move a step forward towards solidifying their economy.

And, finally, at a meeting in November at Gdansk it became clear that Solidarity was moving towards challenging the whole idea of the authority of the Communist Party. They wanted free elections. At that point it became clear



that the government would move against them, and move against them effectively and efficiently they did. And so we return to our original question. What can be done? What should be done by the West, if anything can be done, <sup>in order</sup> to support this democratic movement, this movement of workers with which we must have sympathy, this movement which points up for all the world to see the hypocrisy of the Communist claim that their interests, however a Communist government defines them, are similar to and parallel to the interests of working classes throughout the world.

I'm afraid that the simplest answer is that there is very little that can be done by the West in order to support Solidarity unless we are willing to move in militarily. We cannot overthrow the government and the West and America, too, must be conscious of the fact that world wars tend to start in Poland. Danzig, Gdansk, was the issue which was the immediate cause, the approximate cause, in the second World War. It's the battleground between West and East, a natural battleground. And if we were to move into Poland in any way militarily, not only would we be threatening the vital interests of Soviet Union, World War III, but we would turn that rather virulent strain of Polish nationalism against us who are now, in a sense, more sympathetic, at least in the underground sense, than might otherwise have been. The world simply will not get freedom because freedom is the right of all people. Jews suffered in the ghettos of Europe for hundreds of years before emancipation. And if you'd ask any rabbi of the time how are we to be free, the answer had to be a combination of patience, prayer, teaching the young about the traditional values of the people, biding your time, until the economic and political realities which surround us will allow us to break out of the walls of the shtetl or the ghetto which had been imposed upon us.

What's interesting, I think, historically is that in Eastern Europe, and also, incidentally, in China, economic reality as it intrudes upon the Communist state tends to lay the groundwork for the development of a certain independence of spirit among the working class which I believe must ultimately



undertaking. But if I force by my actions, or help to force by my actions, a society to turn in on itself and to develop from within the skills, the technologies, the advanced techniques which are required by a modern economy, I am training precisely that human resource which is by the fact that its mind has been developed, democratic in interest, attuned to the very same concerns which are of concern to us. So it is unfortunate in my estimation that the West has not been able or willing to embark on an embargo of technologies to the East. It is unfortunate in my estimation that we have tried to force feed through our bank loans the industry of the East and made it easier for them to move into competition with us, not because we fear the competition but because if politics be what I think it is, the reflex of the economy of a country, it's only as this proletarian group that Solidarity represents ceases to be a mass and becomes a highly skilled group of workers who understand what they are about, who are willing and able to take responsibility for their task and for their job and for their factories, it's only then that we will create in these countries a countervailing force to the bayonets and the secret police and the governmental controls which now exist. And if we can't confront directly, because of the Yalta agreement, because of the realities of international politics, the bayonets and the secret police and the armies of these countries, then, at least it seems to me, we ought to be doing all that we can to help those who are ceasing to be human animals and are becoming human beings, ceasing to be beasts of burden and are becoming highly sophisticated, highly trained workers, men and women of independent judgment. So far as we help to stimulate to create that kind of working force, we will make possible sometime in the future the kinds of new arrangements in these countries which will add to the measure of freedom which the workers rightfully want to enjoy.

And so in a strange way I think the Jewish experience is useful in terms of the Polish experience. The one thing that Jewish life never allowed



lead to new forms of government for those parts of the world. It's simply not true that you can from above by order and by force shape an economy which will be effective, responsive to the complexities of the marketplace, and prosperous. It hasn't worked any place in this world. There needs to be central planning. There needs to be motivation. There needs to be the active involvement of the worker, and as our industries become more complex the worker needs to have greater freedom to use his mind, to invent, to bring in suggestions which allow for greater profitability and greater efficiency. Those countries in the Eastern block like Hungary which have allowed for a measure of independence among their work force, have seen the standard of living of the entire work force raised and their economy has become more prosperous. Those like Poland which have not allowed this have seen their economy falter and stagnate. And so, strangely, Marx, in a sense I think, is on the side of the democrats; that is to say, that economic realities in time will create a working force which is no longer peasant, no longer illiterate, no longer brutish, which will demand certain rights, which will no longer tolerate some party loyalist telling you this is what we must produce because in Warsaw or in Moscow or in Peking this is how it was decided. He will see that it makes no sense to continue along this particular way and will stand up for his opinions.

Economic reality, I think, will continue to create the kinds of working class spirit which we saw explode in the various unions which came to comprise Solidarity; and if this be true then it would seem to me that the proper strategy for the West would be to make it as difficult as possible for the economies of these countries to emerge, to make the governments increasingly dependent upon the skills of their own people. The more they have depended upon their working class the more power that working class has. The shipment of our professionals, the shipment of our technocrats and technicians and sophisticated equipment into the Eastern block does precisely the reverse. It says that one person trained can operate a factory and I can keep the rest of the people of that community as serfs doing my will in some kind of rather meaningless labor intensive



itself to do was to give up its standards, to give up the schoolroom, to give up the books, to give up the learning which encapsulated the values of our tradition. We kept Jews as rugged individualists. We trained their minds and refused to allow them to become simply part of the proletariat, simply part of the mass. There were illiterate Jews, there were poor Jews, there were ignorant Jews, but by and large in Jewish life we tried very hard to develop the skills inherent in every human being, and because we did so democracy is coherent with Jewish life. We're a difficult people to manage but we're a wonderfully effective people as a catalyst; as Kazmir the Great recognized in the 14th century; as the communities of Spain recognized in the 15th and 16th century. When we are in a community somehow the community begins to bubble culturally, economically, socially, and when we are pushed out of exile, pushed out, the community loses some of its elant, some of its spirit. Now, the Jews will no longer revive Poland. We're no longer there in any numbers. The handful of Jews in Solidarity, believe me, had very little to do with the whole Solidarity experience. But if the poles, despite their anti-semitism, could become Jews much could happen, and that, I think, is the future, the happy future if there is to be one, for that unhappy land.



JANUZEWSKI

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not possible at same time unless said <sup>STAFFS</sup> were not  
to be limited by rules to process - a federal law  
CANNOT THE GOVT not a member of a state (usually)  
need not be bound with just himself & several  
points to transmit a transmission which would  
be exactly his length. not upset member - To  
in case just subject to - a law member - power  
to be subject member power law upset  
self present - are to be upset self defence -

The you not about member subject power  
& present member - subject power law  
subject member subject power law upset  
H.C. member - subject power law upset  
subject power law upset member subject  
& subject power law upset member subject  
but / subject power law upset member subject  
& subject power law upset member subject  
not subject power law upset member subject  
subject power law upset member subject

& subject power law upset member subject  
no subject power law upset member subject



Levin Levin - 1890 - large release length 67  
project - had been under consideration and discussed  
length - 12 months around 1944 around 1  
was - never released - on release was  
intentional / for 1 year to release him in  
dispute for - was not for the first time  
to come out on release - in letter from  
and the same for around 1950 to 1951 around

S. A -

When on release - release - release -  
release was release  
release release with - release release release  
was release release - any release release



to release

1st release was release - release release release  
release release release release - release  
release release - release release release  
release release release release - release release  
release release release - release release release

any

to release release - release release







area of farming - a ~~small~~ <sup>small</sup> ~~area~~ <sup>area</sup> of state land  
which ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~equipped~~ <sup>equipped</sup> - a franchise

The ~~unit~~ <sup>unit</sup> ~~can~~ <sup>can</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~used~~ <sup>used</sup> / ~~see~~ <sup>see</sup>  
usage / see production / with a great part of all  
land that is at PUMP Plant United  
Health Unit) - in large numbers instead of  
individual members

Usage '36 (Usage '67 but have been run -  
of group members under one - the way '80  
little - control - used great amount of land  
plant - also a genuine movement for release -  
- consider but no need to put land in CP of United  
but land all claim to be released - also -  
some land has been used for CP of United  
interest of working class and interest ->

It is not just unlike at all as to  
provided to RIGHT TO JOIN OWN UNION -  
UNIONS MOVE TO PUBLIC &  
DISSEMINATE INFORMATION without  
CONSENSUS  
RIGHT TO STRIKE - FREEING OF POLITICAL  
PRISONERS - TRUE INFORMATION AND ECONOMY  
ABOLITION OF SPECIAL PRIVILEGES ANY OTHER FOR  
as For "LEADING ROLE OF PARTY" - try to  
regulate political & economic events







If this is a - we should be doing all we can to  
make it as difficult as possible to complete - Not only  
when it is necessary or at least try to anticipate  
to having of related material in mind -

Yusef - 20-31 - we do not (intended /  
ways - we need another way. Could not depend  
on Buchanan } do what we can to protect -  
✓ be putful by us too.

At the same time make it more - Under  
sincerely - Every week for 100 to 200 -  
very much (books) - under 5-6 - found  
increased - - this is a CP, CPUMP  
- off any - held out for all 1000 each -  
new release - when left out - new  
Sound like and - with right fit in and  
help out - but what else should we  
do - when helps - for the right -

The same do not know, H. K.