



To Uncle Tom & Other Such Jews

By M. Jay Rosenberg

(Reprinted from the Village Voice of Feb. 13, 1969)

It is becoming increasingly fashionable in certain left-wing Jewish circles to put down everything Jewish. These Jewish leftists, still hung-up because they were not born Protestant, find that they can glibly resort to anti-Jewish stereotypes today without being referred to a good psychiatrist. It is now quite acceptable for the Jew to attempt to ingratiate himself with the goyim by condemning what he has always been ashamed of. It's a sad sight.

We are living in a time of exploding nationalisms. The blacks in America are the first to abjure the idea of assimilation, to realize the inherent lie in the concept of melting-pot. Through black nationalism has developed a new black pride and hence the ticket to liberation.

Today's young American Jew is a good bit slower. He desperately wants assimilation; Jewishness embarrasses him. He finds the idea of Jewish nationalism, Israel notwithstanding, laughable. The leftist Jewish student is today's Uncle Tom. He scrapes along, demonstrating for a John Hatchett, ashamed of his identity, and obsessed with it. He cannot accept the fact that he is seen as a Jew, that his destiny is that of the Jews, and that his only effectiveness is as a Jew. But he wants to be an "American," a leftist American, talking liberation and aspiring WASP. He is a ludicrous figure.

He joins black nationalist groups, not as a Jew but as a white man. His whiteness, his precious whiteness, is too valuable to him for it to be relegated to a secondary position. He does not understand that his relevance to the black struggle is as a Jew and a fellow victim of endless white exploitation. He can compre-

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THE FEARS OF SOVIET JEWRY

On March 18, 1966, an Ad Hoc Commission on the Rights of Soviet Jews met in public hearing across the road from the United Nations headquarters in New York. One of the "witnesses" before this tribunal was Dr. David W. Weiss, who had spent 18 days in the Soviet Union in 1965 at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. Following are selected extracts from his testimony:

In 1965 I was invited by the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences to attend a meeting in the Soviet Union on tumor immunity. I have a tendency to deprecate some accounts of anti-Semitism as exaggerated and I went without a strong preformed bias. However, from the very first, I was shocked.

During my stay, I had private conversations with at least 150 Jews of all sorts. Virtually all Jews with whom I spoke in the Soviet Union—young, middle-aged or old—expressed unmistakably some degree of anxiety arising from their condition as Jews, ranging from marked uneasiness to what can only be described as terror. The feeling communicated by groups of Jews, like those I met in the synagogues, was a state of palpable, strong fear. I found fear of the loss of jobs, position, or residence permits in certain cities; also fear of arrest and deportation.

Almost invariably, the Jews I met were exceedingly hesitant to talk to me on first contact. This reticence was much greater than with non-Jewish citizens. It is not surprising, therefore, that the casual visitor might underrate the amount of official prejudice against the Jews.

My experience with Soviet Jewish scientists was particularly noteworthy. The majority whom I met managed to find the opportunity of whispering expressions such as "Gut

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'New Left' Silent on Arab Slaughter Of Sudan's Blacks

The Sudan, host to the Arab War Council against Israel, is responsible for the slaughter of 500,000 of its negroes without a word of protest from American black militants and their white fellow-travellers of the "New Left" who have taken up the Arab cause, according to reports published in London papers. Sudanese Negroes, seeking self-determination and independence, are rebelling against their Arab overlords. Out of 4 million Negroes who once lived in the Sudan approximately 2 million have fled, seeking refuge in the desert, while 1½ million have disbursed in various towns and hamlets or crossed the borders into Uganda and the Congo. Half a million have been butchered by the Arab regime.

THE MID-EAST AND VIETNAM

By Cyd Schneider

Many people have taken on the attitude of "never again another Vietnam." I am definitely one such person. But many of these people apply this attitude towards the Mid-East Crisis. I am definitely not one of these people. And for a very good reason. The Mid-East never was, is not now, and never will be another Vietnam. Why?

1) Israel is an independent, civilian democracy. South Vietnam is dictated by a military regime.

2) Israel is ready, willing, and able to defend itself against successive Arab assaults without the aid of foreign advisers (unlike Nasser, who needed Russian military and technical advisers). South Vietnam is not ready, willing, or able to defend it-

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THE TORCH

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SILENCE

By Abe Reiss

Silence . . .

*Without a whimper,
Just that one tear
That broke all dams
Will remain undried
Forever.*

Silence . . .

*Without a word,
Just a single sigh
That came from within,
A broken heart that will remember
Forever.*

*The mouth is silent and the eyes are
mute*

For were the mouth to reveal

The broken heart

Then all dams would break

And the gush of tears

Would enlighten the heart—

And mend its broken parts.

But silence is ten times as hard,

For the tear is but a momentary sigh

And silence is an eternal cry

Forever.

Militant Jews Organize

"It will never happen again!" shouted the elderly lady milling in the crowd at the Dag Hammarskjold Plaza across the street from the United Nations.

The lady was only one of thousands of men and women usually found at Bar Mitzvahs and weddings—who had mustered herself away from Saturday Night at the Movies to join the Jewish Defense League and show her support in combating anti-Semitism and the Arab threat to bomb Jewish businesses.

As one of the fastest growing "Jewish" organizations in America, the Jewish Defense League (J.D.L.) claims a membership of 6,000 nationwide in its first year of existence, consisting of people from every walk of life. It has chapters in California, Ohio, Philadelphia, and New Jersey besides the main branch in New York. The organization has also popped up on many college campuses throughout the East Coast, including Brooklyn College, Yale, Columbia, Stony Brook, N.Y.U., and L.I.U.

"Our membership has doubled in the past six months," stated a J.D.L. official. "We even have an 80-year-old man and a 76-year-old lady helping us with contributions."

There is great suspicion in the Jewish Establishment, as well as in the non-Jewish community, that J.D.L. is not a "responsible" group and does more harm than good for the Jews of this country. This is illustrated by the fact that the Council of Jewish Civil Service headed by Dr. Herman Mantell is the only Jewish organization to publicly endorse the J.D.L.

According to Murray Schneider, a member of the Jewish Defense League Board and Bronx coordinator, other old-line Jewish organizations feel robbed of their potential membership and are therefore reluctant to endorse his organization. But the belief that J.D.L. is a necessary element to the present existing structure has gained the increasing support of many leaders in the Jewish community.

An outspoken Zionist, Dr. Leon Stitskin, Professor of Philosophy and Director of Special Publications at Yeshiva University, expressed his endorsement of J.D.L. at a Yom Kippur sermon while criticizing the lack of support given by the rest of the

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A Journey Of Brotherhood

Not too long ago the late Prime Minister of Israel returned home at the close of a memorable three-week tour that took him to seven African States. In response to long-standing invitations from African leaders, Mr. Eshkol made official visits to the Ivory Coast, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Malagasy Republic, Uganda, and Kenya and a private visit to Senegal. The tour gave worthy expression and renewed emphasis to the harmonious dialog and fruitful cooperation which have, throughout, marked the relations between free Africa and the state of Israel. An analysis of the background of these relations, introduced by Mr. Eshkol's own appraisal, is given in the following speech:

REFLECTIONS ON AFRICA
by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol

In its dimensions, swiftness, and thrust, the self-emancipation of the African peoples in the last ten years has no parallel in the annals of liberty and independence. The freeing of Africa from foreign rule has re-charted the political map of the world and given the universal consciousness a new magnitude and dignity. Some thirty African territories have achieved statehood in a single decade. Israel is in full and regular diplomatic exchanges with all but two of them, which is to say that about a third of all the states with which Israel is diplomatically linked are in Africa. This proportion attests the importance which the Israeli government sees in the association of Israel diplomatically linked are in Africa. This proportion attest the importance which the Israeli government sees in the association of Israel with this continent. Especially conspicuous in that association is the program of cooperation between Israel and the free states of Africa. About one thousand nine hundred Israel advisers and instructors have been assigned to Africa since 1958 at official African invitation, and there are some five hundred there at this moment of writing. Almost six thousand three hundred African men and women have undergone training or attended courses in Israel in that period of time, and there are over three hun-

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Uncle Tom

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hend the black struggle but only in the context of his own. His involvement in these black nationalist organizations make him a living lie. Blacks don't need his white leadership and they don't want it. The sad fact is that the Jewish Tom is an inevitable product of American civilization. But it is time that he realize that he, not today's black, is the invisible man; he, like yesterday's Negro, wanders in a no man's land.

The Jew can be an ally of the black liberation movement and he should be. But first he must find himself. He must realize that his own struggle for liberation is a continuing one, that he too has much to fear and also much of which to be proud. The miracle of Israel, a national liberation deferred for 2000 years, should be his inspiration. The Jew did it alone, as the black knows he must, and he did it with guns.

Therefore it is as a Jew that I must accept black nationalism. The black militants may or may not be the equivalent of the Irgun and Stern gang, but surely the parallel is there. The Jewish war of national liberation is different from that of the blacks or the Viet Cong only in that the Jews are closer to success, but what was won by Jewish fighters on the battlefields of Palestine will not be lost by Jewish moral cowards here in America. The black revolution also will succeed, but when it does the blacks will lose all their white "friends." They will be called "anti-progressive." They will be labelled the aggressors. If they win again and again, they will be called "oppressors." As he does now, the black will surely stand alone.

He can learn this much from the Jewish experience. When they slaughtered six million of us, the good people offered us sympathy, and nothing else. They uttered brotherly noises. It was when the fighting Jew arose from the blood and ashes of Europe that we began to lose our friends. The world began to accept our national existence but was prepared to mourn our imminent demise. Who can forget those "glorious" days before the Six Day War. All over the world good people demonstrated for Israel. One can almost

picture the left's reaction to the death of Israel: never-ending sympathy rallies, leftists wearing the Star of David on black armbands. Israel could have come to represent the fight for freedom, the struggle to exist. Her people, driven to the sea, could have been martyrs. It would have been beautiful. But Israel won the war and in so doing she lost her "friends." Because she survived, she shall be punished.

But that is not the issue; the absurdity of the left's anti-Israel position can be taken up on another day. The issue is one of Jewish pride. All those Jewish students who whisper the word "Jew" and lower their heads when a Philip Roth story is discussed in a literature course, the Mark Rudds who are prepared to die for the Vietnamese, the Biafrans, the Greeks, and the Czechs yet who reject Israel—these are our Uncle Toms (let's call them "Uncle Jakes") and our shame. The Jew must accept his identity, he's not just another white man. It's time he realizes he's a Jew, and he'd better accept it. Many Jews are quick to criticize blacks for being impolitic enough to call us Jews in public. But that is what we are. From Hillel Club to the New Left is a short jump. And the inevitable jump back, by the Jewish Tom, is even shorter. A man who cannot accept his own identity is a hypocrite and a liar when he pretends to accept someone else's.

Black nationalism and Jewish nationalism will exist concurrently. To accept one you must accept the other. The black is America's Jew; a common fight must be waged. And yet when some black spokesman tells us we are poisoning his children's minds, when he calls us kikes, we must see him for what he is. Then he is just another goy using the Jew, the available and accepted victim, as scape-goat. We must then fight him as well. That's the way it must be. We shall scrape for no one.

And thus from this point on, I shall join no movement that does not accept and support the people's struggle. If I must choose between the Jewish cause and a "progressive" anti-Israel SDS, I shall choose the Jewish cause. If the barricades are erected, I will fight as a Jew. Not arbitrarily, not in support of the

UFT, but in support of myself. In the final analysis, Mark Rudd and Albert Shanker will be on the same side—that's the lesson of the last 30 years. It will be learned.

It has been written that after "the death camps, we retain but one supreme value: to exist." Masada will not fall again.

There is still time, but the burden of proof is not on the Jewish nationalist, it is on you. You who reject your identity and do not realize that it follows you wherever you go. You who are so trapped in your Long Island split level childhood that you can't see straight. You who fight everything you are—and against the one element that gave you your goddam social consciousness: your Jewish social idealism. In the aftermath of the crematoriums, you are flippant. After Auschwitz, you are embarrassed. Thirty years after the holocaust, you have learned nothing and forgotten everything. Ghetto Jew, you'd better do some fast thinking.

ISRAEL: CREATURE OF COLONIALISM?

By Phil Baum and Carol Weisbrod

The most cursory examination of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the State of Israel makes clear that it was not Western imperialist forces that created Israel but rather the United States and the Soviet Union which, working together, achieved passage of the United Nations Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947.

Great Britain—the colonial power that then occupied Palestine—abstained on the vote. British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin openly and actively opposed the creation of the Jewish State. Even after the Partition Resolution, British officers fought with Jordanian Legionnaires against Israel in the War of Independence of 1948.

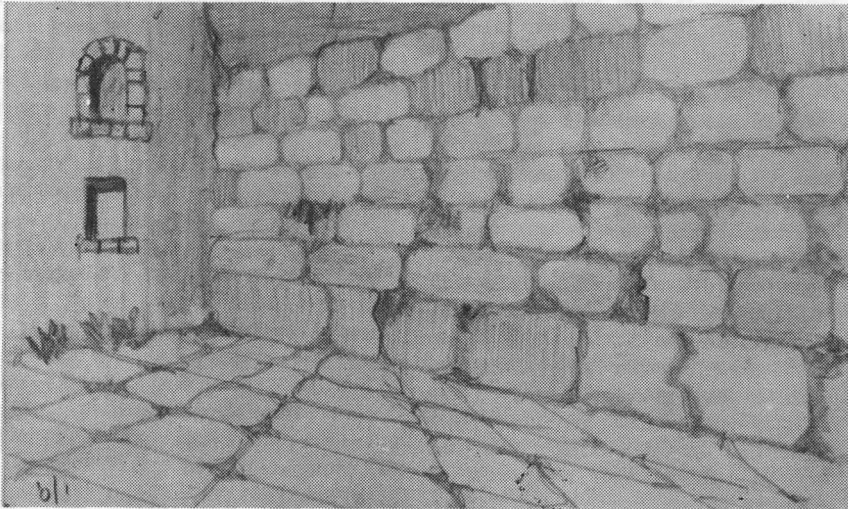
The Soviet Union, on the other hand, vigorously supported the establishment of the State of Israel and voted for the Partition Plan in the UN Security Council (in sharp contrast to its subsequent frequent exercise of the veto against any UN attempt to curb Arab aggression in

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SOLDIERS CRYING?

(Translated from the Hebrew by Abe Reiss)

*This wall has heard many prayers
 This wall saw other walls crumble
 This wall has felt women's hands touching it
 And little notes with prayers stuck in its cracks
 This wall has seen great men crushed before it
 This wall has seen emperors rising and dying
 But this wall has never seen soldiers crying
 This wall saw them tired and broken
 This wall saw their dying and wounded
 Running to it with hearts pounding and with screams of joy and silence
 This wall saw them diving out of alleys in the Old City
 All covered with dust, with their lips parched, and they were whispering
 If I forget thee; If I forget thee, O Jerusalem . . .
 And they are graceful as eagles and strong as lions
 And their tanks—the fiery chariot of the prophet Eliah
 And they pass like thunder
 And they pass with anger
 And they remember those two thousand years
 When we had no wall on which to shed our tears
 And now they stand before it and take a deep breath
 And look upon it in a joyous pain
 And their tears run down and they look at each other wondering
 How is it that soldiers are crying?
 How is it that they touch a wall with so much feeling and emotion?
 How is it that their cries turn into a song?
 Maybe it's because nineteen-year-old soldiers without any fears
 Carry on their shoulders the burden of two thousand years*



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DO YOU BELIEVE?

By Sharon Sheer

We are called the inquisitive generation. We don't accept the past to be fact, but question its validity. One of the big questions that have been asked is, "Is God dead?" Diminishing faith has become more and more prevalent as time passes.

The arguments against religion are that religion and God give us false hopes and unnecessary fears to contend with. We spend our lives dependent on false deities instead of on ourselves, and we live with the unnecessary fear that when we die we'll be sent to Hell.

But there also is the group that believes that God and religion are still necessary. Constant faith in oneself is not always so beneficial. There are times when everything seems to go wrong; problems develop which we know to have been caused by ourselves. Then how can we be so self-reliant? Isn't it good to think there is some supreme being to depend on to give us the strength to go on?

How many of us are constantly thinking of death and Hell? Not many, so it's not an everyday fear. And how bad is it to live by some of the ten commandments? Maybe if more people did, the world wouldn't be in the shape it's in today.

ISRAEL'S NEEDS

By Cyd Schneider

I asked a boy the other day what he thought of Israel's situation, and without a moments hesitation, and with fear in his eyes, he said: "I wouldn't serve in Israel for anything." My reply took him by surprise. I said: "Israel does not ask for American boys to serve in Israel. Israel has men who are ready to serve their country and defend their homeland." He soon got the message. I would like for all of you to understand the same message.

Israel does not want or need the American armed forces to aid her. Israel has the manpower. Israel fully realizes the need for a country to defend itself by its own strength. Proof of this lies in this action: the age for active reservists has been

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Soviet Jewelry

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Shabbos" or "Shalom Aleichem" as we left a room or a restaurant or a hotel lobby—never openly but on the pretext of accidentally jostling me in a passageway.

On one occasion, a Jewish scientist handed me a scientific reprint saying that I would find therein something especially interesting. I found written between two lines: "Ivri Onochi" ("I am a Jew"). In the Synagogue and on the Street..

During my stay, I was assiduous in attending synagogue services. I always joined the study sessions between the afternoon and evening services, sitting closely wedged in among the people around the table. The pattern was invariably the same: Within a few moments, I would feel someone's hand in my pocket and a whisper in my ear telling me not to be concerned—no one was after my wallet—what was wanted was my prayerbook. This hungering after any object of Jewish interest—prayerbooks, prayershawls, bibles, pictures of Israel—was manifested again and again. It was equally obvious that the people who desperately wanted to possess such objects were immensely afraid of being discovered taking them.

The first time I realized this was during a walk in Kiev. I was stopped by a gentleman sitting on a bench in a treelined street who asked me if I were Jewish. During our brief conversation, I asked whether he would like to have a prayerbook. He said yes, very much. Under cover of a newspaper on his lap, which he extended to cover my lap as well, he reached his hand toward the prayerbook which I held. He touched it, held it for a moment, and withdrew his hand. After expressing fear of lengthy imprisonment, he cried and walked away.

I was told again and again by the older people that their children and grandchildren retained strong Jewish identification and even wished to come to synagogue services but were afraid. They pointed to the fact that once a year, on Simchas Torah, thousands of young people, including university students, do take the risk.

These conversations were of course

never held openly. But during my first visit to a synagogue, I always announced loudly that I would be back again the following mornings and evenings; and then I was invariably intercepted on the way to and from the synagogue. People would, almost always in tears, speak to me and cry out their fear, their anxiety, and their sense of desperation at being forced to witness the extinction of their people as a cultural and religious entity. Even in Georgia, which is something of an exception by virtue of a great degree of individual freedom and where there is a massive synagogue attendance, the Georgia Jews, with tears in their eyes, lamented their inability to invite me to their homes on a Friday evening.

In contrast to facilities afforded to other nationalities, nowhere in the Soviet Union did I find a newsstand or bookstore carrying papers or books in Yiddish or Hebrew or material of specific Jewish interest. Even in areas of major Jewish settlement, I never found any visible sign of this fact.

Summary

The Jewish community in the Soviet Union is in shambles, largely resulting from the hostility of the authorities. The visitor with any Jewish sensitivity feels himself in an immense graveyard.

Despite the destruction of all cultural and almost all religious means of expression, most Jews retain a deep sense of Jewish identity and yearn for a means of expressing their Jewishness.

Most—if not all Jews—live in a state of fear and anxiety, arising from the imminent extinction of their cultural and religious identity and from the daily uncertainty as to their economic and even physical security. Most Jews with whom I spoke feel discriminated against in career opportunities, in the chances for university admission, and in the routine dealings with the authorities. Many see in the outbreaks of violent ethnic anti-Semitism, in the form of newspaper attacks on Jews as Jews, in economic trials, in deportation of Jewish communal leaders, etc., the

indication of a degree of hostility by the government which makes them question their long-range safety in the Soviet Union.

Immediate alleviation of governmental pressure could still save the cultural existence of the Jewish community. A delay of some years would probably make such a resurrection impossible.

Israel: Creature of Colonialism?

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the Middle East). In fact the Soviet government took the view that the creation of the State of Israel was an event of profound historical significance which met the legitimate demands of the Jewish people. Thus, Andrei A. Gromyko, then Deputy Foreign Minister and Soviet representative to the UN, declared on November 26, 1947:

The representatives of the Arab states claim that the partition of Palestine would be an historic injustice. But this view of the case is unacceptable if only because, after all, the Jewish people have been closely linked with Palestine for a considerable period in history. Apart from that, we must not overlook—and the USSR delegation drew attention to this circumstance originally at the special session of the General Assembly—we must not overlook the position in which the Jewish people found themselves as a result of the recent world war. I shall not repeat what the USSR delegation said on this point at the special session of the General Assembly. However, it may not be remiss to remind my listeners again that, as a result of the war which was unleashed by Hitlerite Germany, the Jews, as a people, have suffered more than any other people. . . .

The USSR recognizes the State of Israel four days after its declaration of independence, the third nation to do so.

More recent history indicates that Britain and the United States have been far from committed to total support of Israel in the Middle East. American policies may more accura-

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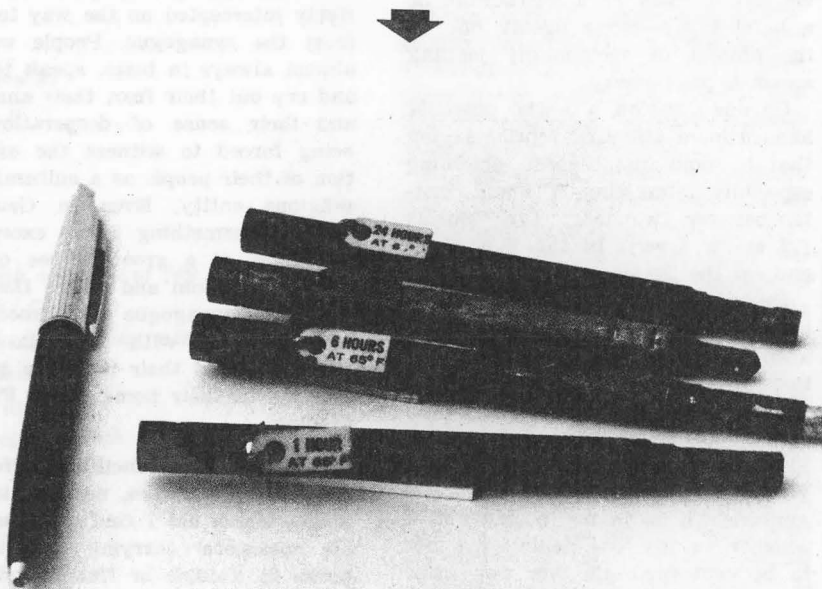
WHAT NOW?

"With so much responsibility for the tragedies that have befallen the Arab peoples, will the Arab Governments now bring about the spiritual catastrophe of their nations by glorifying the killer in the dark, the thug who places button-shaped mines in schoolyards, the murderer who opens fire on sleeping villages and lays mines without knowing or caring who his victims might be? Is this what the Arab Governments want to be known as patriotism, as heroism?

They must stop before it is too late. They must halt before the assassin becomes the personification of Arab chivalry in our times.'

(Mr. Yosef Tekoah, Permanent Israel Representative to the United Nations, at UN Security Council, 12 August 1968)

See
Pictures in Next Column



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Militant Jews Organize

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Jewish population to the rally held at the United Nations.

J.D.L. claims that it is by no means clandestine and notifies the police of every action it intends to initiate. It feels that it must be vocal and take action whenever a threat to the Jewish community erupts. Further evidence that the organized group is responding primarily to a concern for preserving Jewish rights in its willingness to investigate and help any Jew in any type of difficulty.

"Old organizations don't know how to handle problems," stated Mr. Schneider. Most of the help comes through legal aid and the courts for which J.D.L. provides free counseling.

It was J.D.L., as well as Mayoralty Candidate Mario Procaccino, who filed a law suit representing a Puerto Rican, an aggrieved party, who demanded that City College be re-opened after former President Buell G. Gallagher closed down the college to negotiate the five demands by black and Puerto Rican students last semester.

Yossie (named withheld by request), college coordinator of J.D.L., asserted that his organization is looking for students who "feel pride in their Jewishness."

In a leaflet circulated at several college campuses, J.D.L. states that it is willing to stand up to militant extremists who "believe that through intimidations, vandalism, and physical violence they can either shut down or coerce the majority into accepting the unacceptable."

"Jews won't turn the other cheek. We are not patsies," stated Mr. Schneider. "If I don't think of my son, who will?"

Consequently, J.D.L. trains its members in the use of various weapons because, according to their pamphlet, "we have learned through blood and tears that if we do not defend ourselves, in the end no one will. We pray that that day will never come, and we discipline our people well. Should it come, however, we must be ready. To do anything less would be a crime."

When WBAI broadcasted a show which stated that more Jews should be made into "lampshades," and also allowed a poem to be read by a New York City public school teacher that began with "Hey Jew boy, you with

the yarmulke on your head, I wish you were dead . . .," the Jewish Defense League was there to stop it.

When James Forman planned to come to Temple Emmanuel to ask for reparations for black people, the J.D.L. stood in front with bats and iron pipes to prevent his entrance, stating that Jews had nothing to do with slavery and were in fact the strongest fighters for civil rights. "Reparation implies payment and redress for guilt. The Jew indignantly rejects any guilt," stated their pamphlet.

Again, it was the Jewish Defense League that protested outside the Metropolitan Museum of Art condemning an anti-Semitic catalog in connection with the "Harlem on My Mind" exhibition. The catalog was later withdrawn.

In each instance, J.D.L. has attempted to achieve not merely a solution but a valuable impact whose sole effect was to strengthen the Jewish population in their combat against discrimination and bigotry.

Despite much adverse public opinion, J.D.L. is here and will continue to assign its members to probable trouble spots to insure stability and cease acts of anti-Semitism by protesting whenever such acts occur.

Israel's Needs

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raised to 53. And Israel fully realizes the duty to defend their own country, and not to have someone else do it for them.

Although Israel receives the sympathy and moral support of many people all over the globe—and fully appreciates it—there is something else that Israel does need: military equipment. Israel cannot fight off constant assaults by the Arab nations with sympathy. It would make a pitiful scene for Israelis, armed with American sympathy, to face Arabs armed with the most advanced Russian military equipment. I do not say this jokingly. Truly, this would be an act of genocide on the part of all freedom-loving people like Americans to allow such a horrid thing to happen.

Now, I am sure you have all received the message. It could not be spelled out any plainer. Israel needs not only our moral support, but our military equipment as well, to defend the ideal of all freedom-loving people.

Creature of Colonialism

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tely be characterized as embodying a deep-seated ambivalence toward Israel. In 1956, it was the United States which led the demand in the UN that Israel withdraw from Sinai. Similar tendencies were apparent in the most recent crisis. From Israel's point of view, all of her Western allies let her down at the crucial hour: the United States declared neutrality; France turned her back on her alliance with Israel; and Britain kept assuring the Arabs that she was not taking sides.

American policies in the Middle East have been motivated in no small measure by the desire to protect the \$2,500,000 stake which U.S. oil companies have invested in that area. Standard Oil of New Jersey earns 54 per cent of its net income from Arab oil; Texaco earns 35 per cent; and surely it is no secret that major oil companies are not without influence in the setting of American foreign policy. As I.F. Stone, no supporter of imperialism, has written: "The oil-rich Arabian deserts are the holiest places of the Middle East for the world's oil cartels. The realpolitik of oil dictated, firstly, a hands-off policy in any Arab-Israel war for fear that oil holdings may be sabotaged and expropriated."

Israel has never received military grants or aid from the United States, while several Arab governments have received such direct gifts of American military equipment. While Israel has certainly benefited from American economic assistance, it has not been the only beneficiary. Overall, Israel has received less than 25 per cent of the amount of American aid distributed in the Middle East through various assistance programs over the past twenty years. As was noted in July, 1967 by the editors of *Ramparts*, the contentious journal of the independent Left: "The United States, which refused to allow Jewish refugees into this country before the creation of Israel, has been consistently willing to compromise Israel's interests in order to cultivate pro-Western, oil-rich sheikdoms. . . . While it was Russian tanks which opposed Israel in the Sinai, it was U.S. tanks which opposed it in Jordan."

Journey of Brotherhood

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dred currently with us. Behind these, and related, dry-sounding statistics a profound and unique nexus is being forged; and on its motives and significance I pondered ceaselessly during my recent travels through Africa. In the end, I formed the view that it is not least the outcome of the following factors:

1) The African states and Israel gained freedom from foreign domination during the same historical period.

2) Both they and we are trying to mold the character of our society anew and are concentrating our efforts on economic construction and reconstruction from the very bottom upwards.

3) The African states and Israel are devoting special attention to the matter of national unity among the divergent sectors of their free populations.

4) The African states have come to know that cooperation on Israel's part is not, and will not be, tainted with political or any other conditions. Israel has no wish to secure a foothold in any African state against its will or interest. Our major concern is to impart knowledge and skill to local personnel, so that they can take the whole responsibility into their own hands with the least delay, and that is what has, in fact, happened in different spheres in a number of African states.

5) Israel's emissaries in the African states work with devotion and sincerity. They do not despise the little things; they roll up their sleeves and get down to the actual job.

6) In every activity in Africa, Israel is careful to observe the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs.

7) Like Israel, the new states of Africa fall into the category of developing countries. Like them, Israel seeks ways and means always to bridge the gap between the developed and developing societies.

Common Memories

If one considers the basis of our cooperation more profoundly, the conviction grows that the African states and Israel are also bound together by memories of the servitude and suffering that were so long the portion of the African peoples and of Jewry. African and Jew were synonyms for oppression and slavery. No

wonder that the African feels that color is no barrier between him and the Israeli. In the Israeli consciousness there is no room for racialism. Discrimination is utterly incompatible with Jewish ways of thought. African society, the Christian and the Moslem alike, is familiar with the Bible and with the legacy of the Jewish spirit to civilization. In 1908, the harbinger of the Jewish state, Theodor Herzl, gave expression to his deep sympathy for the tribulations of Africa and to his own resolve to help Africa to freedom once he had seen Israel redeemed. It was an unforgettable experience, during my recent visit, to hear his words quoted by African leaders on official occasions. I tried to convey to them how proudly aware we are of the happy circumstance of history that, seventy years afterwards, Israel and Africa, together in time, came to their emancipation.

Reciprocal Exchange

Israel's friendship with Africa is a matter not of one-sided aid but of reciprocity. If Israel teaches, it also learns, it profits from the experience and progress of Africa. If Israel proffers a little from its modest fund of knowledge, it is amply rewarded by its access to Africa's treasurehouse of freedom, independence, and development. Israel watches the unfolding of the African States with the warmest sympathy. It identifies itself, with all its heart and soul, with their problems, to enjoy peace and progress. We value inestimably the appeals which African states are making for the establishment of peace not only in Africa but in the neighboring Middle East also, and indeed in all areas of tension. The African personality is making its mark on the international scene, but at the same time a poignant dialog takes place among the African peoples themselves. There may be divergences, then, in Africa, but there are also characteristics and outlooks which make that great continent a unity. In this concluding third of the twentieth century, Africa strives to occupy the rank it deserves, but it rightly looks back into the chronicles of its past to rediscover the main-springs of its inspiration and its way of life. Wherever I went, I saw a cadre forming of capable leadership, of all ages, energetic and competent, dedicated, diligent, and realistic—fully conscious that political independence without economic independence lacks completeness. This leadership is justifi-



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fied in seeking help from the rest of the world—and more and more help yet—that will not be predicated on intervention in Africa's domestic affairs. On the morrow of independence Africa needs a respite—to find itself and its mission to mold the African personality untroubled by outside meddling. This wish of Africa is one that the people of Israel most cordially applaud.

The Mid-East & Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

self. Not only does it need our advisers, but it also needs our manpower.

3) The Arabs, still largely feudal and oil-revenue-dominated, are not the same as the Viet Cong.

4) There is no civil war raging in the Mid-East, as there is inside Vietnam.

5) Whereas the Vietnam War is first being "Vietnamized," Israel's policy has been "Israelization" from the state's very inception. Thus, this whole thesis of the Mid-East being another Vietnam is a lot of bunk.

The Mid-East situation should be of greater concern to all Americans in view of the above self-evident facts.