

ZIONISM (KOSHER NATIONALISM) + IMPERIALISM = FASCISM

By Field Marshall, D.C.

One sign of the new anti-Semitism—
A headline from *The Black Panther*.

THE MILITANT

Palestinian struggle:
the real facts

—see story page 6—

NO U.S. TROOPS TO THE MIDEAST!

The following letter of protest was sent to President Nixon on behalf of the 75 Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office in 15 states. It was written by Paul Houston, SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1968 and currently the SWP candidate for Congress from Harlem. Paul Houston has just returned from a fact-finding trip to the Middle East.

have been ordered to the coast of Lebanon, and that you have placed on alert troops from the 82nd Airborne Division in West Germany and the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, N.C. I remember the 82nd Airborne as the same division that President Johnson sent to Santo Domingo to crush the uprising there in 1965, and into Detroit in 1967 to crush the revolt of the Black community.

From *The Militant*, publication of
the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance.

'The Socialism of Fools'

The New Left calls it "anti-Zionism," but it's no different from the anti-Semitism of the Old Right

By SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET

TWENTY-FIVE years after the end of World War II and the collapse of the most anti-Semitic regime in history, anti-Semitism appears to be on the rise around the world. But unlike the situation before 1945, when anti-Jewish politics was largely identified with rightist elements, the current wave is linked to governments, parties, and groups which are conventionally described as leftist. Various New Left activists in different countries, American black militant groups, Arab "socialist" spokesmen, and East European Communist governments have moved on from anti-Zionist to anti-Jewish and fully anti-Semitic statements and acts. And though the extreme right remains relatively weak in Western countries, its news-

papers have become much more open about referring to "Jewish conspiracies."

To say that increasing numbers of New Leftists, black militants and advocates of the Palestinian cause are not only anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist, but, more, are moving toward—or have already achieved—full-fledged anti-Semitism is clearly to use fighting words. Some distinctions are in order. One may oppose Israeli policy, resist Zionism or criticize worldwide Jewish support of Israel without being anti-Semitic. But when one draws on the age-old hostility to Jews to strengthen a political position, when one gives credence to the charge of a worldwide Jewish plot to rule, when one attacks those with whom one has political and economic differences as Jews, when one implies that Jews are guilty of some primal evil, then one is guilty of anti-Semitism, and one is engaged in the same racism that all decent men insist on eliminating.

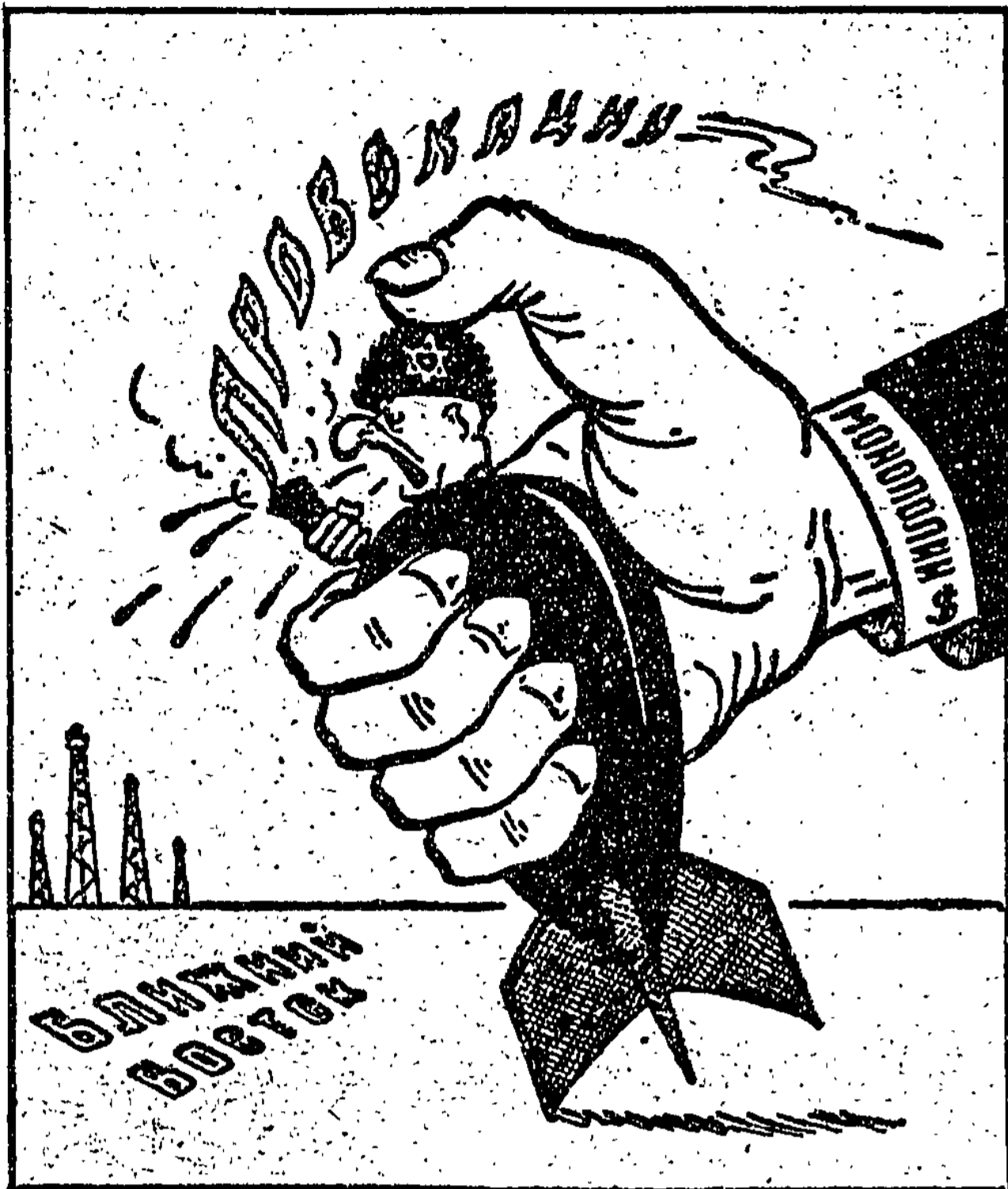
Admittedly, it is easy to make

these distinctions in theory, but difficult to apply them. Nor are the distinctions so neat in practice. But seeing a rising ferocity in the expression of anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli sentiments, and a rising irrationality in such comments, we have good reason to fear that, even though anti-Semitism may not be at their root, their expression may well stimulate and encourage anti-Semitic feelings. Just as a peculiarly aggressive and unmeasured attack on blacks who commit criminal acts may lead us to suspect that the attacker is more antiblack than anticriminal, the same kind of language addressed to Israel and Zionism must arouse the same suspicion—and, in view of the murderous possibilities of anti-Semitism, serious concern.

THE most important expression of anti-Jewish sentiments in the West takes the form of attacks on "Zionists" and the state of Israel by every section of the left, except the Democratic Socialists. As the war in Viet-

nam peters out, the various incarnations of the extreme left — new and old, anarchists, Maoists, Trotskyists, Black Panthers and Communists — have reoriented their international emotional priorities to identify the heroes as the Arab terrorists and freedom fighters, and the villains as Israel and its American ally. In Germany, New Left students, in a sickening replay of the behavior of their Nazi predecessors of 1928-33 (university students were the first stratum in Germany to back the Nazis, giving them majorities in student council elections as early as 1931), chant as they parade: "Mach die Nahe Osten rot; schlag die Zionisten tot" ("Make the Near East Red; smash the Zionists dead"). Dieter Kunzelmann, who played a major role in the demonstrations at the Free University of Berlin during the late nineteen-sixties, and who is now in the Middle East with the fedayeen, being instructed, according to his published letters, "in the use of explosives... [and] the manufacture of time bombs," has written from

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, professor of government and sociology at Harvard, wrote (with Earl Raab) "The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in the United States, 1790-1970," which received the Gunnar Myrdal Prize.



"Washington's Lighter" is the caption for this cartoon from Red Star, the Soviet Army newspaper. The ground is labeled "Middle East"; the wrist, with dollar-sign cuff link, "Monopoly," and the lighter's flame spells "Provocation."

BLACKPANELS

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AGITATE · EDUCATE · ORGANIZE

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Cover of a Brooklyn black militant magazine.

Amman that the German left must break down the pro-Semitism that emerged out of German guilt at the holocaust, that Germany must get over "der Judenknax" (the "thing" about the Jews) (Encounter, Nov., 1970).

French New Left spokesmen have openly defended the need to speak in anti-Semitic terms when supporting the Arab cause. Jean Bauberot, former leader of the French Student Christian Association and currently editor of Herytem, a New Left journal, wrote in the May-July, 1969, issue that to "demonstrate the intricacies of the Palestine problem" leftists must "use expressions which, taken by themselves, appear to resemble certain lines from 'Mein Kampf.'" The French New Left also has expressed its pro-Arab feeling by violent action. Members of the Mouvement Contre le Racisme Anti-Arabe, formed by people active in the revolutionary movement of May, 1968, were responsible for attacks in

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New Left pickets at the United Nations demonstrate against Israel.

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October, 1968, on the Rothschild Bank in Paris.

The open expression of anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish feelings by important segments of the French left has resulted in the revival in some quarters of a traditional Catholic religious-based anti-Judaism. An article last fall in *L'Arche*, the monthly journal of the French Jewish community, reports on the attacks on Judaism and Israel which have diffused from the student New Left to various Catholic groups. They deny the historic claims of the Jews to Israel on the theological grounds that the church, rather than contemporary Jewry, is the true heir of ancient Israel. They claim that, for a Christian, the only solution of the Jewish problem is "the final conversion of this people to Christ resurrected." It is striking that these ancient concepts have reappeared not among conservative Catholics, but among the progressives who cooperate closely with the New Left, while the French bishops have criticized these beliefs as counter to Catholic doctrine as defined by Vatican II.

THE American New Left largely shares the pro-Arab terrorist views expressed by the movement in Europe. In general, however, the white American left has been more inhibited than the European in expressing anti-Semitic statements, probably because so much of its audience and mass base is Jewish. Nevertheless, some of its spokesmen have called for terrorism against American supporters of Israel. Eric Mann, a leader of the Weathermen, writing in *The Guardian* of Oct. 17, 1970, stated: "Israeli embassies, tourist offices, airlines and Zionist fund-raising and social affairs are important targets for whatever action is decided to be appropriate." A student of Weathermen activities, Ross Baker, professor of political science at Rutgers, has seriously raised the question as to whether the recent series of bombings in Rochester, N. Y., of assorted governmental and Establishment targets—which include two synagogues—"might be the assertion that Weathermen's embrace of the Palestinian Liberation Movement has been translated into depredations against Jewish religious institutions in America." There is, of course, no evidence as to which group

was responsible for the bombing in Rochester, but the pattern followed does strongly suggest that it was a leftist or black militant one.

Overt expressions of anti-Semitism have occasionally appeared in American New Left organs. Thus, in an article, "Jews Riot in the Ghetto," in *The East Village Other* of Oct. 18, 1968, Philip Anthony fantasized in a crudely anti-Semitic fashion concerning the consequences of the possible assassination of Albert Shanker, president of the New York teachers' union. The article included crude parodies of Yiddish expressions and accents. The now defunct *New Left Notes*, once the organ of Students for a Democratic Society when that was still a unified organization, attacked socialist institutions in Israel because "Israeli 'socialism' was founded on the complete relocation of thousands of people of color" (Feb. 28, 1969). In fact, Arabs, being Semites, are as "white" as Jews; the description is, of course, designed to eliminate sympathy for "white" Jews as an oppressed people.

The same objective has been pursued by linking Zionism and Israelis to complicity with the Nazis in the murder of European Jews. An article by Tabitha Petran in the Nov. 21, 1969, issue of *Fire* (the publication of the Revolutionary Youth Movement faction of S.D.S.) claimed that after Hitler came to power "Zionist leaders offered the Nazi Government their cooperation in finding a solution to the Jewish question." She went on to argue that collaboration with "organized Jewry...remained 'the very cornerstone' of [the Nazis'] Jewish policy." Supposedly, "hundreds of Zionist leaders were permitted to escape to Palestine" during World War II because they collaborated with the Nazis by withholding "from the masses in Eastern Europe the fact that they were marked for shipment to death camps."

STUDENT and intellectual radicals, whether Jews or not, have historically had a penchant for self-hatred in the form of approval for anti-intellectual populism, and have defined wisdom as coming from the instincts of the masses, of the uneducated, of the poor. Currently, such masochistic populism in the United States takes the form of identifying with the values,

statements and tactics of black militant groups. Many of these have increasingly engaged in anti-Semitic propaganda, often only partially disguised as anti-Zionism.

Thus Stokeley Carmichael who was a leader of both the Student Nonviolent (now "National") Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and of the Black Panthers before abandoning the struggle in America for residence abroad, accounted for the resentment expressed toward Jews by black militants as a result of "the exploitation [of blacks] by Jewish landlords and merchants," in an article published in *The*

Dec. 21, 1968, issue of *The Black Panther*, Eldridge Cleaver attacked Judge Monroe Friedman, who presided over the Oakland, Calif., trial of Huey Newton in the following terms: "If the Jews like Judge Friedman are going to be allowed to function, and come to their synagogues to pray on Saturdays, or do whatever they do down there, then we'll make a coalition with the Arabs, against the Jews..."

The Panthers have even argued that Judge Julius J. Hoffman gave the Jewish defendants in the Chicago conspiracy trial better treatment than he gave Bobby Seale. Connie Matthews, international coordinator of the party, wrote in *The Black Panther* of April 25, 1970, that there was an alliance



On the Walls of Nanterre. Slogans current at France's most left-wing university.

New York Review of Books in 1966. Elsewhere, he wrote: "You let just one Negro get a Molotov cocktail and throw it at some Jew's liquor store and they call out the whole damn National Guard." In an interview with David Frost on April 13, 1970, Carmichael declared that, in his judgment, Adolf Hitler "was the greatest white man." He went on to say that he could not describe men like Johnson, Nixon, Truman or Churchill as "great people," since they "were doing things against my people."

The most overt expressions of anti-Semitism have come generally from the most militant of the black organizations, the one with closest ties to sections of the white New and Old Lefts, the self-described Marxist-Leninist Black Panther party. The party goes out of its way to identify as Jews those in the Establishment who oppose it and who happen to be Jews. Thus, in the

between the Jewish judge and the Jewish defendants:

"It was a Zionist judge, Judge Hoffman, who allowed the other Zionists to go free but has kept Bobby Seale in jail and sentenced him to four years for contempt charges. Bobby Seale alone stands trial again in April on conspiracy charges. With whom did he conspire? The Zionists?"

"The other Zionists in the... trial [i.e., Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin] were willing and did sacrifice Bobby Seale and his role in the conspiracy trial to gain publicity."

Now clearly Rubin and Hoffman are in no way "Zionists." This is simply a code word for Jew, just as it has become in Eastern Europe.

Though opposed to all capitalists, the Panthers single out Jewish businessmen for attack. Thus, a statement in the May 19, 1970, issue of the party newspaper declares that they are against "Zionist exploitation here in Babylon,

manifested in the robber barons that exploit in the garment industry and the bandit merchants and greedy slumlords that operate in our communities." In describing a tenants' action in Atlantic City against a landlord, an article in the June 13, 1970, Black Panther praises the tenants for "gathering together to form a United Front against Zionist Pig Sobel. . . ." The article concludes with the exhortation: "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE — DEATH TO THE ZIONIST PIGS." And as if to prove that the reference to Sobel was not fortuitous, the paper a week later carried a story on "Substandard Housing in America" which referred to buildings "owned by a Zionist by the name of Rosenbaum."

To make Jews (or "Zion-

which charged that the white left is racist because it includes such "a large percentage of the Jewish population," and by a leading black writer, Harold Cruse, who argued in "The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual" that the disproportionate role of Jews in the white left was responsible for serious errors in understanding the black situation. This faction would like to sharply reduce Jewish participation in the radical movement.

THE white left, both new and old, while increasingly anti-Israeli, and occasionally anti-Semitic, does not engage in the kind of virulent anti-Semitism which may be found among the black militant left and the white extreme right. But it is important to reiterate that the white left does not

consequence, or as if no one on the left were capable of it.

The same double standard with respect to anti-Semitism is seen in the response of much of the American leftist press to the propaganda themes of the Arabs. On one hand, it accepts the self-description of a number of Arab states and movements as socialist, though little is nationalized or socialized in these countries, and though the inequality of income and land ownership is greater in all the Arab nations than in Israel. More significant, however, is the fact that the American left-wing press also ignores the fact that the Arab militants, as well as a number of Arab governments, have been ready to use whatever sources of anti-Semitic, anti-American, anti-capitalist or anti-Israeli feelings exist to foster their cause.

The Arabs, of course, like other critics of the Jews on the far left and right, insist that they are only anti-Zionist. Yet there is clear evidence that anti-Semitism — not simply anti-Zionism — has deeply penetrated Arab groups and governments. Many official Egyptian books and pamphlets dealing with the Palestine problem, for example, have reprinted or cited as factual the hoary mythological "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," a document put out in the late 19th century by the Czarist police, which purports to contain the details of an international Jewish conspiracy to control the world.

Arab groups emphasize the economic role of the 100,000 Jews in South Africa, and argue the existence of a Jewish-backed conspiracy, linked to the Rothschilds, to protect the two "white-settler" states, South Africa and Israel, against black and Arab native populations. The South African millionaire, Harry Oppenheimer, is frequently mentioned as the Jewish head of this plot. (In fact, Oppenheimer's father converted, his mother is Christian, and he is an Anglican.)

At least one prominent French New Left spokesman, Jean Bauberot, has acknowledged and sought to justify the repeated anti-Semitic statements in Arab propaganda. "To be against all forms of racism is as stupid as being against all forms of violence," he wrote. "We must begin by saying that the Palestinians have the right at present to appear anti-Semitic to us. . . . The [Middle East] situation is a racist one, and if we refuse the Palestinians the right to name their oppressors, this

amounts to a right to disband them culturally" (Harytem, May-July, 1969).

Not surprisingly, Arab spokesmen have been willing to work with extremist groups on the right as well as the left. And the far right has reciprocated in many countries. When the Belgian Jean Robert Debbaudt, a veteran of the German SS Walloon Legion, announced the re-formation of the fascist Rexist movement founded by the Belgian Quisling, Léon Degrelle, he concluded his announcement with the words: "Vive Léon Degrelle! Vive Al Fatah! Rex vaincra!" The West European neo-Fascist magazine, La Nation Européenne, which stands for a unified anti-Communist Fascist Europe, has only two foreign representatives, one in Algiers, and the other in Cairo. It has carried many advertisements from Arab sources, e.g., publicizing fairs in Algiers and Iraq, or French language anti-Zionist books published in Egypt.

The ultrarightist, racist American National States Rights party, for example, has repeatedly expressed pro-Arab, pro-guerrilla sentiments in its newspaper, such as: "The time has come for us White Christian Americans to come to the aid of our good anti-Communist Arab friends and demand that the Government stop aiding the Jews" (The Thunderbolt, Dec., 1969). And the American Liberty Lobby has explained: "Soviet global strategy is working out perfectly. In the Mideast the Communists take an anti-Zionist position, while in America they always support Jewish interests. This isolates America from the Arabs, forcing the Arabs to seek 'protection' from the Soviets" (Liberty Lobby Newsletter, July, 1969). Arab materials increasingly appear in left-wing, right-wing and black-nationalist papers which share an antipathy to Israel and Jewry.

GIVEN the clear-cut anti-Semitic character of much pro-Arab propaganda, given the extent to which criticisms of Zionism by various left and black militant groups have become anti-Semitic, the question arises as to why so many on the left, including many Jews, have accepted such policies as their own, or more commonly, have abstained from criticizing groups such as the Black Panthers, no matter how explicit their bigotry. The answer to this question is obviously not simple.

The most immediate sources of the reaction seem to be the diverse results of the Vietnam war and the Six-Day War.

The conflict in Indochina clearly alienated most people on the left, whether moderate or extreme. For many on the left, particularly the young who never knew and do not understand the horrors of Nazism, Stalinism, and totalitarianism generally, the United States has become the epitome of international reaction, the stronghold of all that is evil. Hence, any government, any society, any movement which has the strong backing of the United States must be almost as wicked. And conversely, people opposed by the United States must be good or at least better, particularly if they are also backed by China, North Vietnam, Cuba, Russia and the various leftist Third World countries. The support given to the Arab cause by the black nationalists is an additional argument in the same direction, since many young white leftists take their domestic cues from the black radicals.

More specific, however, in changing the outlook of many to Israel and the Jews was the impact of the Six-Day War. Israel by its rapid and decisive victory ceased being an underdog nation. Liberal and leftist egalitarian values, as well as Christian religious sentiments, tend to make common cause with the weak against the more powerful. Before the Israeli military triumph, Jews and Israel still possessed their traditional image as victims, as the oppressed. Since then, Israel is seen as the strong and wealthy nation, backed by the power, influence and financial resources of world Jewry, while the Arabs are weak, underdeveloped and poor.

It may be, however, that these explanations are too rational, or that they serve to explain only the specific content of the current revival of anti-Jewish feelings. What may be more abnormal, more peculiar, than the presence of anti-Semitism has been its seeming absence for a quarter of a century within Western civilization. Reactions to the holocaust repressed overt expressions of the normal vein of anti-Semitism which has existed in Christendom for close to 2,000 years. To attack Jews became an unspeakable act following the revelations of the mass murders committed by the Nazis. But it is not very likely that one of the most stubborn cultural conventions of Western civilization could disappear that quickly. The French Revolution did not succeed in obliterating the cultural continuum of anti-Semitism, but

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At left, "Nixon-Dayton: The ones to fight." Above, "Palestine will overcome!"

ists") as a group responsible for the actions of single individuals is anti-Semitism in its purest form. Ironically, it would appear that the very fact of disproportionate participation of Jews in leftist causes is a major cause of subsequent anti-Semitism. In the United States, the integrationist movement was largely an alliance between Negroes and Jews (who, to a considerable extent, actually dominated it). Many of the interracial civil-rights organizations have been led and financed by whites, and the majority of their white members and big financial contributors have been Jews. Insofar as a black effort emerged to break loose from involvement with whites, from domination of the civil-rights struggle by white liberals and radicals, this meant concretely a break with Jews.

This resentment of the Jewish presence has been expressed in articles in the Black Panther newspaper

challenge black anti-Semitism. This is not because it fears to criticize the black militants. Most of the left-wing press—Challenge (Maoist), The Militant (Trotskyist), The Daily World (Communist), The Guardian (ecumenical left)—has carried articles, sometimes lengthy ones, highly critical of various aspects of black nationalism, and of the Black Panthers in particular. Such articles usually criticize the militants for their lack of emphasis on class, as distinct from race, and often involve highly esoteric discussions of Marxist-Leninist analysis concerning concepts of nationalism, colonialism and the like. The Panthers, for one, do not take kindly to such criticism, and have replied with violent rhetoric concerning the revolutionary *bona fides* of those who dare challenge their revolutionary purity. Yet in all of this criticism, anti-Semitism is never mentioned. The white left acts as if it were of no

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only invested it with new secular forms. The Russian Revolution failed even more dramatically. Not even the creation of culturally and ethnically pluralistic societies in the New World could eliminate it.

The generationally transmitted reservoir of cultural anti-Semitism is best conceived of as a kind of collective consciousness built almost ineradicably into our literature, into our language, into our most general cultural myths. The memory and significance of the holocaust inhibited the willingness to use anti-Semitism, even to express it, but it still persisted. And, over a quarter of a century, the events of 1939-45 have retreated into history, have become increasingly "irrelevant," particularly to those who came of age after 1945. For new generations what happened just before they reached political consciousness has almost as little direct impact as events which occurred a century ago, or even longer. Hence, as time goes on, the chances increase that the persistence of cultural anti-Semitism, of folk anti-Semitism, will be picked up and used for political purposes.

THE fact that this time the predominant weight of the anti-Semitic thrust is on the left rather than the right will surprise only those who are unaware of the considerable literature on anti-Semitism in the socialist and other leftist movements. The identification of the Jews with international finance, with capitalism, with the status of businessman, with Shylock has long replaced the image of the Jew as Antichrist for many on the left and right. Karl Marx himself accepted the stereotype which linked Jews with capitalism. Thus, in his essay on "The Jewish Question," he wrote: "What is the worldly cult of the Jew? Bargaining. What is his worldly God? Money. . . ."

Some leftists have been willing to accept or tolerate anti-Semitism since the mid-19th century as some sort of groping toward a progressive anticapitalist position by masses in contact with Jewish businessmen. Since leftist movements invariably received considerable support from Jews who properly resented the anti-Semitic politics of the assorted conservative and monarchical regimes of Europe, this often meant that anti-Semitic movements included Jews among their activists. The Russian Nihilist-Populist Narodnaya Volna,

For the New Left, events of 1939-45 are "irrelevant"

for example, had many Jewish youth in its leadership and membership, while openly welcoming peasant pogroms against Jews as evidence of the emergence of mass revolutionary antibourgeois consciousness. Similar favorable reactions to popular anti-Semitism among German and Austrian Socialists led August Bebel, the famous German Socialist leader, to describe anti-Semitism as "the socialism of fools."

The task of analyzing the sources of these sentiments among the left is further complicated by the fact that, as we have seen, Jews play a very great role in various radical groups, both new and old, both student and adult. Some who have tried to analyze the special appeal of leftist universalistic ideologies to Jews have argued that identifying with a universalistic movement, one which rejects all forms of religious or ethnic particularism and all group loyalties, as the extreme leftist movements do, appeals to members of minority groups who seek to escape the stigma of belonging to an unpopular minority. To some degree the literature on "Jewish self-hatred" and on "Jewish anti-Semitism" suggests that adherence to radical causes has been a way of escaping one's Jewishness. Hence, one finds youths of Jewish origin who react with fervor to every nationalist cause but that of the Jews, who are sensitive to every slight against every other minority, but not to overt attacks against Jews, not even when directed against Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin.

In expressing directly or indirectly a disdain for Jewishness, the young New Leftists are following in a classic tradition set by a number of prominent Marxists of Jewish origins, who could find it in their hearts to be concerned about many national groups, but not the Jews. The famous Polish Jewish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg specifically repudiated any concern with the plight of the Jews in a letter written in 1917, in which she indicated that the exploited of Asia and Africa were "so much closer" to her than the Jews that "I cannot find a special corner in my heart for the ghetto; I feel at home in the whole world." In "Are the Jews a Race?" the

only book on the Jewish question written by a major Marxist theoretician, Karl Kautsky, who was also of Jewish origins, criticized Judaism as the major source of medieval thinking left in the modern world, one which must "dissolve . . . and disappear." And like Marx, Kautsky wrote about Judaism: "The sooner it disappears, the better it will be, not only for society, but also for the Jews themselves."

The American Communist party, though always having a significant membership of Jewish origins, has rarely shown concern for the plight of Jews, except during periods in which Russia was strongly anti-Nazi. In his book "The Social Basis of American Communism" (1961), Nathan Glazer concluded that "in general there was no group in the population for which the party showed more contempt and disdain, in its formulations of specific party positions, than the Jews. Melech Epstein has told the incredible story of the party's treatment of the Arab massacres of Jews in Palestine in 1929. This was initially referred to in the Yiddish [Communist party paper] Freiheit as a 'pogrom.' The party then severely castigated the Freiheit for not seeing the Arab uprising as a 'class war . . . against British imperialism and their Zionist agents.' The Freiheit immediately corrected its error by resorting to a treatment of the Palestine events not very different from that of an anti-Semitic newspaper."

The Jews have suffered severely in the past from the insensitivity to the consequences of anti-Semitism exhibited by many "internationalist" leftists, both Jewish and non-Jewish. The late Isaac Deutscher, a leading Marxist analyst, and himself of Polish-Jewish background, wrote in his book "The Non-Jewish Jew": "If, instead of arguing against Zionism in the nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties I had urged European Jews to go to Palestine, I might have helped to save some of the lives that were later extinguished in Hitler's gas chambers." Today, the revival of anti-Semitism, or of a tolerance for it when expressed by "progressive," proletarian, Third World or racially oppressed people, not only increases the insecurity of Is-

rael, but severely endangers Soviet Jewry. There is some evidence that the post-Stalin rulers of the Soviet Union have been inhibited in supporting or expressing anti-Semitism by the fact that until recently opinion in the non-Communist world, including Western Communist parties themselves, reacted strenuously against evidence of anti-Semitism. The relaxation of concern about the Jews exhibited by a growing sector of intellectual and left-wing opinion gives the Soviet leadership freedom to treat the Jews as they will. Significantly, a recent book by two Soviet authors issued by a state publishing house in Czechoslovakia denounces "international Zionism" for fomenting the 1968 liberalization movement in Czechoslovakia.

IN fairness, it should be noted that some factions and major intellectual figures on the left and among blacks continued to find a basis for strongly supporting Israel and for stressing the significance of the holocaust as an overriding experience which dictates a special concern for any expression of anti-Jewish or anti-Zionist sentiments. Thus many older black militant leaders, such as A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Roy Wilkins, have strongly condemned black nationalist anti-Semitic statements. And it should be noted that opinion polls indicate that the large majority of blacks are not anti-Semitic, that groups like the N.A.A.C.P. which include Jews prominently among their leaders have much more support than do the Panthers and other nationalist organizations. The Democratic Socialist movement, represented in this country by the Socialist party, the Young People's Socialist League, and the magazine Dissent, defends Israel as the one democratic state in a sea of Middle East authoritarianism, and has been critical of anti-Semitic tendencies among the more authoritarian sections of the left in the United States. Deutscher, though sympathetic to the New Left and closer to the severely anti-Israeli Trotskyists than to any other group, wrote that the Jews of Israel "have the feeling — how well justified — that the 'civilized world,' which in one way or another has the fate of European Jewry on its conscience, has no moral ground to stand on when it tries to sermonize or threaten Israel for any real or imaginary breaches of international commitments."

The editors of the "independent socialist magazine" Monthly Review, Paul Sweezy

and Harry Magdoff, who have the admiration of many young revolutionaries for their maintenance of a radical Marxist organ during the lean years of American radicalism, also felt it necessary in a recent issue (July-August, 1970) to remind others on the left that, whatever the history of Zionist relations with the Arabs, Israeli "nationalism is nevertheless a reality, one that was deeply affected by the Nazi holocaust and is constantly refreshed and sustained by anti-Semitic thought and practices in various capitalist and socialist countries. Thus, the nature of the Jewish experience has generated a national consciousness in which the nightmare of forced emigration to a hostile, closed world and the dread of extinction by violence are ever present."

And though he has been ignored on this issue by many who follow him on other matters, it should be recorded to the credit of the intellectual theorist of the New Left, Herbert Marcuse, that he, too, recognizes that anti-Semitism is not just another prejudice. Speaking in Germany to a New Left audience, Marcuse said: "I cannot forget that during centuries, Jews were persecuted and oppressed and that not so long ago six million of them were annihilated. This is an objective fact. The Jews finally found a land where they must no longer fear persecution and oppression and I identify myself with the aim reached by them. I am happy to be in agreement, in this case also, with Jean-Paul Sartre, who said: 'The only thing that we must prevent at any cost is a new war of extermination against Israel.' . . ." And Marcuse concluded by saying that "the preventive war (for this was in fact the character of the war waged against Egypt, Jordan and Syria) can and must be understood and justified" (cited in Jewish Currents, June, 1970).

What characterizes these radical leftists so concerned with anti-Semitism and Israel, is that all of them — Deutscher, Sweezy, Magdoff, Marcuse and Sartre — were adults, politically conscious and involved, during the era of Nazism. But they have signalily failed to convey their experiences, their shock, the lessons they learned, to a new generation of revolutionary radicals. We can only hope that the latter will have less impact on the future of the Jews than earlier generations who required Auschwitz and Dachau to prove to them that anti-Semitism is more than a foolish prejudice. ■