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JEWISH AFFAIRS



Sculpture by Ella Rebenyuk, USSR

August 27, 1983

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In Academia, A Review**

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By Henri Perckow

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August 27, 1983

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Martin Luther King Jr. March on Washington will be honored by an all peoples March on Washington on Saturday, August 27, 1983.

The New Coalition of Conscience, organizers of the March is focusing on three critical demands: JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM.

As a trade union call to the March spells it out, the March is to demand action on: "Three critical conditions in our society — insufferable unemployment; an escalating arms race; and the denial of basic rights and programs which ensure freedom." It is to thwart the demands of our multi-national, multi-racial people for remedial action on the first two that the Reaganites are undermining our basic democratic rights and provoking a dangerous escalation of racism and anti-Semitism.

This March must be viewed by all democratic forces (small "d") as an historic opportunity that calls for our fullest support for which our utmost in time and energy should be devoted in the hours, days and weeks ahead.

Jewish Americans, along with all the trade union and people's movements have a stake in guaranteeing the success of this grand all-peoples demonstration.

Indeed, Jewish Americans are and should be concerned about the welfare of the mass of our multi-national, multi-racial population and relate to the growing demand of the peoples throughout the world for a freeze on nuclear weapons in the interest of world peace.

The immediate stake of Jewish Americans is revealed in the facts that there are some 6,000,000 Jewish Americans, 90% of whom in the economy are in white collar jobs and, thereby suffering in great numbers due to unemployment.

The Jewish Federation Employment and Guidance Service figures on unemployment among Jews reveal that there are 5,000 Jewish professionals in Greater New York registered with the Federation; close to 100,000 are unemployed in New York City alone; nationwide there are 250,000 to 300,000 unemployed Jewish Americans.

If we add the number of unemployed nationally to the estimated number of Jewish Americans living on or below the poverty level, there are more than 1,000,000 in dire need — mainly the elderly — about 16% of the entire Jewish population.

The deepening and widening concern about the insane drive of the Reagan Administration to multiply the

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Jewish Affairs

The Political Reality of Israel

By Wolf Ehrlich

We publish below the address delivered by the Guest of Honor, Wolf Ehrlich, at the 11th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner, June 5, 1983 at the Roosevelt Hotel, N.Y.C.

Wolf Ehrlich, member of the Control Commission of the Communist Party of Israel, is a leading Marxist-Leninist theoretician. He testified for the C.P.I. before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry and the United Nations Special Commission Palestine. He is the author of a book of essays entitled, "The Force of the Idea."

I am happy to be here with you. This is my first visit to the United States. I would prefer to sit and listen to you and learn from you. I hope there will be opportunities for it.

If Mr. Weinberger and Mr. Sharon could conclude a memorandum on strategic cooperation between the administration of your country and the government of mine, there is an obvious need for strategic cooperation between the progressive and democratic forces of both our countries. In the same way as the working class has to forge its international links in face of the internationalization of capital, thus we have to build up a special relationship, in order to fight against the unholy alliance of the reactionaries of the two countries, which is directed against other peoples, but against our peoples as well.

The ruling reactionary circles of the two countries all the time export vicious ideological and right-wing political propaganda from US to Israel and back. It is, therefore, imperative for the progressive forces of our two countries to exchange views and experiences, to strengthen our struggles in both countries.

One personal remark: for you, Israel is a political reality, a tangle of problems, an interesting topic, a subject for discussion. For me, Israel is all that, but more — it has become my homeland. Not because of blood and soil, as the Nazi catch word goes, and not because of historical, religious or ideological ties, as Zionist theory implies. As a militant in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class, the Communist Party of Israel, I have become rooted in the struggle for a better future for the people of Israel, for both peoples living there. It is the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, together with my comrades and other people of good will that has forged my unbreakable connection with my country.

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Israel has become a developed capitalist country; it has now reached the stage of state monopoly capitalism.

The Israeli bourgeoisie was rather weak until 16 years ago. The Israeli worker was mainly exploited by foreign capital, and that means in the first place US capital. The change came about with the criminal occupation of Arab land in the 1967 war, bringing rich colonial superprofits in the exploitation of cheap labour power, in the robbery of raw materials and in the monopolization of the local market of the occupied territories. Occupation made Israel poor and lowered the living standard of the working people, but the Israeli bourgeoisie made a fortune out of it, becoming rich and strong.

I am not going to speak to you on the present world situation. You are in the midst of the difficult struggle for detente in international relations, for reorganizing the existence and the necessity of a balance of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, for a freeze in nuclear armament, for an agreed solution on outstanding questions with the Soviet Union.

And you will, I trust, agree with me that the Middle East with all its dangers and all its opportunities is an integral part of the world situation. Our experience teaches us that any advance in detente in international relations opens new vistas for solving the Middle East conflict, while any return to cold war policies on the part of your rulers tends temporarily to close option for a just peace in the Middle East.

The USA-USSR understanding of October 1, 1977, on solving the Israeli-Arab conflict by calling for an international conference of all sides concerned was, so far, the latest correct step of the U.S. administration in relation to our region. Its implementation would have inaugurated a genuine process of peace.

What the US and Israeli press call the process of peace, from the Camp David accords until today is in reality a process of war, a process of USA domination in the region, a process of denying the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, leading to genocide.

Blaming the PLO and Syria for not joining this sham process of "peace," reflects the disappointment of the reactionary forces in both our countries at the fact that not all Middle East forces are being taken in by imperialist maneuvers.

Over the years, the basic overall cooperation between the US administration and the government of Israel has been strengthened. Yet, there are some differences in approach to Middle East development.

Questions that for the Reagan administration are marginal, like delimiting of frontiers, may be of utmost importance for the mythical chauvinism of the Begin

government. The wish of the Reagan administration to draw the reactionary rulers of Arab countries still firmer into its orbit, may sometimes clash with Begin government's policy of expansion. In the main, however, such differences do not affect the essential strategic concord. Both governments find it often useful to dramatize disagreement.

In the eyes of the US administration, Israel as a stable pro-imperialist power, continues to be regarded as America's mainstay in the Middle East, and in the eyes of the Israeli rulers, the United States is its last friend, ally and supporter in the international arena. The two are basically united in the adventurous policy of rearmament and war, in their anti-Sovietism, in their active opposition to all the revolutionary forces of our time and in their lack of any rational approach to the realities of the world around them. Either of them drags the other still deeper into the fog of eventual defeat.

This aggressiveness and their lack of rational approach has again been proved by the war against Lebanon. The war aims of the Israeli rulers, fully supported by the Reagan administration, have miscarried; the national consciousness and militancy of the Palestinian Arab people had not been subdued. The PLO, although not able to hold the onslaught of the huge Israeli war machine, has been strengthened morally and politically. Lebanon has not become an Israeli colony. The Syrian army has remained intact. The hope of the Israeli rulers that the aggression in Lebanon would break resistance in occupied Palestinian territory has proved illusory.

Now, the Israeli army is in the midst of the Lebanese adventure. The Begin government cannot show any real achievements of its aggressive war. While the PLO has been able, in the main, to close its ranks after Beirut — the people of Israel is more divided than ever on the necessity of this war, paying the price in blood and in the sharpening of the economic, political and moral crises.

The so called agreement reached by the government of Israel with Lebanon, while a good part of this country is occupied and with all the pressure exerted by your Secretary of State on the Lebanese government — is an agreement to maintain the division of Lebanon and prevent it from exerting its sovereignty. It stands in cynical contradiction to UN Security Council resolutions 508 and 509 that demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

And let me make it clear. The end of adventure and aggression is not yet in sight. Injustice begets injustice. Crime begets crime. War begets war. There are too many signs that war plans against Syria are being hatched in Jerusalem and in Washington.

They may be very bad chess players who consider the next move only, but as such they are most dangerous playing with the fate of the peoples of the Middle East, the Israeli people included.

In the face of the psychological warfare against Soviet assistance to Syria, that is led by the ruling circles of our country, we are telling the people that this Soviet assistance is of defensive nature only and that there are good reasons for Syria to strengthen its defensive positions.

The Middle East conflict endangers world peace. In Lebanon we have a direct confrontation of US military forces and Soviet military advisers. I shall not interfere in the internal affairs of your country, and you will judge whether and how pressure should be increased by your people on the administration to come to an understanding with the Soviet Union on the Middle East issue.

The policy of confrontation has failed. A policy of agreement is needed; it is essential also in the overall interest of saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe.

In regard to the Israeli-Palestinian peace, we are convinced that it is imperative to come to mutual recognition between the State of Israel and the Palestinian Arab people, represented by the PLO, of national rights and interests. The PLO in fact prepared for mutual recognition by accepting the resolution of the Fez Conference and the Soviet proposal.

The government of Israel, with the full support of right-wing Labour leaders, are not yet prepared to do so. The national interest of Israel should no longer be cast aside. It demands the solution that is concretely expressed by the main slogan at our mass demonstrations: "Two States for the Two Peoples."

The best way to a just and durable peace is the convocation of an international conference of the Geneva type, bringing together Israel, the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the People, the neighbouring Arab states, the USA, the Soviet Union and other interested powers. The accord reached, leading to genuine peace, will be strengthened by international guarantees. Concretely speaking, there is outside your and my country an international consensus on the main lines of possible just peace.

First — withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all territories occupied in 1967. Our Party adds: the lines of June 4, 1967 is to become the peace border between Israel and the Palestinian state.

Second — recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to establish their own independent state alongside Israel.

Third — respect for the rights of all states in the region, Israel and the Arab states alike, to sovereign

existence and development in conditions of peace and security. All sides to cancel any claim to a status of belligerency and to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the states in the region, their right to live in peace within secure and recognized borders, free from the threat and the use of force.

Fourth — a just solution of the Palestinian refugees problem according to United Nations resolution, recognizing the right of the refugees to choose between return to their homeland and receiving compensation.

The annexation of occupied Eastern Jerusalem should be abolished. It will fall under the sovereignty of the independent Palestinian state. In the framework of a peace settlement, Western Jerusalem should be recognized as the capital of the State of Israel, and Eastern Jerusalem as capital of the Palestinian state, according to the wish of either people in its state. There will be room for mutually agreed arrangements, ensuring cooperation between the two parts of the city, in municipal affairs, free access to holy places, free movement between the two parts.

* * *

Now to the Israeli scene, and I am sorry I have to open here a bitter chapter. Israel is in the throes of an overall crisis, political, economic and moral.

The sharpening of the political crisis may be perceived from the fact that the government is less and less able to solve the problems of the country. I do not even add here: "solve in the interest of the people." I want to say that they are unable to solve it any way, even in the interest of big capital.

The ruling parliamentary coalition is in constant danger of falling apart. Its factions squabble among them, and there are signs of disintegration in most of its constituent parts.

Some of these difficulties may be plastered over, by paying a heavy price to sectional interests; some may be balanced off, for a while.

Foreign policy is led spontaneously from one failure to another. There is no overall long-term programme how to deal with internal policy. Government had to ground El-Al airplanes for months, because of their intrasigence. The physicians' strike goes on for months.

The stand of government is alleviated by the failure of the main opposition — Labour — to put its house in order. It has an even less clear perspective for the future than the right-wing coalition and is rent by inner dissensions ideological, political, personal. In the main, Labour's policy is not far from that of government, as in their opposition to a just solution of the Palestine question; in their opposition to negotiations with PLO; their

anti-Sovietism; their partial acceptance of intensified colonial settlement in the occupied territories.

In some questions, Labour may be somewhat less doctrinaire, being less mythical than their extreme right-wing counterparts. It should be added that among the labour leaders there are some who in concrete questions profess progressive opinions.

The fact that the Labour leaders do not constitute a genuine, principled opposition force, only adds to the crisis factor in Israel's political life.

There is near-unanimity on the critical situation of the Israel economy. Of course, economic conditions would not be good, even without the specific features of the economic and fiscal policy of the government, because of the general situation of capitalist world economy and because of the unhealthy development of capitalist relations of production in our country, where the sector of material production is relatively small and shrinking.

But on top of these comes this policy: the huge degree of militarization of the economy and the state budget; the neglect of civil production in contradistinction to production for war; the neglect of production and development in Israel proper contradistinction to production and development in the occupied territories, especially in the West Bank; the high priority given to expenditure for arms, war, occupation and oppression, coupled with a Friedman concept of reducing civil state expenditures that benefit the working population and even of small and medium capital. All this makes Israel economy extremely lopsided and perverted.

Add to this that Israel seems to be the sole country in the world that keeps the value of its currency artificially high — explained as a measure to fight the three-digit inflation, although inflation does not follow the advice of the Minister of Finance and refuses to go down. As a result of this policy, exports are drastically declining, and import is steadily soaring.

In consequence, Israel's external debt is constantly rising. At the end of 1982, it stood, according to minimal estimates, at \$21 billion. During 1983, Israel will have to refund some \$6 billion, trying to cover this by taking short-term, high-interest new loans.

You may imagine the influence of this policy on the living standard of the working people.

The policy feeds itself: for instance, young couples wanting a flat of their own have to look for it on the West Bank or in Arab Jerusalem; this increases the basic ills that are at the root of the unhealthy situation.

A few words on the moral crisis. Almost everyone in Israel wails that the high values of times past have vanished. I am not going to discuss here, whether these

values, built on so-called Zionist pioneering were genuine positive values, based as they were on discrimination towards, and expropriation of the Arab population, or whether their appreciation had to lead, with its inner dynamics, to the present deep moral crisis.

About chauvinism I shall speak in a few minutes. Here I want to stress another aspect. Many people, especially young people, who do not see any perspective for the future of Israel or for themselves, who are nurtured on war after war after war, who are constantly called for reserve duty, feel insecure, helpless, wasted, frustrated. Thus, drug taking and speculation on the stock exchange becomes part of daily life. The crime rate is growing, many leave the country.

The situation is efficiently exploited by the religious establishment, to lead people back into the bosom of the synagogue and the yeshiva, providing them with some kind of transcendental values, divorced from reality. Zionism is now in need to call on religion for assistance in justifying occupation and annexation of Palestinian territory. Jewish religion of the most orthodox type is increasingly dominant in public education, in the media, in the corridors of power.

The religious establishment has enormous material resources at its disposal. Its influence has led to a growing limitation of personal freedom, not known in other countries, to the darkest legal rules and administration of justice, especially in questions of marriage and divorce. This encroaches sharply on the rights of women; equality between the sexes is even in principle not guaranteed.

You have heard and read about changes occurring in the political consciousness of the people in Israel. These changes are not to be seen in a simplified way and one-dimensionally.

There is a pronounced process of polarization going on in the Jewish masses in Israel.

It is characteristic that physical work is no longer done by Jews.

A not insignificant part of the population — I would say the majority, is more deeply drawn into the cesspool of extreme, narrow chauvinism and militarism. This is to be seen in the poisoned background of all-round Zionist education, activated by efficient manipulation through the schools, the media, the religious establishment, army training and fostered by 16 years of occupation, by the chain of military victories.

Particularly, a good part of young people have embraced the notion of nationalistic superiority, of belonging to an elected race, of not being accountable to any yardstick but natural glory, of disregarding human and humane values.

For only too many of them, government has not to justify its policy of aggression and expansion by referring to defence or security — they are in favour of aggression and expansion as such, without any demagogic cloak.

This is, as I said, to a high degree the fruit of 16 years of occupation. To be part of the army of occupation or of security and intelligence agencies in the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip, in Golan, or being settlers there, with the vast freedom of being the overlord and of terrorizing the Arab population, has released many of them from the shackles of respect for the honour, the life and the property of a human being and led to deep moral degradation.

This dehumanized approach was, with necessity, reimported into Israel. This explains the mass support for Begin and his ilk, and this also provides the mass potential for fascism, ready for the moment, when big capital will decide that it has to do away and is able to do away with bourgeois democracy and the still existing democratic rights of the people.

* * *

I may add here that the Communist Party of Israel is doing its utmost to mobilize the people and especially the working people against the danger of fascism. We try to unite all political forces interested in the defence of bourgeois democracy in a broad anti-fascist movement. To our regret, the right-wing Labour leaders do not see the danger or are still under the sway of anticommunism; they are, so far, not prepared to accept our proposals for a common struggle against the fascist danger.

We are fully aware of the danger, but do not see the development as fatalistic. Fascism can still be stopped in Israel.

I spoke about the process of polarization, and now about the favourable trend.

In former aggressive wars, there was a wide consensus to lead the war to victory, both in the leadership of all parties from the extreme right through the Mapam and in the great majority of the Jewish people of Israel; only toward the end of war, some awakening was felt here or there.

In the war against Lebanon, from the very start, many people and certain leaders, felt unconvinced and uneasy. When our parliamentary faction, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, proposed a vote of non-confidence in the Knesset immediately at the beginning of the war, only our faction voted for it, but 10 Knesset members did not take part in the vote, thus expressing first doubts regarding the war.

In the meantime, various members of the Knesset

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have criticized themselves, because they did not vote for the non-confidence motion, at the beginning, in June 1982. Some well-known bourgeois and social-democratic journalists have written against the war, as unjust or at least unnecessary from the very start.

Our slogans against the war have been taken up in various degrees by a growing number of people. Anti-war sentiment has become widespread, and the ruling circles are not able to disregard it completely.

Public organizations of diverse ideological and political shades are active against the war. The most consequent is the Committee against the War in Lebanon, that vigorously explains the aggressive and unjust character of the war and mobilizes public opinion for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel forces from Lebanon.

The militant group of young men, mainly in reserve duty — *There is a limit* — has issued a call not to serve in Lebanon and supports progressive soldiers that refuse to serve in occupied territories. The group has collected close to two thousand signatures of soldiers for its appeal. Those of the group called to reserve duty in Lebanon have refused to do so, and more than 50 of them have gone to jail for it.

Peace Now is the organization able to mobilize the greatest number of people, their activities culminating in the famous demonstration of 400,000 in October last.

This is not a closely knit organization, and it officially accepted a programme with a Zionist plank, intended to exclude communists and Arabs from its ranks. But the inner dynamics of development under present favourable circumstances makes Peace Now an objectively progressive meeting-point, with a great force of attraction. Thus, for instance, the Committee against the War in Lebanon, puts its weight to strengthen Peace Now's activities.

Dovish politicians, rationally arguing journalists and a good part of the people have come to the conclusion that Israel, with all its military might, is unable to attain political objectives by the force of arms. The demand of a political solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestine question gains ground.

The Arab population is not only suffering but also fighting back. The new tradition of observing the 30th of March — together with the democratic Jewish forces — as Day of the Land, is a significant and unifying symbol and a notable form of struggle against expropriation.

Although this population is politically, socially, economically — not homogenous, it provides a part of the Israeli working class, much higher than its share in general, and a growing part of the intelligentsia. United
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in the move around correct national demands, with a high social consciousness, amply following the lead of the Communist Party, it is a main prop of the democratic forces inside Israeli society.

The call for Jewish-Arab brotherhood and for Jewish-Arab militant comradeship has been and is of the intrinsic planks of the Communist Party of Israel and is part of its daily practice. From here, it has pervaded many of the democratic organizations of the country and found its way towards other circles and organizations of the Israeli Left. The internationalist common struggle has become one of the most mobilizing factors — forging the strength of progressive forces, felt in the First-of-May demonstration, in the university campuses, in parliamentary, electoral, trade-union struggles — everywhere.

The Jewish people of Israel undergoes a long and tortuous road towards nationhood. This process has been retarded by the policy of its rulers who are interested in keeping the different ethnic components apart and fighting against each other. It is a conscious policy intended not to allow the Israeli working class and its potential allies to see the common enemy — monopoly capital and class rule.

This process towards nationhood has been retarded by the generations — long disregard of the cultural tradition brought with them by the immigrants from Islamic countries and by the discrimination against these Jewish communities in education, housing and economic advance.

This process towards nationhood has also been retarded by the dominant Zionist ideology that only too often regards the Jewish people of Israel as an embattled bridgehead for the pretended world Jewish nation.

The struggle against Zionist ideology and practice is a task of great importance, in order to further the national interests of Israel; to bring the people down to earth to face reality; to liberate it from chauvinism and militarism.

It is generally admitted in Israel that Zionist theory in its classical form has failed. The concentration of Jewish masses in Israel has not solved any national problem. It has neither brought security to the Jews in Israel nor to the Jewish communities throughout the world.

In the slang of the Israeli youth, Zionism has become a word of derision, depicting tedious pep-talk without much content.

On the other hand, we are well aware that Zionist ideology and practice is well alive and kicking in the aggressive and expansionist policy of the ruling circles, as well as in the anti-Arab and anti-Soviet brainwashing

accompanying it.

Our struggle against zionist ideology is part and parcel of our general ideological struggle, trying to raise the consciousness of the workers and the working intelligentsia to the scientific approach of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle will be hard and protracted, because of the long manipulation of the people.

A victory in the ideological struggle is not a precondition in our fight for a just Israeli-Palestinian peace. But it will be a precondition in order to advance the revolutionary process and general democratic transformations in Israeli society towards socialist transformation.

The Communist Party of Israel — founded 63 years ago — has remained true to its historic role. It analyses and explains the current political and economic development in the light of Marxism-Leninism. It tries to mobilize the working people in the day-to-day struggle. It provides the programme for overcoming the great difficulties of the country, especially for solving the complex national question in the framework of a genuine peace-settlement. It shows the workers the socialist perspective.

The fact that sons and daughters of the Jewish and of the Arab people are fraternally united in the Party under one common leadership and with one common programme, proves that there is an objective base for peace and friendship between both our peoples.

We are proud that we have been able to withstand all attempts at sidetracking us from our internationalist position towards this or that nationalistic deviation.

We are proud that we have found common ground with the young Communist Party of Palestine and with the communist parties of the neighboring Arab countries; that we have established relations of good-will and agreement with the PLO.

We are proud of being a faithful detachment of the international communist movement, loyal to Marxist-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, that we have friendly fraternal relations with communist parties in socialist and capitalist countries alike, not least with the Communist Party of the United States.

We are proud that even our ideological and political opponents inside Israel regard us as serious and honest. We are especially proud that many, many people are prepared earnestly to listen to us, even if they do not yet accept our arguments.

We are proud that there is no serious event or question in our country to which we have not tried to give a straightforward answer.

To our regret, we are not yet and shall not be in the near future a mass party among the Jewish people in

Israel. Many obstacles, resulting from long years of social democratic and zionist indoctrination will have to be overcome. To do our job well, we shall have much to learn, and most of all, not to waver and to be persistent day in, day out, until we shall succeed.

The tactics of the Party are based on building the broadest front possible around a minimum program and on building wider alliances on concrete questions, without renouncing the ideological and political independence of the Party.

In the program of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, we have not included the anti-imperialist struggle or our views on scientific socialism and on existing socialism, as built in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. We are free within the Democratic Front to propagate Marxism-Leninism and uphold truth in the face of lie and slander. Not only do we explain the peace policy of the Soviet Union in world affairs and in the Middle East. We also try to explain that the peace proposal of the Soviet Union regarding the Middle East coincides with the platform of the Democratic Front and that therefore the Soviet Union constitutes the most important support to the struggle for a just peace in the region.

We cooperate with other organizations and personalities on various fields, as peace, democracy, workers' rights, as national and ethnic equality of rights or that of women, as friendship with the Soviet Union.

We openly declare that we are prepared fully to cooperate on progressive issues, irrespective of ideology, be it religious or zionism or scientific socialism. We do not abandon ideological struggle even with our allies; but we want progressive people of different approach to come together and struggle together, on a common platform, be it for world peace or for a just peace in the region, be it for democracy and against fascism, be it for genuine national independence, be it for the rights of working men and women, for social progress and for socialism.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends and comrades, You will have seen again, how complex the situation is, but also how simple the conclusions to be drawn.

I do not belong to those that have one truth for home consumption and another for explanation abroad. There can be one truth only. I am sure that the conception I have tried to present before you, is in the best national interest of my people. This is the only way to advance the cause of Israel, the cause of the two peoples living there.

If you can support us in this struggle, if you can express your solidarity in any way you choose — it will be a most valuable contribution to a just struggle. □

The South African-Israeli Connection

By Nomazizi Sokudela

We publish below the address delivered by Nomazizi Sokudela, representative of the African National Congress at the 11th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner, June 5, 1983 at the Roosevelt Hotel, NYC.

The South African situation is increasingly becoming dangerous by the day. The past couple of years and continuing up to now have seen an escalation in all forms the regime's brutality, viz: police surveillance, harassment, detentions, deaths through torture in detention and assassination of ANC leaders. Youth, church leaders, women and children are among the victims of the fascist Botha regime. It is in the light of these gruesome observations that we are here today examining the nature and role of the South African-Israeli connection in the course of political events, both in South Africa and in Israel.

The roots of the political relationship between South Africa and Israel go far beyond 1948. Chaim Weitzman the Zionist leader and first president of Israel used the personal friendship with Jan Smuts, who then South African Prime Minister, in securing the Balfour Declaration. Smuts as Special Delegate from South Africa to the British government and a member of the war cabinet played an influential role in Britain's decision to issue the declaration and worked actively for its maximum fulfilment. As early as 1926 the South African cabinet already expressed unqualified support for the Zionist organization efforts, to set up a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

In 1931 Weitzman visited South Africa with no objection to the oppressive conditions under which Africans lived. South African Nazi organization, Ossewa Brandwag-Vorster, gave public support for Nazism.

The racists curbed their anti-Semitism in awareness that white solidarity was a pre-condition for white supremacy. The Nationalist Party opened its membership to Jews and S. Africa was the first to recognize Israel in the UN. Malan, whose Nationalist government assumed power in 1948 and legislated the apartheid system, was the first head of state to make an official visit to Israel in 1953.

The basis for this connection between Zionism and Apartheid lies in a common origin as settler colonies, established at the expense of the indigenous population of Palestine and South Africa, respectively. This commonality reflects itself in similar racist ideologies, comparable structures in the identical role the two settler states play for imperialism and in the problem they have

created for the indigenous people which they encounter. Both settler groups culturally distinguish themselves with religious beliefs in one instance and skin pigmentation or the notion of a "superior race" in the other, (European Jews), examples in South Africa, with a mission to civilize the indigenous people who are often seen as inferior, degraded and backwards. (Die Herrenvolk). The Boers who relied heavily on the strict interpreting of the old testament when they left Holland, for South Africa, with the Dutch East India Co. saw themselves as "the chosen people" going to the "promised land." The Zionists too depend on the biblical passage to justify their claim to and colonization of Palestine. The Zionists saw Palestine as the promised land, given to them by God.

Israel's ambassador to South Africa, Yitzhak Unna, in 1976 stated, "We have a common biblical heritage" — and I would not understate this feeling. Compare the great trek from the Cape to the TVL away from the British and the Africans with the exodus of the Jews from Egypt. It is through such sentiments that there has been a sequential development in what we have since described as an unholy alliance between Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa.

Even as the Boer Nationalist Party openly supported Nazism and expressed anti-Semitism before and during the second World War, the Nationalist Party permitted South Africa Jewish Reserve officers to serve in Israeli's army and allowed the transfer of funds and goods to Israel. The first important trade link between the two states involved the diamond business in the 50's. At the UN Israel maintained a stance of principled opposition to Apartheid. However, when Israel voted in favor of the General Assembly resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa in 1961, South Africa retaliated by rescinding its permission for the free flow of funds to Israel. The 1967 war marked a new phase in the collaboration. Not only did large amounts of money begin to flow into Israel, South African blood transfusion service loaned blood to the Israel medical service. South Africa and Israel viewed themselves as engaged in a struggle for existence and both were in a constant clash with the decisive majorities at the UN. Both regarded themselves as reliable foci of strength within their respective regimes which would without them, fall into anti-Western anarchy. They continue to see themselves as besieged states who are protecting the civilized order of things against supposed external encroachment.

Economic cooperation was not limited to trade, but became extended to direct investment by both private and state financed and state connected corporations on

both sides. In 1973 these states added a political dimension in their economic link. South African unfinished products were finished in Israel and sold to African states who are opposed to South Africa, as Israeli products. The collaboration was also used to evade the UN imposed economic sanctions against South Africa.

John Vorster's visit to Israel in 1976 resulted in far reaching collaborative agreements which were extended to military technical assistance and nuclear areas, the latter being the most ominous development of the time. Various kinds of weapons of destruction have been shipped to South Africa from Israel. South African enriched uranium has been exchanged for Israeli nuclear technology. A nuclear test explosion which occurred in the South Atlantic Ocean in 1979 was acknowledged by the C.I.A. and Pentagon as an Israeli-South African venture.

The military collaboration is in itself a partial indication of the role which these colonial settler states play in the imperialist system. Both were originally envisioned and used to safeguard colonial transport routes in their respective strategic areas. Both have functioned to geographically and politically drive a wedge into the so-called "third world" countries as part of colonialism's and later imperialism's overall strategy to insure its plunder of the natural wealth of the areas concerned, oil in the Middle East and mineral resources in South Africa. Both have struck out at progressive development, regardless of whether these emanate from population movements or from progressive nationalist governments. The Zionist liquidationist war against the Palestinian Resistance is comparable to that waged by the South African regime against SWAPO of Namibia and ANC of South Africa. The Israeli aggressions of 1956, 1967 and recently 1982, the invasion of Lebanon with the subsequent massacre of innocent Palestinian men, women and children in Sabra and Shatila camps, are parallel in their aims to South African continual attempts to destabilize the revolutionary governments of Angola, Zimbabwe Lesotho, Mozambique with accompanying massacres (1979) at Kassinga, Soweto, Huambo, the atola raid and in December, 1982, the Maseru massacre, etc. Both these settler states hypocritically invoke self arrogated aggressive doctrine of the right to 'hot pursuit' and presumptive strike as a so-called security measure.

The settler states facilitate immigration of qualified immigrants, White Europeans for South Africa and European Jews for Israel. In both countries immigrants are helped socially, economically and in housing. On the other hand, the indigenous people are socially and cul-

turally discriminated against, politically disenfranchised, economically exploited and worst of all land dispossessed and displaced. The bantustan policy in South Africa is the regime's device of creating a non-African white dominated South Africa. The land dispossession of the Arab-Palestinian people by the terror of 1948 and thereafter the 1967 occupation and settlement of Arab lands by Israel, echoes the experience of our people. Apartheid and Zionism attempt to resolve the issue of their subjugation and expropriation of the traditional territory of the African and Arab Palestinian peoples respectively by the de facto dispossession and occupation of their lands. To date these settler states continue to engage in a program of annexation. The Syrian Golan Heights and the city of Jerusalem and now part of Lebanon in the Middle East, Namibia and Southern Angola in Southern Africa.

Israel, South Africa and their accomplices, the Western imperialist countries who have the political and economic influence to prevent these genocidal crimes perpetrated by these settler states, must bear the responsibility for such crimes. They also must bear responsibility for the deteriorating situation characterized on the one hand by the intensification of the struggle waged by the oppressed peoples of these respective countries under the leadership of ANC in South Africa and PLO in Palestine, and the escalation of brutal repression, terrorism and aggression carried out by the Pretorian regime Tel-Aviv Zionists on the other.

Comrades and friends, given these capitalist, imperialist alliances against the oppressed people of Palestine, South Africa and everywhere repressive regimes exist, it becomes imperative for the progressive forces the world over to consolidate their efforts and forge their own alliances in the fight against world imperialism. On our part, as ANC we salute the gallant struggles of the people of Palestine under the leadership of PLO, of El Salvador led by the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front, Polisario of Western Sahara, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Puerto Rico and all those who still languish under the yoke of Western imperialism. We pledge to redouble our mutual support with our comrades-in-arms, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia. We stand firm in our resolve to carry out the assault on the enemy to its logical conclusion.

Victory is certain! Power to the People! □

Bessie Nemeroff
In loving memory of my husband.

Reagan, Begin and the Real Interests of the Jewish People by Herbert Aptheker

We publish below the address delivered by our editor at the 11th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner, June 5, 1983 at the Roosevelt Hotel, NYC.

Major organizations of Jewish people in the United States are dominated by an extremely wealthy elite. This leadership is ultra-nationalist; it supports the expansionist, occupationist and brutal policies of Begin, and the imperialist, counter-revolutionary and war-threatening policies of Reagan. Since reaction and racism are twins, the Begin-Reagan vaudeville act is permeated with chauvinism. One may say with confidence that the Reagan Administration is the most racist in U.S. history since that of Buchanan.

Recently there has been published — by a subsidiary of the Hearst Corporation — an authoritative book-length statement of this leadership's policy. Its title is *The Real Anti-Semitism in America* (Arbor House, N.Y., 1982, \$15.50). Its chief author* is Nathan Perlmutter, presently National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, formerly Associate National Director of the American Jewish Committee and a Vice-President of Brandeis University.

Mr. Perlmutter and his class brothers insist that their pro-Begin, pro-Reagan stance is necessary to the well-being of Jews in the United States and to the security of Israel. Further, with unabashed ethno-centrism, our author emphasizes that that well-being and that security are his fundamental, if not sole, consideration.

Indeed, this line explains the book's title; Mr. Perlmutter means — and in the foreword explicitly states — that old fashioned, "crude," anti-Semitism does not seriously threaten Jews, or Israel, today; rather, certain policies constitute that threat. They are: affirmative action, the present peace movement and its anti-nuclear weapons emphasis, and its "depreciation of military preparedness."

Perlmutter feels that "the preference Jews have manifested for the political Left over the Right requires reconsideration" and that "nowadays war is getting a bad name and peace too favorable a press." Like General Haig, Perlmutter is sure that war may be preferable

to peace; like President Reagan he would rather see the children of the world dead than living in a globe whose politics was distasteful to him.

Perlmutter demagogically supports his position by reference to World War II — and here characteristically what he notes is its relationship to the fate of Jews and not to humanity as a whole; further there is a failure to observe its anti-fascist character.

It is relevant also to observe that Perlmutter — like his Reagan-Kirkpatrick mentors — blames the coming of World War II upon the peace movement which preceded it, and equates it with an appeasement policy which eventuated in Hitler's aggressions. He uses this analogy to support his theme of the alleged danger today flowing from Left policies. But the analysis of the past is as erroneous as his prescriptions for the present. In the first place, the present peace movement seeks to prevent World War III — that would be omniscide, not war. Secondly, Hitler was created, financed and maintained by the world bourgeoisie which saw in his platform the annihilation of socialism in Germany and the destruction of the Soviet Union. Fascism was allowed anything, including the rape of Ethiopia, the crucifixion of Spain, and the swallowing of Austria and Czechoslovakia (as Japanese imperialism was encouraged to swallow China with, again, the understanding that the ultimate target was the U.S.S.R.).

Only the policy of collective security of all anti — and non-fascist Powers — of the Soviet Union and the bourgeois-democracies — could have curbed Hitlerism. That policy was rejected, by the Right; *this* led to World War II, the annihilation of fifty million peoples — including six million Jews. The democratic, the Left policy finally was implemented, in blood and with the colossal losses noted; but when that policy was implemented, fascism was smashed — with the contribution of the U.S.S.R. being decisive. Thus was the human race saved from fascist enslavement.

There is an accurate depiction of the respective roles of Left and Right in the epoch of World War II. The line of opposing the Left and embracing the Right almost did enslave humanity and complete the utter extinction of its Jewish component. Today, that Perlmutter line, if followed to its logical conclusion, namely, Right domination and its offspring, a Third World War, will assure the end of humanity.

* * *

The line of the Right in Israel — the line of Begin, the fascist (as Albert Einstein correctly called him in 1948) — has meant for Israel not security but insecurity, not honor but disgrace, not peace but war. That line has

* Ruth Ann Perlmutter is given as junior author, but almost the entire book is written in the first person — that of Nathan Perlmutter.

meant over 20,000 dead in Lebanon and 3,000 dead and wounded among Israelis. It has meant Jews in the roles of occupiers, jailers, tormentors of other peoples; it has meant the coming into being of an Israel which is a pariah state, like its ally, the Republic of South Africa. It has meant that tomorrow begins the second year of Begin's "short war" which in May, 1983 cost Israel ninety new casualties.

Can you believe that in a book published in September, 1982, which is permeated with phrases about the danger to Israel's security, there is absolutely no mention of the "longest war" to ensnare Israel? Perhaps one can extract something hopeful from this extraordinary fact; possibly Perlmutter omitted this "detail" because he — even he — is ashamed of this particular Begin atrocity? Further, except for repeated denunciations of an alphabetized and dehumanized P.L.O. there is no mention in the book of the Palestinian people; apparently Mr. Perlmutter has not discovered them.

The Perlmutter leadership detests liberalism and embraces reaction; it wants the United Nations dissolved, and Reagan's armaments program implemented. Perlmutter reserves his venom for Eugene V. Debs and Che Guevera, for Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin. The forward looking National Council of Christian Churches and the theology of liberation are anathema to him; the fundamentalists from Jerry Falwell to Pat Robertson are embraced. This is the Pat Robertson who in October, 1981 (in *Church and State*) insisted that the principle of separation of State and Church reflected "not the Constitution of the United States, but of the U.S.S.R." Robertson advocated a Constitutional amendment — "over and above the First Amendment" — that would affirm this Republic to be a Christian state. He wrote: "We're the majority . . . Why don't Christians do something? I'm ready to go out in the streets and revolt."

Such "revolutionaries" are all right for Perlmutter; it is the martyred Che Guevera who reminds him of a "Hitlerian hurricane."

To Perlmutter a Black militant and a Ku Kluxer are undifferentiated. He thinks it absurd to distinguish what he calls a Black "brute" from a white one because one is

"deprived" and the other is "depraved." With this outlook there is precious little to choose between a bedraggled General Washington and a bespangled Lord Cornwallis, between a John Wilkes Booth and a Nat Turner, between a Jefferson Davis and a John Brown.

* * *

Perlmutter's sharpest attacks are reserved for affirmative action; he attacks this at greater length than he does the Soviet Union! His arguments are as stale as they are insipid; he merely repeats the arguments offered by Professor Glazer of Harvard back in 1976.

In a manner more crude and more chauvinist than that manifested by the Harvard scholar, Perlmutter labels affirmative action reverse discrimination when, in fact, it is a way to reverse discrimination. He makes affirmative action the foe of merit when in fact racism is exactly a device for the undercutting of merit. He equates the quota efforts of affirmative action with the anti-Semitic quotas that characterized Czarism — and Ivy League colleges until the end of World War II — when in fact the quotas associated with affirmative action are precisely the *opposite* of the anti-Semitic quotas. The quotas of affirmative action are designed to *permit* entry, not to bar entry, to *open*, not close the gates to a decent education and good employment to all peoples in some equitable proportion to the general population so that decent incomes and homes and educations are realities for all our inhabitants regardless of race or color or religion or gender. That is what really combatting racism requires.

Perlmutter makes racism a matter of the past; he actually insists that it no longer exists! The fact, of course, is that the social order of the United States has been and is absolutely immersed in a racist sewer. Not only does every social index confirm this — from employment to income, from health to education, from housing to police brutality — but the ominous fact is that all such indices of racism have been intensifying during the past decade and especially so with the blatantly racist Reagan Administration.

Perlmutter especially objects to affirmative action's application to *groups* of people rather than to individuals, but of course racism afflicts specific groups. Racism is slander directed against designated peoples; racism is the special oppression of designated peoples. To seriously tackle racism *requires*, therefore, grappling with and combatting this group reality, by illegalizing the racist practice and instituting a democratic one.

Above all, Perlmutter objects to affirmative action's insistence that the test of its implementation is not a promise and not even a law; the test of its implementa-

* On p. 261, Perlmutter mentions the Israeli bombing of Beirut which cost 800 lives (he omits that, of course). But here he is referring to the attack of July, 1981 and denounces the "hypocrisy of Western protestations" about this bombing of an alleged P.L.O. center "unconscionably situated in residential Beirut!"

tion is in *results* — in actual bread and butter, in employment, in income, in education, housing, health, in the quality of life, not the promises of politicians or Harvard professors or *Commentary* editors or Directors of million-dollar organizations.

That is the content of the present state of the Afro-American liberation movement. Its achievement and advance are fundamental to the health of U.S. society in general, and that certainly includes the well-being of the Jewish component in that society.

Reaction needs and breeds anti-Semitism. To support reaction is, for Jews in particular and for humanity in general, to court disaster.

Indeed one sees in the present United States, the relationship between a resurgent Right and resurgent anti-Semitism. Perlmutter minimizes what he calls "crude" anti-Semitism, but the data of his own Anti-Defamation League show the following:

Reported Cases, ANTI-JEWISH vandalism and assaults 1978: 49; 1979: 120; 1980: 377; 1981 (latest year for complete figures) 900. This is an increase of about 1800% in four years!

Furthermore, the A.D.L. itself reports, as Perlmutter notes, "that only a fraction of such depredations are formally brought to the league's attention." One should add that surveys by the A.D.L. over the years show a decline in the number of convinced anti-Semites in the United States, but its latest announced finding was a total of *seventy millions* of such bigots!

These figures seem to suggest enough "real anti-Semitism in America" to keep so-called Jewish leaders fully occupied without seeking, in addition, to destroy the United Nations, to eliminate affirmative action and to participate in an anti-Soviet crusade!

* * *

I have another suggestion to keep such "leaders" fully occupied in vitally important and relevant work. Early this year the Council of Jewish Federations reported that its twenty-two affiliates were swamped with appeals for help from unemployed and impoverished Jews. The Philadelphia Federation of Jewish Agencies, the Chicago Jewish Federation, the Detroit Jewish Welfare Federation and similar organizations in Cleveland, in Baltimore, and in New Jersey report Jews without roofs over their heads, needing a meal, requiring clothing. Tens of thousands of Jews are newly poor. These federation employees report increased break-ups of marriages, suicides, child abuse, wife beating, and they say these are traceable to unemployment.*

* Data from Jewish Telegraphic Agency report, New York City, in *Jewish Sentinel*, May 19, 1983, pp. 2 and 44.

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Indeed, such experts believe that there are today in the United States — in Golden America — about one million Jews who are at or near the poverty level — are "Jews Without Money" in the words of our immortal Mike Gold. Perhaps the billions for Reagan's weapons and Begin's bombs might better be used to see to it that Jewish men and women have decent employment and that Jewish children have substantial, healthy meals?

In fact, Mr. Perlmutter, with his obsession against affirmative action, may not know — and certainly if he did know would be loath to publicize — that there exists a Bureau on Jewish Employment which has become especially active lately — what with Reaganomics. It is visiting corporate headquarters with the objective of checking out available jobs. This Bureau states that it does not seek quotas, but it is seeking out the big corporations which have anti-Semitic employment policies and it is threatening them — quietly so far — with public exposure if they do not add some Jews to their employment rolls!

This Bureau on Jewish Employment demands not promises, not expressions of good will; it demands, Mr. Perlmutter, precisely "results"! (See the column by Peter Waldstein, the *Chicago Jewish Sentinel*, May 12, 1983.)

* * *

Permit me to quote a paragraph from my own writings published in *Jewish Affairs* some years ago (May-June, 1979):

Evidence has multiplied during the past fifteen or twenty years of the critical need of a national organization of Jewish men and women who understand the deepest requirements of our society, who understand the relationship between reaction and anti-Semitism and particularly between racist attacks upon colored peoples and anti-Semitism. Such Jewish men and women — steeped in the finest democratic and revolutionary traditions of Jewish masses for centuries — should act now to retrieve the reality of this tradition from the hands of the like of B'nai B'rith and the editors of such disgraces as *Commentary*.

(Continued, bottom of next page)

Wolf Ehrlich's Cross-Country Tour: A Resounding Success

The tour across the U.S. of Wolf Ehrlich, leading member of the Communist Party of Israel, sponsored by **Jewish Affairs** was a resounding success. Within a period of twelve days our honored guest appeared in New York City, Detroit, Michigan, Chicago, Illinois, Los Angeles and San Francisco, California speaking at public rallies, participating in conferences with editors, trade unionists, college professors, lawyers, Jewish American leaders. Wolf Ehrlich was interviewed by radio stations on the east and west coasts and was tendered a testimonial by the Detroit City Council.

Despite this hectic schedule a bit of time was found for some sightseeing to give our guest a birdseye view of our country.

The very presence of Wolf Ehrlich along with the richness of the content of his address at the 11th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner made the Dinner our most memorable one. We continue to receive laudatory comments about the brilliance, forthrightness and depth of his presentation.

Wolf Ehrlich's observation that "there is an obvious need for strategic cooperation between the progressive and democratic forces of both our countries . . . in order to fight against the unholy alliance of the reactionaries of the two countries which is directed against other peoples, but against our peoples as well," evoked a positive response.

Happily, we have lived to see action along these lines. Outstanding in this regard has been the creation and very rapid growth of New Jewish Agenda, with its young, fresh leadership, its anti-war emphasis, and its commitment to an anti-racist, progressive outlook. This development is part of a national upsurge of labor militancy, campus stirrings, farmer activism, the women's movement, the inspiring anti-war and anti-nuclear weapons movement. It is part of such stirring events as the election of Harold Washington as Chicago's mayor and the defeat of the racist Rizzo in Philadelphia. These victories, and others, represent the development of a new politics with significant Black - Puerto Rican - Chicano - trade union and progressive unity. It should be observed that in Mr. Washington's victory last April, over 43 % of the Jewish voters chose the Black, progressive candidate, though his Republican - Reaganite - racist opponent happened himself to be Jewish.

* * *

Mr. Perlmutter's concluding chapter bears a title quot-

Wolf Ehrlich's presentations at the public gathering and at the conferences in which he was involved not only added to the fund of knowledge about the Middle East and Israel in particular but also deepened the understanding of those present about the complexities of the problems and the creative, principled, persistent efforts exerted by the C.P.I. in facing and resolving these problems.

Jewish Affairs, as a result of the successful tour across the land, was exposed to hundreds of new people and picked up a significant number of new subscribers.

At the reception at Unity Center for Wolf Ehrlich, Gus Hall, general secretary of the C.P.U.S.A., spoke of the common bond that unites our two parties, emphasizing our struggles against the common enemy — U.S. imperialism — and paid tribute to the C.P.I. for its outstanding work in promoting proletarian internationalism.

Along with Gus Hall, Henry Winston, chairman, Arnold Becchetti, organizational secretary, members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee who attended the reception, were deeply moved by Wolf Ehrlich's greetings and remarks. They expressed their gratitude for his presence in our country and for extending himself to make the cross-country tour.

We, of **Jewish Affairs**, will do all in our power to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the C.P.I. and the forces fighting for peace and equality in Israel and the Middle East. We know that we will have the fullest support of our subscribers and our readers. L.M.M. □

ing from one of our Jewish sages: "If I Am Not For Myself . . ." Perlmutter stops his quotation quite abruptly at that point, but the full admonition is: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me?" And, it concludes: "If I am for myself alone, what am I?"

Yes, it is necessary to speak up for oneself and not to keep silent. But it also is necessary to understand that to speak up only for ourselves, to forget that we are part of all struggling humanity and that our strength lies in unity — to forget this is to forget the teachings of our prophets and to court catastrophe.

Jews in the United States need what all peoples in our nation need: A progressive policy of anti-racism, anti-imperialism, anti-monopoly, anti-war, or, in one phrase, anti-Reaganism.

For equality, for national liberation, for peace, for People before Profits — that is the path for security of Israel, for effectively fighting real anti-Semitism in the United States, for realizing the precious dreams of our Prophets. □

Exit 13: Oppression and Racism in Academia

A Review By
Marion Andrews

Exit 13: Oppression and Racism in Academia by Monte Piliawsky, South End Press, Boston, Mass., paperback, 252 pages, \$7.50.

Exit 13 on Interstate Highway 59 is the gateway to an education at the University of Southern Mississippi. What should a young college student expect his or her university to be? A place to acquire knowledge, to learn new methods for scientific and social study; a place to explore, to exchange ideas, to applaud and to criticize ideas and institutions; a place to look for solutions to world problems. Instead, he who gets off at Exit 13 enters a kind of "twilight zone," characterized by its racism, sexism, authoritarianism, and pro-capitalist ideology.

Monte Piliawsky spent from 1970 to 1972 at the University of Southern Mississippi (USM) as a professor of political science. His book, *EXIT 13* is a gripping, well-documented record of racism, sexism and repression in America's universities. Piliawsky goes even further by showing how life at USM is a scaled-down model of American society. In Piliawsky's words "For *EXIT 13* is a case study showing how a procapitalist ideology permeates every aspect of college life and curriculum in a way that recreates a microcosm of the authoritarianism, racism, and sexism in society itself."

During Piliawsky's two years at USM the university was governed by President General William D. McCain, who appointed other generals to the university administration. As Piliawsky puts it, the university was run by a "junta of military advisors." McCain was known for his community involvement . . . in the White Citizen's Council. He also affiliated himself with other right-wing groups, and allowed them to hold a summer forum for high school students on the USM campus. Some of the featured speakers were: Dr. Fred Schwartz, president of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade; John Noble, author of *I WAS A SLAVE IN RUSSIA*; and Dr. Medford Evans, editor of the monthly journal of both the White Citizens's Council and the John Birch Society. McCain himself spoke. But McCain refused to allow the student body to choose its speakers. Hodding Carter, Robert Kennedy, Claude Ramsay (president of Miss. AFL-CIO) were banned although student groups requested them. McCain was able to prohibit speakers due to an edict issued by the Board of Trustees which

required college presidents to investigate and approve all speakers. The regulation did not explain any criteria for approval. Speakers banned by the board also included Martin Luther King, Hubert Humphrey, and William Sloane Coffin.

But McCain and the board of trustees were capable of even greater crimes.

In September of 1959 Clyde Kennard, a black serviceman, attempted to enroll at USM. Kennard tried to discuss his possible admission with McCain for three years. The state tried to dissuade him. Kennard didn't pay attention to warnings about McCain's political affiliations. On Sept. 15, 1959 Kennard drove to USM for a formal interview with McCain about his enrollment. After the interview Kennard returned to his parked car. He was immediately arrested for reckless driving. Other charges were filed against Kennard. Piliawsky devotes an entire chapter to his case. Suffice it to say that Kennard died due to medical neglect on the part of prison authorities. Piliawsky quotes John Howard Griffin, author of *BLACK LIKE ME*. Griffin said of Kennard:

"This was a man who had great things to contribute, and because he wanted to continue his education in an area where he had every right he was thrown to the mad dogs and ended up a martyr."

But what of minority enrollment in America's universities in the 70's and 80's? Statistics show that black enrollment in America's college more than doubled between 1970 and 1977, and that the number of minority students enrolled in medical and law schools also increased dramatically between 1968 and 1978. These statistics, however, as Piliawsky states, are quite deceptive. In 1969 out of 10,422 first-year medical students, there were only 44 Chicanos, 10 mainland Puerto Ricans and 7 Native-Americans. This "miraculous" increase in minority enrollment is attributable to two-year institutions. Piliawsky provides striking documentation as to why this is no accident, and is in fact planned and due to the control that capitalism has over education.

Since the end of the 1970s the upward trend has been reversed.

The book shows who controls America's universities. Trustees of universities are generally white, male, Protestant, upper class, and Republican. Most make a living in corporate management. For example in California, the regents of the state university also sit on the boards of AT&T, Lockheed Aircraft, United California Bank, and Southern California Edison to name but a few. The job of the trustees is to protect the interests of capitalism. In the late 60's the trustees of U.S. universities were confronted with various problems; financial crises, student

radicalism, and mounting pressure from minority groups. The trustees found their solution in a carefully disguised tracking system which Piliawsky clearly exposes. Two-year community colleges were created to provide vocational education for America's working class sons and daughters and for minority students. Indeed even most four-year institutions were to do the same. Only certain select colleges would continue to provide a liberal arts education for certain elite groups. A 1967 Carnegie Commission on Higher Education said:

"Elite institutions of all types — colleges and universities . . . should not be homogenized in the name of egalitarianism . . . These should be protected by policies on differentiation of functions."

Piliawsky provides plenty of documentation to expose this deliberate tracking system, and this certainly is one of the book's most outstanding contributions.

Surely one of the gravest dangers to capitalism is to talk about socialism or even to be highly critical of the status quo. This explains the disregard for academic freedom in the firing of Marxist professors. Piliawsky discusses the case of Angela Davis and others. Non-Marxists have also been fired; for example, for protesting the war in Viet Nam. During Piliawsky's years at USM teachers were fired not only for infraction of rules but for having beards, for being pregnant, etc.

As regional director of the National Science Teachers Association, a professor wrote to the state attorney general to enquire about Mississippi law on teaching evolution, and was subsequently fired.

The statistics on increased minority enrollment have been used to deny the existence of racism. In the final chapters of the book Piliawsky documents how this denial is used in other areas of society (judicial, economic, etc.) and is only reflected in the educational system. Piliawsky points out that the new racism is subtle and "respectable." It blames the victims rather than the society.

While overall the book fulfills its author's intention to expose racism, sexism, and authoritarianism in higher education as a reflection of these problems in society as a whole (and does so with great depth) the book nevertheless has its shortcomings.

The section on sexism in academia is limited. Piliawsky reports on sexism in hiring. But sexism in the treatment of female students (admissions, etc.) is only briefly discussed.

Piliawsky does not handle the question of academic freedom well, nor the issue of anti-communism.

Piliawsky points to the existence of anti-Semitism among those admitted as graduate students at U.S.M. without further comment. One of the weaknesses of the book is that the author does not show the connection between racism and anti-Semitism. A chapter on anti-Semitism in Mississippi and the South would have been of great value in exposing the roots and tentacles of racism.

These faults notwithstanding, *EXIT 13* is well-written, entertaining and thought provoking. It is essential reading for all those interested in the future of education and civil and human rights in the United States.

Marion Andrews is a New York City High School teacher.

EDITORIAL NOTE: A report at the Conference of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression held in Chicago, in May 1983, revealed that the State of Mississippi has invited students from South Africa to attend public High Schools. These students are used to spread Apartheid racism. A South African student was put in charge of a Black History Assembly program. When asked by a student from Mississippi why Blacks do not attend school with whites, the South African answered, "Don't you know that they are savages." The school authorities let it go at that.

EXIT 13 makes it understandable why Mayor Eddie Carthan of Tchula, Miss. is a prisoner of the State of Miss. Acquitted of a framed-up murder charge he is still imprisoned on false assault charges stemming from his attempts to exercise his legal powers as Mayor of Tchula.

Not to be ignored is the struggle by the Black Student Union at the University of Miss., which persists in its demands for change. Worthy of note is the following editorial which appeared in the April 16 issue of *The Daily World*:

UNRECONSTRUCTED MISSISSIPPI

"The Black Student Union at the University of Mississippi has demanded, among other things, the banning of the Confederate flags at campus functions.

"The demands were raised after pictures of the Ku Klux Klan appeared in the school yearbook. The Black students, less than 9 percent of the student body, have charged that racism is condoned at the university. The school, of course, denies the charge although bands of white students recently demonstrated in front of a Black dorm, singing "Dixie" and shouting epithets while waving the Confederate flag.

"The demand deserves support from all who believe in democracy, equality and justice. The Confederate

(Continued on bottom of next page)

Jewish Americans Today

In preparation for the 23rd National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. to be held in Cleveland, Ohio November 10th-13th, a Basic Pre-Convention Document has been drawn up for discussion, amendments and additions.

We publish below the section of the Document on the Jewish People in the U.S. and welcome comments from our readers.

The Jewish People

Jewish Americans today, representing the largest Jewish population of any country in the world, face economic hardships as a result of the depression. About 2% live in poverty. There is also a crisis of leadership in the Jewish community because of the radical changes in the thinking of Jewish Americans.

The emergence of the New Jewish Agenda, a movement that runs parallel with the goals of the Peace Now Movement in Israel, is having an effect on and reflects the Jewish community's questioning and doubts about Israel's policies and actions, as well as about Zionism. Zionism, because it supports U.S. imperialist policies and the expansionist and annexationist policies of the Begin Government, is a divisive and negative influence in the Jewish community and works to divert Jewish Americans from their natural alliance with the working class and the all peoples front. Zionism works to usurp and misuse the rightful feelings of Jewish Americans toward the existence of Israel in the attempt to divert the traditional progressive influences in the Jewish community to reactionary policies.

The recent statements of the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Congress and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, together with the positions of the New Jewish Agenda give strong support to the nuclear freeze movement and other peace initia-

tives. The recent statement of 120 Jewish law students from prestigious U.S. universities, condemning the policies of the Begin Government, add great weight and reflect the movement for change in the thought patterns of the Jewish community.

In the United States, there is no real protection against racist or anti-Semitic slander. Rather, there is the bourgeois notion that such behavior constitutes "free speech," that to repress it in any way, even when connected with organized groups like the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan, is "undemocratic."

Jewish Americans are denied equal rights in many areas of life. Anti-Semitism still exists in many areas, especially in the area of job discrimination in hiring and promotion. Anti-Semitic demagoguery and violence are staples of reactionary and fascist movements. It seeks to divert the people's anger against Reaganism, Reaganomics and the capitalist system.

The Challenge

How to be more effective in the struggle against all forms of anti-Semitism in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres of life.

Our Special Responsibilities

A) To be more helpful in the struggle against the ideologies of racism, national chauvinism, anti-Semitism and Zionism.

B) To be more helpful in assisting the mass of the Jewish people to see their common interests with the U.S. working class and the forces of the anti-monopoly, all-people's front.

C) To be more effective in exposing the big lie of anti-Sovietism, which is the main poison that the Zionist movement spreads.

D) To help explain that the future and the basic interests of Israel are not served by being tied to U.S. imperialism. □

(Continued from page 16)

flag, a symbol of slavery, should be treated no differently than hooded night riders or burning crosses.

"It should have been buried with the system it represents — chattel slavery."

The Black students won their demand. The University will now ban the use of the Confederate flag at campus functions. □

July/August 1983

Gertrude & Bob Decker

Greetings and best wishes to Jewish Affairs in appreciation of its worth contributions to the Jewish Community.

JUNE 12, 1982

By C. Bergen

It was a grand, vigorous day,
people gathered
from around the world,
walking, talking, singing
their song of survival.

Parents, children,
lovers, friends,
in a great nativity
under falling sunlight.

We had a new sense of freedom,
a new sense of peace

against the swell of arms
and cutbacks of programs,

We found a new Spring
to the onrush of seasons,
that struck up a chord
of hope in our hearts,

to make for an unbeatable beginning
of CHANGE, brothers and sisters,
glorious, INEVITABLE CHANGE!

C. Bergen is a subscriber to Jewish Affairs.

(Continued from page 2)

amount of nuclear weapons has prompted the Synagogue Council of America, representing all three wings of Judaism, and American Jewish Congress, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to join with New Jewish Agenda in calling for a nuclear weapons freeze and for the diversion of funds for human services and the rebuilding of our economy.

The activities relating to the 40th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising have focused attention on the holocaust of World War II giving rise to a deepening concern about the sharp increase in racism and anti-Semitism.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New Jewish Agenda and Jewish organizations across the land have endorsed the March.

The Forgotten Man

By Henri Percikow

The whip of greed
Has carved deep
Into my flanks.
With pangs in my heart, I live
The chipped laughter of infants,
The deadened hope of youth.
I, wheel turner of the land
Hobble through life forgotten —
Clinging to ravel of happiness.
Yet, I will be the song
In the chronicles of my nation.

My Country

From distant lands
The people came
Kissing the soil,
Sealing a vow
To root with life
This land of youth.

Memories
Of the auction block
And revolt
Recall kinship
For men who carved
The freedom road.

My immortal sons
It is of you I sing
Who lived/and died/
With unbent knee.

Henry Percikow is a supporter of Jewish Affairs. His poetry has appeared in many progressive periodicals.

The self-interest of Jewish Americans in making August 27th a glorious all-peoples demonstration is crystal clear. Our responsibility also stems from our progressive traditions as expressed by Rabbi Hillel: "If I am not for me then who shall be. If not now, when? But, if I am for myself alone, what manner of man am I?"

The Banner of Jewish Affairs will be in Washington on Saturday, August 27th. It could not be otherwise.
Join Us! □

L.M.M.

Jewish Affairs

**GREETINGS TO JEWISH AFFAIRS
AND COMRADE WOLF EHRLICH**

Edna Toney	\$ 2.00	Joseph Belsey	10.00
Anna L. Stern	3.00	Libby and Morris Davis	10.00
Marsha Bratlin, Clarence Taylor	5.00	Carrie Schreiber	10.00
Nat Hoffman	5.00	Julia Barnes, Jonas Schiffman	10.00
Susan Hoffman	5.00	Mary Russack	10.00
Al Freidheim	5.00	Teh Shoikets	10.00
Aurora Zona	5.00	Rose Goldberg	10.00
Paula Alexanderson	5.00	Henrietta and Rose Shaw	10.00
Tania Rosenberg	5.00	Mary Nelson	10.00
Rebecca Gurewitz	5.00	Rose Andors	10.00
Alex Krashenninikow	5.00	Ann Matlin	10.00
Dave and Evelyn Bennett	5.00	Sam Fishman	10.00
B. Chasanow	5.00	George Ross	10.00
Ray Green	5.00	Helen Cort	10.00
Celia Sliptzen	5.00	Stella Markos	10.00
Marion and Leon Forer	5.00	Anna Bogdansky	10.00
Herta Mayer	5.00	Mr. and Mrs. Davis	10.00
L. G. Rosenfield	5.00	John Segarich	10.00
Hyman R. Cohen	5.00	Saul Friedberg	10.00
Antanoff	5.00	Clara and Julius Cohen	10.00
Helen Classic	5.00	Pauline B.	10.00
Phil Glazer	5.00	Adele, Dinah Lithauer	10.00
I. Merkelson	5.00	Norman Hoeggett	15.00
Rose Bleifeld	5.00	Oscar Olshansky	15.00
Dora Silver	5.00	Ruth S. Blumenthal	15.00
Gertrude	5.00	Tibby Brooks	15.00
Nina Eisenberg	5.00	G. Skidell	15.00
Ella Ratner	5.00	Rose W. Lewis	15.00
R. Chomsky	5.00	Sam Machlis, Lottie Wolf	19.00
Dave Weiner	10.00	Sylvia Rutland	20.00
Roe P. Halpern	10.00	Stanley Scott	20.00
Anna Yellin	10.00	Alex Shames	20.00
Esther Drexler	10.00	Luba Holtzman	20.00
Ted Bassett	10.00	Saul, Anne Blitman	20.00
Maurice Kurzman, Jack Englehardt	10.00	Minna Bayer	20.00
B. Sheingold	10.00	Clara, Meyer Case	20.00
Sid Taylor	10.00	Ann Friedlander	20.00
Sylvia Zucker	10.00	Edith Siegal	20.00
Harry Brier	10.00	Paul, Sonia Stevens	20.00
Constance Mazzetti	10.00	Alfred Levine	20.00
Frank Novick	10.00	Beatrice Hellman	25.00
Phila., Pa.	10.00	Rita, Ben Eisner	25.00
S. B. Itzkowitz	10.00	Marie, Louis Rosenblum	25.00
Henrietta Friedman	10.00	Lillian Gicherman	25.00
Rachel Tholfsen	10.00	Kahn-Orens	25.00
Ernest Kaiser	10.00	Emanuel, Manny Brownstein	25.00
Debby Bass	10.00	Jack, Esther Simon	25.00
Rae Beale	10.00	Albert, Ceil Paula	25.00
		Nettie J. Zimmerman	30.00
		David, Etka Seltzer	35.00
		Blanche, Alex Kutz	50.00

2) א פאדערונג צו רעגענען ער זאל מאנען פון דעם סענאט ער זאל ראטיפיצירן דעם "יודען" בענאסיד" באשלוס כדי די לעקציעס זאלן קיינמאל ניט פארגעסן ווערן.
 3) פאדערן אז די רעגירונג ארמיניסטרעציע זאל בא-פעסטיקט שטיצן די סאנקציעס ארויסגעצוואונגען דורך דער "יודען" אויף דעם יודאפריקאנער אפארטאנט רעזישין וועלכער פירט דורך א האלאקאסט קעגן דעם יודאפריקאנער פאלק.

4) שטיצן די קאמפאניע פון דעם נאציאנאלן אלאי-ענס קעגן ראסיסטישע און פאליטישע רעפרעסיעס; פאר דערקלערן אויסער דעם געזעץ דעם "קולקוס-קלען" די נאציס. ראסיס און אנטי-סעמיטיזם.

5) צו שטיצן די דעקלאראציע פון דער אינטערנא-ציאנאלער קאנפערענץ וועלכע איז אפגעהאלטן געווארן אין ווארשע, וועלכע דערקלערט:

דער קאמף קעגן פאשיזם און נאציזם דערמוסקט דעם קאמף פאר שלום און פארזיכערונג אין איראפע און דער וועלט.

אין דעם וועג קענען מיר אפגעבן כבוד דעם געבאט פון די ווארשעווער-געטא מארטירער:

"קיינמאל ניט פארגעסן!"
 "קיינמאל ניט פארגעבן!"

(איבערזעט פון ד. פריד)

**GREETINGS TO JEWISH AFFAIRS
 AND COMRADE WOLF EHRLICH**

Thelma Potash, in memory of Meyer Potash	50.00
Louis Kanter	75.00
Charles Stringwater, 91 Years of Age	100.00
John and Jessica Abt	100.00
Sonia, Alex Kolkin	100.00
Leon H. Werner	100.00
Marxist Forum of Great Neck	100.00
Muriel, Sam Neuberger	100.00

**GREETINGS TO JEWISH AFFAIRS
 AND WOLF EHRLICH**

\$500.00

**Progressive Cultural Club
 of Philadelphia**

מיין פרוי דארא און דוד מיילגראס, אן אקטיוויסט פאר "דזשוואיש אפעירס" (יידישע ענינים) פון פילדעלפיע, וועלכער איז געווען א טייל פון אונזער דעלעגאציע, ווי אויך איר, האבן געפונען די 10 טעג פון אנדעקאנצערע מאנעס אין פוילן זייער רייך און באלערנד ווי אויך הארץ-רירנדיק.

דער אויסקוק פון די רעדנער ביי די שלום-פאר-זאמלונגען אין פוילן צוזאמען מיט דעם אינהאלט פון דער אנגענומענער רעזאלוציע ביי דער אינטערנאציאנאלער קאנפערענץ קען זינען ווי א באדייטונגספולער וועג-ווייזער פאר א ציע אין די פאראייניקטע שטאטן.

ביי דער וואשינגטאנער קאנפערענץ פון האלאקאסט-געראטעוועטע האט דער בלעבל-צונג אראסאר און איצ-טיקער פארבעמער פון ווייסן הויז, ראנאלד רענגע, אויס-גערופן; אונזער זייער הייליקע אויפגאבע איצט איז צו פארזיכערן, די גרעסטע מענטשליכע טראגדיע, די האלע-קאסט, זאל קיינמאל ניט וועלן, אז אירע לעקציעס זאלן קיינמאל ניט פארגעסן ווערן.

לאמיר אינגאנצן רעגירונג היפאקריסטיש און ציני-ציוס און לאמיר אננעמען די פאראנטווארטלעכקייט פון דורכפירן דעם צוואג דורך אנפירן קאמפאניעס פאר די פאלקענדיקע:

1) א פאדערונג פון רעגענען צו עפענען די וועסט בערלינער אמעריקאנער אויכוון וועגן די נאציס, וועלכע זיינען שוין אויפגעפארערט געווארן פאר יארן דורך פאר-שע פון דער צווייטער וועלט-מלחמה איבער דער גאנצער וועלט.

GREETINGS TO JEWISH AFFAIRS

AND WOLF EHRLICH

\$500.00

Harold and Florence Chidekel

**THE JEWISH COMMISSION, CPUSA
 AND
 THE EDITORS OF JEWISH AFFAIRS**

Extend Their Condolences

To
EVA WISE

On the death of her husband and comrade

ABE WISE

היסלען, אין זיינע סאגניכער וועלכע ווערן איצט צו געגרייט אין גיהנום.

די פרעסע אין די פאראייניקטע שטאטן האט פאר- פעסטעט די לופט מיט אירע ליגנס וועגן די אקטיוויטעטן אין פוילן, זיי האבן קינגאל נישט באריכטעט וועגן דער אינטערנאציאנאלער קאנפערענץ און סאדרייט די דער וועגן דעם אזוי גערופענעם באיקאט.

סטעפאן גראַיעק, פון ישראל, פארוויצער פון דער וועלט פערעראציע וועגן אירעשע קעמפער, גערילאס און דעפאר- טירטע, האט דערקלערט אז דער באיקאט-פארוו, ארגא- נייזיט פון קליינע און אומבארייטנדיקע גרופן, איז געווען א דורכפאל, ער האט באשולדיקט: "אזעלכע פארוו מירן צו באשמוצן דעם אנדענק פון די געפאלענע".

קלמן טולטאניק, וויצע-פארוויצער פון דעם אידישן וועלט קאנגרעס, האט גערעדט ביים שלוש-צערעמאניעס פון דער אינטערנאציאנאלער קאנפערענץ און ראטיי לונק- סאנדער שינדלער האט אדרעסירט די פארוואלונג אין אקטיוויטעטן, די לעצטע פון די אקטיוויטעטן.

אלע די וועלכע האבן אנטייל גענומען אין דעם באווד אין פוילן, זיינען געקומען פון מורח און מערב איראפע, ישראל, ויזאפריקע, קאנאדע און פאראייניקטע שטאטן, די מערסטע יוגנטלעכע זיינען געווען מיטגלידער פון השומר הצעיר אין ישראל און זייערע אמעריקאנער שטי- צער — "מעריקאנער פאר פראגריסיווער ישראל", זיי וונגע ישראלים זיינען געווען שארף קריטיש פון בעגינען פאר זיין רופן צו א באיקאט, זיי האבן אפעלירט צו די קאמפריקאנער געסט זיי זאלן שטיצן די "שלום איצט" באוועגונג אין ישראל.

די צערעמאניע פון אזעקלייגן בלומען-קראנצן איז געווען איינדרוקספול און זייער גוט באזוכט. די ישראל נאציאנאלע חוצפה האט זיך ארויסגעוויזן ווען לויט א פלאן האט א גרופע אנגעהויבן זינגען זייער נאציאנאל הימן. בשעת ווען דער פוילישער ארמיי-ארקעסטער האט געשפילט אן אנדענקליד לכבוד די סאלדאטן וועלכע האבן געקעמפט און געפאלן איז דער צווייטער וועלט- מלחמה.

דער אזוי-גערופענער "פיר-עלף" אינזידענט אין פאבריצירט געווארן דורך ישראל-זעלען, סאלידאריטי- לומפן-ליעבענטאן אין דער אמעריקאנער טעלעוויזיע-גרין- פע, ווי עס איז דער שטייגער פון אמבאסאדעס האט דער "פיר-עלף" אמבאסאדאר געבראכט זיין קראנץ א טאג נאך די אפיציעלע צערעמאניעס. די קאנספיראטארס האבן אפגעווארט א שטאף ווערן זייער "טאנצערע".

דער ווארשוער יידישער סאטנער, סובסידירט דורך דער רעגירונג, שפילט אפ זיין זארג און סענסיטיוועס צו דער יידישער קולטור. אזוי ווי עס זיינען פאראן זייער ווייניק יידישע אקטיארן, האבן ניטיידישע פוילישע אק- טיארן זיך אויסגעלערנט און זיינען דער טעאטער איז איינגעריכטעט מיט אייטשטאטונגען און אויב-פאנגן וואס געבן גלייכצייטיק איבערזעצונג אין פויליש כדי צו ברענגען די יידישע קולטור צו די פוילישע מענטשן.

קער, דאקטוירים, אינושניערן, וויסנשאפטליטע, סאציאל- לאגן, ביאכעמיסטן, לערער און אנדערע צו שטיצן דעם נאצי-ערשנים און אנהאלטן דעם מארד-פאראיטע. אמעריקאנער רעפערטאן האבן גערעדט וועגן דעם ווידערגעבורט פון נאציס אין דער פערזאלער זייטשער רעפובליק און וועגן די נוצלאזע דיפלאמאטישע באמאונגען צו ארעטוערן זיין דורך זינגעניש מיט די פאשיסטן.

אז מיינע פארברענגונגען האב איך אנגעדייטעט אויף דער צוריקוויינג פון די פאראייניקטע שטאטן דעם רוף פון סאוועטן-פארבאנד פאר א קאלעקטיוון פארויבערונג- אפמאך צו צווימען דעם אגרעסאר נאך פאר דער צווייטער וועלט-מלחמה; דער פאראיטעט פון די פאראייניקטע שטאטן צו דער שפאנישער רעפובליק און די שטיצע פון דזשענע- ראל מאטארס, סטענדארד אויל און פארד, צווישן אנדערע, וואס זיי האבן געגעבן צו די דייטשע אינווסטריאליסטן און באנקירן וועלכע זיינען געווען דער רוקבניש פון דעם פאשיסטישן רעזשים.

איך האב און גערעדט וועגן דאס ארייננעמען און אויסנוצן די נאצי אנטוויקעלונגען פונדעם דורך דער אמריקאנער רעגירונג און די משוגענע פלענער צו ארוי- טערענען דעם סאוועטן-פארבאנד.

אין זייער שלוס-רעזאלוציע האט די אינטערנאציאנאל- נאלע קאנפערענץ גערופן צו: "אקסולטער דורכפירונג פון אינטערנאציאנאלע אפמאכן און רעגירונג-נעצונג וואס פארבאטן די אקטיוויטעטן פון פאשיסטישע, נאצישע און ראסיסטישע ארגאניזאציעס. דער קאמף קעגן פאשיסם און נאציזם דערמיטליט דעם קאמף פאר שלום און פארויכערונג אין איראפע און אין דער וועלט".

די קאנפערענץ האט אללאקאטירט געראטעוועטע, וועלכע איז אנגעהאלטן געווארן און האשטינגטאן, ערב די ווארשוער-געטא אנדענק-פארוואלונגען, האט באשלאסן אז די לעבן-געבליבענע און זייערע קינדער בלייבן ארגא- נייזיט, אבער נישט אויפגעקלערט די באדייטונג פון דעם פאשיסטישן פארשפרייטונג פון האלאקאסט, אדער וואס דאס מיינט פאר אונזער צייט.

עס איז גאנץ פארשטענדליך ווען מיר באטראכטן די אפשאצונג פון האלאקאסט דורך די אנפירנדיקע האלא- קאסט-רעאטעוועטע זיין דער וואשינגטאנער קאנפערענץ. געניע וויזעל, מחבר און קאלעדזש-פראפעסאר; וואס איז געווען דער האלאקאסט? האט ער געפרעגט, און וואס איז עס? די לעצטע און פולשטענדיקע סעקרעטן וואס קענען קיינמאל נישט באהיטן ווערן אזער איבערגעגעבן ווערן צום פאלקס-ביארוסטויבן".

אין דער צייט פון אנדענק-ארויסטרעטונגען אין פוילן האט סייחון וויזענשיל, אין נאמען פון דעם האלאקאסט צענטער אין ברוקלין, בארעט דזשין קרופטער, אמע- ריקאנער אמבאסאדארין זיין דער "יועדן", פאר אירע "הומאניטישע באמאונגען", זאגנדיק, אז ער "קען נישט דענקען וועגן עמיצן אנדערש וואס איז ווערט דעם כבוד". דאס איז פארוכטיק אפשר פארייכט געווארן דורך

דער 40סטער יארצייט פון וואַרשעווער געטאָ-אויפשטאַנד

פון לואיס ג. באַריאָ

האָט אָנגענומען די פּראָגראַם פון פּולשטענדיקער אומ-
ברענגונג פון די יידן. ער האָט אויך געזעען וועגן די
נאַצי-געזעצן צו אומצוברענגן די פּאָליציי, די ציגיינער און
די מוהר-איינפאָרער. ביי די זייטן זאל ערענען דערגרייכן
זייער לעטלעכקייטן. גלייך ביי די דער וואַלאַ. די היסטאָ-
רישע שילאָס פון סטאַלינגראַד האָט געפאַסט א סוף צו
אַס די גענאַציידישע פּלענען.

— זייער געזעצן באַמיינענען די ראַטווען יידן און
זיכער מוים — האָט געזאָגט פּראָג. פּיליששטענדיק —
האַבן די פּאָליציי געאַרבעטען דרייעס אָדער געזעצן
ראַטווען די לעבנס פון אַרומ 120,000 פּוילישע יידן.
אַס די פּאָליציי זייען באַשעפּטיקט געוואָרן דורך דעם
דייטשן היסטאָרישן געזעצן האָט אויסגע-
אַקופירטער איינפאַרע וואו דאָס דייטשע געזעצן האָט באַשול-
דן קאָמפּליקט מיט יידן האָט געפירט צו מיטשטאַף
און האָט פאַרברעיאַכט אַ לאַנגע רישיפה אין גייט-דייטשן
פּאָליציי וועלכע זייענען פּאַראַוואַריילעס געוואָרן צום סוף
פאַר הייליגן יידן אַיינגעזעכט און 8 יאַריקע קינדער.

דאָרף האָט פּאַרפּעטאַר פּיליששטאַנדן אַרומגעבראַכט
פאַר די פּאַראַלימאָנט פון אַרע אַרע. האָט אין זיין בוך
דאָס איז מיין פּאָליציי — באַשולדיקט די פּאָליציי אין אַ
באַנאַיאַנא פון גלייכטייליקייט און אָפּגענומענקייט. די
וואַרשעווער צו פּאַראַלימאָנט יידן וועלכע זייענען געקומען
קיינ פּוילן צו באַדאַקטן זייערע פּוילישע וואַילעיקהער,
דעלעס אייך דעם ליגן און זעלבע באַוואַקוונגונג.

עס זייענען גלייכטייליק דורכגעפירט געוואָרן פאַרשידן
דענען געזעצן באַמיינענע. וועלכע האָבן געדעקט די פּאָלי-
זונגען גענעטאַמאָן. נאַצי-פּאַליציי און געזעצן; בצוואַ
און גענאַסיר אין פּאָליציי, אידעאָלאָגישע אין פּוילן
פּאַרפּעטעווען, רעאַליזאָרע פון נאַצי-גענאַסיר אין פּוילן
און איריאָפּע זייערע רעוועלוציאָן; פּאַרזייע צו פּאַרזי-
מישע פּאַרברעכען אין צייט פון דער צווייטער וועלט-
מלחמה און צום פאַרשידן; און אומגעווענליכע און אַנגלאַזן
קענען נאַצי-פּאַרברעכען.

160 רעפּעראַטן זייענען פאַרברעכט געוואָרן פאַר דער
קאַנפּערענץ דורך וויסנשאַפּטלייט פון די סאַנאַציאָנעלע האָבן
און קאַפּיטאַלישע אונטערן. די סאַנאַציאָנעלע האָבן
זיי גישט בלויז איינפּלעצירט וועגן די סאַנאַציאָנעלע האָבן
די דייטשע נאַציש און די גלייכטייליקייט פון די מערבדיקע
דעמאָקראַטישע לענדער. נאָר די גרינדלעכקייט מיט וועל-
כער די נאַציש האָבן קאָמפּראָמיס און געצוואַנגען בעמי-

אויף דער שלום פאַרוואַלונג אויף דעם פּלאַן פון אַווויטש
דערעכענענען מיטן-לאָבער אין געוועזן האָבן מיינונגער
פּוילישער בירגער, אויך 3,000 קינדער און דער יאָנגער
קאַמפּאַקט יונגע ביינאַרע און הנדערשער געסט פון
אויסלאַנד. אָבערנעבן כּבד צו יאָנוש קוואַרטשקע, דעם
געסט-פאַרטרעטער.

ביי אַ שלום-פאַרהאַנדלונג אייך דעם פּלאַן פון אַווויטש
מיטן-לאָבער האָט דר. מאָריס נאָדוויצקי, פּרעזידענט פון
אינסטרעטאַנאַלן קאַמיטעט פון אַווויטש אין אַ פּאָלי
געזעצן:

ניין! צו פאַרשידן; ניין! צו ראַסיזם! ניין! צו
אַנטי-סעמיטיזם! און ניין! צו מלחמה!

דער עולם האָט דונערדיק אפּלאַרירט. אויך האָבן זיך
סאַרענדיקט די 10 טעג פון אָנזעצן אין פּוילן און 4000
יאָרסאַג פון וואַרשעווער געטאָ איינשטאַנד.
דער פּאַרעלינג האָט זאָבן אַלגעמיינער שינדלער,
און היינט פון דער אַקערייאָבער גרופּע אין פּוילן, פון
דעם דייטשן וועלט קאָנגרעס. געזעצן קינדער און זיי גע-
פּרעגט האָט זיי טוען דאָ.

— דאָס איז אַ פּלאַן וואו יידן זייענען דערפאַרדעט
געוואָרן — האָבן זיי געענטפּערט.
— איך וואָלט געווען צופּרידן און אַרײַקע אַפּער-
קאַנען קינדער אין אַקערייאָבער זייטשע שולן וועלכע
וויסן אויך פיל זיי די פּוילישע קינדער — האָט ראַזני
אַלסקאַדער שידלער געזעצן.

פּערענען וועגן באַני-גענאַסיר אין פּוילן און איריאָפּע
1939-1945; פאַררודן דורך דער הייסט-קאַמיטעט האָט
אָנפּערוועכט די נאַצי-פאַרברעכען אין פּוילן, האָט דער-
עפּעס די אָנדערענטע.

און זיין דערפּענענט-רעדער האָט דער פּוילישער
וויסער געזעצן טיטלעך אַוואָרטען דערפּלעצער;
— מיר פאַרערן איינשטעלונגען און אומבאַרעכענענע
משפּטים אַבער אַלע נאַצי-קרימינאַלן לויט די געזעצן
פון דער יודען (פאַראייניקטע עפּלעכער). מיר מיינען
גישט קיין נומער. אָבער וויכטיקע אָפּציע צו דעלעגאַטירן
און עילגעווערן מלחמה אַלאָס און וועג פון שליכטן אינטער-
נאַציאָנאַלע סטרייטן.

פאַרפּעטאַר טענטאַרן פּיליששטאַנד, וועלט באַרימט-
סוף געלעבטער וועג פּאַראַלימאָנט און דרייעכער פון
דער וויסער קאַמיטעט. האָט אָנגעוואָרן צו דער נאַצי-דייטשער
קאָנפּערענץ און 20טן נאָואַר 1942 אין בערלין, וועלכע

דער אויספיר: דער ציוניזם שטעלט זיך איבערן פרינציפ פון גליכייטיג צווישן פעלקער.

דער דריטער ביישפיל: אין די ערשטע יארן נאכן אויפשטעלן די מדינה, האט די נכסת אנגענומען דאס רע-פאטריאציע-געזעץ, וואס גיט דאס אומבארגענעצטע בלוזן פאר יידן צו קומען און באזעצן זיך אין מדינת-ישראל; דאס דאזיקע געזעץ גיט אויסאמאניש בירגער-רעכט בלוזן פאר יידן. דאס איז געווען און איז א געזעץ פון דיסקרי-מינאציע. אזוי ווי די צילן פונעם ציוניזם זיינען נאך גיט רעאליזירט געווארן, דארף מען דאס געזעץ אפהיטן אויך אין דער צוקונפט.

דער אויספיר: דאס רעאליזירן דעם ציוניזם פאדערט דיסקרימינאציע.

דער פערטער ביישפיל: אזוי ווי מען קען זיך גיט שטיצן אויף דער עליה (אימיגראציע), איז פאראן א גויס-ווענדיקייט צו הייבן די יידישע געבורטן אין פארגלייך צו די אראבישע, דערביבער איז גערעכט געווען דוד בן גוריון, ווען ער האט באשטימט פריווילעגיעס פאר יידישע משפ-חות מיט א סך קינדער, אויסשליסלעך פאר יידישע. דאס איז געווען אן אפגעטע דיסקרימינאציע, אבער א גויס-ווענדיקע.

דער אויספיר: דער ציוניזם שטעלט זיך איבערן פרינציפ פון צוטיילן גלייכע רעכט פאר בידי פעלקער.

דער פינפטער ביישפיל: יוסף גול האט ארויסגערוקט די טענה, אז די פארמען פון די דאזיקע דיסקרימינאציעס זיינען אין איינבלאגן מיט דער פארעם פון דער אנט-סעמיטישער דיסקרימינאציע אין די פארשידענע אידן-גע-עישע לענדער, אלדע ענטפערט: וואס איז דערטון גע-דרונגען און ער ברייטערט אויס דעם היסטארישן פונדע-די אנט-יידישע דיסקרימינאציעס אין פוילן, אין רומעניע, אין דייטשלאנד פאר 1945 איז געווען א גויסווענדיקע און געזעצטע, פון זיין אנהייב אן האט זיך דער ציוניזם גע-נוצט אויפן אנט-סעמיטיזם, ער איז געווען א פארביט-דעסער מיטן אנט-סעמיטיזם פארן קעגנזייטיקן נוצן. דער אויספיר: דער ציוניזם און דער אנט-סעמיטיזם זיינען גיט קיין קעגענזעצלעכע דערשיינונגען און זיי דער-געבען זיך קעגנזייטיק.

די לערעם

פארשטענדלעך, גיט אלע ציוניסטן זיינען אינשטימיק מיט אלדארן; א טייל, וואס האלט אפילו מיט אים און זיינע שטעלונגען וויל בעסער אויסגעהאלטן זיין אנט-דעמאקראטישע עקסטרעמקייט.

אן אנדער טייל האט גענלויבט אדער גלייבט נאך ביזן איצט, אן ס'איז מעגלעך צונויפצופארן די ציוניסטישע אידעאלאגיע און די פראקטיק מיטן פארשטיק און מיט דעמאקראטיע; און אן אין טיילווייזע פראגעס און צייטנוי-אין די עידערדיקע פראגעס — קען מען דעם ציוניזם ארויפפירן אויף פאזיציעס פון פארגערשיטענע שטעלונגען, מיט די דאזיקע ציוניסטן קענען מיר און מיר ווילן אויפ-ריכטיק די צוזאמענארבעטן אין די דאזיקע פראגעס.

ס'איז אבער ועלטן, אז א ציוניסט זאל דעם רעאקציא-נערן סאראקטער פון דער ציוניסטישער אידעאלאגיע און פראקטיק אזוי אפגוואציק און חוצפודיק דעפינירן, ווי דאס האט געטאן אלדאר.

דער אומפארשטעמער אמת פון אלדארן איז דאס פארטיידיקן דעם עקסטרעמען שאוויניזם, וואס זעט אויס-שליסלעך אין פאלק, זיין פאלק, עקסטרעמען שאוויניזם, לויט וועלכן עס זיינען גילטיק אויף אן אויסשליסלעכן אופן די רעכט פון אים פאלק, זיין פאלק; עקסטרעמען שאוויניזם, וואס פראקלאמירט, אז אלץ איז הערליכט אין נאמען פון די אינטערעסן פון אים פאלק, פון זיין פאלק, אלדאר, וואס זעט אלץ בלוזן מיט אים אויב און האלט אז מען דארף זיך רעכענען אין נעמען אין אכט זיך פאלק און בלוזן זיינע רעכט, שעדיקט דערמיט גיט נאר די אינטערעסן פון צווייטן פאלק, נאר אויך אין די אינטערעסן פון זיין פאלק, ער שטעלט זיך איליי אוועק קעגן דער פאליטישער אנטוויקלונג פון אונדזער תקופה, זיין שטעלונג איז אן אפגראגניזם אין סוף פונעם 20טן יארהונדערט. אלדאר נעגירט די דעמאקראטישע רעכט פון דער אראבישער באפעלקערונג אין ישראל און — מיט דער דינאמיק פון דער אנטוויקלונג — נעגירט ער אויך די דעמאקראטישע רעכט פונעם יידישן פאלק אין ישראל, ער נעגירט די רעכט פון זעלבסטבאשטימונג פונעם פאלעס-טינער פאלק, אזוי ארום, שטעלט ער אוועק אונזער א פראגע-צייכן די רעכט פון זעלבסטבאשטימונג פון אונ-דער פאלק, ער קעמפט קעגן דער צוקונפט אין שלום פון ישראל — און קיין אנדערע קעגן צוקונפט מיט געפונען.

Anna Bogdansky
A long time friend and devoted
supporter of Jewish Affairs

Mrs. E. V. Needleman
In Loving memory — Gibby

Hilda Lifshitz
In memory of Shmerl Lifshitz

ווידרשע ענינים

אומפֿארשעמטע ציוניסטישע גרויסהאַלטעריי

פון וואַרשאַ ערליך (ישראל)

מדינה אין ראיאָן, די באַזונדערקייט פון די רעכט מליסט אַרויס פון זאָבלענע סיבות.

קומט אַלדאָס און באַרעכטיקט די דיקסקרימינאַציע און זענדיג די פּאַרערוגען פון דעמאָקראַטיע — אין נאָמען פון די ציוניסטישע פּרינציפּן, וואָס זיינען פאַר זיי ווייניג טיקער. אין נאָמען פון דער טראַדיציע פון ציוניסטישער טעטיקייט, וואָס דויערט שוין ווודות, אין זייער נאָמען וואַרעט ער אַפּ זאלע אַנדערקענעט דעמאָקראַטישע פּאַסיבן מעס. מיט פולער קאָנסעקווענטיקייט, זאָגט אַלדאָס: ס'איז פון זיך אַליין פאַרשענדלעך, אַז עמעצער קען ניט זיין קיין ציוניסט. מיט אים האָט ער ניט קיינע דיקסקויעס. אויב אַ ממשט איז אַבער אַ ציוניסט, דאַרף ער זיך אַליין צופאַסן אין אַלץ צו דער ציוניסטישער אידעאָלאָגיע און איר פּראַקטיק.

אַלדאָס: דאָס איז געווען די ציוניסטישע תורה און פּראַקטיק

די ווייטערדיקע ביישפּילן און די אַרגומענטן זיינען פון אַלדאָס; די אויספירן און די סך־הכלען פון זיי, זיינען מיינע.

דער ערשטער ביישפּיל: אין יאָר 1917 איז געווען פּאַלעסטינע אַן אַראַביש לאַנד מיט צען פּראָצענט יידן פון דער אַלטעמיינער באַפֿעלקערונג. לויט דעם פּראָנציפּ פון זעלבסטבאַשטימונג פון סעלעקט, זיינען געווען גערעכט די אַראַבער, ווען זיי האָבן פּראָצעסירט קעגן דעם, וואָס די ענגלענדער האָבן צוגעזאָגט די יידן אַ לשאָר, כאַטשווייט דורך די אַראַבער, ווי אַ ציוניסט איז אַבער גערעכט געווען חיים וויצמן, אַז דער ענין שליסט אײַן אַ יסוד פון אומגערעכטיקייט צו די אַראַבער. מען דאַרף אַבער שלום־מאָכן מיט דער פּאַרדעלענעיש לייכטער אומגערעכט טיקייט, כדי צו פּאַרמיידין אַ גרויסע קאָנסאַרטאָע פון די יידן.

דער אויספיר: דער ציגיונים שטעלט זיך איבערן פּרינציפּ פון זעלבסטבאַשטימונג פון סעלעקט.

דער צווייטער ביישפּיל: אין די יאָרן פונעם בריטישן מאַנדאַט האָט דער ציגיונים געפּאַרעט, אַז דאָס אַלדאָס זאל זיין פאַר יידן, די ציוניסטישע מירעך האָבן געפּאַרעט סערטיפיקאַטן פאַר יידן און ניט דערלויבן צו געבן סערטיפיקאַטן פאַר אַראַבער. דאָס איז געווען די רעכט פון יידן, טיפיקאַטן פאַר אַראַבער.

וואָלף ערליך, פּירנדיקער סינגליד פון דער ישראל קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי האָט געזעטט באַ-
זוכט די פּאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן.

ער איז אַרויסגעטרעטן ביים יערלעכן באַקענט פון דעוואַיש אַפּערירס" וואו 500 מענטשן האָבן אים וואַרעט אײַפּענומען. דערנאָך איז ער אַרויס-געפּאַרן איבערן לאַנד און גערעדט פאַר טרענד-יוניאָניסטן, שלום־אַקטיוויסטן, און יידישע־פּירער אין דעמאָסטר, שיקאַגאָ, לאָס אַנדזשעלעס און סאַן פּראַנציפּאַק.

אין דעמאָסטר האָט מען אָפּגעגעבן כבוד וויד דעמאָסטר שטאַטישן קאָנסיל.

דאָס איז אויסערליש, ווען אַ זוכטשע געמט אַראָפּ פון זיך עפּנטלעך יעדן צוהעק פון מאַראַל און ער האַלט זיך אַפילו גרויס פאַרזושטעלן זיין שמוץ אויף אַן אויס-שטעלונג.

די פּאַרעם פון עפּנטלעך זיך אויסטאָן נאָקעט קומט ניט פאַר אַזוי אַפּט — ברדך כלל ווערט דאָס שלעכט פּאַרדעקט מיט אַ מאַנטל פון היפּאָקריטישע און אַזוי מאַכט מען דעם אַנשטעל פון אַ פּרומאַק.

אַזע דערשטויענדיקער פּאַל פון אידעישער פּאַליטישער אויסטאָן זיך נאָקעט איז די פּרוכט פון דער פּעדער פון ישראל אַלדאָ, אַ זשורנאַליסט און אַ פּאַלעמיקער פון די עקסטרעם רעכטע. אַלדאָס האָט פּאַרעפּנטלעכט אין "דזשערוואַלעם פּאַסט" (3.5) אַן אַרטיקל, וואָס העמאַנס-טיריס שוין אין קעפל פּראָוואַקאַציע: "דער אומפּאַרשעמטער אמת".

אין דעם אַרטיקל פּאַלעמיוויזם אַלדאָס מיט אַן אַרטיקל פון יוסף גול, רעדאַקציע־מיטגליד פון דער צייטונג, אין וועלכן ער (י. גול) פּאַרווטיילט מיט בירגערלעכער דרייטטיק און קאָנקרעט די דיקסקרימינאַציע אין באַזוג צו דער אַראַבישער באַפֿעלקערונג אין ישראל און ער פּאַרעט גלייכהייט אין דער רעאַליזירונג פון די אַזוי-ווערסאַלע דעמאָקראַטישע רעכט אויך כלפי דער דאָזיקער באַפֿעלקערונג.

אין אַלגעמיין ענטפערן די רעאַקציענערע קרייזן אויף אַזעלכע דעמאָקראַטישע פּאַרערוגען מיט פּאַלשליקט און היפּאָקריטישע; פּאַרשטענדלעך, אַז ביי אונדז איז ניטאָ קיין דיקסקרימינאַציע; ישראל איז די דעמאָקראַטישע