

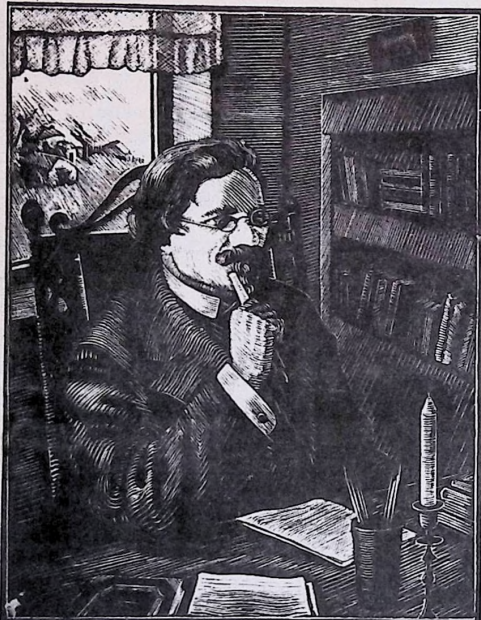
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JEWISH AFFAIRS

March-April
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THE JDL: SHOCK TROOPS FOR REACTION

by Daniel Spector

JEWISH AFFAIRS

A publication of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

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Editorials

The Jewish Organizations and Senator Jackson

This year's election is marked by the exceptionally reactionary character of the contestants for the Presidential nomination. The task of the popular mass forces is not to seek choices among these voices of reaction; it is rather to project and fight for a program for democracy and progress. In terms of candidates, the only *real* choice is the Communist Party ticket of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner and the program for which they stand. A fitting answer to the present crop of Right-wing, racist, pro-fascist Presidential hopefuls is to work to secure the largest possible vote and support for the Communist candidates.

*

Not the least reactionary of the president seekers is Senator Henry Jackson. It is with the greatest indignation and anger, therefore, that the Jewish people must view his recent endorsement by the major Jewish organizations. A fitting reaction to this endorsement was expressed by J.I. Fishbein, editor of the *Chicago Sentinel*, in an editorial appearing in that publication on March 25. We present here a major section of that editorial:

It is no secret that it is Jewish money and Jewish support that is fueling the campaign of Scoop Jackson, whom the *Chicago Daily News* has quite properly labeled the "fastest demagogue in the West." Formerly known as "the Senator from Boeing" because of his fight for bigger and bigger expenditures for armaments and his leadership of the military-industrial complex, he earned the title of "the worst of the Vietnam hawks." Long, long after Nixon came to the rueful conclusion that the war was hopeless, our "hero" continued to bellow his war song. To this day he has never repudiated that stand....

Never one to pass up an opportunity, Scoop quickly learned that by taking the most hawkish position on Israel there was literally "gold in dem der hills." As he said recently, according to *The New York Times*, "cash on the line is the name of the game."

History is proving daily that by supporting and encouraging the most stubborn opponents of negotiations in Israel, he did not really help the Jewish state. Of

course many of us have been brainwashed into believing that this rigidity has been beneficial to Israel, but events now unraveling will soon make many of us blush with shame.

An avowed enemy of detente, which doesn't hurt his campaign for bigger military expenditures, Scoop fathered the Jackson-Vanik bill.../which/ brought additional Jewish dollars into his Presidential campaign coffers.

The blunt truth is that the election of Senator Jackson would almost certainly bring about a renewal of the Cold War, with all the evils the original brought in its wake. Many of us who are so gung ho for him now should recall the dark period of McCarthyism, which was its inevitable stepchild. In that awful period of American history, let us remember it was Jews who were the chief sufferers. *Hysteria once unleashed usually makes us the scapegoat.* [Emphasis in original - Ed.]

Jews who prate of their love of civil liberties should know that in 34 years of membership in the House and Senate, Scoop has never made a speech on the floor of either body promoting legislation aimed at guaranteeing civil rights or racial justice.

*

We might add that their endorsement of Jackson is consistent with the politics of these Zionist organizations, politics which are inimical to the interests of the Jewish people.

Jackson has stated that if he had his way, he would send U.S. troops into Lebanon, creating another Vietnam in the Middle East. Is this in the interests of U.S. Jews?

Jackson has stated that he would accept George Wallace, an open fascist, as his Vice-Presidential running mate--the same Wallace who said that the U.S. fought "on the wrong side" in World War II. Is this in the interests of American Jews?

While Jackson has never lifted a finger in defense of civil rights at home, he is quick to jump on the bandwagon and denounce "Soviet anti-Semitism."

Jackson is a "friend of Israel" as long as it means increased military expenditures, and thus increased profits, for his corporate godfathers at Boeing and Lockheed. The people of Israel and the people of our country do not need or want such friends.

Jackson has been on the wrong side of every movement in this country to improve the quality of life of working people, to guarantee jobs, income, housing, education, etc. The only interest we

have in Jackson is in making sure he and his politics are defeated in November and in working for votes for working class candidates-- candidates like Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

The Zionist leadership is pinning its hopes on Scoop Jackson. But it is obvious that if Jackson stands for everything to which the working people are opposed, then his friends are no friends of ours. Jewish Americans must make clear to the Zionist leadership that we reject any leadership, any ideology, that leads us into alliance with racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Communist demagogues like Jackson.

* * *

The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

On April 19, 1943, the Jews confined in the Warsaw ghetto, confronting certain extermination at the hands of the Nazi butchers, rose up against their bestial persecutors in a heroic struggle which has left an indelible imprint on the annals of history. In the face of the overwhelming odds against them, their cause was clearly hopeless; their resistance could end only in martyrdom. Yet they covered themselves with eternal glory and they made their own unique contribution to the ultimate smashing of Hitlerite fascism.

It was, in fact, not many months later that the great epic of Stalingrad unfolded, turning the tide of the war and opening the way of the crushing of the fascist monster. The liberating advance of the Soviet Army found no small measure of support in the popular resistance which rose in the countries under Nazi occupation. And among the instances of such resistance the Warsaw ghetto uprising occupies a place of its own.

Six million Jews were slaughtered by the Nazis. This can never be forgotten. But it must also never be forgotten that the monumental victory over fascism was achieved at the cost of twenty million Soviet lives, not a few of them those of Jews. And it must further never be forgotten that in the most difficult of circumstances the Soviet Union devoted desperately needed resources to saving the lives of some two million Jews by removing them from the reach of the Nazi armies. And it must finally never be forgotten that had countries like the United States and Britain offered a haven to Jewish refugees, many more lives could have been saved.

With the passing of the years the symbolic meaning of the Warsaw ghetto uprising has grown. The observance of its anniversary

has become an occasion each year for strengthening the battle against reaction and fascism and the determination that the horrors of Nazism will never again be permitted to occur. The battle is still far from over. Though they have suffered many setbacks during the past three decades and though the balance of world power has turned increasingly against them, the world forces of imperialist reaction, of racism, anti-Semitism and fascism are still very much alive.

In Zionist circles, however, the meaning of the Warsaw ghetto uprising has been perverted and the observance of its anniversary has been made an occasion for joining hands with reactionary, racist elements to do battle with a fictitious "new anti-Semitism"--with so-called Black "anti-Semitism" and "anti-Semitism of the Left." The chief target is the Soviet Union, that country in which anti-Semitism has in fact been virtually abolished and in which Jews enjoy a degree of freedom and equality of rights with all other citizens that is totally unmatched in any capitalist country.

The anniversary observance this year has been preceded by a second of the infamous Brussels Conferences devoted to defaming the Soviet Union and calling for the "liberation" of allegedly "persecuted" Soviet Jews. And it will be followed by another of the obscene demonstrations conducted by the Zionist establishment at the UN. Their venom is directed also against the anti-Zionist elements among the Arabs, the Black peoples and the forces of the Left. Their friends and allies, on the other hand, are such notable "friends of Zionism" as the Jacksons, the Reagans, the Buckleys and other upholders of racism and ultra-Right political reaction.

Here is indeed a confusion of friends with enemies. It is not the forces of imperialism who are the friends of the Jewish people in general or the Israeli people in particular. On the contrary, these are the fountainhead of anti-Semitism and the deadly enemies of the Jews, as they are of all oppressed peoples. It is the socialist world, the forces of national liberation and the working-class and democratic elements in the capitalist world that are the genuine friends of the Jewish people, and with whom they should seek unity. This is the real lesson of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the lesson which the progressive Jewish forces should strive to propagate.

This must be the occasion for intensifying the fight against racism and anti-Semitism, for Black-Jewish unity, and for a just peace in the Middle East based on Jewish-Arab friendship and unity. It must be the occasion for stepping up the fight against the poisonous ideology of Zionism.

Not least, it must be the occasion for studying and learning from the history of these events. Such studies are being made in the socialist countries, giving the lie to the anti-Soviet calumniators who charge that the study of Jewish history and culture is being stifled. A notable example is the monumental five-volume documentary study of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and other events of the period, recently completed by the Institute of Jewish History in Po-

land, which Sol Flapan describes in the article that follows.

* * *

A Monumental Accomplishment

by Sol Flapan

Poland's prestigious Jewish Historical Institute is preparing the publication of materials and documents from the wartime underground Ringelblum Ghetto Archives (ARG). Professor Maurycy Horn, JHI director, and Dr. Ruth Sakowska, one of the Institute's senior research workers, are jointly editing this four-year project.

The first of the five-volume work being readied covers what a working title calls "The Dying Ghetto." Thematically, this tome is devoted to the Nazi extermination of the Jews in Warsaw and elsewhere in Poland; chronologically, it embraces the period from April 18, 1942 (the "April Massacre") until the end of January 1943 (the threshold of the April 19 - May 8 uprising).

Ghetto diaries, eye witness accounts of events, literary works, personal letters--in brief, what can be termed "subjective" documentation--constitutes the chief source material of ARG's volume one. This will be supplemented by photocopies of posters, proclamations and the like, relating to the Ghetto's liquidation. Day-to-day developments personally penned by Emanuel Ringelblum will further augment this documentation.

Ringelblum, a young and promising scholar, teacher and public activist in prewar Poland, had specialized in the history of Jews here in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1933 he published an impressive work on the Economic and Social Relations of Jews in the Second Half of the 18th Century. Ten years later, behind The Wall, he compiled a secret archive on German fascist barbarism.

"Filed" away in milk cans, this collection of damning documents luckily survived the Holocaust. They were discovered in two sections in September 1946 and December 1950 in the rubble of the razed Ghetto.

This tragic exercise in documenting the Nazis "final solution to the Jewish question" was Ringelblum's second, last and unfinished major work. He died March 3, 1944 at the age of 44 in Warsaw's Pawiak Prison, a notorious instrument of repression which genocidal German fascism inherited from semi-fascist prewar Poland and Czarist Russia. Pawiak is now a Museum of Working Class Martyrology.

Saved for posterity in the documents laboriously collected by

Ringelblum and his associates (Rabbi Szymon Guberband, writer Rachela Auerbach and others of his Oneg Shabat collective) are responses to opinion polls and guide questions for the team's polltakers. These questionnaires were addressed to men and women, the elderly and youth, believers and atheists. The ARG materials thus document not only history, but reflect what the Ghetto population thought and felt.

Like one Dawid Bryner, for example. When polled sometime at the turn of 1942-43 by an anonymous interviewer, 18-year-old Dawid was the last survivor of what had been a "numerous and loving family" and was consigned to "scavenging" to remain alive. His entire closely-knit family had been deported to the Treblinka death camp where the Nazis mass murdered Jews from ten European countries (mostly from Poland) as well as Soviet prisoners of war. Treblinka devoured nearly 700,000 human lives through a sinisterly-engineered program of starvation, slave labor, torture and gas chambers.

In the nightmare of the Ghetto, young Bryner's "only light of human dignity is the memory of his beloved brother." When asked about his wearing of an old, faded soldier's cap and military boots issued to the prewar corps of engineers, he replied:

"You see, man, these are momentos from my brother. He served in the Polish Army under General (Wladyslaw) Bortnowski in the Battle of Kutno. Then, submachine gun in hand, he defended Warsaw. They (the Nazis) took him away during the last deportation operation. If I have any respect left for anyone at all it is only for those who know how to make use of that king of hardware (guns), but first of all for my unforgettable, wonderful brother."

Dawid Bryner was certainly amongst the crashing walls of the Warsaw Ghetto during the heroic uprising of the then-approaching spring, "reclaiming his dignity and avenging his loss," says Ruth Sakowska in previewing this JHI project in *Folks Shtime*, the bilingual weekly of the Social and Cultural Society of Jews in Poland.

Incidentally, Ms. Sakowska recently earned her doctorate at the Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS) for her dissertation on "Civic life in the Warsaw Ghetto" which in turn served as the basis for a 366-page work *People Behind the Wall*. Carrying the JHI imprint, it was put out by the State Scientific Publishers and, as noted on the reverse side of the title page, was "published with the financial assistance of the PAS."

Her seven-chapter book documents "The Jewish Population in Warsaw, 1919-1939," "The Nazi Policy of Exterminating the Jewish Population," "Civilian Resistance of the Jewish Population," "Civilian Resistance in Education and Cultural Activities," "The Jewish Administration of the Ghetto and Informal Self-government," "The First

Extermination Operation," and "The Ghetto in its Residual Form."

In her concluding paragraph, Dr. Sakowska affirms that:

The people who suffered, fought and died
in the Warsaw Ghetto were not of one cloth.

They represented various attitudes and
different social and political conceptions.
But there is no doubt that they were
linked with their city and country by
thousands of emotional ties. The names
of these people are a part of Poland's
tradition and culture.

* * *

Zionist Robbery and Brutality in the West Bank

by Hyman Lumer

(The following is based on one of a series of articles appearing in the Daily World.)

The confiscation of Arab lands by the Israeli authorities for settlement by Jews is by no means confined to Israel itself; it has been taking place even more extensively in the occupied territories. Despite hypocritical declarations to the contrary, it has long been crystal clear that the Israeli rulers have no intention of returning these territories but seek to annex them permanently to achieve the Zionist goal of a Jewish state including all of Palestine.

This aim is to be attained chiefly through a process of "accomplished facts," that is, by honeycombing these territories with Jewish settlements and by driving out as much of the Arab population as possible, thus changing their demographic composition to the point where the process becomes irreversible. (It should be noted that more than 200,000 Arabs fled the West Bank in 1967 and that only some 14,000 have been permitted to return.)

It began by surrounding East Jerusalem with an extensive complex of apartment houses and other buildings (all occupied by Jews) so that this area has been effectively isolated from the rest of the West Bank and has come to be known as "Fortress Jerusalem."

This has been accompanied by the building of settlements

throughout the occupied territories. Today these Jewish settlements number about 55, situated along the Jordan River and in other parts of the West Bank, at Sharm el-Sheikh, in the Golan Heights, in the Gaza Strip and in adjacent areas of Sinai. And there are plans for the construction of many more settlements. In the Golan Heights a ten-year plan of construction of an urban center surrounded by a group of agricultural communities is under way. In the West Bank plans are being projected for a similar ten-year program of construction between Jerusalem and Ramallah.

Along with these "legal" occupations of Arab land, illegal incursions have been undertaken by groups of ultra-Right or religious fanatics. Such a group, for example, established a squatters' settlement called Kiryat Arba on the outskirts of Hebron despite Arab protests. Subsequently this action was legalized by the Israeli government. Last year an ultra-Right group known as Gush Emunim attempted similarly to settle in the town of Sebastia; however, they were removed by the occupation forces, though not to Israel but to a nearby police camp.

At the same time, the Israeli government has authorized land purchases on the West Bank both by official agencies and private individuals. As of April 12, according to *The New York Times*, the Israeli Land Authority and the Jewish National Fund had purchased some \$6.6 million worth of real estate. These purchases had been carried out in secret, although they had been publicly known for some time.

The confiscation of Arab land for Jewish settlement has involved in a number of cases the brutal eviction of the Arab inhabitants. Especially outrageous is the case of Pithat Rafiah, an area in the Sinai adjacent to the Gaza Strip. Here 1500 families were forcibly evacuated from their homes and some 33,000 acres of land belonging to them was fenced in. Their houses, wells, crops and orchards were destroyed. When this action first came to light, the excuse given by the government was "security." But subsequently the land was opened to Jewish settlement. A seaport, Yamit, is being built as the urban center of the area, to be surrounded by six kibbutzim and nine villages.

Needless to say, all such settlements are open only to Jews. Furthermore, according to *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith (November 13, 1975): "The new settlements are on those portions of the occupied Arab territory that Israeli leaders frankly admit that they intend to keep and eventually incorporate into Israel. 'Look at the chain of settlements on a map,' Israel officials say privately, 'and you will see what we intend to be the future borders of Israel.'" And the map shows that precious little, at best, is to be left to the Arabs. Indeed, as in Israel, the purpose is to break up the major concentrations of Arab population and to reduce them to enclaves surrounded by Jewish communities provided with modern living conditions while the Arab population remains at a comparatively backward economic level and serves as a source of cheap labor. Again one is reminded of the racist South African apartheid system.

Accompanying this wholesale robbery is the subjection of the people of these territories to the most brutal repression. The territories are governed not under the Geneva Conventions but under the infamous British Emergency Regulations which are greatly in violation of these Conventions. There is large-scale resort to administrative arrest--without charges, with no trial and for an indefinite period. The use of torture is widespread. Collective punishment, including the destruction of houses in which someone is suspected of harboring "terrorists" and the imposition of endless 24-hour a day curfews. Hundreds of leading figures have been forcibly and illegally deported. All political activity and organization is forbidden (other than local administrative activities). And so on. The aim, clearly, is to stifle all resistance to the occupation and to the process of annexation.

Such is the background of the current rebellion of the West Bank Arabs. But the background also has another side. The past few years have witnessed the recognition of the Palestinian question as the central issue in the Middle East conflict and the emergence of the PLO as the almost universally acknowledged representative of the Palestinian people. In the West Bank a Palestinian National Front has been formed, affiliated to the PLO, and the Palestinian Communist Party, formerly part of the Jordanian party, has been established as a separate organization. These, as well as other organizations which are making their appearance, are of course illegal, and numbers of their members have been subjected to administrative arrest. But a growing organized base of opposition exists, with which the Israeli occupation authorities are increasingly compelled to reckon.

A rash of mass protests against the occupation has developed, which the Israeli occupation authorities have met with growing violence and brutality. The first of these was a huge demonstration in Nablus last December, in protest against the efforts of the Gush Emunim to settle in nearby Sebastia. There followed, at the end of January, mass demonstrations in Jerusalem, touched off by an Israeli court ruling permitting Jewish religious services on the grounds of the al Aqsa mosque. Though the immediate impulse was religious, the demonstrations were basically political, and they were followed by a wave of actions in Jerusalem and other cities which have continued up to the present.

The Israeli occupation troops have countered these with police clubs, fire hoses, tear gas and bullets, even firing directly into unarmed masses of people. Many, including schoolchildren, were brutally beaten, dragged away by the hair and otherwise brutalized. A number were killed, many more were wounded, and large numbers were thrown into prison. Detailed accounts of these events appear elsewhere in the pages of the *Daily World*.

What is noteworthy is that the occupation authorities have not succeeded in containing the rebellion despite the mounting brutality. It has delivered a serious setback to the Zionist plans for the West Bank and to schemes for a deal with Hussein and the Israeli government's stooges in the local West Bank governments.

These schemes were dealt a further sharp blow by the smashing defeat of these stooges in the local elections which have just taken place. Of 191 councilmen elected, only 43 of the stooges were holdovers. In 10 of 24 towns, new and more radical and militant mayors were elected. The Communist Party showed considerable gains and the elections, in sum, showed the PLO to be a potent political force in the West Bank.

All these developments further exposed the racist character of Zionism. They have greatly enhanced the fight for liberation of the occupied territories and for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

But none of these possibilities can be realized without the sharpest protests and demands for an end to such policies both from the Jewish people of Israel and this country. And such protests are being increasingly heard. Especially notable is an open letter to Israel from the New York organization Breira, signed by such leading figures as Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Chairman of the World Council of Jewish Organizations; David Tulin, Chairman of the Philadelphia Zionist Federations; Rabbi Max Ticktin, Assistant National Director of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations; and Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Director, Department of Interreligious Affairs, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

They call for a scrapping of the present Galilee program and substitution of a program of development on government lands for the benefit of the whole people. They call also for legalizing non-violent political assembly of the Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories. And they call for an expression of willingness by the Israeli government to negotiate a peace settlement including the creation of a Palestinian state side by side with Israel, and for an end to establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

Another important development was the appearance in *The New York Times* of April 4 of an ad sponsored by several peace organizations including the Committee for a Just Peace in the Middle East, and calling for a program including, among other things, mutual recognition of the right of self-determination of both the Israeli and Palestinian Arab peoples, inclusion of the PLO in negotiations and the early convening of the Geneva peace conference.

No doubt such expressions will grow, and the opportunity exists for the building of a broad movement in this country to end the present policies of expansion, aggression and violence of the Israeli ruling circles, as well as the support to such policies by Washington. An aroused people can bring about real peace and friendship in the Middle East, and an end to racist brutality and repression.

* * *

An Interview with William L. Patterson

(April 4, the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is honored here in the U.S. and around the world as a day to remember and re-dedicate ourselves to the ideals and principles for which Dr. King fought. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has declared this day as International Day of Solidarity with Youth Fighting Racism in the U.S.)

Jewish Affairs had the honor to interview William L. Patterson, "Mr. Civil Rights," who has been a prime mover in the struggle for equality for five decades and is the author of the book, The Man Who Cried Genocide (International Publishers, 1971). Comrade Patterson, who recently celebrated his 80th birthday, is Co-Chairman of the Black Liberation Commission of the CPUSA.)

*

Q. Comrade Patterson, as one who has been and continues to be deeply involved and committed to the struggle for which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his life, could you give us your impressions of the effects the civil rights movement of the 1930s and 1960s and the Black Liberation Movement in general have had in the struggle of all peoples, particularly Jewish Americans, for a better life.

A. First of all, permit me to say a word concerning the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. He was savagely murdered by agents of the people's enemies, enemies of progressive mankind.

Because in the giving of his great talent, creative genius and organizational ability to the people, he inspired them to fight back against those promoting racial hatred and terror, his life was brutally brought to an end.

Because as he matured politically through his rich experiences in the Montgomery, Alabama boycott battles, he saw the historic necessity to realize unity of peoples of color at all social levels together with their white brothers and sisters whose outlook is for the unity of our nation. Because he began to see and utilize the link between the struggle for peace and for national liberation, he incurred the hatred of the cold-war mongers. They wanted him dead.

Dr. King brought deep emotional fervor to the Black Liberation struggle, but it did not narrow his outlook. He began to see that fight as an inseparable part of the class struggle. Relentlessly, he fought the ruling class myths of white superiority and appealed to labor to unite in battle together with the ghetto-slum dwellers.

It was the universally progressive character of this man's growth and strategic outlook that brought about his death. U.S. imperialism feared Dr. King. His social development could not be halted by cries of anti-Communist or anti-Soviet hysteria. He accepted the Nobel Peace prize, but not anti-Sovietism. Peace is a revolutionary concept.

Dr. Martin Luther King belonged to the people. As a Black man, as a progressive American, as a son of forward-looking mankind, U.S. reaction robbed him and us of his life. He made history not just Black history or only the history of the USA, but the history of all advancing human beings.

The liberation struggles of the 1960s cannot be separated from the Black Liberation struggles that began with the landing of the first Black slave in North America. The epoch of Dr. King's life and work is part of those struggles.

Viewed with this breadth, it can be said that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. died fighting for the implementation of the progressive provisions of the Constitution of the USA, fighting in order that life might be breathed into the Charter of the United Nations and its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, fighting for the enforcement of the broadest canons of international law. Thus, he was murdered because he fought desperately against the life course of U.S. monopoly.

Dr. Martin Luther King stood side by side with the noblest sons and daughters of the Jewish people. As he unalterably opposed racism, he also hated and fought anti-Semitism and Zionism. As he was opposed to the war of U.S. reaction against the heroic Vietnamese people, he was for the rights of all oppressed peoples in the Middle East.

While these liberation struggles each had its own identity, King recognized their inseparable relationship. But most significant of all was that young Dr. King was beginning to understand and appreciate the class character of these struggles and the need for organized progressive labor to make the demands of the suppressed peoples a part of its demands. Dr. King saw peace as the greatest weapon of the world oppressed.

The lessons from the life and death of Martin Luther King, Jr. are far-reaching for all progressive citizens of the USA regardless of creed, color or political persuasion. In particular, there are better possibilities of bringing Americans of color closer in struggle against the myths of a color superiority. King's activities enhanced the potentialities of creating broad mass fronts of struggle. Through his activities and his death, the murderous role of the monopolies is clearer.

In his acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize, he revealed his growing understanding of internationalism and its application to Black liberation. Dr. King saw Jew and Gentile, Moslem and Christ-

ian, Catholic and Protestant, regardless of color, as one in the fight for human freedom and equality. His life showed that the struggle for the liberation of mankind is a mass educational medium beyond measurement. His class opponents recognized this and ordered his murder.

Martin Luther King's adherence to the national liberation struggle was not of a subjective character. He could not separate it from the liberation struggles of oppressed mankind. He was a great Black man, a great American, because he was a great human being and embraced all oppressed humanity in his search for "Freedom Road."

Q. Dr. King spoke many times of the need for unity for social progress. We are reminded of his inspiring and immortal words at the demonstration of 100,000 in Washington, D.C., "When we let freedom ring, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, Black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to sing, in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last, free at last, Great God Almighty, we're free at last.'" Would you say a few words about the significance of this statement in the light of the present attack on Black-Jewish unity by the Zionists and their allies and the espousal of the "dangers of Black anti-Semitism."

A. It was out of the wealth of Dr. King's experience in the boycott of Montgomery, Alabama's jim-crow and degrading monopoly bus system that his vision broadened to embrace in struggle "all God's children." He saw victory in that united struggle. The oppressed together not only greatly outnumbered the oppressors and their uniformed terrorist gangs, but the spiritual content of their liberation song reflected invaluable inspiration.

King spoke from a religious background, as did the vast majority of America's Black revolutionaries. But let it not be forgotten that the Black church emerged as an institution of revolution. It was through a break with a racist church whose so-called all-powerful "God of love" could condone the enslavement of men, women and children by their fellow man, that the Black-led church came into being. Black freedom songs are the property of progressive America. They are an inseparable part of cherished traditions of struggle and will become more so as the unity King called for is attained.

Black-white unity in struggle will make for national security. It will make for ideological unity and for both formal, anti-racial education and that which is realized through struggle side by side, in factories, shops, mines, mills and on transportation lines. It will destroy the system of miseducation that must inevitably accompany a policy of racism.

Zionism, a ruling class ideology arising out of historical developments among the Jewish people, is an instrument of the Jewish ruling class that hates the militant Black, as do all imperialists. It fears the unity of the exploited and oppressed Jew with the oppressed Black. "Divide and rule" is a law of all oppressing classes.

The Zionists' racism is that of an exploiting class, not that of a people. Racism is not an innate characteristic of Jews any more than of gentiles.

Dr. King saw "freedom at last" not only from physical and economic bondage, but from psychological entrapments as well. As the exploited and oppressed Black must fight the narrow nationalism that would alienate the Black Liberation Movement, so, too must the exploited and oppressed segment of the Jewish people fight Zionism. In this manner, the interests of oppressed minorities and of labor will be reflected.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the product of a great people living in a changing world. He was a revolutionary in thought who had not reached the organizational ranks toward which objective conditions were carrying him. A changing world was changing King and he was carrying tens of thousands with him toward unity in struggle. As Martin Luther King followed the slave revolutionists, the Black Civil War heroes and heroines, the courageous Blacks of the Reconstruction Era, the DuBois' and the Robeson's, so will others follow King, and a guiding light will be Black leaders of the Communist Party, USA and the scientific program of that Party.

King has helped the oppressed masses of America to look with hope toward the future as he became an important leader of the Black Liberation Movement that is an inseparable part of a world liberation movement.

* * *

IN MEMORY

for Teddy
(died July 17, 1968)

She will always be remembered as a warm, dedicated person, active in the civil rights and peace movement and as a trade unionist and member of SCMWWU. She fought against discrimination and racism and for equal rights, regardless of race and color.

Honor her memory

Eddy

Contribution in her memory to *Jewish Affairs* -- \$1000.00

The Hillel Foundation at Brandeis University

by Marc Mishler

(The author is a former member of the steering committee of the Campus Student Coalition, and of the coordinating committees of the Student Action Group and the Student Union at Brandeis University. He is presently Student Secretary of the David Walker-Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Branch of the Young Workers Liberation League in Massachusetts and a student activist at Brandeis.)

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Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts was founded in 1948 through the efforts of the Jewish community in the United States, partially as a response to the systematic exclusion of Jews from other institutions. The campus of Brandeis had belonged to a rather unique medical school, the Middlesex Medical University. At a time when Jews were barred from most medical schools, and the president of the A.M.A. complained nonetheless that there were too many Jewish medical students, 85% of the students at Middlesex were Jewish.

For various reasons, the school was forced out of existence and in 1946, a committee of Jews from New York and New England received the campus as a gift with the stipulation that a non-sectarian university be established which would never discriminate in any way against any ethnic group. This is certainly a rare background for a major private university in this country, and a question now is, of course, how well Brandeis has lived up to its founding principle of equality.

Brandeis has the largest percentage of Jewish students of any secular institution in the U.S., approximately 60-70 per cent of the 2800 students, and has one of the most developed and active departments of Judaic studies. Receiving a large amount of money in contributions from Jews in this country, probably second only to Israel, Brandeis holds a very special position in the eyes of the Jewish community, and is seen as an important source of future leaders of the Jewish establishment.

Jewish students at Brandeis reflect all of the trends and ideologies present among Jewish youth and students in general, from Right-wing Zionism to Marxism-Leninism, from extremely religious and traditional to non-religious. Due to this diversity, an examination of Jewish students at Brandeis can be enlightening as to directions in which Jewish students are moving around the country.

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Brandeis Hillel is the major organization of Jewish students at Brandeis. In the fall of 1975, Hillel printed a series of bulletins describing different aspects of the organization. From these it is possible to get a sense of how Hillel views itself. The first bulletin, entitled "Welcome and Introduction," states:

Hillel at Brandeis is:...A pluralistic and multi-faceted community of university Jews...A movement allowing for self-determination...An on-campus source of normative Jewish life...An on-campus source of alternative, counter-cultural Jewish life...A generator of volunteer activist and social service projects... A decentralized union of autonomous cells and interest groups...

Hillel claims to be an all-inclusive organization for Jewish students, "the active Jewish movement on campus." However, only a relatively small number of Jewish students participate actively in any of the programs. Howard Kreisel, a coordinator of Brandeis Hillel, explained that "part of the problem is being considered just a religious organization."

Hillel centers on two types of activities: the religious aspect, and what is called "Israel programming." The Jewish religious life includes traditional and reform services, a women's minyon, a "belated Bar/Bat Mitzvah" program, and a series of courses meeting once a week which include Introduction to Jewish Traditions, Beginner's, Intermediate, and Advanced Talmud, Cantillation, and a course on Hassidim. Approximately 230 students attend services regularly.

The Hillel bulletin, entitled "Israel--One Nation, One People," states:

Love of Israel! The desire for a Jewish homeland where Jews can live free from persecution...Free from the feeling of being strangers in a strange land...Love of Israel the dream, love of Israel the physical reality. Love of Israel at Brandeis goes much further than the ties the university has with Israel or the activities Hillel does on Israel's behalf...It is a feeling that drives Jews of the Brandeis community to visit Israel. It is a feeling that they have when they arrive there, even if for the first time, that they have "come home."

The bulletin goes on to describe the different programs sponsored by Hillel which include counseling on Aliyah, a Brandeis chapter of the Student Mobilization for Israel that plans "for an all-out mobilization in the eventuality of an acute crisis or if another tragic confrontation should break out in the Mid-East", an Israel Independence Day celebration, and special speakers that in the past have included Golda Meir and Abba Eban, as well as more critical speakers such as Amos Oz and Shulamit Aloni. In addition,

there is a sub-group of Hillel called PIPA (Peace between Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab States) that sponsors programs and speakers from a "critical, dove-ish, Zionist" viewpoint and is affiliated nationally with Breira. This year, PIPA sponsored a series of discussions entitled "Toward an Alternative Zionism in the Diaspora."

Another major activity of Hillel is the "Soviet-Jewry Committee." This committee sponsors letter-writing campaigns and symposia and gathers materials to be "smuggled" into the Soviet Union. The chairperson of the committee estimated to me that the majority of students at Brandeis know about and support the "save Soviet-Jewry" movement and that 60-70 students are active in the committee.

Hillel purports to be a non-political organization, in spite of the Zionist and "save Soviet-Jewry" activities (which are considered religious or cultural). This has been emphasized on many occasions to me. (In October 1974, when the president of Hillel was asked if that organization could issue a public statement urging support of de-segregation in Boston, the answer that was given without hesitation was, "Hillel is not a political organization.")

*

In February 1975, a coalition consisting of the Afro-American Student Organization, Grito (the Latino student association), the Brandeis Asian-American Student Association, the UFW support committee, the Women's Coalition, and the Waltham Group (a community service organization), was formed to fight a series of massive cut-backs and cost increases. Brandeis Hillel was offered a seat on the steering committee. Hillel had a representative sit as an observer, but soon decided in a vote of the Hillel committee chairpersons not to participate in the coalition. This was after attempting to split the coalition from the inside.

Hillel had said that they would participate if they could have two positions on the steering committee, while other organizations had one each. When that offer was refused, they suggested giving AASO two seats and themselves three. These tactics, which were aimed at fostering racism among Jewish students by saying there were not enough Jews and too many non-white students on the steering committee, in fact could have destroyed the Coalition if they had not been turned back immediately.

The Coalition became very active, involving as many as 300 students in meetings, marches and negotiations with the administration. However, from the beginning, due to Hillel's refusal to participate, it was seen as a "leftist" organization and not as a broad movement. This outlook was eventually, in the fall of 1975, to lead to the partial breakdown of the student movement at Brandeis.

Another widespread sentiment that affected Jewish participation in the Coalition was the ultra-nationalism of many Zionist

students who could not see any difference between the interests of a Jewish administration and a Jewish Board of Trustees on the one hand, and Jewish students on the other, although they were, of course, hit directly with cutbacks in services and in the Near Eastern, Judaic Studies and Contemporary Jewish Studies departments.

In April 1975, after several months of the administration refusal to negotiate meaningfully with the Coalition, a group of 31 Black, Latino, Asian-American, and white students calling themselves the Student Action Group (SAG) occupied Pearlman Hall, the Sociology building and issued seven demands. The multi-racial, multi-national character of this action was unique, and served to bring greater unity among students than had ever existed. There was a continuous supportive picket-line of up to 500 students throughout the six-day occupation. There was also a counter-picket-line for several days of 5-10 students who tried to disrupt the support actions.

The executive board of Hillel issued a statement condemning the takeover and demanding that the students leave the building. This caused, to the surprise of the executive board, a lot of dissension among Jewish students, and it retracted the statement. During this time, two leaflets came out addressed mainly to Jewish students urging support for the SAG. The first, signed by 13 students, most of whom were active in Hillel, stressed the older traditions and experiences of Jewish people. Entitled "To the Brandeis Jewish Community," the leaflet stated in part:

We, the undersigned, support the struggle of the Student Action Group. Four thousand years of Jewish resistance to oppression, based on a tradition of morality and ethical action, compel us to support the struggle of all oppressed people and obligate us to support what we feel are the justified demands of the SAG.

The leaflet went on to state that, "Budget cuts extend to all parts of the university," and that, "It is incumbent on every member of the Brandeis community to make himself heard."

The second leaflet, entitled "An Appeal to our Fellow Students," centered on the recent history of Jews in the United States and, in particular, that of Brandeis:

...what has been done on our campus by a small group of "revolutionaries" is not only of direct benefit to everyone here, but is in keeping with the true, if submerged, heritage of this school. Have we forgotten how our parents and grandparents learned to deal with America, how established society regarded them and tried to limit their activity to minor areas of national life? ...American Jews, many of us at Brandeis, have been integrated into American society. We have succeeded on society's terms, have been abundantly rewarded...

Both of these leaflets imply that oppression of Jewish people,

anti-Semitism, is a phenomena of the past, part of the historical experience of Jews to be remembered and learned from, but not part of contemporary life. Also, although calling for unity, neither leaflet recognized that unity had already begun to appear and dealt with the SAG as if it included only minority students, indicating it was an action to support, but not one in which Jewish students could or should participate.

One of the arguments used against the SAG was the racist rallying cry of "third world anti-Semitism." A letter to *The Justice*, the student newspaper, drew an analogy between the Pearlman takeover and the demonstration which had occurred on campus opposing the university conferring an honorary degree on Golda Meir in 1973. The letter went on to accuse the "Pearlman students" of believing in the "persistent and vicious characteristic of the Jew as the mysterious master of money," in line with Henry Ford and General Brown, and concluded:

The typical Jewish liberal reaction to third-world anti-Semitism has been to discount the more distasteful aspects in favor of examining the "real issues." The issue has become Brandeis' right to exist as a Jewish institution. Banners and all-encompassing slogans do not obscure the fact that for the second time, Brandeis third-world students (with the inevitable entourage of "non-Jewish-Jews") have challenged the legitimacy of Jewish ethnicity in America.

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Jewish students at Brandeis are affected by problems similar to those that hit all students: tuition increases coupled with budget cuts, and the same bleaker and bleaker prospects after graduation. Zionism diverts Jews from these issues by claiming that the only important part of a Jew's life is Israel. Zionism draws Jewish students into false issues and activities such as the "save Soviet-Jewry" movement, aliyah, and to believing that the principal, if not the only threat to Jewish people comes from Black people and "Communism."

Many individuals who consider themselves Zionists are willing to unite on the issue of a basic peace program in the Mideast: sovereignty for all states in the area, return of the occupied lands and the recognition of the PLO. Our aim is to build the broadest alliances on this issue and, at the same time, involve Jewish students in struggles around the issues of cuts in financial aid and academic programs, rising unemployment and all other manifestations of the crisis of capitalism.

Unity of all youth--Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian-American, Native American and white: Jewish and non-Jewish; men and women--based on the struggle against racism, anti-Semitism and Zionism, is the absolute precondition to guaranteeing our right to earn, learn and live.

* * *

The Jewish Defense League: Shock Troops for Reaction

by Daniel Spector

Since the beginning of this year, the Jewish Defense League and its underground terrorist arm, the Jewish Armed Resistance Movement, have claimed responsibility for and have been implicated in 2 bombings, 3 attempted bombings, 2 attempted assassinations, 3 concert disruptions, 1 brick-throwing incident, and numerous cases of harassment of Soviet and other foreign diplomats.

In addition, the JDL has instigated a campaign of terror and intimidation of the Puerto Rican and Jewish population in the Boro Park section of Brooklyn in an attempt to prevent Puerto Ricans from moving into the community and to foster racism against the Black people among the Jewish population.

In its regular demonstrations at the Soviet mission to the United Nations, the JDL, according to Dov Fisch, its associate director, "will carry the most outrageously provocative signs we have ever carried." (*The New York Times*, April 10, 1976). The signs will include such threats as "Death to Russian Children" and "Kidnap Russian Diplomats." The JDL, said Fisch, will "engage in dialogues" with Soviet diplomats. "We used to call it harassing," he said, "but harassing is illegal."

The most recent outrage committed by the JDL was the attempted assassination of Soviet Ambassador Yakov Malik when two shots were fired into the Soviet Mission on April 1 from a high-powered rifle (see the CPUSA statement following this article).

These terrorist acts are only part of a long series of such crimes committed since the JDL was formed in 1968. Despite admitted responsibility and complicity in these acts, the JDL has enjoyed the blessings, at least tacit, of the major Zionist organizations and a wrist-slapping, "naughty-boy" attitude from law enforcement agencies. Today some of these organizations give the JDL an open welcome. Thus, the January issue of *The American Zionist*, official publication of the Zionist Organization of America, allows JDL's "feuhrer" Meir Kahane, no less than eight pages for a reply to his "friend," Joseph Alsop.

The Jewish community has been the victim of an increasing barrage of reactionary propaganda by the Zionist leadership, which maintains firm control of community organizations and media while clamping down on any emerging independent, anti-Zionist expression. This can be seen in the campaigns to "free Soviet Jewry," in their endorsement of Henry Jackson for President, their opposition to affirmative action and open admissions, and the attempt to whip up racist, anti-Communist hysteria about "Black anti-Semitism" and "anti-Semitism from the Left."

This drive to turn the Jewish community to the Right comes at a time of increasing world-wide opposition to and isolation of Zionist ideology and practice, particularly the policies of the Israeli government. A mighty demand for peace in the Middle East, based on Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and honoring the right of the Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of the PLO, to an independent state, has forced a crisis in Israeli politics and Zionist ideology as a whole. Voices have been raised not only within Israel but also the Jewish community in this country calling for a reassessment of Israeli policies.

It is within this context that the role of the JDL must be assessed. In essence, the JDL's program and ideology differ not at all from those of the organizations connected with the Council of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. All of them are united in their anti-Sovietism, racism, and generally reactionary nature.

However, the JDL carries Zionism to its logical extreme. Its tactics of terrorism and intimidation are based not on the fanaticism of its leadership (although this is not to be denied), but on the racist ideology of Zionism itself, an ideology whose basic precepts speak of a "war of survival of the Jewish people."

The JDL is a fascist gang, the spearhead of the ultra-Right drive in the Jewish community. It carries the reactionary policies of the Zionist establishment one step further into terrorism and open, criminal activities. This is the reason for the tacit or open support given to it by the Zionist establishment. What little condemnation has emerged from the offices of the major Jewish organizations has been limited to condemnation of the JDL's tactics, not its program. And even this condemnation has been based not on the fact that people, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have been murdered, injured, assaulted and insulted by the JDL, but on the argument that these criminal activities have been "counterproductive to Jewish interests."

Thus, Arnold Forster of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, according to *The New York Times* (January 24, 1971), "said that despite the vigilantism and the demagoguery that he sees in the JDL, there is a power in its appeal that 'to some extent reaches every Jew.' 'We all know what "Never Again" means,' he said."

And almost one year later to the day, the JDL bombed the offi-

ces of Sol Hurōk, resulting in the death of a Jewish woman and injuries to 14 others.

*

In furtherance of its aims, the JDL has allied itself with outright racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Communist elements.

In Brooklyn, New York, it formed an alliance with the Italian-American Civil Rights League, whose leader, Joseph Columbo, was an acknowledged key figure in the criminal underworld. These two organizations conducted joint terror campaigns against integration of schools and housing in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn. Meir Kahane received \$45,000 from Columbo for bail during his trial in 1971 for bomb-making.

At City College in New York, the JDL sought an open alliance with Young Americans for Freedom, an ultra-Right youth group, in opposition to open admissions.

The JDL has openly endorsed Henry Jackson for president, as have the major Zionist organizations (see editorial this issue).

In May of 1975, Kahane issued a call for the formation of a political party to defeat President Ford in the coming elections. A few months later, American Jews Against Ford (AJAF), with offices in the building that houses the JDL headquarters, issued a leaflet that contained the following:

[AJAF will make] a serious effort to reach the Christian fundamentalist Bible community...to impress upon them the Biblical axioms that make the final redemption conditioned upon the prior return of all the Jewish people to Israel, and the resurrection of the Jewish state from the hands of its illegal conquerors.

Political efforts to persuade a strong rival within the Republican Party to run against Mr. Ford will be begun and should this fail, encouragement of a conservative third party to draw votes away from the President initiated.

It is well known who the "Christian fundamentalist Bible community" are: Father Coughlin, notorious fascist during World War II, Gerald L.K. Smith and his Christian Nationalist Crusade, and Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade are shining examples. The call for a "conservative third party" has echoes of the efforts of George Wallace and others to establish such an organization.

In response to the ever-growing demand for a reversal of Israel's policy of expansionism and aggression, the major obstacle to peace in the Mideast, the JDL has formed a front organization called the Committee Against Israeli Retreat (CAIR) to unite and give support to the die-hard war-hawks and fanatical nationalists in Israel

and the U.S. It has attacked, physically and verbally, every organization, including those with large Jewish memberships, that has come out in opposition to the annexationist policies.

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In light of recent disclosures of CIA and FBI funding and support for terrorist, criminal organizations, JDL ties to these agencies come as no surprise. It is well known that FBI informers are members of the JDL. It is also well known that the FBI has advance knowledge of all JDL activities. Sheldon Siegel, an FBI informer, was part of the JDL gang that bombed Hurok's office in 1972. During the trial of two JDL members as a result of the bombing, FBI agent John M. Doggett testified that the FBI knew the JDL was planning to bomb the Soviet mission to the UN by plane and conduct sniper attacks on the building.

Despite this evidence, the defendants were acquitted of all charges on a technicality. (This pattern of acquitting JDL terrorists, or imposing light sentences for hard crimes, is in itself an indication of government complicity. So far this year, no JDL member has been arrested for any of the bombings, attempted bombings, or attempted assassinations.)

Rabbi Kahane was an investigator for the House Un-American Activities Committee during Joseph McCarthy's reign. During the 1960's, prior to the formation of the JDL, he was known as "an expert on infiltration and front groups" (*The New York Times*, January 24, 1971). Along with Dr. Churba, "a civilian specialist on the Middle East for the U.S. Air Force who is currently enrolled at the National War College" (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 27, 1976), Kahane coauthored a book entitled *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam*, supporting the U.S. imperialist aggression. The funding for the book was never disclosed.

The JDL maintains a paramilitary training camp near Hunter, New York, and sends members to Israel for "special leadership training."

It seems highly unlikely that the money to finance these activities comes mainly from small donations. Although it has been reported that Bob Dylan gave \$5 million to the JDL (*Space City*, Vol. 1, no. 26, *The New York Times Magazine*, November 28, 1971), it seems more likely that funding comes directly from U.S. government agencies, the Zionist establishment and sources in Israel.

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The express purpose of the JDL was laid bare by Dov Fisch in the *Times* article cited above: "We are committed to creating a crisis in Soviet United States relations....We are going to provoke an international crisis."

With such a stated aim, it should become clear to all working people, particularly Jewish Americans, that the JDL is a racist, anti-Communist, anti-Semitic, terrorist organization that is direct-

ly opposed to the interests of working people, particularly Jewish Americans. Supported by the government and coddled by the Zionist establishment, it has shown itself to be nothing but a gang of criminals and fascist fanatics.

There must be no free speech or freedom of assembly for proven fascists, racists and terrorists. The Jewish Defense League must be outlawed as a menace to society. Those guilty of criminal acts, and those guilty of complicity in such acts, must be speedily brought to justice.

Jewish Americans, particularly, must denounce this gang, which presumes to speak in their name. We must also reject the attempts of the Zionist leadership to lead the Jewish community into passive acceptance of the Jewish Defense League. The interests of Jewish Americans lie not in accepting leadership from such reactionary quarters, but in alliance with all working people and nationally oppressed people--Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian American, Native American and white; Jewish and non-Jewish--against the common enemy and the source of racism and anti-Semitism--monopoly capitalism.

* * *

Communist Party, U.S.A. Condemns JDL Terrorism

(Press Release, April 8, 1976. Abridged.)

The shooting attack on the Soviet Mission in New York last Friday is but one more crime in a long history of terrorist activities by the fascist Jewish Defense League and its underground arm, the so-called Jewish Armed Resistance. This history has included shootings, bombings, physical harassments and attacks, threats of kidnap and assassination, directed against the personnel and institutions of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the first place, as well as against those of Arab, African and other countries.

In response to the protests against these latest outrages, William Scranton, U.S. representative to the United Nations, could come up with nothing more than a proposal to outlaw the carrying of "incendiary" placards in demonstrations, a measure which would solve nothing and serve only to duck the issue as has been done on previous occasions. The Soviet representative Mikhail Karlamov rightly charged that such incidents continue to occur only because the U.S. authorities, though they possess the most advanced techniques of criminal investigation, fail to take the necessary steps to find and punish those guilty.

We must reject as an outright falsehood the contention of both the federal and city authorities that they are unable to provide more adequate protection, that the government of the United States is unable to guarantee the safety of foreign officials within its borders. We must equally reject the concoctions of "tit-for-tat" attacks on U.S. embassy personnel in Moscow as an attempt to cover up the failure to deal with the terrorist crimes here.

The Communist Party condemns this complicity on the part of the government and the major Jewish organizations. While Reverend Ben Chavis and the Wilmington, North Carolina Ten are imprisoned for their leadership in the fight against racism and for freedom and equality, the law enforcement agencies that so readily put them in jail are "unable" to stop the openly-admitted acts of terrorism by the JDL. And behind the "no comment" attitude of the Zionist leadership of the Jewish community lies the traitorous encouragement of the JDL.

The JDL is a racist, anti-Communist, anti-Jewish gang of criminals, police agents and terrorists. It must be condemned by all democratic, progressive people and denounced by Jewish Americans, in whose name it presumes to speak.

As a proven menace to society, as admitted murderers, bomb throwers, terrorists and assassins, it must be outlawed, and those guilty of these terrorist acts must be speedily brought to justice.

We demand that the federal and local government bodies act now to put an end to these fascist acts.

We call on major Jewish organizations to join actively in the fight to outlaw the JDL as an enemy of all people, including the Jewish people.

* * *

our warmest greetings and best wishes

to

Dora Bryer Lomax
a long-time co-worker and fighter for progress

on her 80th birthday

The Editors

Right-wing Social Democracy —

Enemy of Black-Jewish Unity

by Lee Carr

As the liberation movements of oppressed peoples achieve growing success, both throughout the world and in the United States, the leaders of international Zionism and Right-wing social democracy step up their attacks against these movements, using unbridled racism and chauvinism as their major weapons. Typical of this approach is an article by Carl Gershman, Executive Director of Social Democrats, USA, in *Midstream* February 1976 ("Blacks and Jews"). Gershman is a close associate of Albert Shanker and Bayard Rustin. He has close ties to the *Daily Forward* and the ILGWU leadership. His article, therefore, sheds light on the thinking of these circles on such questions.

Gershman echoes the line of the major Jewish organizations. His main theme is that it is the Blacks who are responsible for the deterioration in Black-Jewish relations, and that this is primarily due to the rise of a "new anti-Semitism" emanating mainly from Blacks and the Left in the United States. He states that in a time of expanding economy and historic civil rights legislation, "the civil rights coalition fell apart, riots flared in hundreds of American cities, and the cutting edge of the Negro protest movement turned increasingly nationalistic, extremist, and in many cases anti-Semitic as well."

He says that for Jews this was a "period of immense trauma" and "for the first time since the Holocaust anti-Semitism surfaced as a major problem, and Black extremists were among the chief offenders." Further developing the idea of a Black anti-Semitism, Gershman adds:

"Anti-Semitism is not now and never has been endemic to the Negro community. But it has been frequently associated with the extreme nationalist variant of Black American political expression," (and) "the point is not that a correlation exists between blackness and anti-Semitism --it doesn't. But the last century has shown a significant one between anti-Semitism and so-called 'revolutionary nationalism,' otherwise known as fascism."

Who are these revolutionary nationalists according to Gershman? Among them are Malcolm X, the Black Muslims, Stokeley Car-

michael, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Eldridge Cleaver and the Black Panthers. He also includes such figures as Dr. Carlton Goodlett, a number of Black professors, and leaders of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America striving to free themselves from imperialist rule. In short, Gershman attributes anti-Semitism to Blacks not because they are black but because they espouse so-called "revolutionary nationalism" or "fascism."

Gershman describes it in a footnote as follows:

"The term 'fascism' is used here not as an epithet but descriptively to refer to the kind of revolutionary and totalitarian nationalism that has its origins in Mussolini's fascism and now characterizes the politics of many developing countries, including China and Cuba."

Thus, for Gershman, many of the national liberation movements of Asia, Latin America and Africa trace back to Mussolini's fascism. This kind of thinking is of a piece with that of Abba Eban and Israeli UN ambassador Chaim Herzog in characterizing the UN as "the world center of anti-Semitism," and with Daniel Moynihan's attempt to picture the newly-liberated countries as "a tyrannical majority" bent on "destroying democracy," because they characterize Zionism as a form of racism.

For Gershman and his cohorts in Social Democrats, USA, any criticism of Zionism or Israeli government policy, or any support to Arab liberation movements, is anti-Israel and therefore anti-Semitic. He attacks Malcolm X because he spoke out against Israel's continued aggression against our brothers in the East. He practically calls Dr. Carlton Goodlett, President of the National Newspaper Publishers Association (an organization of 121 Black newspapers) an anti-Semite because he condemned "international Zionism and its drive, through Israel, to implement an expansionist policy in the Middle East" and because he criticized Jewish organizations which oppose affirmative action and other anti-discrimination programs on behalf of Blacks and other oppressed minorities.

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Gershman's worst racist arrogance and venom are reserved for Black professors--for the Black intelligentsia. Speaking of the "failure" of a National Consultation Conference of Black-Jewish Relations held at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee in June 1974, he states:

"These abortive 'dialogues' that have taken place should not be taken too seriously. The Black professors gathered at Fisk are not representative of Blacks generally (most of the Blacks who refused to join BASIC*, for example, were professors), nor does Goodlett represent an organization with a rank-and-file membership as does, say, Roy

* Black Americans to Support Israel Committee, a group organized on the initiative of Bayard Rustin.

Wilkins. They are all members of the intelligentsia which is the most radicalized section of the Black population and still subscribes to many of the ideas that evolved in the late 1960's."

One thing is certain, however: Dr. Goodlett and the Black professors whom Gershman attacks are far more representative of the thinking of the Black masses than are Gershman and his racist cronies in Social Democrats, USA.

Gershman's attempt to pit the NAACP against Dr. Goodlett and against the Black professors had apparently met a rebuff at the Fisk University Conference. Nathaniel Jones, General Counsel for the NAACP, told the delegates that "relations /between Blacks and Jews/ would deteriorate further if the Jewish organizations continued to oppose affirmative action programs."

In today's economic crisis the Black and other oppressed peoples, always the victims of racism and discrimination, have suffered especially devastating effects. The limited economic and educational gains of recent years are now being wiped out.

They are hit with special force by the growing crisis of the cities and the resultant wiping out of public services and educational facilities. In New York City, according to Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chairperson of the Commission on Human Rights, "the city lost half of its Spanish-speaking workers, 40 percent of the Black males on the payroll and almost a third of its female workers." She concludes that "you are close to wiping out the minority work force in the City of New York." Even *The New York Times* acknowledged that "there can be no question about the devastating impact of the city's austerity budget on ethnic groups."

Figures released by Concerned Black Educators, a teachers' association, show that whereas during the period of 1974-75 employment of minority teachers reached a peak of 11.8 per cent of the total, by May 1975 this had already dwindled to 8.9 percent. By July 1976, it is anticipated, the gains made by minority teachers in the early seventies will be entirely wiped out.

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What is the attitude of Gershman and his associates to these justified concerns? He talks of "Jewish anxiety" about "the growing demand for the use of quotas in hiring and university admissions." He quotes Bayard Rustin, speaking before the House Special Subcommittee on Education, to the effect that "we are particularly dismayed by the notion that opportunities can be expanded for some groups at a time when the job market is shrinking for all."

In answer to Vernon Jordan Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League, who placed some of the blame for deteriorating Black-Jewish relations on "the indifference to issues touching the very core of Black interests on the part of the Jews," Gershman

states that these programs that aim to include previously excluded minority groups "do not touch on the core of Black interests." Instead he labels such things as affirmative action and open admissions as "preferential treatment," giving a totally distorted impression of what these programs are all about.

Moreover, he states that "under present economic conditions a policy of preferential treatment would amount to little more than a token concession to Blacks; it would not appreciably affect their economic status." Instead, he holds out to Black people the bland assertion that their interests are better served by the state of the economy and the economic policies of the federal government.

Of course, Black people are concerned about the state of the economy and they will fight along with the rest of the working class for government policies of benefit to all working people. But they will not give up their fight to end their special exploitation and discrimination. They will not wait another 200 years for some benefits to trickle down to them in "good times" only to be lost in "bad times."

That is why, unlike Gershman and his Right-wing friends, more and more Black people are calling for drastic reductions in the military budget and an economic program to benefit the people, not the big monopolies which benefit from arms spending. Unlike the Gershmans and the nationalist Jewish leaders who view the struggles of the oppressed peoples for jobs and decent living standards as "racism in reverse" and as aimed against the Jewish people, these people view their struggle as one to extend democracy to all groups, thus strengthening the unity of all workers.

The line propounded by Gershman is that of the most reactionary and anti-Soviet elements in Jewish life. These are the backers of the Solzhenitsyns, the backers of Nixon in 1972 and of the reactionary Henry Jackson today as a "friend" of the Jewish people. These are the elements that whip up campaigns against a fictitious "Soviet anti-Semitism" while ignoring the real threat of anti-Semitism that emanates from the ultra-Right forces of monopolist reaction in this country.

That anti-Sovietism, racism and blind support for the annexationist policies of Israel's government lead the Jewish people into a narrow, reactionary nationalist path is clear from Gershman's remarks on the 1967 war. He says:

"The Six Day War was a watershed in the evolution of American Jewish consciousness. Before the war it was possible for Jews, especially younger Jews, to be primarily concerned with the problems of Black Americans or the Vietnam war. After the 1967 war and the rise of the Jewish emigration movement in the Soviet Union this became much more difficult. With the traumatic experiences of the Yom Kippur War--which, in the words of Hans Morgenthau, revealed a trend towards world-

wide anti-Semitism--the political concerns of American Jews focused almost exclusively on the issue of Jewish survival in an increasingly inhospitable world."

Henry Winston, in an outstanding article in the February 1976 issue of *Political Affairs*, polemizes against the concept of "ethnicity" put forth by Moynihan and Nathan Glazer of Harvard University. Winston points out that "ethnicity" is a strategy to fragment the working class and thus obstruct its independent class action. As Winston correctly notes, "when one substitutes ethnicity for class, one projects race against race, instead of projecting struggles of the multinational, multiracial working class and the oppressed minorities against the white ruling class."

The policies of the U.S. Zionist leadership and of Right social democracy follow the line of Moynihan and his strategy of "ethnicity." If Jewish-Black unity is to be built, the Jewish people must reject such policies. They will then find that the world will not be so "inhospitable" and that the real interests of the Jewish people will be advanced.

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