Radical Zionists seem to have been quite at
 odds lately with Meir Kahane of the Jewish
Ze'ev Jabotinsky and some of his followers.
Those of us who think in terms of historic
processes might call it inevitable. There had been
many serious rifts or, at best, divisions among
the groups, resulting in ideological differences, and actually had a
good deal of activist-orientation and anti
establishmentism in common.

But recently, conflicts began when a couple of
RZA organizers were beaten up outside a JDL
building, and a brouhaha had been going on in the
press. The point of this editorial, however, is not
to discuss how much we dislike JDL. Almost
anyone can do that. The point is that we're not
against self-defense, nor a strong Jewish identity,
no even armed struggle, in some circumstances.
It is against JDL's Jewish chauvinism, national
prejudice, and reactionary politics we stand.
The attitude that paints everything in pure black and
white, that's says, either you're with me or you're not.

But the JDL is not alone in this attitude.
They are not the only ones more vulnerable than
what the Jewish establishment thinks: On any issue we
hear the short range view: "What's good for the
Jewish people is categorized: 'Are you for
or against?'

And those who are openly against Jewish
interests, but who are saying the same things, only
the opposite view. The two extremes, though they
talk to be mortal enemies, are really playing
into each other's hands. Thus the typical
-Jewish or Zionist establishment supporter (in
cluding JDL) would agree with the anti-Zionist
"leftists" on all the following:

"One is either a Zionist and therefore
supports all Golda Meir's policies, or one sup-
ports the Palestinian cause and is an anti-Fascist.

"One either supports Nixon in Vietnam
because it helps Israel or one is against the war,
and also against the interests of Jews.

"One either says 'Let my People Go' and
opposes Communism, or one is a Socialist and
ignores Jewish oppression of the Soviet Union.

"One supports poverty-plagued housing
for poor Blacks in a middle-class Jewish neighbor
hood, and opposes Jewish oppression of the So-

viet Union.

"We claim that Jews are basically Third
World people, like Blacks. The group of M Setup and
Habonim (Labor Zionists) as well as non-
affiliated Jewish leftists who are, for the most
part, Marxist revolutionaries. Their basic prob-
lem stems from their confusion as to whether they
are primarily Jewish or Marxist...

"Conflict, we believe, is not such a bad thing...Better to deal with your confusion than to
deny its existence in yourself! Are we primarily Jews or Marxists? Yes, there is a paradox-as in the
women's movement: is it one primarily a woman activist or a revolutionary? We feel that the answer in
both cases is that you have to be both, that it is not a real contra-
diction.

"They bring into Zionism a deep psycho-
phoria which frightens them hurting the State of
Israel and the Jewish national future far more than
if they had remained outside the movement
within the general left (sic). On major after
major issue (sic) they have taken stands that
counter deeply with the true interest of Jews
and Israel precisely because they are not
affiliated.

We believe that the Jewish national self-interest will, many times,
conflict with the Third World, Marxist mentality.
The situation is becoming especially dangerous when
Cold War politics enter the picture.

We believe that all the above dichotomies, and insists that the issues are
clear, there are basic rights on both sides of
each issue. At the same time we emphasize our
strong identification with the Jewish people-all of
them-and underlie our personal com-
mitments to struggle for a few years, then
in Israel, for revolutionary Socialism and Zion-
ism. We see ourselves both as the Socialist
branch of Zionism and the Jewish branch of
international Socialism. We call on Jews to join
the struggle now, before it is too late, and we
feel that the hands of free Jews from oppression,
especially the Palest-
inians, if they are willing to accept us as we
are them.

This is the meaning of the much overused
but still valid slogan "Be a revolutionary in Zion
and a socialist in the Diaspora." Do you, too,
agree that there is room for a middle ground
between those who say that Jews and Jewish
leaders cannot do no wrong, or who say that
they can do no right? If so, maybe Radical
Zionism is something you should find out more
about.

The following is from "Israel News Anal-
ysis" by Meir Kahane, in the "Jewish Press,"
February 25, 1972, page 9: Italic sections are
Nitzotz editorial; to clear up factual points.

"...[RZA] is a clear threat to Jewish nation-
alinism in its best and purest sense and a danger to
the view of life and the RZA is not prepared to
opt for Jewishness....

We claim that Jews are basically Third
World people, like Blacks. The group of M Setup and
Habonim (Labor Zionists) as well as non-
affiliated Jewish leftists who are, for the most
part, Marxist revolutionaries. Their basic prob-
lem stems from their confusion as to whether they
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ports the Palestinian cause and is an anti-Fascist.

"One either says 'Let my People Go' and
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page two

NITZOTZ, MAY 1972

"Thus we find the H.Z.cicketing an Israel
Bonds Dinner where Abba Eban speaks because
Israel has decided to thank conservative gover-
nor Ronald Reagan for signing a bill that was of
immense benefit to Israel, economically....Thus
we find the R.ZA demanding that there be
recognized a "Palestine" people who have Arab
"rights" to the Land of Israel and calling for
return of the lands liberated in 1967. Thus we
find R.ZA unwilling to accept the Zionist "Jeru-
salem Program" because it does not recognize
the Palestinians as a people with rights to Eretz
Yisroel.

To all this, we proudly confess.

"Is it any wonder that they tend to support
the Mapam Marxist party in Israel? If ever there
was an Israeli political schizophrenic (sic) it
exists within this group! Here is the party that
opposed a Jewish State until it was found (sic),
calling instead for a bi-national home where
Jews and Arabs would have parity in politics,
thus insuring an end to Jewish immigration
and the building of a Jewish homeland....

Mapam did call for a binational state, but
is Zionists, one which would insure all Jewish
national rights, including free immigration. Ka-
hane's statement is a pure lie. Reflect for a
moment, how history might have differed had
such a solution been found thirty years ago.

R.Z.A is in no way affiliated with Mapam,
nor do most R.Z.A leaders consider Mapam a
"relic" among an unabashed enough party to bring
Socialism to Israel.

Even if R.Z.A did support every view of
Mapam today, Kahane is blaming us, a 2-year
old organization, for Mapam positions of 15 and
25 years ago.

"There is no such thing as a class struggle
in Jewishness; the Jewish people are one, unified
and indivisible, solving their socio-economic
problems within the Jewish family....

*See the leaflet on this point.

"There is only one people with a genuine
claim to Eretz Yisroel and that is the Jewish
one....

Just think about it, and also see the leaflet,
and other articles in the paper. This chauvin-
ism is this chauvinism.

*There remain the need to undo the disas-
ter of the Zionist Congress which voted due to
the influence of Jewish agancy leftist officials
like Mordecai Bar-On-to retain the budgetary
allowance granted to the World Union of Jewish
Students (WUJS).

Bar-On a leftist? He is politically and
personally one of Moshe Dayan's best friends,
and proposed WUJS at the Congress until he saw
that 'the winds were blowing the other way. See
"Up Against the World Zionist Congress" by
David Mandel in this issue.

"(WUJS) was set up by the Jewish Agency to
create a body that would gather together
Jewish students under the Zionist banner...What
faced us was, that WUJS fell in to the hands of
a small group of leftist of the R.Z.A....

Sometimes we wish this were true. WUJS is
controlled democratically.
Several months ago, a few RZA members agreed to begin a collective investigation of urban Jewish poverty. The Lower East Side of Manhattan is one of several known poverty areas in New York City which has a minority of Jewish residents, and becomes the Jewish community once it is poor but active Jewish community.

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, Jews from Eastern Europe and Yiddish Russia immigrated to the United States along with many Eastern European peasants. This wave of immigration to the United States and Eastern European countries and the anti-Semitic policies of Alexander III and Nicholas II.

URBAN SKILLED WORKERS

The Russian, Romanian, and Polish peasants became unskilled laborers, involving themselves in various mushrooming industries in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Youngstown, Cleveland, and the Midwest.

The Jews settled in the cities and found that the industries were dominated by gentiles and the "established" Sephardic and German Jews. The Jews quickly became involved in small trade (such as pushcart vending), and also the production and repair of clothing, working as tailors in sweatshops, or in their own small shops. These Jews could not achieve the status of the Jewish middle class, which had become professionals, such as doctors and teachers. The Jews, though they sometimes were on the border of financial collapse, were not yet receiving charity, resorting to any other means of survival rather than turning to the relief agencies. Those who had no choice but to receive financial aid applied to the institutions established by the German Jews after they had steadily immigrated, namely the presence of "Jewish" and "foreign" Jews, which shocked and embar-

raised them.

TO THE MIDDLE CLASS

The highest concentration of the newly arrived Jews was on the Lower East Side, which had become a poor neighborhood after the Civil War. Within a very few generations, most of the Jews were gone from the Lower East Side; they had managed to attain lower middle class status by educating their children for the American workforce.

The Jews into the middle class has occurred in almost all countries which the Jews have entered, although not without some discrimination. The Jews have not been able to become involved in the basic industries. Often this was due to the fact that Jews were not allowed to own land or have Christian subordinates in several European countries.

However, not every last Jew has gone from the slum of the Lower East Side. The area is not yet entirely consider as Jewish and Black. The Jews who are left are mostly elderly. The Jewish community that once was there has virtually disintegrated and most of the old Jews feel isolated and frightened and they are very poor.

We spoke with the director of a successful program for the elderly of the Henry Street Settlement. The Program provides meals at $6.00 per meal (this price was determined by the participants). The residents of the project also take part in various industrial shops and classes. The most important aspect of this program is that it provides its participants with the chance to be active, to have a sense of belonging, and some security.

ELDERLY JEWS

The director also informed us that elderly Jews in other areas of the country (Florida, Boston, Los Angeles, and Chicago) are not receiving services and are sometimes almost starving.

Most of the people living in the project whose residents take part in the program of the settlement have lived in the suburbs.

A bill has been passed by the Senate to nationalize this program. It is the only program in the country at the moment which serves elderly Jews.

Some of the problems which the local elderly have in getting aid are caused by resentment in the community.

According to the director, for example, mothers resent increases in the funds appropriated to aid the elderly when they feel that not enough money is provided for programs for the local youth.

ESCORTE PROGRAM

The Escort Program is another project of the settlement. Participants in this program are local youth (mostly Black and Puerto Rican) and elderly. The youth escort the elderly to their various destinations (such as doctors' offices). This program has helped to dispel mistrust and fear between the two groups and has promoted some mutual understanding.

The interview which was perhaps the most informative was a short discussion with Rabbi Nissim Alpert of one of the few very local synagogues. The Rabbi described the fear and isolation in which the local Jews have lived since what was familiar to them has all become a nearby synagogue. Most of the synagogues which were scattered throughout the area are now closed; there are now two left open. The congregants of this synagogue are frightened of "losing their apartments and many have) been able to frequent the synagogues as often as they would like. Some of the congregants receive welfare or social security, however there is no one to care for them if they should become ill. There has been no contact between this community and agencies of the established Jewish Philanthropies. There has not been much help from government agencies such as the Community Relations Council.

POSSIBILITIES OF HELP

It seems obvious that any attempts to improve the situation of poor urban Jews by the government or by the "Jewish Establishment" have been grossly insufficient. Not enough is known about the masses who should be done in order to help these Jews and, at least in this case, not much has been done to find out. The is an ignorance of the fact that there are quite a number of poor elderly and young Jews in the United States is clear, and a blot upon the entire community. The first logical step might be to find a Jewish organization to carry out a national survey through their various local chapters to find out where these poor Jews are located, how many of them there are, and their specific needs. The agencies should be taken to provide for the needs of impoverished Jews in each specific area. In order to obtain funds for such programs as may be necessary, the Jewish community can pressure the city, state, and national governments, and can raise funds internally. To continue to ignore this problem is to condemn many Jews to poverty, disorientation, isolation, and misery, and to be a crime toward fellow Jews.

TODAY'S SCENE

Walking through the Lower East Side one sees filth, demolished buildings, small and dirty shops selling cheap merchandise of poor quality, some pushcart peddlers, rundown tenements, and crowds of people on the main streets. There is also a large housing project which is typically unsightly because of its large, rectangular, and uniform design. The blocks north of another housing project which is somewhat less oppressive looking as the buildings are not as closely crowded. The general atmosphere of the neighborhood is dark and drab, particularly about the tenement buildings. The neighborhood is an officially designated poverty area.

A new housing project will be constructed in the neighborhood soon. RZA members spoke with Mr. Ernesto Martinez, the director of the Seward Park Tenant's Association. The function of this organization is to protect the rights of local tenants who live in housing projects, which will be torn down in order to make room for the new project and to see that they must carry out in order to obtain the new apartments.

MOST ELIGIBLE

Mr. Martinez explained that the local Jewish tenants are among those most eligible for housing in the new project as they have lived in the neighborhood for a long time. However, many Jews have not filled the forms which they are required to file in order to reserve apartments; neither have they taken the necessary steps that the Tenants' Association take steps to stop the planned demolition of their present apartment buildings, as it has been doing for the past few years.

Mr. Martinez said that his organization has not had sufficient contact with the Jews to determine whether they have filled the proper forms or asked for some action of the Tenants' Association.

NO INTERFERENCE

The two Jewish members of the local community corporation were later interviewed by RZA representatives. They both were of the opinion that the fact that there were any Jews employed by the Community Corp. was already a positive step towards organizing and protecting the rights of the local Jewish community and that there should be no interference by outsiders Jewish groups in the situation.

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Member, Jewish Student Press Service.

NITZOTZ, MAY 1972

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Humanism Internationalism and the Jewish Tradition

by Steven Rabner

The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, is more than a historical relic to which polite reverence is paid because it is the fountainhead of three great religions. The Old Testament is a book of many colors, written, edited, and redacted by many writers in the course of a millennium and containing in itself a remarkable evolution from primitive authoritarianism and clanishness to the idea of the radical freedom of man and the brotherhood of all men. The old testament is a revolutionary book; its theme is the liberation of man from inscrutable ties to blood and soil, from subservience to idols, from slavery, from the powerful masters, to freedom for the individual, for the nation, and all mankind.

The oral tradition of the Jewish people, like the written bible contains the record of ideas expressed over a span of more than twelve hundred years. The oral tradition could be a second Jewish bible, of course it is not, but it would contain the Talmud, the writings of Maimonides, the Kabbalah, as well as the sayings of Hasidic masters. But what I want to show by this idea is that the old testament represents the development of ideas over a long period of time.

So it is natural that the story of the liberation from slavery in Egypt, the speeches of the Great Humanist Prophets, should have found an echo in the hearts of men who had experienced forms only as its suffering objects, never its executors? Is it surprising that the prophetic vision of a united, peaceful mankind, of justice for the poor and helpless, found fertile soil among the Jews and was never forgotten? Is it surprising that when the walls of the ghettos fell, Jews in disproportionately large numbers were among those who proclaimed the ideas of internationalism, peace and justice? What from a mundane standpoint was the tragedy of the Jews—the loss of their country and their state—from the humanist standpoint was their greatest blessing: being among the suffering and despised, they were able to develop and uphold a tradition of humanism.

WAYNE KARLIN

Wayne Karlin recently returned from a long stay in Israel, where he was editor of the newspaper of the American College in Jerusalem.

The prophet sat motionless on top of a hill in the Judean desert. Both he and the hill sat alone and set apart from their surroundings. The ridges in the old man's face and the granite of his eyes grew out of the rock on which he sat. He seemed a part of the mountain, an outcrop made of harder material.

But his mind was no longer granite. He was an old man and his thoughts were scattered. His thoughts were at different levels. Only the outer part of his being, the part connected to his senses, was aware of the magnificence of the desert. It was a desert that could twist a soul in awe, and though he recognized its appearance as illusory, it still affected him.

From his hill he looked over a vast sterility of rocks, a sterility twisting and silently screaming in sun-pierced agony. The clear, clean brightness of the rock's surfaces in the sun contrasted, as life to death, with the black gloom of their shadowed sides. It was a wilderness for prophets, a desolation clean of man.

And the wind that swirled across the desert from the shining iron blue mirror of the Dead Sea was a part of the grev cleanliness. The wind would roar at him, then die down to an ear tickling whisper, a teasing whisper, like the half formed words of God.

His eyes fell, finally, on Masada. He stared fiercely at the stronghold, trying to see the few remaining Jews, the last zealots of the revolt.

A second, deeper, level of the prophet's mind dwelt for the moment on the affairs of men. On blood and revolution.

He thought of the beginning, when they brought freedom to the land like a sweet bride, the godliness of those first days of independence. And he thought of the day they had reaken the holy temple mount, cleansed with their blood. Even in the joy of those days he had stood in a cold shadow of fear, a shadow as dark as these desert shadows. Israel had signed her treaties with that sprawling whorl of the nations that called itself a republic, and the prophet was laughed at for his premonition of ruin. Who thought of ruin in those golden days of freedom when all the world was our friend. Oh yes, he thought bitterly, the republic that became an empire proved what a friend she was.

Empire. The word fascinated its returning generals with its promise of bloody glory, and the nation's bored masses agreed snapping at any diversion. Then we saw its naked power; the foul eagle squatting obscenely on the temple mount. And our freedom, ashes in our mouths.

From his thoughts of the revolution and the odor of burning flesh and burning cities, his mind went to its deepest level. And at this level he cried out to God.

"Lord, why hast thou forsaken us?"

"We are Thine. We are Thy people.

"Is our salvation always to be in the blood of our children?"

A screaming roar interrupted his meditation. His face turned upwards into the sun. And his eye fell on the red, white and blue eagle on the side of the American jet, as it dived down to bomb the last defenders of Masada.
Announcing a special issue of our backs: a women's news journal.

From Washington, D.C. on JEWISH WOMEN. Great fantastic issue appearing in February/March. Poems, songs, stories, and many articles on the Jewish woman. This issue will be a fine issue and one you will be pleased with.

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WRITE TO: Jewish Women
1100 Conn. Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

NITZOTZ, May 1972

In Defense of Angela Davis

This leaflet was issued in Los Angeles in the middle of April when news of Roger McFae's interview in the Post reached the west coast. It was issued to a Jewish left gathering in the hope of building a more self-conscious understanding among Jews that support of radical anti-imperialism need not and must not imply self-destruction. It is important to note that in Mr. McFae's interview he not only expressed anti-Semities but also, and very racist attitudes toward Chicanos who got him jailed. If not non-discriminatory, it is at least universally applied.

All progressives and fighters for Socialism denounce the racist injustice of American courts. We demand that Angela Davis be tried by a jury of her peers: black and white workers and intellectuals who are victims of American capitalism. Capitalist institutions, including the courts, oppose racial, ethnic, and religious groups in America while they destroy Jews of Southeast Asia who are fighting for freedom from colonialism.

We are happy that Angela Davis is on trial and can add her intelligent voice to her own defense. We also want to hear Angela Davis' voice protest the racist mongering of Roger McFae, the California dairy farmer who put up nearly half of his 1000-acre farm as collateral for Angela Davis' $102,500 bail bond. Mr. McFae is accused of the disinformation in his face reddened, his mouth tightened, and he shouted, "Hitler tolerated the word racism from a Jewish woman who gave him synagogues. He hated Jews from his youth because of their racism and he hated them on a racist basis, too."

The Progressives and fighters for Socialism know that Mr. McFae is not expressing an unidimensional political opinion but is mouthing vile and racist and anti-Semitic charges which are not befitting an "avowed Communist."

Thus we call upon all progressives and fighters for Socialism and, especially Angela Davis' whose freedom we seek-to disavow the cite remarks of her benefactor, even as she accepts the bail bond that he made available. This is the action of a progressive, of a Socialist- and this is the action we expect from our Angela Davis.

WRITE TO ANGELA DAVIS AT THE
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA COURT HOUSE,
TELL HER: REJECT THE RACIST, ANTI-SEMITIC SLURS OF ROGER MCFEAE. TELL HIM SUCH SLURS EXPOSE HIS MEAN MENTALITY. SPLIT THE UNITY OF PROGRESSIVES OF THE TRADITIONAL SOLIDARITY OF BLACKS AND JEWS. THERE CAN BE NO PLACE FOR ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT NO MATTER HOW MUCH MONEY THEY GIVE TO GAIN RESPECTABILITY.

We demand freedom for Angela Davis but also demand that Angela Davis reject the ideas of Anti-Semitic supporters who will cause her and our movement more harm than good.

NOCCOMETE AGAINST RACISM IN THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT
Radical Zionism
In A Nutshell

by David Mandel

Here we attempt, to the degree possible, to
expose basic Radical Zionist ideology in one
page. This rendition is mostly based on the
theoretical work of Dr. Borochov, 1881-1917.
In future issues, Borochov's other works
and analyses will be dealt with, as well as the
history of the anti-Zionist movement.

Assimilation is truly in the interest of a bourgeois Jew, as it secures
his economic foothold in society. And organizations such as the Brail
Brith and American Jewish Committee, created by the Jewish bourgeoisie
to diminish obstacles to Jewish integration, probably never would have come
to existence had it not been for anti-Semitism.

But this is only part of the story. Borochov defined nationhood as unique historical
consciousness rooted in common conditions of economic development. Therefore, he said,
a real Jewish nation does not exist, not only as a reflection of anti-Semitism. And the base of
this nation is the Jewish working class, which does exist in certain unique "Jewish" roles. Bor-
ochov's analysis is based on examination of the roots of such Jewish nationhood: the economic
conditions under which the Jews have lived determine the social and economic roles they play. The
Socialist Zionism solution comes directly out of the analysis, aiming to transform in the base of Jewish
nationhood to a normal one, where real class struggle can take place.

But first the analysis: Throughout the history of the Jews' dispersion, national and religious oppression have
combined with advanced and separate Jewish cultural development to place Jews in occupations different from
those of the surrounding peoples. These have always been occupations farther removed from nature than most,
labor-intensive as opposed to land-intensive; mental labor as opposed to physical.

Furthermore, restrictions on employment in many areas has combined with a history of being forced out of one position
after another. This has led to a Jewish ethos of independence, a high value placed on self-employment. A Jew will start a
small business of his own with far less capital than another person.

The point of all this can be quoted straight from Borochov: "The story told... is that of a people far removed from the most im-
portant, most influential, and most stable branches of production--far removed from the occupations which are at the hub of history.
Instead of concentrating about the vital center of economic life, the Jews are gathered at its periphery. Obviously, the fate of society
does not to any extent rest on the needle or tobacco industries today; substitute law and teaching--ed.) This superfluity of social life, which
is made up of the give-and-take of finished goods, must draw its sustenance from labor in such central branches of production as
agriculture, sheep raising, mining, railways, whipping, etc." (From "Economic Development of the Jews," 1916).

Jews have always jumped to exploratory areas of developing economic phases. Jews were the first mercantilists, the first retailers, the
first in the communications industry, all in the past, and are now predominant in the teaching and liberal professions. Jews have
progressively left all these areas as others, too, begin to get involved, and as monopolies begin to take over, requiring the Jew to
sell out and either work for the larger concern or get out completely.

Thus Jews have historically been forced out of one position after another, and when the change has been unusually quick, or
the anti-Semites unusually powerful, mass migrations have resulted. Borochov explained this, and understood that each
successive reestablishment of the Jewish community in a new country contained, in its very formation as a minority, the
seeds of its own destruction as a community. The Jewish communities continued to exist, but always in this abnormal
way.

The only possible solutions for a Jew to end such a cycle are either total assimilation or territorial concentration
in a Jewish land. Assimilation is a perfectly acceptable solution in theory, and may actually occur in a varying
number of individual cases, but is impossible and undesirable as a communal solution, because the "Jew"
will always remain collectively isolated. Assimilation is an individual solution, a liberal solution. Socialists
should reject it in favor of a collective solution. Therefore, territorial concentration and the creation
of a normal national structure is the only collective solution to the Jewish problem. Here Jews will not be a minority subject to direct national oppression; here Jews will be engaged in
all areas of production; here Jews will work the land, engage in physical labor as well as mental; and most important, here the Jewish working class can develop a normal proletarian con-
sciousness and, allied with working classes of other nations, engage in class struggle.

Finally, without going into great detail, what does this mean today, to a Socialist Jew? The state of Israel exists, and does, in fact, have a more or less
normal economic structure, but not, of course, a Socialist one. Normal class struggle must be waged--in Israel, where it will have the greatest effect on world Jewry. The
one most important complicating factor is the lack of peace and recognition
between Israel and her neighbors. As in all small-nation conflicts, this encourages national chauvinism and expansionist tendencies and
distracts from class conflict. These tendencies must be fought--Israelis and Palestinians should be allies against imperialism, not
each other's enemies. But also, the Jewish national problem
is not solved as long as Jews continue to live in the same kind of abnormal positions that Borochov described--
and they do, in every country outside of Israel. We
must continue to point out these abnormalities, and fight assimilation tendencies in the Jewish
community (while not, of course, discouraging an individual who wants to
try to assimilate). Borochov spoke of a two-step solution: National
normality, and Socialism.

We are perhaps only halfway through the
first stage.

NITZOTZ, MAY 1972
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If you contact RZA immediately, it may not yet be too late to sign up for one of this summer’s exciting summer programs. They will run from June 25-August 30. Cost is $450.00. For more information call RZA immediately; 255-8360, days; 929-8236 evenings.

Program 1
Eight weeks on Kibbutz Hatzer: Intensive Hebrew study 4 hours daily, work in all branches of the kibbutz, including the factory, 4 hours daily. Intensive study, and to the extent possible, involvement in the social and economic processes of the kibbutz. Many special lectures from kibbutz members and others about the kibbutz, the labor movement history, and today’s Israeli political, social and economic problems.
One week free time for individual traveling.
Seven to ten-day traveling seminar, visiting absorption centers, social institutions, different types of settlement.

Program 2
Four weeks on a kibbutz in the center of the country; intensive Hebrew study for those who desire it; full day’s work for those who don’t half for those who do. To the extent possible, study of kibbutz institutions, history, and involvement in the kibbutz, like the first program (only 1/3 the time). Lecture-discussions about Israeli politics and problems.
Four weeks on an experimental program in Kiryat Shmonah, a development town in the upper galilee: Residence in a school in the town and cooperation with a group of students and young workers from the town in all the following activities: Work, in three areas: in the factory of the town, as hired workers picking fruit in area kibbutzim, and in a neighborhood service project in the town; Hebrew English tutoring in small groups; social activities with the group and in homes; intensive lecture-discussions about the social-economic political processes of the town; an educational project for American volunteers on the surrounding kibbutzim, at the kibbutzim and in the town. It is frankly hoped that a garin to start a development town urban collective will result from the summer, though this is by no means a requirement for participation. As in program 1, there will be one week free time and the traveling seminar, which the two groups will do together.

FLASH! GIDON ESHER, a member of the Israeli New Left (Sich) is on a speaking tour of the United States. If you want him to appear before your group, contact the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East immediately: 212-475-4300.


NITZOTZ needs you to continue this fantastic publication. We welcome any help in all areas of newspaper publishing: writing, typing, drawing, laying out, thinking, selling, business managing, even a friendly letter to the editors. The next issue will come out in fall, 1972.

BUY A SUBSCRIPTION NOW TO MAKE SURE WE CONTINUE TO SURVIVE! PLEASE!

page eight
Ford Isn't A Better Idea!

On Sunday March 19, in Cleveland Ohio, the local chapter of the Zionist Organization of America presented Congressman Donald Ford (House minority leader) with the 1972 Silver Award. As was done last year when the award was given to Republican Robert Taft, chairman of the Radical Zionist Alliance from Cleveland, Kent, and Oberlin protested the presentation, calling it a protestation of everything Israel and Zionism stand for. Ford's voting record on matters such as civil rights and especially the war in Vietnam were two of the issues that RZA raised. Leaflets were handed out saying "This year Ford and next year Wallace?" and "Israel Deserves Better!"

Earlier in the week RZA contacted the local President of ZOA to request that he not give the award. We received a very hostile response. He informed us that if we did not act "peaceably" he would call all of the plain clothed police to arrest us. We asked if we could meet with him before the award. He said that he was too busy. Following the challenge he offered to debate the issue before all the people who came to witness the award presentation, and to let them decide whether or not it was in the interest of the Jewish community. He told us we were "vain."

THE GOLDEN CALF

On the day of the presentation 10 RZAs showed up with leaflets and picket signs. There was much heated discussion and everyone hated Ford speak about Israel and the U.S. One RZA member said afterwards, "The only thing he didn't do was call for Israel to become the 51st state and have U.S. military bases." RZA attempted to present Donald Morganblatt III, Cleveland ZOA President, with a humble, but intense Golden Calf, for his "tolerant approach against the Jewish community."

After the presentation to Ford, we again tried to present him with the loving photographer could not take his picture with the calf.

Afterwards a gentleman who identified himself as a national ZOA vice-president (this license plate said ZOA on it) said that he would take the calf and we gave it to him.

One of the demonstrators who was carrying a sign saying "DO NOT PROSTITUTE" said, "Awards like this, organizations like ZOA and this obnoxious attitude of having award presentations to other classes going to mortgage Israel's freedom and independence."

NYU RZA ANTI-WAR ACTIVITIES

by Marshall Whitman

The escalation of the bombing in Indochina, coupled with the North Vietnamese offensive, spurred student anti-war activity throughout the country. At New York University's downtown campus RZA played an active role in the anti-war activities. Immediately following the mass strike meeting called by the Student Mobilization Committee, RZA produced leaflets, directed to Jewish students, calling for support to the strike. RZA participated in the many anti-war meetings, campus and citywide. RZAler Marshall Wittmann spoke at an Israeli Independence Day rally in Washington Square Park, speaking on the relationship between Jews and the war. RZA participated in a forum sponsored jointly by Lucha (an Hispanic student group) and the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Carl Goldberg represented RZA at this forum on the relationship between the working class and the war. NYU RZA also helped build the Radical Jewish Contingent in the April 22 march.

page nine
The following literature is available from RZA:

Free leaflets:
Berocothism, by Murray Zuckoff from the Jewish Liberation Journal
My Jewish Problem and Ours, by Sol Stern, From Ramparts
RZA Platform
El Patah, a Critical Analysis
The Meaning of Homeland, by Amos Oz
Zionism in Question
Socialist Zionism and Palestinian Liberation
FOR FIFTY CENTS:
Collection of Essays by Ber Borochov
Never Before RZA Poster
Bor Borochov in the Library Poster
FOR TWENTY-FIVE CENTS:
"Buttons: Israeli Panthers need your help.

NITZOTZ, MAY 1972

In Sunday March 19, in Cleveland Ohio, the local chapter of the Zionist Organization of America presented Congressman Gerald Ford (House minority leader) with the second annual Alba Hilte Silver Award. As was done last year when the award was given to Senator Robert Taft, chaverim of the Radical Zionist Alliance from Cleveland, Kent, and Oberlin protested the presentation, calling it a protestation of everything Israel and Zionism stand for, Ford’s voting record on matters such as civil rights and especially the war in Vietnam was two of the issues RZA raised. Leaflets were handed out saying “This year Ford and next year Wallace?” and “Israel Deserves Better!”

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Afterwards a gentleman who identified himself as a national ZOA vice-president (his license plate said ZOA on it) said that we would have the calf and we gave it to him.

One of the demonstrators who we carrying a sign saying “DO NOT PROSTITUTE ISRAEL” said, “Awards like this, organizations like ZOA and this obsequious attitude of having awards for actions such as this tick us off. (as)lick the ruling class are going to mortgage Israel’s freedom and independence.”

NYU RZA ANTI-WAR ACTIVITIES
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Interview:

What today, comprises the left in Israel?

There was once a left in Israel. Until five, six, or seven years ago one could consider Mapam the leftist party. Since then Mapam has become part of the Israeli establishment; and now not only is it part of the establishment and a member of the government, but it is directly responsible for every single act of the government. So there is a vacant place where the left should be. This vacant place is somehow filled with the dissidents from Mapam. This is Siach the new Israeli left. It was founded by young dissidents of Mapam who were unhappy with their party’s attitude. They are today not only the most, but maybe the only militant leftists' group in Israel. I can’t tell you what their real force is. It’s not much, but they have an impact because they are young intellectuals, and they form the core of the Movement for Peace and Security; they are the body of everything which is opposition in Israel.

What about “Haslam Hazeh,” Uri Avnery’s party? Haslam Hazeh has a seat in the Knesset, but no movement behind it. It’s a kind of tactical arrangement for the elections. People voted for Avnery for so many different reasons that you can’t put them together. Some liked that Avnery believed that there should be some new blood in the Knesset. Some thought it a good thing that a Knesset member be serious and precise and accurate and never miss a session. It is a good example for the other Knesset members who don’t frequent the house. Some think that Avnery’s big campaign for free transportation for soldiers was a very good idea. Some also agree with his political ideas. But altogether there are just some, not many, Avnery did not attempt to create a movement.

What about parties like Maki and Matzpen? Are they doing anything on the Israeli left?

Maki is now the legitimate Israeli left — for exportation. Matzpen has no power in Israel and does not represent anything; it’s an army in which the generals are abroad and some true soldiers have remained in Israel.

That means the only left party with any force in Israel is Siach.

Well, not only; there is the young section of Mapam which has emerged recently almost in open opposition to the party. I don’t think they will become dissidents but Mapam is not a big, happy party; if it goes into young opposition it is in open revolt against the leadership.

What is the structure of Siach and Young Mapam besides the Israeli social and economic problems?

First of all, they are becoming conscious of these problems, trying to develop an ideological attitude and join in the struggle. I mean, whenever there is anything happening with the Black Panthers, those people participate and help. They don’t even want to become a party. They are a debating club, but when it comes to action, they also act.

Is there any unity in the Israeli left? Are they forming some sort of pressure group?

No, nor is it advisable. You see, the Israeli establishment would do anything possible to identify Siach with Matzpen, but actually, they are quite different, because Siach is Zionist and Matzpen is not. Siach, of course, not only recognises the fact that Israeli political leaders are made up of people who are good Israeli patriots, in their own way. There is no question about their love for Israel, but it doesn’t accept the right of a Jewish state to exist. Matzpen is now divided into three main factions. There are the Kibbutz, the Trotskyists, and the authentic Mapam, none of whom accept the idea of a Jewish national state. The Israeli press, the establishment, and the mass media make every possible effort to identify Siach with Matzpen. When the Black Panthers first started they were everything possible to connect the Black Panthers with Siach and Matzpen. They said that the Black Panthers are manipulated by this bunch of crazy, leftist intellectuals, and that they are traitors to the state, to the people and to the nation. I think, therefore, that if Siach and other opposition groups want to help the Black Panthers, they should do it in a discreet way, to avoid the impression that the Panthers are manipulated by anyone. That would be the end of it: What about the Movement for Peace and Security? Have they formed an alliance with Siach?

The Movement for Peace and Security is a commodity. It’s the only place where people from different parties could meet. There are members of Mapam, of the Labor Party, of the Liberal Party, and even some members of the Religious Parties. And Maki, of course. It’s a non-party organization where people are supposed to meet. But they are only supposed to meet; the party is not supposed to be identified in any extreme anti-government positions. The Mapam and the Labor Party delegates in the Movement for Peace and Security wouldn’t come to such a position, so that the Movement, for all practical purposes, doesn’t exist. From time to time, it makes a declaration of something; and if they sponsored a demonstration, no Mapam, no Labor Party, no Liberal, no Religious, no one came to this demonstration. Then they would need Siach, and Siach would come.

You mentioned before that the Israeli establishment does everything in its power to stop these new opposition movements from growing by identifying them with Matzpen and anti-Israel forces. To what extent do you think the Israeli establishment is really trying to bring society to the general? Is it a repressive society, as some people say?

Yes, it is, only in a very subtle and discreet way. But there is social repression in Israel.

Could you be more explicit? Could you give some examples?

It’s very simple. You see, from the age of 18 until the age of 55 the Israeli is a soldier. So suppose you are 45. Suppose you are 50. You are somebody. You are a professor or a bank manager, or whatever you like to be. From time to time they call you to a military office, just to check. Just to sign your name. But that’s enough. The moment you enter the military office you are considered a professor or a manager. You are nothing. You are a soldier, and that’s all. You are under military jurisdiction. Even if it’s only for 10 minutes. Five minutes you are again a soldier as you were when you were 18. And that’s enough to put you in your proper place. You don’t need more than that. You don’t need more apparent means of repression. That alone puts you in line.

Would you say the Israeli army is more similar to a professional army, as in Canada or Great Britain, or closer to the Chinese model of a "people’s army"?

It’s neither one nor the other. It could be adequately described as a popular army. Only the picture is not so nice because there are classes in Israel: there is an upper class and there is a lower class. The professional or standing army is the upper class; the reserve army is the lower class.

What about dissent within the army, such as the big outcry from within the army itself about the brutality in Gaza? Was that typical or an exception?

It’s not an exception. They try hard to maintain certain values, certain humanism. It becomes harder and harder to maintain, but a decent effort is made.

What about inflation? I understand that in the last year or two inflation has skyrocketed in Israel. How is this affecting the working class? Are they reacting to it in any way?

They are reacting, they are revolting, but they still don’t make any political or economic decisions, they’re not making any decisions about the prices, the expenses and the state of war, and the terrible economic situation. They just don’t see that it’s their job to do that.

Is that because no one has spoken to this issue, or have people tried to speak to this issue in the past?

Nobody would dare say it in Israel. Nobody. Nobody would dare raise the question. It’s a sacred thing, security. Nobody would dare touch that.

Not even Siach or the left?

Nobody.

What about racism in Israel — toward Oriental Jews and toward Arabs. Would you call it racism, or something else?

It’s not racism, it’s class struggle. The class configuration of Israel is this: You have the upper class, which is either European, or Israeli — born from European parents; then you have the Oriental Jew; then you have the Arabs as the lowest class. I think that in history, races and communities played the roles of social classes. The Oriental Jew isn’t the role of the proletariat, which is what he is. It isn’t the kibbutz, which is the proletarian class. The kibbutz is the worker; the Oriental Jew is the cheap labor power for the kibbutz. The kibbutz is the manager and the Oriental Jew is the廉价 worker.

What about the advent of the Black Panthers’ movement in the U.S.? Do you consider this the beginning of a serious class struggle in Israel?

That’s the only serious class struggle. There is no other serious class struggle. I think that will mark the coming years in Israel. It will become more open and more violent.

Do you think it will follow the pattern of the struggle between blacks and whites in America over the last ten years? Do you think it will get that violent and that hopeless, or is there more of a feeling of good will in Israel?

There isn’t much good will and I’m afraid that to a certain degree, there will follow the American pattern. And I think that the authorities have decided to crush it. The Panthers are bitter and they are desperate. They are young, inexperienced, illiterate, and uninformated — but they have a good instinct. They feel that they are being pushed and they don’t want to be pushed. And they don’t want charity. They don’t want it slow, they want it quick, immediate, and that’s not part of it.

Have the Black Panthers and their constituents realized the connection between the war and inflation? Are they speaking up against the war at all?

No, they don’t and they wouldn’t dare. Could you call the Black Panthers these in America, one hears that the Panthers, or at least elements of the Panthers, are controlled by Gachal, and that the Oriental community has very strong sentiments toward Gachal.

I don’t think so. I think that in the next election every single party in Israel will try to have its own brand of Panthers. You will hear maybe hundreds of organizations saying the same things, but at the service of each particular party. And of course, it will still give more representation in the Knesset to the Oriental Jews because there is strong pressure in that direction. But, it’s not that, it’s that the Black Panthers themselves are Leftists, but they have a class instinct.

Do you think they will be pushed into a leftist position by the coming struggles in Israel?

Yes, they are being pushed left because...

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MAY DAY IN JERUSALEM
from the "Jerusalem Post," May 2, 1972.

A May Day demonstration in Jerusalem organized by the leftist parties, including Mapam, Mapam (the Left), and Mapam were broken up by police yesterday just as it got under way. More than 3,000 persons were arrested (the number was 1,400). The demonstration had no permit; but, when the police in the plaza mainly tried to contain such illegal gatherings, they moved in forcibly yesterday in the demonstration's opening moments with outrages on police and hundreds of men on foot carrying shields and batons.

As the crowd assembled in Davidska Square at 5:30 P.M., Sagi-Nitziv Arahim Turgeman, deputy Jerusalem police commander, announced over a loudspeaker from a police van that the gathering was illegal and dispersed the crowd, numbering several hundred, to disperse, and warned that force would be used. By this time, demonstrations at the gates of the square had begun chanting "police state." A water cannon truck was wheeled into the square and unleashed twin jets of water that sent the crowd scattering. Helmeted police on foot, carrying batons and shields, charged into the square. Although the square filled with smoke, the demonstrators remained pasting acting like curiosity-seekers rather than demonstrators. By 6 P.M. traffic on Jaffa Road had resumed.

Earlier in the day there were two small demonstrations in the center of the city. At 2 P.M. about 50 youths from the Anglo-Saxon countries, gathered in Independence Park, diagonally opposite the American Consulate on Agrippas Street, and the American consulate on the new American Embassy. Two North Vietnamese aircraft were sighted over the city. A spokesman said the gathering was merely in protest of the 24-hour peace vigil in the park to begin at 8 P.M. in front of the American Embassy. At 4:00 the dean arrived at the office. At 6:30 the dean reread the Senate Hall. By 8:00 the university was quiet, and the students began to leave. The university authorities tried a few times to get the students out. The cafeteria was closed to prevent the possibility of becoming a party, and to press the students in their stomachs. Guards watched the entrances preventing visitors from entering. The electricity was put on but after some time the electricity was put back on.

At 4 P.M., a group of women staged Jeru- salam's First Women's Lib demonstration in front of the Habimah theater. The demonstration was organized by the National Socialist Movement in Israel. A spokesman said the group had 100 members in Jerusalem, including Arab women from East Jerusalem and the territories.

"We picked May 1 to protest because it's a holiday for all workers and oppressed people, and we're doubly oppressed -- as women and as workers."

MAY DAY IN TEL AVIV
May Day was observed in cities, towns, and kibbutzim throughout Israel yesterday by rallies and demonstrations sponsored by the Histadrut and various left-wing organizations. Except for Jerusalem, the day passed without violence, with only minor incidents reported.

At Dizengoff Circle, Mapam leader Shmuel Mikiash, M.K., told a crowd of some 10,000 people that the workers of Israel would not agree to the renewal of collective labor agreements, "as the cost of living goes up and up."

From the "Jerusalem Post," May 2, 1972.

CAMPUS ELECTIONS
In the aftermath of the World Zionist Congress, where the Independent Socialist Zionists at and around the Hebrew University of Jerusalem cooperated in common actions for the first time, the elections took place. Long dominated by right-wing elements and plagued by apathy among leftists, the Student's Organization was won for Mapam by the time of the first election, won by the Kibbutz movement - 1,400 people on the Knesset. Another demonstration was called for May 8 in the center of the city. No reports yet of violence or arrests.

NITZOTZ, MAY 1972
Against the World

by David Mandel

Okay, folks, here it is. Our rare easy long article, for those of you with patience, and who still care what happens to the Jewish people and the world.

Max Mandel was born in 1925. For 76 years, he was a Zionist. For 76 years, he was a friend of David Ben-Gurion. For 76 years, he was a friend of David and Marty Salomons represented us.

Indeed, we have a Frank account of the kishkash is - nice Hebrew word—known best as transliterated as bulldozer, that went inside the Congress hall. David was also involved in the demonstrations talked about, coordinated by the ad hoc committee called the Independent Society, Zionist Voice, together with the Black Panther Party.

The story of the events of the changing, overworked, by David Mandel was the World Zionist Congress held in Rome. American-invested Israelifor American for Progressive Congress for Israel. Stated that the "Zionist movement has spread itself so far that it today numbers over half a billion and is a political force with long-standing, non-violent, and a moral force with deep roots." Even within the mainstream public is by no means leftist or even ideologically, that irreducible reaction to the Congress was one of ridicule. The Israeli is much more impressed by deeds, and does not fully appreciate the real needs of fund-raising and propaganda, and is little more than a very great deal he does not understand what kind of Zionists, there are who are fanatically for such things as "40 years of service to Zionism in New York."

INSIDE THE CONGRESS

So what actually happened at the Congress? We were surprised at the results of the Congress was the misleading, bargaining and compromising for jobs. The differences between the parties: at it, I suppose, though we "youth" who are supposed to have all the ideological stuff, and they are praised for having had nothing to do with it.

Then there were the "realists," who often be told that this Congress was to be dedicated to ideological debate, presumably with serious decisions. Well, most of the "realists" are a non-player, and many of the plenary sessions were taken by prepared speeches by the cabinet ministers and big, for the World Zionist and AIAW. They spoke not to each other, and not to any serious audience. They spoke with a voice, and with a voice, they were incredibly boring. Deluged (90%) of whom were just people who could not, or could not speak. It all had to be scheduled through the party caucus, and there was a lot of time available, the first, the first of the group from the thirty-three Irish delegates was not until the ninth day. Congress. They were also scheduled to let Eric Tucker of Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haakon Haa

The Radicals of Zionism

In the beginning, the Zionist movement was an independent political movement, focusing on the social, economic, and political aspects of the era. It was not only a means to an end, but also a way of life for those who were committed to the idea of a Jewish state. It was a movement that was dedicated to the idea of self-determination and self-governance.

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1. To achieve self-determination and self-governance for the Jewish people
2. To create a Jewish state
3. To provide a safe haven for Jews

These goals were set by the early leaders of the movement, and were shared by the majority of the members of the movement. The movement was not only a political movement, but also a social and cultural movement, with a focus on creating a Jewish society that was free from discrimination and oppression.

The congress was held in Rome in 1972, and it was a turning point in the history of the movement. It was the first time that the movement had come together on a national level to discuss its goals and objectives. The congress was attended by members from all over the world, and it was a time of great hope and optimism for the future of the movement.

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maybe we ignore the first time, i’ll disappear... Which way to the World Zionist Congress, please?

Zionist Congress

about '19 of this 36 had nothing to do with the demonstration altogether, proving the circumstances of the arrests. Those hundred or so who made it to the Hall ran around the street, not in anyone’s way, where they were again pushed, shoved, and attacked with water and sticks. Here some of the delegates were also struck, sprayed, or sprayed, and it is here the police claim that rocks were thrown at them and explosives set off (a couple of firecrackers were seen, rocks or anything else, doubtfully, after the demonstration had been attacked and the arrests made.

Meanwhile David Dubin and I were released when the police received messages that it might be too embarrassing if delegates were in jail. He was driven to the hospital, I to the Hallevich I met Eric Tucker, who had just been thrown down the stairs inside the hall in a small demonstration there. We walked around looking for as many reporters as we could find. The 34 in jail held the legal limit of 48 hours without charges, and without their names released. After two days, those who had nothing to do with the demonstration were let out and the others brought before a judge. They were still formally charged, but the police explained that they were a group of violent Matzim (a small anti-Zionist group) crazes that destroyed the state and that their release might be seen as a threat to security, especially since explosives and hand grenades were found in other parts of the demonstration area. The judge granted them 10 days for investigation.”

THE ISRAELI PRESS AND THE LEFT

Then maybe the most dismaying part of the whole experience. After blatant denial of the democratic rights of peaceful protest, after 34 people were held in jail for no reason for 2 to 10 days, we tried especially hard to get the story to the press. Immediately after the demonstration we found that the Israeli press was singularly uninterested in hearing what had happened. The “Independent Socialist Zionist Voice” called a press conference for later that weekend by wire, but members of the press, the true story was explained. Not sure enough, when I reported on the Jerusalem Post printed, the next day, a version more or less like what the police told the judge (see above). An unfortunate fact of life about Israel is that for 90% of the public, if a person is a member of an anti-Zionist group, Arab or Jewish, that gives the police the right to do absolutely anything they want to him or her. Matzim is a tiny anti-Zionist group that had nothing to do with the planning of the demonstration. Mitzen could never organize such a demonstration, but the government and the press did for them all the time.

Somehow the establishment considers it expedient to slander all criticism, to create a threat that will scare the public when such a threat does not exist. The same tactic is used against the independent Zionist left, against the Panthers against WUJS, and even sometimes Mapam. And the worst part is that the press reports it as truth, and the public believes it.

This time, however, the police had gone a bit overboard, attacking us in front of delegates (Mapam and the young Labor condemned the brutality). A few days after the demonstration some of the papers began to question the excessive force and the ten day “investigation” of those arrested. It was very mild criticism, but it incriminated the police enough so that when the “Independent Socialist Zionist Voice” re¬quested a permit ‘or another demonstration six days after the first, it was granted. A fair amount of student support had been gained on the issue of democratic rights, and the demonstration of about 400 people came off peacefully, with full cooperation from the police. The rally was held right in front of the Congress Hall, from which 30 delegates walked out to join the crowd. There was even fairly decent coverage by the press: all were quick to mention, however, that members of Mapam were present (there were maybe 10 and that one even spoke on the question of democratic rights. The other speakers and banners were Zionist, much like those of the last night.

WHAT NEXT?
The final event was a teach-in on the renewal of Zionism, as outlined in the four points above, held at the university the last sight of the Congress. It was not very well organized, partly because of the confusion of the demonstrations, partly because many of the Israeli newspapers were not very concerned about continuing the cooperation between various the groups began before the Congress. They were hectic, nightmarish weeks in January, with many disillusionments, almost no concrete accomplishments either: is or out of the Congress, but a few small victories. The issue became clearer: I. for one, was convinced that the most productive work to be done is that of building new communities in Israel, with new political structures; independent of the present Zionist organizations, but strongly Zionist and strongly Socialist. It is hard to believe how really dead the Zionist organization is without actually seeing it in action, or rather, inaction, as we saw it at the Congress. But the future is wide open. More and more committed radical Zionists are comprehending the situation, and beginning to plan together the renewal of independent Socialist Zionism.

FOOTNOTES
1. Except on the quiet issue of Aliya, where, with 2/3 of the delegates absent, a coalition of Mapam, Herut, and nearly all youth passed a resolution requiring Aliya of every Zionist. Such a requirement is obviously necessary for a return to ANY type of ideological Zionism, but the establishment is not interested in any such return. They “treated us” and ruled such a requirement unconstitutional. This was perhaps the most significant event within the Congress, since no other political stance can be meaningful without consultation to complete the national aspects of the Zionist struggle. But alas... 2. A noteworthy side-effect of this process is that an authoritarian bias is created against Mapam Jews, when the representation within the American Zionist Federation is determined. The vast majority of left-leaning Jews, and there are many, are by no means against Israel’s existence. But except for those few of us who are Zionists, most want nothing to do with the Zionist establishment, since they are not interested in Aliya. There is no mass-base “Friends of the Israeli Left” organization, and most leftist will not affiliate with one of the large Zionist movements, which would be more descriptively called “Friends of the Israeli Center.” When Zionism becomes defined as fund-raising and pro-government propaganda, there is room for Jacques Tucci’s in the Zionist Organization but not for Art Wolfson, and neither one is really any more of a Zionist than the other. There would be two ways out of this bind: a strict Aliya requirement for Zionists or absolute inclusion of every Jew in Zionist elections, I would not be against either, but I can promise that neither will ever be done.

3. If I could, I would once and for all destroy the myth of the “youth.” Most of the delegates must have been, at one point, asked whether they were pro-youth or anti-youth. I am not sure what this means; it seems for most of the delegates, except those who were absolute sages, the whole “youth” issue is a form of ritual mutating in which the “youth” question the validity of the organization, the “establishment” makes a symbolic stink of repression, and it all ends happily with a compromise, where the “establishment” gives up some of its power and the “youth” are bought out. Well, I don’t dig it. As much as I would like to see a great upsurge of idealistic youth struggling against the estab¬lishment, the fact is that most of the 200 “youth delegates” (defined as under 40) are misfit party bureaucrats on the way up, willing to play the establish¬ment game. At the Congress, this was true especially of the Israelis, of all parties. Youth caucuses were held, but there was little to tell about, since the only agreement was on the issue of Aliya, and the fact was that most of them were interested in a little larger piece of whatever cakes were being cut up. And even that was not really accomplished.

NITZOTZ, May 1972
This letter is written, almost involuntarily, in response to a chapter of Elie Wiesel's book "One Generation After," entitled "To a Young Jew of Today." Unfortunately, I was only able to touch upon a very small part of the many relevant questions and answers presented in the book, not all of which I accept, nor of which I can reject totally. In beginning this piece, I had hoped to write a sort of book review, but realized after one paragraph that I could neither evaluate nor reward what was already said all too well. Rather I could only express my own reaction to one particularly relevant part of the book that concerns me directly, to the point where I felt myself holding a conversation with the book.

Elie Wiesel says both what we are most unanimous to hear and what we might have been waiting all our lives to hear. He does it regardless of whether or not we want to hear it, yet always sensitive to our response, always treating carefully and yet relentlessly into our inner fears and desires.

But enough. Much has been written already praising Wiesel's ability to fulfill his obligations as a witness and more. As I flip through the pages of the book, there is much more I would like to say. But he has said it as I cannot. Perhaps I am afraid. I am left with the dilemma - how is one to speak of it, how is one not to speak of it. And so I speak, and so I will stop speaking, before I am a writer grappling with the theme of the holocaust inevitably burn my fingers.

Yes I am seventeen and confused. Yes I am Jewish without knowing why, without knowing what being Jewish means: my friends are not and my parents barely are. I am not religious and yet I feel a kinship to them (I am also the first to identify with the left, yet reject their anti-Israel line. Marxism attracts me by its messianic vision, while Jewish messianism, although it doesn't, as you say, leave me indifferent, is beyond me - I know nothing about it. Real and for the most part, apparent, my contradictions trouble me and yes, I was asking you, Elie Wiesel, acclaimed Jewish prophet of the twentieth century, to help me entangle them.

In short, you say, I ask, what does being a Jew mean in these times and to what does it commit me? Is there any room for a real Jew?

At the risk of disappointing you, I must confess three things. 1. "I am Jewish because I am Jewish." To be a Jew for me means first to choose my destiny as a Jew and then to accept it. To you, accepting came first, for me the choice, I could not accept until I had chosen it, because they are the same in the end. 2. I do not fear God, I fear man and I fear myself as one with mankind. I blame God for nothing, I cannot blame what I cannot know, or can I fear it. It is man, as I see it creating the good and the evil of this world, and I fear his power, my power. 3. I cannot even believe is, let alone obey the commandments, until "Though shalt not kill!" is followed by "Thou shalt not be killed" and after that . . . well I think that is enough for now. Maybe too much to ask.

Yes, the Jew and his questioning are one, but I always thought man and his questioning to be one. Perhaps, when I first lived long enough I will know differently.

You say "Push interrogration to its limits and beyond and you will do what the Jew has been doing for centuries." Whether or not this is so of the Jew, it must be so for man. We must all start anew. We must all "ask a thousand questions." I once thought all questions began with why? I don't bother with 'whys' anymore. They are beyond me. I think they are beyond you too, from what you say. It's how, and only how, that we must all ask and answer. 'Why?' may have no answer, but how must. Not 'why' survive in a universe which negates you?" but "how?"

by Erica Silberman

Because of the way I've grown up, the way I've lived, what you ask of god, I ask of man. You say that without god the attempted annihilation of European Jewry would be only another episode in another inhuman war. And yet, I see this attempt as the epitomy of man, his greatest beauty and most base evil, his most frighteningly unanswerable mystery. Not because of god, is it different from all else in history, but because of man - he outward himself as he never dreamed possible and thus does he require a "total revision of seemingly axiomatic values and concepts." Remove its Jewish aspects, you cannot do, but deny the godlike aspects of Auschwitz and it is still a mystery as is the whole history of the relationship of the Jew to the non-Jewish world. God or no god, these nightmares remain a reality beyond man's understanding of reality, but also man's responsibility.

No I do not replace god with any other word or presence, not even man. I prefer no substitute, I prefer not to address you to "why," and "how" comes only from within each of us.

I am a young American Jew of today, I call myself a Zionist and a socialist, and these are only words. And yet with that same material, words, you concern yourself with the relationship between the individual and the community - the relationship of the Jew to his people. And you concern yourself in such a way that I can only thank you for saying what I felt but couldn't say, not knowing how. And this alone, perhaps is why I felt a need to report to your "letter," because I can say things now that I dared not say before. I was waiting to hear it from you. You have given me the right to feel what I have felt, while fearing I had no right to feel. You have done so by saying . . .

"... you too have lived the holocaust. You were born after? No matter. One can step inside the fiery gates 25, 50, years later. Do you know Uri-Zvi Greenberg: that Israeli poet and visionary tells the story of a young Jew in King Herod's time who left Jerusalem to Rome. He had taken along a pillow which remained with him always. One night, as he slept, the pillow caught fire. That very same night the Temple burst into flames in Jerusalem. Yes one can live a thousand miles away from the Temple and see it burn. One can die in Auschwitz after Auschwitz."

Always, when I thought about, read about, tried to write about being Jewish, I would become obsessed with the holocaust. I would immerse myself in a world that is a total contradiction to the world of my own experiences. I was born with the silver spoon, with one real problem in life - to come to terms with myself the pastime of modern youth. And yet, in my mind, the world of Night was very real, and I would say myself, say myself that this was only a childish fantasy - how could I dare to put myself in a place that existed 10, 12 years before I was born. Yes, as a Jew, as a person, I was obsessed with an obligation to transmit what I see, feel, and fear. But how could I transmit what I have not seen, could not begin to feel and cannot understand or even believe enough to fear.

And yet, I want to be able to specify with joy, tainted with sadness by aiding Israel. In raking over the ashes of the holocaust I do not tread, though I wish some, free of all dirt and in sterile bitterness. I only react with confusion and a determination that defies that confusion. And this, to testify with this joy, that which you call universal project, I have felt to be the very essence of Jewish existence today, I felt it and not I can try to say it.

And now perhaps it becomes a little more possible that thousands more can say and do. There is much that we all must do. Perhaps the biggest, most encompassing question we share today is "Can it be done?"

Erica Silberman is active in New York Habonim and in RAZA.

NITZOTZ, MAY 1972
Am Haolam

by Clifford Wolfe

Clifford Wolfe is a student at New York University and an active member of New York H2A.

Jewish revolutionary groups have often been accused of espousing revolutionary ideas while ignoring their own Judaism. But this has not been true with every radical Jewish group. One can look, for instance, at the resistance of the Maccabees, who struggled against the Hellinistic oppressors without shedding their identity as Jews. However, since the development of Marxism, Jewish revolutionaries have often found it difficult to combine the religious dogms of Judaism with revolutionary Marxism. One group did manage to merge the two.

The mood to migrate from Russia to America in the 1880's took hold of so many people that it moved two Hebrew teachers in Odessa, Bakali and Herder, both Maskilim (enlighteners) to conceive a plan for a movement of agricultural settlements in the New World. They gave it the symbolic name of Am Haolam (Eternal people). Herder was the elder of the two and more practical, but Bakali was a rare type of idealist, a charming and captivating personality. Their ideas attracted many followers. In a short time, more than 200 people were enrolled, all of them ready to start life anew by tilling the soil in America. Most of them were simple men and women: workers, small traders and shopkeepers. However, several months later a number of students joined the Am Haolam. Before very long the more articulate students took over the leadership. They turned the Am Haolam into circles of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals.

The news that a party of students was going to America to establish communist colonies ran ahead of us. Throughout the entire way, Breslau, Lemberg, Bresleu, Berlin, etc., committees of Socialist-minded students were organized to assist us. Among those who took part in our reception were persons who are now prominent Socialist deputies in the Austrian Parliament. In Krakow, we were presented with a copy of Das Kapital by K. Marx. In Lemberg, orthodox Jews gave us a Torah and a large Talmud with the inscription: "Deuter Magnifi Viscoul" (Banner of the Army of Israel).

Our journey from Brdli to Berlin was one continuous mission. In every city we met with a big reception.

It was the morning of May 30, Decoration Day, 1882, when the train brought us from Philadelphia to New York. We formed lines, took out the Torah, unfurled the banner and, with Russian revolutionary songs on our lips, marched to Castle Garden (immigration center).

Very soon, boys from the streets started running after us, throwing stones.

Then we understood that America had not prepared any reception for us. We put back the Torah, folded up the flag, and found our way to Castle Garden, where we stretched ourselves out on the grass to get some rest.


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police, the government, and every authority is behaving in the classic pattern and they push them -- they label them left so they force them to become left.

Do you think that any constructive social change can occur in Israel as long as there is tension on the borders? Or do you think they have to work first for peace and then for internal change?

I think we have to work for peace first. Nothing else can be achieved. If there is a state of war, what about the Arabs in the occupied territories? Is there anything being done about them of are they being kept in a state of limbo?

Bechis has been doing them.

Are any forces on the left speaking to that issue, or doing anything about it -- going into the Arab communities?

It's no use talking with them because they are an occupied population. They wouldn't speak to us as long as they are in this state. They are controlled by the Israeli occupation. That's all. If it were in your power, what would you do with the occupied territory?

I would give them political freedom. I would let them reassert their political life -- the freedom of speech, the freedom of gathering, of forming political parties, things like that. And I would engage in dialogue with them.

Are you talking about setting up an autonomous Palestinian state on the West Bank?

I think that we should recognize the Palestinians and leave them the choice; whether they want to have a separate state on the West Bank or a Palestinian state which would be connected with the West Bank and Jordan in an internal Palestinian state.

Do you think the present government, meaning Golds, Begin, and the others, recognize the internal and external problems of Israel and are trying to do something about it, or are they just trying to sit tight and maintain the status quo?

I think they want to sit tight and that's it. They were somewhat surprised by the violence of the social feeling in Israel. They were frightened, and yet they didn't give up, they wouldn't change their position; for them the best situation is the one they are now in. Just to go on like that -- no peace, no war, no solution, consolidating the occupation, making it an accepted fact, just that.

Are there any people in Israel within reach of power who could be considered progressive?

Yes, there is a section of the Labor Party who is more liberal, less right wing, which is more open socially and more dovish than hawkish. This is a section. You could call it the Pincus chair an Israeli Dove. Pincus Sapir would give back every single inch of the occupied territories. Socially, he is not progressive, but politically he is. There are people like Ben Achor, secretary of the Histadrut, who is a political dove and socially progressive. There are people like Bibcho Eliyahu, ex-secretary of the Labor Party, who is in the same view, and many others, not in the government, but in the Knesset and in the party.

NITZOTZI, MAY 1972

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RADICAL ZIONIST ALLIANCE: formed in conference in Palmer, Massachusetts, in February, 1970 at which a number of radical Jewish groups which had sprung up across North America were represented. These groups were the vanguard of a new Jewish consciousness movement, in reaction to the 6-day war, to the "ethnicization" of American radicalism, and to the sudden anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism of the left, where most of the people had their roots. RZA's first large activity was answering such leftist criticism, declaring that it was possible to be a leftist and for Israel's existence, even against some of her government's policies. In this RZA enjoyed the strong support of the Jewish and Zionist establishment, who welcomed some leftists to say the things they could not say. Enthusiasm was high, as such feelings were cropping up in tens of places; many people set out to start chapters, newspapers, and campus activities. The youth movements Habonim, Hashomer Hatzair and Doar all affiliated, and RZA began to stress strongly the need for anyone who calls himself a Zionist to actually immigrate to Israel.

This strong emphasis on Aliya-immigration was made in common with the Jewish Defense League, which had emerged as the most vocal of all the new Jewish groups-it came into existence for the same reasons RZA had, and the two groups shared many views: against the Jewish establishment, for better education, and strong Jewish identity. There were some contacts between the groups, and talk of common action. In 1970, Kahane said that the movement of American Jews was RZA. But it soon became clear that what JDL was offering was only a militant version of the status quo-a chauvinist Jewish nationalism instead of a progressive national liberation movement. The difference became clearest when it came to issues of Israel. JDL took stands with the expansionists and the racists of the Israeli right wing and religious parties, while RZA, also critical of the Labor bureaucracy, stressed the need for a new left movement. Kahane now calls RZA the most dangerous of all Jewish movements.

We have put together this new newspaper because we want to answer a defiant YES! to the question Will RZA survive? There is a crying need for a Zionism of Humanitarian Socialism, a Zionism which recognizes the equal rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, a Zionism which declares its independence from the so-called "Zionist" establishment, now only an arm of the Israeli government and the American "philanthropists."

But the real answer is up to you, the people, because this paper is not funded on an ongoing basis by anyone, establishment or otherwise. There have been a handful of Socialist-Zionist oriented newspapers in the last few years, some of them quite good. Most, however, have folded, due to either cutting off of funds or dissipation of the group putting out the paper. Our solution to the second problem is that Nitzotz will not be the product of an isolated group but of a whole movement that has already existed for two years; not a strong movement, but a movement nonetheless, with a well-known name and contacts. The situation in Israel is improving, and many other newspapers and magazines have been started, which will provide excitement and information for the American Jewish community.

In other words, the newspaper will not be appearing in a vacuum, but in the context of a movement which intends to accomplish something.

The other problem, funding, is more difficult to solve, and this is where we need you. Even if some establishment organization were willing to continuously fund Nitzotz we have decided that we do not want to rely on such support... we have seen how easily it can be cut off. This means that from now on not a single issue will be able to be given away. PLEASE, PLEASE, BUY A SUBSCRIPTION. Without it we will not be able to continue.

And even more important, if you are on a campus, or in a community, sell subscriptions and individual copies to others. Use your initiative to get your library to buy a sub, get your local Jewish establishment to buy your group 20 subs; USE YOUR IMAGINATION, HELP SAVE RZA. Write us saying how many copies you want. Remember: You keep 25 cents for each $2.00 subscription you sell, and 5 cents for each individual paper. Make money! Therefore enclose 20 cents a copy for bulk orders!

Apologies for all that sounds too capitalistic, but we gotta survive. So—right now before you forget, take cut $2.00 and send it in. Then get out of your hole and help us to reach others. SOCIALIST ZIONISM LIVES!

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