

DUBNOW-INSTITUT

Jahrbuch • Yearbook

XVIII 2019

A large, elegant, white cursive signature, likely reading 'Dubnow', is centered on a dark blue background. The signature is fluid and expressive, with long, sweeping strokes.



Diese Maßnahme wird mitfinanziert
durch Steuermittel auf der Grundlage
des vom Sächsischen Landtag
beschlossenen Haushaltes.

Redaktionskontakt:

Jahrbuch des Dubnow-Instituts / Dubnow Institute Yearbook
Leibniz-Institut für jüdische Geschichte und Kultur – Simon Dubnow,
www.dubnow.de, E-Mail: redaktion@dubnow.de

Gesamtlektorat und -korrektorat: André Zimmermann
Lektorat englischsprachiger Texte und Übersetzungen: Tim Corbett und Jana Duman
Übersetzungen aus dem Hebräischen: Sebastian Schirrmeister (wie ausgezeichnet) und
Margarita Lerman

Bestellungen und Abonnementanfragen sind zu richten an:

Brill Deutschland GmbH | Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
Abteilung Vertrieb
Robert-Bosch-Breite 10
D-37070 Göttingen

Tel. +49 551 5084-40
Fax +49 551 5084-454
E-Mail: order@v-r.de / abo@v-r.de
www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet über <https://dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2022 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Theaterstraße 13,
D-37073 Göttingen, ein Imprint der Brill-Gruppe
(Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, Niederlande; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA;
Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Deutschland;
Brill Österreich GmbH, Wien, Österreich)
Koninklijke Brill NV umfasst die Imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh,
Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau, Verlag Antike,
V&R unipress und Wageningen Academic.

Das Werk ist als Open-Access-Publikation im Sinne der Creative-Commons-Lizenz
BY-NC-ND International 4.0 (»Namensnennung – Nicht kommerziell – Keine Bearbeitung«)
unter dem DOI <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666370991> abzurufen. Um eine Kopie dieser
Lizenz zu sehen, besuchen Sie <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.
Das Werk und seine Teile sind urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung in anderen als den
gesetzlich zugelassenen Fällen bedarf der vorherigen schriftlichen Einwilligung des Verlages.

Das Jahrbuch des Dubnow-Instituts ist ein Peer-reviewed Journal (*double blind*).

Satz und Layout: Reemers Publishing Services, Krefeld

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISSN: 2198-3097 (print)
ISSN: 2197-3458 (digital)

ISBN: 978-3-525-37099-5 (print)
ISBN: 978-3-666-37099-1 (digital)

Inhalt

Yfaat Weiss	
Editorial	9

Allgemeiner Teil

Gerald Stourzh, <i>Wien</i>	
»Denn es ist nicht alles gleich, was Menschenantlitz trägt.« – Die NS-Doktrin der Ungleichheit der Menschen im Lichte eines Reichsgerichtsprozesses aus dem Jahr 1936.	15

Arno Dusini, <i>Wien</i>	
Das »Dritte Reich« der Phrase: Karl Kraus 1913, 1919 und 1933 (Mit einer Note zu Paul Celan).	35

Frank Golczewski, <i>Hamburg</i>	
Grenzland-Erfahrungen: Die ukrainische Nationsbildung und die Juden	51

Sarah Ellen Zarrow, <i>Bellingham, Wash.</i>	
Imagining and Reimagining the Encounter between Max Weinreich and Regina Lilientalowa: Gender, Geography, and the Concept of “Yiddishland”	73

Yael Levi, <i>Jerusalem</i>	
“America – A New World for Jewish Children”: A Recently Discovered Letter by Sholem Aleichem	97

Gregor Feindt, <i>Mainz</i>	
New Industrial Men in a Global World: Transfers, Mobility, and Individual Agency of Jewish Employees of the Bat’a Shoe Company, 1938–1940	113

Avi-ram Tzoreff, <i>Jerusalem</i> “An Imagined ‘Desert’ That Is Indeed the Core of the Yishuv”: Rabbi Binyamin and the Emergence of Zionist Settler-Colonial Policies (1908–1914)	139
---	-----

Schwerpunkt
Jews in Early Postwar Europe
Herausgegeben von Kata Bohus und Elisabeth Gallas

Kata Bohus, <i>Tromsø</i> /Elisabeth Gallas, <i>Leipzig</i> Introduction	167
---	-----

Natalia Aleksion, <i>Gainesville, Fla.</i> When Fajga Left Tadeusz: The Afterlife of Survivors’ Wartime Relationships	175
---	-----

Na’ama Seri-Levi, <i>Jerusalem</i> “Gypsy-Nomads”: The Refugeeism of Polish Jewish Repatriates after World War II	209
--	-----

Borbála Klacsmann, <i>Dublin</i> After the Storm: The Long-Term Consequences of the Holocaust and Compensation in Hungary.	233
---	-----

Irit Chen, <i>Jerusalem/Haifa</i> The Israeli Consulate in Munich, 1948–1953: Conflicting Policies towards German-Jewish Communities	259
---	-----

Schwerpunkt
Lucha y libertad –
 Jews in Twentieth Century South America
Herausgegeben von Lukas Böckmann und Jan Gerber

Lukas Böckmann/Jan Gerber, <i>Leipzig</i> Introduction	287
Mariano Ben Plotkin, <i>Buenos Aires</i> Psychoanalysis between Marxism and Jewishness in Argentina: The Parallel Trajectories of Marie Langer and José Bleger in the 1960s and 1970s	299
Susanne Zepp, <i>Berlin</i> <i>Pertencer:</i> Historical Experience in the Writings of Clarice Lispector (1920–1977)	323
Liliana Ruth Feierstein, <i>Berlin</i> »Ruht er im Dunkeln der Gezeiten ...«: Tod und Begräbnis im Spannungsfeld konkurrierender Gesetze in Lateinamerika	341
Gustavo Guzmán, <i>Tel Aviv/Potsdam</i> A Community Working for Progress: The Chilean Right Wing's Improved Attitudes toward Jews, 1958–1978	361
Lukas Böckmann, <i>Leipzig</i> Gauchos und Guerilleros: Juden zwischen Arbeiter- und Guerillabewegung im Argentinien des 20. Jahrhunderts	385
Emmanuel Nicolás Kahan, <i>La Plata</i> The Jewish Youth in Times of Political Radicalization: Argentina, 1960/1970	417

Gelehrtenporträt

Annette Weinke, *München/Jena*

When Irrationality Shapes Reality:

John H. Herz's Anthropomorphizing Analysis of

Nazi Legal Concepts of World Order 437

Dubnowiana

Rafi Tsirkin-Sadan, *Ra'anana*

Zwischen Ablehnung und Anerkennung:

Simon Dubnow als Literaturkritiker 459

Aus der Forschung

Zarin Aschrafi, *Leipzig*

Intellektuelles Exil:

Zur Gründungsgeschichte der Zeitschrift *Babylon* 483

Literaturbericht

Enrico Lucca, *Leipzig*

Recent Literature on Gershom Scholem:

A Review Essay 509

Abstracts 535

Contributors 547

The Jewish Youth in Times of Political Radicalization: Argentina, 1960/1970

The March 1973 issue of the Socialist Zionist weekly newspaper *Nueva Sión* (New Zion) dealt with the upcoming presidential election on 11 March. It was a peculiar situation within the context of the Argentine political process, as the Peronist party was granted to participate in the election once again after a ban that had lasted for eighteen years. The reader could find in this issue of *Nueva Sión* a statement of the Juventud Sionista Socialista (Zionist Socialist Youth; JSS)¹ about the current dictatorship and the immediate political future:

“We know that every election held in a bourgeois State happens under different conditions. The last seventeen years of Argentine history confirm the absence of the working class and the will of the people from the country’s political orientation [...]. Electoral conditionings, repressive legislations, fraudulent and proscriptive attempts, confirm the widespread feeling among the people who, through its liberation, seek to participate in the construction of a free socialist American continent, pioneered by the peoples of Cuba and Chile [...]. At this moment of truth for all Argentines who yearn for untying the knots of dependence, the Zionist movement, as well, has the right to be heard within the community, in order to cut the specific dependence suffered by the Argentine Jews as an extra-territorial national minority. We believe that our active solidarity with local progressive movements manifests itself in our Jewish national struggle, the only one that places us in the trench shared by all peoples who fight against monopolistic capitalism, colonial warfare, imperialist exploitation, misery, and the new forces of multinational oligopolistic penetration.”²

This paper seeks to characterize this self-proclaimed revolutionary militant narrative upheld by youth groups within the Jewish Argentine community. To which extent did the exaltation of national liberation set these groups closer to the aspirations of national left-wing organizations? Did in fact all actors across the communitarian spectrum follow this path, or proclaim themselves “revolutionaries”? How did the relationship between Zionist activism and the political ideology of the New Left come to be constructed during the long odyssey of the 1960s and 1970s?

- 1 This organization was an umbrella for left-wing Zionist youth movements such as Hashomer Hatzair, Juventud Mordejai Anilevich, Baderekh, and others.
- 2 El sionismo socialista frente a la realidad actual [Socialist Zionism in Light of the Current Reality], in: *Nueva Sión*, 2 March 1973, 1.

In its endeavor to answer these questions, the essay follows the unfolding and development of a series of controversies, practices, and representations of the forms assumed by Jewish participation in Argentina's national political process. Jewish youth, mostly affiliated with left-wing Zionism, participated in different youth movements gathered first in the Liga Sionista Socialista (Zionist Socialist League) and then in the JSS. They found a voice through the weekly *Nueva Sión*. This publication, which belonged to the Hashomer Hatzair movement, was the space where Zionist Socialist ideas and values condensed themselves and circulated (not without conflicts and contradictions).

But these were not the only organizations or print media shaping the thought of the Argentine Jewish community. Young Jewish people participated in various Zionist factions, such as Betar, Ha-bonim, and Dror, in cultural and athletic institutions the like of Club Náutico Hacoaj and Sociedad Hebraica, as well as in student unions from the Jewish Education Network's lay schools. This diversity was complemented by possible involvements in alliances such as Idisher Cultur Farband (ICUF), a federation of institutions linked to the Argentine Communist Party.³ The same was true for the Jewish community's press. As noted by Alejandro Dujovne, the profusion and heterogeneity of periodicals from diverse ideological backgrounds edited in different languages was one of the most singular features of the Jewish experience in the country: *Mundo Israelita* (Israelite World) was a newspaper of the Avodá Party in Argentina, *La Luz* (The Light) a weekly of the Herut followers and Sephardic population, and *Voz Libre* (Free Voice) the publication of a dissident faction of Communist Jews.⁴

The historical period covered in this paper is marked by a series of events with a strong impact on the local political arena. These include, first of all, the capture in Argentina of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann (1960), which sparked long-standing tensions between various figures in national politics. Two outstanding milestones of the Arab-Israeli conflict during those years were the Six-Day War (1967) and the Yom Kippur War (1973). Even if these conflicts were not necessarily the first nor the most relevant in the Palestinian-Israeli territories, Eli Lederhendler points out that they shook the meanings, solidarities, and representations that different actors – on the political

3 See Nerina Visacovsky, *Argentinos, judíos y camaradas. Tras la utopía socialista* [Argentines, Jews, and Comrades. Beyond the Socialist Utopia], Buenos Aires 2015.

4 See Alejandro Dujovne, *Cartografía de las publicaciones periódicas judías de izquierda en Argentina, 1900–1953* [Cartography of Jewish Leftist Newspaper Publications in Argentina, 1900–1953], in: *Revista del Museo de Antropología* [Journal of the Museum of Anthropology] 1 (2008), no.º 1, 121–138.

left in general – associated with the existence and legitimacy of the State of Israel.⁵

These developments ingrained themselves into a particularly sensitive period of Argentine history, stretching from the presidency of Arturo Frondizi⁶ (1958–1962) to the dictatorship, or self-proclaimed “Argentine Revolution” (1966–1973), to the return to power of Peronism after an 18-year ban from presidential elections, in the shape of Héctor J. Cámpora (1973) and – six months later – Juan Domingo Perón himself. Finally, these developments found their echo in international events: the Cuban Revolution and the Vietnam War, the decolonization of Africa and Asia, the May 1968 Paris revolts, Salvador Allende’s electoral triumph in Chile, and others; all of them contributed to the process of worldwide “political radicalization” and the rise of a new collective actor designated as the New Left.

Lingering on this list of seminal events one is bound to notice the contextual complexity in which Jewish youth acted. And while this essay delves deeper into the debates and tensions facing Argentine Jews during the 1960s and 1970s and the ways in which they defined their Jewish affiliation on a stage that claimed them as part of the national liberation movement, an awareness that their definitions were not forged under the heat of local conflicts alone is important.

However, as Beatrice Gurwitz points out,⁷ the Socialist Zionist narrative offered by Jewish central organizations at the time provided a legitimate alternative to the left-wing discourse, on the basis of two strategic considerations: to counteract the anti-Zionist perspective that characterized the public rhetoric of the left; and to contain those deserting the Jewish youth movements, seduced by the more radical and emancipatory ideology of leftist organizations.

This paper will reflect on the practices of joining – mostly left-wing Zionist – Jewish youth movements and the tensions that occurred alongside. It will set those against the backdrop of a political activism dominated by national liberation that required Jewish youth to take a stand not only as Argentine citizens but as opinion lenders on Israeli policies and the “Palestinian cause” at the same time.

- 5 See Eli Lederhendler, Introduction. *The Six-Day War and the Jewish People in the Diaspora*, in: idem (ed.), *The Six-Day War and World Jewry*, Bethesda, Md., 2000, 1–11.
- 6 Arturo Frondizi was the leader of the Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente (a party then at the center of the political spectrum), who got to power by winning the presidential elections while Peronism was banned.
- 7 See Beatrice D. Gurwitz, *Argentine Jews in the Age of Revolt. Between the New World and the Third World*, Boston, Mass., 2016.

“I’m a Jew, but I Don’t Practice”: A Debate on Jewish Identity during the Sixties

At the dawn of the sixties, an event took place that brought “Jewish identity” into the debate in Argentina: the capture of Adolf Eichmann by Israeli intelligence agencies on 11 May 1960. Amongst the celebrations of Argentina’s 150th anniversary of Independence, the Argentine Jewish community became the target of a fear-mongering Nationalist offensive whose goal it was to put into question Jewish citizens’ loyalty to the Argentine Republic.⁸ The spearhead of this campaign was the Tacuara Nationalist Movement,⁹ which tried to turn the Jewish community into a scapegoat for all ills of the time.¹⁰ These Nationalist groups enjoyed the support of part of the Catholic Church, including Father Julio Meinvielle and Cardinal Antonio Caggiano, as well as of the Buenos Aires branch of the Arab League, represented by Hussein Triki; they also benefited from the passivity, connivance, or sympathy of state officials handling the complaints of Jewish representatives.¹¹ Within this context, Leonardo Senkman points out that

“the generation of the Jewish community’s young intellectuals who lived the experience of Eichmann’s capture and trial as well as the emergence of antisemitic nationalism and anti-Jewish violence of the years 1960 to 1965, for the first time felt the need to comment on their Jewishness.”¹²

8 See Raanan Rein, *Argentina, Israel y los judíos. Encuentros y desencuentros, mitos y realidades* [Argentina, Israel, and the Jews. Encounters and Disagreements, Myths and Realities], Buenos Aires 2001.

9 On Tacuara, see Juan Manuel Padrón, *¡Ni yanquis, ni marxistas! Nacionalistas. Nacionalismo, militancia y violencia política en el caso del Movimiento Nacionalista Tacuara en Argentina (1955–1966)* [Neither Yankees nor Marxists! Nationalists. Nationalism, Militancy, and Political Violence in the Case of the Tacuara Nationalist Movement in Argentina (1955–1966)], La Plata 2017; María Valeria Galván, *Militancia nacionalista en la era posperonista. Las organizaciones Tacuara y sus vínculos con el peronismo* [Nationalist Militancy in the Post-Peron Era. The Tacuara Organizations and Their Ties with Peronism], in: *Nuevo mundo, mundos nuevos*, 24 May 2013, <<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/65364>> (20 July 2022).

10 See *Nuevos desmanes de los nazis criollos* [New Excesses of the Creole Nazis], in: *Nueva Sión*, 1 July 1961, 1.

11 On antisemitism during the 1960s, see Leonardo Senkman, *El antisemitismo en la Argentina* [Antisemitism in Argentina], 2nd, revised edition, Buenos Aires 1989, 11–193; Rein, *Argentina, Israel y los judíos* [Argentina, Israel, and the Jews].

12 Leonardo Senkman, *El ejercicio y el escamoteo de la condición judeo-argentina en los años 60* [The Practice and Concealment of the Jewish-Argentine Condition in the 1960s], in: Eliahu Tokar, *Cuaderno Moshé Roit* [Moshe Roit’s Notebook], Buenos Aires 1983, 11–25, here 11.

Nueva Sión would be the first paper to address new tendencies such as this. Edited by León Pérez, its pages included a number of regular columns that dealt with problems considered important by its editors: “The Critical Eye” challenged other newspapers’ takes on certain issues; “Pandora’s Box” was reserved for satire; “Topicality in a Few Words” focused on news about the State of Israel; there were further the sections “Letters from Our Readers” and “Last Fortnight’s Antisemitic Assaults.”

Israel was a central topic of the paper, its politics but also daily life making the front page of most issues. This was not a minor factor, since the State was being constantly presented as the solution to the “Jewish identity” in the Diaspora: “The dispersion made the Jews into an abnormal people, and the rise of the State of Israel will avert its annihilation for good.”¹³ *Nueva Sión* led an incessant campaign in favor of the settlement – “repatriation” – of Argentine Jews in Israel.

One of the main questions that preoccupied Jewish intellectuals at the time was what some considered “the loss of Jewish values and traditions” in favor of causes that were supposedly “alien” to the community. In other words: the “assimilation” to Argentine national culture. Tensions arose particularly around the debate of “non-practiced” Judaism, as condensed in the expression “I’m a Jew, but I don’t practice.” From the early 1960s it was a matter addressed explicitly in numerous articles and correspondences.

In the *Nueva Sión* issue of 19 May 1961, the expression was described by an author called Iudain¹⁴ as one heard frequently among the young generation which “has integrated in Argentine life”; which felt that Judaism was some sort of “accident” they could “renounce willingly to feel as a part of a certain community.”¹⁵ This “will,” he argued, could only ever manifest itself within the Jewish community itself, since the Jewish condition was not going to be called into doubt by those who joined the ranks of right-wing nationalism: “When a young Jew – one of those who claim that they are, but don’t practice – passes by a wall on which is scrawled ‘Death to the Jews,’ is he not included among those condemned to die, whether he practices or not?”¹⁶

This issue acquired a central significance during the period, since Adolf Eichmann’s capture was followed by an increase in antisemitic incidents in the country, as mentioned before. Contemporaneous with the publication of Iudain’s article, for example, was one major antisemitic attack carried out

13 Op-ed, in: *Nueva Sión*, 19 May 1961, 3.

14 This is the pseudonym of Yehuda Adín, the leader of the Hashomer Hatzair youth in Argentina.

15 Iudain (Julio/Yehuda Adín), Soy judío, pero no ejerzo. Reflexiones sobre una problemática actual [I’m a Jew, but I Don’t Practice. Reflections on a Current Problem], in: *Nueva Sión*, 19 May 1961, 2.

16 Ibid.

against students at a ceremony at Sarmiento National High School in Buenos Aires (1960), where one of them, Edgardo Trilnik, was injured in gun fire.¹⁷

For the editors of *Nueva Sión* it was impossible to be indifferent to anti-semitism, its “othering gaze” on Jewishness, and wide disregard for any existing differences within Jewish life in Argentina. These antisemitic assaults, they pointed out, were a lesson for “those assimilated Jews who felt safe from antisemitism. Now they know they are not.” Resorting to an apparently literal level – “Until today I believed that I was Argentinian, but now they forced me to understand that I just happen to be in Argentina.”¹⁸ – the paper was calling to close ranks behind Zionist activism, considering it the only viable option to deal with “Jewish identity.”¹⁹

Nueva Sión’s editors were mainly concerned with Argentina’s youth. “Assimilation” was understood as the manifestation of certain juvenile groups who showed interest in national political causes to the detriment of the “national cause of the Hebrew people.”²⁰ This perspective was rejected by some voices. During the month of June 1961, one newspaper reader called Néstor Braunstein sent a letter with the provocative title *Letter from a Non-Practicing Jew*.²¹ The young man criticized the “old Zionists” who, in his eyes, had resigned from dealing with this country’s problems in favor of “their” national struggle. Turning the tables on *Nueva Sión*’s editors, he wrote:

“When one of those young or old Latin Americans, which is what they are, even if they do not practice, look at a magazine or stumble across a UN publication that states the average life expectancy in some Latin American country is 35 years; or when they read that 100 percent of all homes in the Argentine Province of Chaco are infested with *vinchuca* bugs, which carry the parasite that leads to the deadly Chagas disease: Do they think that their fate is tied to that of all Latin Americans or do they believe that such issues do not concern them anymore since they have chosen to have nothing to do with all the other Latin Americans? When events like the recent US invasion of Cuba take place, are those of their concern or not?”²²

The author was clear in his letter that he saw antisemitism indeed as a problem, but, according to him, it was not the central one: “We do oppose these [Nationalist right-wing] movements because of their antisemitism; but we

17 A novel that depicts the tensions of this period through the fictionalization of this case is Samuel Tarnopolsky, *La mitad de nada* [Half of Nothing], Buenos Aires 1988.

18 5722. El pueblo judío en la Argentina, en Israel y en el resto del mundo [5722. The Jewish People in Argentina, in Israel, and in the Rest of the World], in: *Nueva Sión*, 28 September 1962, 1.

19 See *Efervescencia y su contenido* [Turmoil and Its Content], in: *Nueva Sión*, 2 August 1962, 1.

20 Palabras a los judíos [Words to the Jews], in: *Nueva Sión*, 1 June 1962, 1.

21 Néstor Braunstein, Carta de un judío que no ejerce [Letter from a Non-Practicing Jew], in: *Nueva Sión*, 8 June 1961, 2.

22 Ibid.

oppose them even more because of everything else that comes with it.” Braunstein’s letter received an answer by Iudain in *Nueva Sión*’s following issue, where he called into question the position of those favoring a just cause over the option of national belonging. In Iudain’s view, Zionism allowed for both:

“Zionism has much more in common with the struggles of Latin American peoples than what Braunstein suspects, because it is nothing else than the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. It is thanks to this movement that hundreds of thousands of the Jewish people could be rescued from misery, denigration, persecution, and even death, providing them with the living conditions of a normal and sovereign people.”²³

This version of Zionism as a national liberation movement paved, in the early sixties, the way for tying together Zionist demands and action programs towards Nationalist and anti-Imperialist left-wing goals later in the decade. The centrality of this debate can be traced through a series of *Nueva Sión* interviews with Jewish Argentine public intellectuals discussing Jewish identity. The weekly considered these public figures “partly responsible for the ideological and intellectual formation of our community,” giving voice to a wide spectrum of opinions by professionals deeply committed to the Jewish tradition: José Isaacson, Bernardo Kordon, Arnaldo Liberman, Máximo Simpson, Simón Kargierman, Samuel Tarnopolsky, Boleslao Lewin, Humberto Constantini, David José Kohon, and Simja Sneh. Those interviewees – most of them writers, journalists, and social scientists – were to answer the following questions: What does it mean to be a Jew?; What does Israel mean to you?; and what does “Jewish culture” mean to you?²⁴

A comparison of their answers reveals similarities and shared perspectives beside few disagreements, on the one hand, and an evident distance to the views held by *Nueva Sión*, on the other, particularly regarding the notion and experience of “being a Jew.” Closer to Braunstein’s statements than to Iudain’s, these intellectuals agreed on the Sartrean premise that Jewish identity persisted because of the “inquisitor’s” insistence on blaming Jews for all troubles in the world.

José Isaacson, for example, pointed out that “it would be interesting to ask the antisemites for their definitions.”²⁵ Máximo Simpson quoted Sartre’s assessment that “a Jew is, above all, a man placed in a situation, the situation of being a Jew. In many cases, forced to be a Jew. Even if he does not want it,

23 Iudain, Respuesta a un judío que no ejerce [Answer to a Non-Practicing Jew], in: *Nueva Sión*, 17 June 1961, 2.

24 Una encuesta a intelectuales judíos [A Survey among Jewish Intellectuals], in: *Nueva Sión*, 16 December 1961, 2.

25 Ibid. (Interview with José Isaacson).

he will continue to be a Jew by the antisemite's decision."²⁶ And in the same vein, Humberto Constantini explained,

"My Judaism is a reactive Judaism. I believe that it exists as an answer to antisemitism. In the face of such demonstration of stupidity and barbarism, my attitude is quite similar to that of him who says: 'I am a Jew ... So what?'"²⁷

Arnoldo Liberman, for his part, proclaimed that it is

"the situation, in a Sartrean style, that defines us: I am sure that the tar bomb thrown at the walls of a synagogue does more for Jewish authenticity than the prayers of the faithful who, at that very moment, are inside the Temple."²⁸

Samuel Tarnopolsky presented a more differentiated view on the Sartrean premise:

"Now everybody relies on Sartre: A Jew is a man placed in the situation of being Jew, forced to be a Jew. That is in part true, but not all the truth [...]. This becomes a problem for those who suffer for being Jews and feel it is unfair, since they are not to blame for having been born into that tradition."²⁹

While Tarnopolsky acknowledged that antisemitic discrimination and persecution were a reality for all Jews, he proposed that this being based on Jewish identity was only a problem for those "Jewish individuals" who "did not want to be Jewish or not assume their Jewishness any longer."

It was Simja Sneh who was to conclude the interview series, canalizing the statements of his fellow intellectuals towards the Zionist cause. Against the grain of their previous statements, he offered an essentialist perspective, referring to a "long tradition, sufferings, and commonalities among our People":

"I am a Jew, just because I do not want to, nor could I, in any way, not be one; because I live with my whole soul all the joys and all the sufferings of my People in every corner of the world. Being a Jew is to belong to the Jewish People, which is the only experience that preserves the features and attributes of a people, even when it is dispersed."³⁰

This survey of Jewish intellectuals shows a certain urgency on the part of young Jews, also identified by Senkman. They felt summoned by their "Jewishness" in light of the antisemitic assaults triggered in Argentina by the Eichmann affair. While *Nueva Sión's* editors had envisioned to give the particularity and legitimacy of such identity a voice through their interviewees, we find that most of them were inclined to see the commitment to Jewishness

26 Ibid., 30 December 1961, 2 (Interview with Máximo Simpson).

27 Ibid., 17 February 1962, 2 (Interview with Humberto Constantini).

28 Ibid., 16 December 1961, 2 (Interview with Arnoldo Liberman).

29 Ibid., 30 December 1961, 2 (Interview with Samuel Tarnopolsky).

30 Ibid., 27 July 1962, 2 (Interview with Simja Sneh).

as a matter of each individual's free will (Issacson, Kargieman); or proposed, as per Sartre, that it was an identity externally imposed by antisemites (Isaacson, Liberman, Simpson, Tarnopolsky).

“We Have Never Attempted to Play Hide and Seek with History”: Jewish Youth Activism during the Political Radicalization Process

With debates about Jewish identity being linked in the early and late 1960s to growing antisemitism, incited by groups such as Tacuara and the Guardia Restauradora Nacionalista (Nationalist Restorative Guard), the conflict took a different shape at the turn of the 1970s. The return of Peronism to power, the military coup in Chile,³¹ and the Yom Kippur War – all three occurring in 1973 – would add new fuel to the controversy. But at its center were no longer notions of identity à la Sartre, but political ascriptions, revolving around the conceptualization of Zionism as a form of imperialism within the Middle East.

An open letter to the Centro Editor de América Latina (Latin American Publishing House), published in October 1974 in *Nueva Sión* and signed by journalist Herman Schiller,³² is illustrative of the conflicts experienced by those who sympathized with left-wing ideas and publicly identified as Jews. Schiller's call on representative figures and respected intellectual spokespersons within the “progressive field” indicates, first, how widespread the condemnation of the State of Israel was and, second, the urgency felt by Zionists to establish and redefine the legitimacy of their mobilization effort both inside and outside the Jewish community. At the same time, his call reflected

31 On the reception of the Chilean military coup among the Jewish youth, see Emmanuel Kahan, *Entre Cámpora, Perón y Pinochet. La radicalización del discurso de las organizaciones judías argentinas* [Between Cámpora, Peron and Pinochet. The Radicalization of the Discourse of Argentine Jewish Organizations], in: *Judaica Latinoamericana* 7 (2013), 487–510.

32 Herman Schiller would gain public recognition years later as a consequence of his role as editor-in-chief of the weekly *Nueva Presencia* (New Presence) during the last Argentine military dictatorship (1976–1983). On *Nueva Presencia*, see Emmanuel Kahan, *La construcción de íconos en torno a la resistencia dictatorial. El semanario “Nueva Presencia” y la resistencia a la dictadura militar en Argentina, 1977–1983* [The Construction of Icons around the Resistance to the Dictatorship. The Weekly “Nueva Presencia” and the Resistance to the Military Dictatorship in Argentina, 1977–1983], in: Osvaldo Barreneche/Andrés Bisso, *El tiempo pasa, la historia queda. Ayer, hoy y mañana son contemporáneos* [Time Goes By, History Stays. Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow are Contemporaries], La Plata 2010, 133–162.

the widespread perception of too simplistic a portrayal of the Israeli-Arab conflict on the part of many Argentine left-wing organizations.³³

This open letter shows that the debates in which Zionism engaged with the left were intended to assert legitimacy by linking itself to the struggle of other national liberation movements as well as capitalizing on the intellectual sources upon which these movements drew; hence the inclination among representatives of Jewish organizations to reference texts and authors dear to the traditions of the left, such as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels,³⁴ Frantz Fanon,³⁵ and Leon Trotsky.³⁶ Many also concluded their open letters, speeches, and various documents with calls to recognize the legitimacy of the Zionist cause, its proximity to the left, and the complexity of the Middle East conflict. On the occasion of an event on 3 June 1973 celebrating the 25th anniversary of the creation of the State of Israel, organized by the Confederación Juvenil Judeo-Argentina and Hashomer Hatzair, *compañero* Guioráh Melman wrote,³⁷

“We must show the world the image of our progressive Zionism. We must make the international left, which only twenty-five years ago stood in solidarity with our fight against the British invaders and colonization, understand that we have not turned ourselves into imperialists. We must show them that ideology must not be turned into demonology. We have never attempted to play hide-and-seek with history. We have not underestimated existing national movements. To label Israel or the Palestinians is not only prejudicial, but ill-fated ... We, progressive Zionists, stand alongside Latin American countries in their new revolutionary expression, because we share it.”³⁸

This process within the Zionist movement is significant: Not only were those who abandoned its ranks radicalized in the pursuit of the Argentine “national cause,” but the emancipation rhetoric and the characterization of Zionism as a “movement of national liberation” accompanied to a large degree the polemics and pronouncements of its activists. In order to illustrate this point, it is sufficient to review briefly the press coverage of the so-called “dialogues”

33 See Herman Schiller, Carta abierta al Centro Editor [Open Letter to the Publishing House], in: Nueva Sión, 1 October 1974, 2. Schiller’s motivation for the letter was to complain about the alterations made to a text about the State of Israel he had been commissioned to write by the publishing house for the *Siglo mundo* collection.

34 Un significativo artículo de Berl [A Significant Article by Berl], in: Avodá’s Bulletin, 12 September 1974.

35 See Frantz Fanon y su hermandad con el sionismo [Frantz Fanon and His Affiliation with Zionism], in: Nueva Sión, 8 October 1973, 6 f.

36 See Trotsky ante la cuestión judía [Trotsky on the Jewish Question], in: Nueva Sión, 10 July 1974, 7.

37 “*Compañero*” was the address preferred by Peronist sympathizers, while “*camarada*” was used among Communists.

38 Guioráh Melman, Gran acto de la juventud [Great Youth Event], in: Nueva Sión, 29 June 1973, 3 and 11.

organized by Jewish youth groups and left-wing militants: a lecture by the priest Carlos Mujica (1930–1974) on 8 September 1973 in Tzavta Community Center,³⁹ where Hashomer Hatzair operated; an interview with the Catholic Bishop Alberto Devoto (1918–1984), member of the Movement of Priests for the Third World and founder of Argentina’s movement of “slum priests”;⁴⁰ and a course held at the Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano on “national reality.”⁴¹ This all came in addition to the formation of two new Zionist groups, Coordinadora de Agrupaciones Universitarias Sionistas de la Argentina (CAUSA) and Frente de Bases de la Izquierda Sionista Realizadora.⁴²

Nevertheless, as will be seen below, the dialogue between Zionist and left-wing organizations led to a long series of conflicts. For example, in May 1973, when there was supposed to be a celebration marking the 25th anniversary of the State of Israel, the ceremony was delayed due to the refusal of the youth to extend invitations to non-Jewish groups that were “pro-Israel demo-liberals.” Instead, they proposed to share the Luna Park Stadium stage with those they felt closer to: the Peronist youth.⁴³

As pointed out by Adrian Krupnik, towards the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, some groups belonging to Jewish youth movements initiated a process of political radicalization that, in some cases, ended in a breakup with the Zionist organization that had sheltered them. The Amós group, for example, was a dismembered branch of Hashomer Hatzair. Starting on a course of self-recognition as “Zionist Revolutionary Socialists,” its members would end up joining many of the local left-wing organizations.⁴⁴

This passage of members between organizations would create a rift between old *compañeros* in activism. For example, during an exchange of letters between youth activists in response to criticism from the periodical

39 See Carta abierta al sacerdote Mujica [Open Letter to the Priest Mujica], in: Nueva Sión, 25 July 1973, 7.

40 See Entrevista al Obispo Devoto [Interview with Bishop Devoto], in: Nueva Sión, 25 July 1973, 4 and 11.

41 See Columna. Hechos y resonancias [Column. Events and Resonances], in: Mundo Israelita [Israelite World], 7 September 1974, 5.

42 See Nucleamiento estudiantil sionista [Student Zionist Gathering], in: Mundo Israelita, 23 November 1974, 14; Primer Congreso de la JSS [First Congress of the Zionist Socialist Youth], in: Nueva Sión, 3 November 1973, 5.

43 See ¿Por qué la comunidad no festejó todavía los 25 años de Israel? [Why Has the Community Still Not Celebrated Israel’s 25th Anniversary?], in: Nueva Sión, 2 June 1973, 6.

44 See Adrian Krupnik, Cuando camino al kibbutz vieron pasar al Che. Radicalización política y juventud judía. Argentina 1966–1976 [When on the Way to the Kibbutz They Saw Che Passing By. Political Radicalization and Jewish Youth. Argentina 1966–1976], in: Emmanuel Kahan et al., Marginados y consagrados. Nuevos estudios sobre la vida judía en Argentina [Marginalized and Consecrated. New Studies on the Jewish Life in Argentina], Buenos Aires 2011, 311–327.

*Noticias*⁴⁵ over Israeli actions in the Middle East, discord would become evident between those who had abandoned the Zionist cause and those who remained within its ranks.⁴⁶

One “Letter from an Anti-Zionist,” signed by Marcos Blank, who claimed to have been a Zionist before becoming a member of the Peronist Tendencia Revolucionaria,⁴⁷ accused the editors of *Nueva Sión* of being opportunists. He wrote, “[A]t the time *Noticias* or *El Mundo* had nothing to say about the Middle East, they received *Nueva Sión*’s support. But when they published an anti-Zionist article, the label of revolutionaries that had previously been so blithely granted to them was afterwards revoked.”⁴⁸

Blank pointed out that,

“between 1966 and 1973, *Nueva Sión* did not publish a single article on torture, repression, or grassroots initiatives like the Córdoba uprising, parts one and two, or the Tucumán uprising [...].⁴⁹ Everything was directed at combating antisemitism in an abstract manner, in order to draw Jewish youth away from a concrete struggle for the definitive liberation of our country and our people. There is something comforting in the fact that Zionism is not growing, and that it will not even attain the magnitude it had in previous years. Jewish youth, today more than ever, realizes that their definitive liberation as Jews and as men involves pursuing the revolutionary path, both in Argentina and Latin America, as well as in Israel.”⁵⁰

A reply would come in the form of a letter signed by David Ben-Ami, arguing that Zionism included diverse tendencies and that the JSS was a left-wing faction within the ranks of the movement. By the same token, he stressed that even if *Nueva Sión* did discuss topics related to “Jewish national expression from a Socialist Zionist perspective,” whenever there was a crucial event in the life of the country, “we have never failed to report it and take a position.” He then listed events such as the Córdoba uprising, the Trelew Massacre,⁵¹ assaults on freedom of the press, and the death of Juan Domingo Perón, among others.⁵²

45 *Noticias* was a newspaper linked to the Peronist left-wing guerrilla organization Montoneros.

46 See Carta a la redacción de “Noticias” [Letter to the Editorial Board of *Noticias*], in: *Nueva Sión*, 10 July 1974, 6.

47 Tendencia Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Tendency) was part of a group of self-proclaimed revolutionary Peronist organizations.

48 Carta de un antisionista [Letter of an Anti-Zionist], in: *Nueva Sión*, 9 September 1974, 5.

49 These were grassroot uprisings that took place in 1969 in the capital cities of the provinces of Córdoba and Tucumán, in which both workers and students played a key role.

50 Carta de un antisionista, 5.

51 The Trelew Massacre was an assassination of 16 militants by the military after their failed attempt to escape the prison in the city of Rawson in the Chubut Province on 22 August 1972.

52 See David Ben-Ami, Respuesta de un sionista [Answer of a Zionist], in: *Nueva Sión*, 9 September 1974, 6.

This controversy served to establish the frame of reference for the problems of youth activism and political radicalism that were taking place within the Jewish-Argentine community. As Blank points out – despite Ben-Ami's objection – the perception of a “loss” of activists among the ranks of Zionism was felt to be a sign of the times.

These dialogues, as it became evident in previous allusions, illustrate the ways in which the radicalization process permeated Jewish youth activism during the period. The self-proclaimed revolutionary narrative of activism in Jewish youth spaces in Argentina brought these groups closer to the aspirations of the national organizations of the left.⁵³ However, during the Yom Kippur War (1973) the left's perspective on the conflict was considered too simplistic. According to *Mundo Israelita's* writers, Manichaeism and the left's support for the “Arab cause” were a consequence of a certain fascination with the irrationality of their demands in contrast to Israeli positions.⁵⁴

El Descamisado, a publication linked to the left-wing Peronist guerrilla organization called Montoneros, insisted, for example, on denouncing Israel as the “armed wing of Imperialism.”⁵⁵ Responding to *El Descamisado*, which referred to the Arab countries' fight against Israel as a “just war,”²³ members of the Juventud Mordejai Anilevich, a youth group in Rosario, drafted an open letter to the publication's subscribers, mostly associated with the Peronist left. The young Socialist Zionists emphasized that there were parts of Israeli society committed to national liberation and to the establishment of Socialism and that what local leftist sectors had not denounced was the oppression, domination, and hindrance of “class struggle” that existed in the Arab states.⁵⁶ Arguments of a similar nature were put forth by the JSS in the wake of articles that Rodolfo Walsh published under the title *The Palestinian Revolution*.⁵⁷

These letters demanded a more complex and comprehensive reading of the Israeli phenomenon among the activists of the local left. Zionist-affiliated youth – especially those close to the JSS – characterized it as a “movement of national Jewish liberation” and, in that sense, they saw the cause of na-

53 See El sionismo socialista frente a la realidad actual [Socialist Zionism in the Face of the Current Reality], in: Nueva Sión, 2 March 1973, 6.

54 See Columna. De semana en semana [Column. From Week to Week], in: Mundo Israelita, 23 February 1974, 3.

55 Penetración ideológica antisionista y antisemita [Ideological Anti-Zionist and Antisemitic Penetration], in: Boletín informativo de la DAIA [DAIA Bulletin], October 1973.

56 A los compañeros de “El Descamisado” [To the Comrades of *El Descamisado*], in: Nueva Sión, 3 December 1973.

57 Carta a la redacción de “Noticias” [Letter to the Editors of *Noticias*], in: Nueva Sión, 10 July 1974. Rodolfo Walsh was a celebrated Argentine journalist and member of the Peronist left-wing guerrilla organization Montoneros. He forcibly disappeared at the hands of the military dictatorship on 24 March 1977.

tional liberation developed by the youth of Argentina and the one advanced by young Israelis akin to their own.⁵⁸ Thus, the call to grassroots figures, leaders, and well-known intellectuals is evidence of the extent to which condemnation of the State of Israel had spread and explains the urgency of the Zionist movement to establish and redefine from both within and without the legitimacy of its mobilization.

Events during and after the Yom Kippur War led various youth organizations to rally and publicize their positions with respect to the conflict. Activists of the student union at ORT School, for example, distributed a flier in which they underscored how, “in this war, workers are fighting against workers” and that this “maneuver was enough to bring a halt to the revolutionary process in both countries.” According to the students, the right of the Palestinians to have a state of their own was legitimate, while understanding that “their liberation cannot mean the destruction of our State of Israel.”⁵⁹

Similarly, a rally was held at the Paso Street Temple, in Buenos Aires.⁶⁰ According to *Boletín informativo de la DAIA*, the event was well attended.⁶¹ Moshe Roit, acting secretary of DAIA, who addressed the participants, accused the Soviet Union of being responsible for the political instability of the region, stating, “the USSR has armed the Arab governments to their teeth because they know that peace will not give them access to the Middle East.”⁶²

In addition, the dynamics of the Middle East conflict produced a series of reactions, statements, and rallies. The 18 May 1974 issue of *Mundo Israelita* featured the sensationalist headline *Inhumane and Pointless* following the terror attack perpetrated by the People’s Front for the Liberation of Palestine in Ma’alot, Israel.⁶³ Club Náutico Hacoaj, Sociedad Hebraica, Macabi, and the Club Atlético Sefaradí Argentino (CASA) decided to suspend their activ-

58 See 10 reflexiones sobre sionismo, izquierda y acción [10 Thoughts on Zionism, the Left, and Action], in: Nueva Sión, 24 August 1974, 6; Peretz Merjav, Apuntes para un movimiento de liberación [Notes for a Liberation Movement], in: Nueva Sión, 3 September 1975, 7; Tzvi Talmid, Israel frente a la dicotomía derecha-izquierda [Israel in the Face of the Right-Left Dichotomy], in: Avodá’s Bulletin, 5 November 1974, 10; Sionismo es autodeterminación del pueblo judío [Zionism Means Self-Determination of the Jewish People], in: Avodá’s Bulletin, 22 November 1975, 7.

59 La movilización del Ischuv [The Mobilization of the Yishuv], in: Boletín informativo de la DAIA, October 1973, 3 f.

60 The participating organizations were the Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas de Argentina (DAIA), the Asociación Mutual Israelita de Argentina (AMIA), the Organización Sionista Argentina (OSA), and the Confederación Juvenil Judeo-Argentina (CJJA).

61 See El acto en el templo de Paso [Event in the Paso Temple], in: Boletín informativo de la DAIA, October 1973, 5.

62 Manifestación ante la Embajada Soviética [Demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy], in: *ibid.*, 7.

63 This was a terrorist attack on a high school in the Israeli city of Ma’alot carried out by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine on 15 May 1974.

ities on 19 May. For its part, the CJJA⁶⁴ organized a demonstration at which they chanted: “Down with terrorism / We’re fighting for peace”; “Come on, come on, come on! / Come on my friend! / What we’re fighting for here / is peace for the whole world!”; “The Jewish people / will never be defeated!”; “Peace and socialism / the paths to Zionism!”; “Hear me, Palestinian! / Peace is the way!”⁶⁵

The latter event began with a march through the streets of Buenos Aires passing by the Israeli embassy, the Syrian embassy, and the intersection of Tucumán and Ayacucho streets, where the Jewish Education Center was located. During the demonstration, Zionist youth groups distributed fliers to bystanders stating their positions regarding the Ma’alot attack and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, the high point of mobilization regarding the Middle East conflict took place toward the end of 1975. On 10 November of that year, the UN approved Resolution No. 3379 in which Zionism was held to be a form of racism and discrimination. The discrediting of Zionism on the international stage gave rise to the rapid mobilization of Jewish organizations in Argentina. The call for a rally at the Coliseo Theater, organized by DAIA, OSA, CJJA, and the Ente Coordinador Sefaradí Argentino (ECSA), counted on a huge turnout and the support of former president Arturo Frondizi, the historian José Luis Romero, the writers César Tiempo and Ernesto Sábato, and Judge Carlos Fayt.⁶⁷ Speakers included the Israeli Ambassador to Argentina, Ram Nigrad, DAIA Secretary Juan Gurevich, and a representative from the CJJA, Luis Feld. While everyone denounced the resolution, they maintained that its approval had less to do with the dynamics of the Cold War than with the pressure from Arab states who, through their possession of oil, held Western countries in their grip.

The central community institutions also appealed to the state authorities to oppose the resolution,⁶⁸ while followers of Socialist Zionism called attention – negatively – to the traditional policy of Argentine abstentions in in-

64 CJJA was an institution that gathered different factions of the Jewish youth movements.

65 Columna. Hechos y resonancias [Column. Events and Resonances], in: Mundo Israelita, 25 May 1974, 3. See also Masiva manifestación de solidaridad [Mass Demonstration of Solidarity], in: Nueva Sión, 24 May 1974, 6; and Ante el atentado terrorista en Israel [In the Face of the Terrorist Attack in Israel], in: Nueva Sión, 24 May 1974, 2.

66 Columna. Hechos y resonancias [Column. Events and Resonances], in: Mundo Israelita, 25 May 1974, 3.

67 Multitudinario acto de adhesión de la comunidad judía a Israel y el sionismo [Mass Event of the Jewish Community Supporting Israel and Zionism], in: Boletín informativo de la DAIA, November 1975, 6; Vibrante repudio al oportunismo de la ONU [Strong Condemnation of the UN’s Opportunism], in: Nueva Sión, 22 November 1975, 4.

68 Telegrama de DAIA a canciller argentino (Vignes) [DAIA’s Telegram to the Argentine Foreign Minister (Vignes)], in: Boletín informativo de la DAIA, November 1975, 3.

ternational forums.⁶⁹ Finally, under the slogan “We are all Zionists!” Jewish organizations proposed a massive affiliation campaign to OSA, in response to “international provocation”⁷⁰ and the “antisemitic oil aggression.”⁷¹

Final Considerations

The study of positions and tensions that arose within the field of Socialist Zionist youth activism during the 1960s and 1970s allows us to observe, on the one hand, the preponderance of certain topics in each of those decades. While in the early 1960s, the youth was prompted to respond to the attacks of Nationalist right-wingers on their Jewish identity, they would engage in critical discussions with left-wing organizations on Zionism and the State of Israel in the following decade. Israel also featured in the narrative of right-wing groups such as Tacuara, accusing Jews of dual loyalty to Argentina and Israel. However, the disagreements with the left pertained to the fact that they saw Israel as an Imperialist State in the Middle East and, therefore, disputed claims that Zionism was a national liberation movement.

On the other hand, as we saw, these debates served young Jews to formulate publicly their considerations on the legitimacy of Zionist activism. The rise of diverse contenders in each decade, however, allowed us to discern a meaningful rhetorical displacement on the part of Zionist organizations. This displacement, during the 1970s, manifested itself in the political radicalization seizing Argentina, the attribution of a new meaning to Peronism as a national liberation movement – at least from the perspective of some left-wing groups – and the influence of other emancipation processes, *id est*, the Cuban Revolution and Salvador Allende’s electoral victory in Chile, which shaped the definition and practices of young Jews in Zionist youth movements. The analysis of expressions in the third section of this essay allowed to attest not only a radicalization of the young Jews deserting the youth movements, but probably – judging by the activist terminology and political programs ex-

69 La abstención también trae sus consecuencias [Abstention Also Has Its Consequences], in: Nueva Sión, 3 November 1975, 3.

70 La mejor propuesta a la provocación internacional: afiliarse masivamente a la Organización Sionista Argentina [The Best Answer to the International Provocation: Join the Argentine Zionist Organization in Masses], in: Avodá’s Bulletin, 7 November 1975, 24.

71 Frente a la agresión petrolera-antisemita respondemos con la afiliación masiva a la OSA [We Respond to the Antisemitic Oil Aggression with Mass Affiliation to the OSA], in: Avodá’s Bulletin, 12 January 1976, 24.

amined here – of the organizations themselves, with the difference that they attended to their own political and ideological agendas.

The debates and ideas considered in this essay should not be understood as exclusive to the Jewish community, but are reflected in the circles of non-Jewish Argentine public intellectuals, as well. They, too, were strongly influenced by Jean Paul Sartre's theory of political engagement, describing social agents, particularly public intellectuals, as immersed in a situation that, even if not by choice, ineluctably implicated them.⁷²

72 See Oscar Terán, *Nuestros años sesentas. La formación de la nueva izquierda intelectual argentina, 1956–1966* [Our 1960s. The Formation of the New Intellectual Left in Argentina, 1956–1966], Buenos Aires 1993, 22.