

**PALESTINE!
ZIONISM!**

**&
BLACK AMERICA!**

(a Black New York Action Committee Forum)



BLACK · SOLIDARITY ·

CURT FARRER, ILLS



PLO UN observer Terzi speaking to Harlem brothers and sisters at Mount Zion church.

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ZIONISM!
&
BLACK AMERICA!

(a Black New York Action Committee Forum)



box 955-harlem, ny 10027

1980

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عن الاغنيات

- لا تقل لي
ليتني بائع خبز في الجزائر
لا غني مع ثائر
- لا تقل لي
ليتني راعي مواش في اليمن
لا غني لانتفاضات الزمن
- لا تقل لي
ليتني عامل مقهى في هفانا
لا غني لانتصارات الحزاني
- لا تقل لي
ليتني اعمل في اسوان حملا صغير
لا غني للصخور

يا صديقي
لن يصب النيل في الفولغا
ولا الكونغو ، ولا الاردن ، في نهر الفرات
كل نهر ، وله نهج .. ومجرى .. وحياة

يا صديقي
ارضنا ليست بعاتر
كل ارض ، ولها ميلادها
كل فجر ، وله موعد ثائر

Concerning Hopes

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a baker in Algeria
To sing with a fighter.

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a shepherd in Yemen
To sing for resurrection.

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a waiter in Havana
To sing the victories of the oppressed.

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a young porter in Aswan
To sing for the rocks.

My friend:

The Nile will never flow into the Volga,
Nor will the Congo or the Jordan flow into the
Euphrates.

Each river has its own springs,
Its own course and its own life.

Our land, my friend, is no barren land.

Each land gives birth in due time,
And each fighter will see the dawn.

Mahamud Darweesh

PREFACE

The following speeches by Mr. Alphonso Pinkney, Sociology Professor at Hunter College in New York, Ms. Patrice Wagner, representing the Black New York Action Committee (BNYAC) and the Honorable Mr. Zehdi Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization's Observer to the United Nations represent one of the clearest and in-depth explanations on the questions of Zionism and its relationship to Black America.

The Black New York Action Committee (BNYAC), which sponsored this event, is a Harlem based community activist group. It describes itself as:

. . . a group of black women and men of all ages who live in the black and Hispanic communities of New York City. Among us are skilled craftsmen, hospital workers, teachers, students, the unemployed, laborers, poets and other working and professional people. We have come together out of a deep felt need to mount an effective response to the disastrous inroads which the current economic depression has made into the hard won material and social progress achieved by New York's black community over the last decade. The current crisis has merely intensified the dire conditions which black people have been forced to endure for hundreds of years. Thus, our concern is not only for the immediate or temporary—the present crisis is only a symptom. We have come together to mount an attack against the very causes of our oppression.

BNYAC has been involved in numerous struggles in the Harlem community in the last few years. It has conducted Health Fairs in the blocks and has brought needed health services directly to the people. It participated with tenant groups in fighting slumlords, the biggest in New York City being the city government itself. The Committee has distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in the community to advance the understanding of the people on the important issues of the day. It has also conducted many forums and public programs to educate the people. BNYAC also understands the connection between the struggle for African liberation and the struggle for the liberation of black people here in the U.S. and has consequently participated in many support actions on behalf of the African liberation struggles. Among one of its more important events was a cultural series called "Black Music Comin' Home" in which it sponsored cultural programs that emphasized the richness of Afro-american culture as opposed to the new commercialized decadence that has penetrated the black community.

BNYAC is located at:
321 West 125 Street
Harlem, N.Y. 10027

INTRODUCTION

On September 28, 1979, Black people in the Harlem community came together to express their solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people and to voice their opposition to Zionism and imperialism. This historic event came one month after U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young was dismissed from his post because of an "unauthorized" meeting with Zehdi Terzi, Palestinian Liberation Organization observer to the United Nations. Young's dismissal unleashed an uproar within the Black community. Shock and anger was felt most keenly by the Black middle-class. His dismissal served to accentuate their tenuousness and expendability. They saw how easily their positions or funding could be eliminated if the power structure decides that other things are more important. What followed was a scrambling for influence and in fighting among Black "leaders."

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League both attacked Jesse Jackson and Rev. Joseph Lowry of SCLC for having met with members of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Jordan said "Black-Jewish relations should not be endangered by ill-considered flirtations with terrorist groups devoted to the extermination of Israel." Demonstrators took over the Urban League Office, protesting Jordan's criticism of Jackson and Lowry.

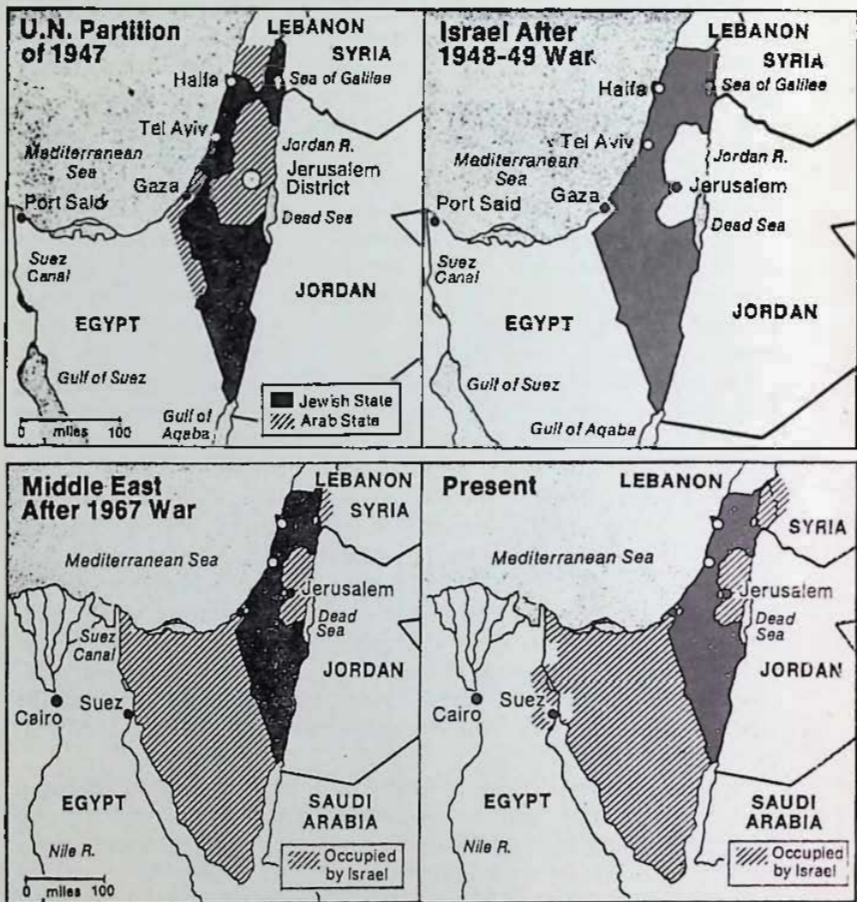
It has been stated in the press that the Andrew Young incident has divided the Black community. That is not so. The incident has merely heightened the contradiction that already existed in the Black community. The Black middle-class, in their support for Israel, has taken a position that is in direct opposition to the needs and aspirations of Black working people. And for all of the fighting within the Black middle class, the fact is that their positions are really very similar. They all recognized and support the right and need of Israel to exist as an extension of U.S. imperialism.

Ronald Brown, vice president of the Urban League, during a visit of black civil rights and labor officials to Israel, told a group of Israeli unions that there was nothing incompatible about strong support for Israel and addressing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Mr. Brown is obviously not aware of the issues at stake in the Middle East. He might as well have said that it is possible for fascism to coexist with freedom, war with peace, repression with democracy. Even when they are forced to take a

position, they end up straddling the fence.

A number of forums, meetings and newspaper articles have been devoted to the so-called rift between Black people and Jews. All of these issues are subterfuges, whose aim is divert attention from the real issues and what is really happening in the Middle East.

The purpose of the forum was to highlight what is really at stake and to express the voice of the Black masses.



ZIONISM AS A FORM OF RACISM

Al Pinkney

At his so-called town meeting in Queens on Tuesday (September 25, 1978) Jimmy Carter sounded, as do so many American politicians, like he was addressing the Knesset in Occupied Palestine (Israel). Among other things he called any suggestion that Zionism is a form of racism "an outrage." What Carter apparently does not know, but what the Palestinian people and the vast majority of member nations in the General Assembly of the United Nations do know, is that not only is Zionism a form of racism, it is one of the most vicious forms. It is racist in its ideology, in its objectives, and in its programs. And racism is a basic principle of Zionism.

The General Assembly adopted a resolution on December 21, 1965 defining racism as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, color, descent, or national ethnic origin." Ten years later (November 10, 1975) the General Assembly adopted Resolution 3379 determining that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. Seventy-two member states voted in support of this resolution.

Then in 1976 some 500 participants from 80 countries, including some Jewish people, who were later publicly censured for their non-racist views, met in Tripoli, Libya to establish an anti-racist organization. This group formed the International Organization for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. Among other things, it was declared that the organization "shall adopt all means contributing to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination elsewhere, in particular Zionism and Apartheid."

The philosophy of Zionism is not of recent origin; it dates back to 1897. Its basic elements are: 1) Jews and non-Jews are inherently incapable of living in the same country because non-Jews are incurably anti-semitic; 2) for self-preservation, all Jews must settle together in the same country—the legend of Palestine as the ancestral homeland of all Jews made it the choice; 3) non-Jews must either be displaced from the Jewish state or kept apart from the Jewish settlers by legal and psychological walls of separation; 4) the establishing of the Jewish state requires the cooperation of non-Jews.

A brief word about the history of Zionism. Theodor Herzl was the founder of the Zionist movement, and after his death in 1904, his diaries revealed that he had written: "Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out

discreetly and circumspectly." And by the turn of the century the process of removing the "penniless population" was underway, and a young Zionist immigrant named David Ben-Gurion declared that "force and force alone will win respect." He then organized the first Zionist armed forces.

At the 1913 Zionist Congress the leaders announced that the Zionist objective was "a closed Jewish economy" in which "producers, consumers and middlemen shall all be Jewish." Their aim was massive immigration into a country which they intended to make into a Jewish state.

Arthur James Balfour, author of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, pledged British support to the Zionist hope for the colonization and establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. He insisted that the rights of non-Jews in Palestine be protected, but by this time Zionism had demonstrated to the indigenous people that it indeed was racist at its core. Chaim Weizman, a new Zionist leader appeared on the scene. He later became President, but before the establishment of the Zionist state he remarked that the world would judge the Zionists by the way they treated the Palestinian Arabs.

By the early 1920s an organization called the Zionist Jewish Agency was founded with the support of the British government. The constitution of that organization stressed Jewish labor, and the racist boycott was extended to Arab produce. And the forced resettlement of Palestinians was underway.

In 1937 the British sent a commission to Palestine following the Arab rebellion there. They could see no way of reconciling their commitments to the Zionists and the Palestinians except through partition. The report they issued proposing partition became the subject of the next Zionist Congress, and it was decided to transfer as many of the Palestinians as possible. At the time of the complete colonization of Palestine, the first Premier was able to report that Palestine was "virtually emptied of its former owners." Some 30,000 Palestinians had been uprooted. Both the Americans and the British were anxious for the Zionist to colonize Palestine after World War II, largely because neither country was willing to accept many Jewish refugees.

In summary then, Zionism has been a form of racism from its inception to the present time. There are now 1.7 million Arabs living under the rule of the colonizer. Their lives are not unlike those of blacks in South Africa. Like the settlers in South Africa, who consider white people the "master race," Zionists consider themselves to be the "chosen people." The Zionist maintain close relations with the white government of South Africa, engaging in massive

trade in arms with that brutal government. The Nationalists in South Africa and the Zionists in what is now Israel came to power at about the same time. And these governments brought with them racist policies. There are ideological, economic, and military relationships between these two racist states. On the latter point the *Johannesburg Star* reported in 1978 that trade between the two exceeded \$100 million in 1978. And the settler state of Israel is a chief supplier of arms to the settler state of South Africa. These arms are for specific use against the Azanian masses and other southern Africans.

Palestinian and other Arabs in occupied territories are subjected to widespread discrimination and terror. Two fairly recent reports document these practices. The National Lawyers Guild has published a report, *Treatment of Palestinians in Israeli-Occupied West Bank and Gaza*. In this report the Zionists are criticized for a variety of racist practices including the following: opposing independence for the Palestinian people; the illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza; the creation of Zionist settlements in the West Bank and Gaza; police torture of Palestinians; the demolition of Arab homes; collective punishment for the acts of individuals; deportation and detention of inhabitants of West Bank and Gaza; operation of severely overcrowded prisons; failure to allow reasonable reunion of family members; persecution and discrimination against religious and racial minorities.

The Sunday Times of London published a lengthy report, *Israel and Torture*. The investigative team found that Israeli interrogators routinely ill-treat and often torture Arab prisoners. These methods include prolonged beatings; they are often hooded and blindfolded or hung by their wrists for long periods. Many are sexually assaulted; others are given electric shocks. At least one detention center had a specially constructed room about two feet square and five feet high with concrete spikes set in the floor. Torture is used to obtain information and also to pacify the masses of the occupied territories. Arabs accused of "security offenses" are convicted on the basis of "confessions" extracted through torture.

According to Amnesty International there are 3,200 Palestinian political prisoners in occupied Palestine. This is compared to 2,200 under the Shah of Iran in a country with a population of 34 million, and 150 in South Korea, a country with 36 million. Over 15,000 homes have been destroyed in West Bank and Gaza alone.

Attorney Felicia Langer, an Israeli lawyer and member of the League for Human and Civil Rights, reported, in Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the

United States Senate that on March 18, 1976 she saw a group of about 20 Arab youths in the military court in Hebron. "The bruises on their faces and arms were testimony to the treatment they had received from the guardians of the law . . . I learned that in demonstrations of March 17, dogs were let loose against the demonstrators. The doctors told me, not only of having had to treat people bitten by dogs, but also of having been themselves beaten by the soldiers while trying to provide medical care to the injured in the streets."

One of the clearest indications that Zionism is a form of racism is the treatment of Third World Jews compared with that of European Jews. Jews who migrate from the Soviet Union, for example, are given the best housing and jobs. Third World Jews, on the other hand, are subjected to vicious forms of discrimination. A group of "Black Hebrews" migrated from the United States to Israel. In the mistaken view that they were escaping racism, these people were in for a rude awakening. These 30 people were given a flat of only 64 meters (big enough for 2 or 3 families of 4!) The black children were not permitted to attend schools with whites, and their parents were unable to find work. The Ministry of Internal Affairs demanded that they be deported, but the Israeli government was not anxious for its racist policies to be known to the world.

Several observers have likened the treatment of Palestinians and other Arabs in what is now Israel to the Nazi treatment of Jews during the Third Reich. The majority of Palestinians agree with a statement made in 1946: "The system established in Palestine since the issue of the Defense laws is unparalleled in any civilized country; [just like] there were no laws. . . in Nazi Germany."

And in his speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations (October 12, 1979) President Fidel Castro had this to say: "The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our heart, we repudiated the merciless persecution and genocide that the Nazis once visited on the Jews, but there's nothing in recent history that parallels it more than the dispossession, persecution and genocide that imperialism and Zionism are currently practicing against the Palestinian people." He continued, "Pushed off their land, expelled from their country, scattered throughout the world, persecuted and murdered, the heroic Palestinians are a vivid example of sacrifice and patriotism, living symbols of the most terrible crime of our era."

A professor of chemistry at Hebrew University testified on the colonization of West Bank territories by Israel before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the United States Senate. He commented that the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories reminded him of the situation in the 18th century where Jews were not allowed to settle where they wished. Since neither people of the conquered territories nor Israeli citizens who are not Jewish can, he rightfully calls this "blatant and open racism."

The United States and the rest of the imperialist world have tolerated and even sanctioned Israeli racism for far too long. When eight Israeli athletes/soldiers are killed that is considered a "massacre," but when an unarmed Libyan airliner is shot down by the Zionists killing hundreds of people it is called an "accident." In the same manner, American newspapers will report one Israeli death on the front page, while the death of dozens of Arabs will be reported in an obscure part of the newspaper. Perhaps most disgusting of all is that the United States supplies its Zionist client state with the very same weapons it used against the Vietnamese people. Neither country has very much regard for people of color.

The Zionist use of cluster bombs and napalm on innocent women and children in Palestinian refugee camps. The only other country to engage in such barbarism was the United States during the racist war in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese won their struggle as the three million Palestinians will surely win theirs!



PALESTINE! ZIONISM! AND BLACK AMERICA!
Statement of the Black N.Y. Action Committee—
Sis. Patrice Wagner

September 28, 1979, Mt. Zion Lutheran Church

What is Zionism? Quite simply, Zionism is racism. It is an ideology and an organized world movement that believes that freedom from one's own oppression can be obtained by oppressing others. Zionism, which has its origins in the latter part of the 19th century, underlies the policies of the Israeli government. It is a set of ideas that fosters the oppression of Arabs and non-European Jews in Israel and stands in direct opposition to the basic needs and well being of poor and working people throughout the world. It deprives people of their fundamental rights as citizens and as human beings and thus is directly opposed to freedom and democracy. Like racism, it is an instrument of a world wide system of oppression and exploitation known as imperialism. It has been an ally of imperialism since its inception. The heartbeat, the moving force of imperialism is the country we live in, the United States of America. Zionism, as a tool of imperialism, has a profound negative impact not only on the Palestinian people, who suffer under it directly, but also on Africans and Afro-Americans and poor people in the United States.

* * *

ZIONISM AND AFRICA

Zionists entered Africa in 1957. When the Suez Canal was nationalized and Egypt began to lean towards the Soviet Union and China, Israel realized that friends and allies on the African continent would be to its advantage. An Israeli spokesperson said frankly that the purpose of their foreign aid to Africa was to recruit and establish a second ring of countries around Israel who would be more kindly disposed to her presence in the Middle East. Israel's aid to Africa was only .05% of the total amount of foreign aid received in Africa between 1957 and 1967. With this small amount of money, however, Israel was able to set up foreign aid programs that not only provided it with political support, promoted trade and gave it new places to sell goods, it also served the interests of U.S. imperialism. The programs pushed the idea of being content with the status quo, having the wealth of these countries ripped

off by European and U.S. corporations, and tried to prevent people from struggling against the dire poverty, corruption and suffering that exists in many African countries. Nearly half of Israel's total African program was financed by non-Israeli sources . . . although exact figures on who contributed how much are very difficult to obtain since most arrangements like these are veiled in secrecy. It is known however, that a number of Israeli companies that invested money in Africa or provided loans were either partially or completely owned by Western monopolies.

ISRAELI AID PROGRAMS

Between 1958 and 1965, more than 5800 Africans were trained in Israel. A good example of the type of training they received is the Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation in Tel Aviv. The Institute was started with a grant from the AFL-CIO. International programs of the AFL-CIO have historically had close links with the CIA and the program of the Labor Institute in Tel Aviv is no exception. The program tried to depoliticize union leaders by stressing cooperation with big business, emphasizing free enterprise and false democracy and taking their attention away from the problems of working class people and the struggle for positive change.

Israel's agricultural and youth training programs were particularly effective in such countries as the Cameroons, the Ivory Coast, Togo and Dahomey. The models for programs in these countries were taken from programs in Israel that are closely tied to the national defense system—the army, the navy, etc. The programs created para-military bodies favorable to the existing repressive governments.

ISRAELI MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Israeli military assistance serves the interests of Western imperialism more directly than any of its programs. In at least 16 African countries, Israel trained and/or advised members of the military. The purpose of this training was to indoctrinate African army officers so that they would fight to preserve U.S. and European businesses, investments and ideas in their countries. Israel trained the army and navy Commando forces of Ethiopia between 1960 and 1966 to aid them in their counter insurgency program against the Eritrean Liberation Front. Israel established four military bases in Chad and assisted the Chadian Army in containing and suppressing FROLINA: the National Front for the Liberation of Chad. Israel was involved in the civil war in Nigeria and

trained commandoes to ensure that Mobutu, the backwards, repressive president of Zaire, would stay in power. General Idi Amin, trained in Israel himself, was aided by Israeli officers and technicians when he overthrew the progressive government of Milton Obote in Uganda.

Spokespersons from liberation movements in Angola and Guinea Bissau during their war against Portuguese colonialism reported that Israeli arms had been captured from the Portuguese. One leader stated that "Israel's action is not limited to giving the Portuguese the means to destroy our people. Israel is also trying to sabotage our struggle by using small groups of people originally from our country who call themselves nationalists and who, nevertheless, are agents of Portuguese colonialism. These people are sent to Israel and we have reports of Israeli trained agents trying to infiltrate our ranks." Holden Roberto, head of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, a CIA backed movement operating in Angola, visited Israel several times during the 60's. The primary purpose of Israel's intelligence apparatus is to stifle the cause of African liberation.

TURNING POINT

After the 6-Day War in the Middle East in 1967, Israel's image in Africa began to deteriorate. Many African countries saw Israel's continued occupation of Arab territory as an act of aggression. Israel's occupation of Arab lands brought back memories of her own political dependence on Western powers.

In 1962, Israel had declared its opposition to apartheid in the United Nations and other international forums, trying to put up a good image in front of the countries it was trying to influence. South Africa, in retaliation, took back special trade concessions it had given to Israel. During the 1967 war, however, South Africa re-extended its support. One of the political parties in South Africa published an article at the time that stated:

Israel and South Africa have a lot in common. Both are engaged in a struggle for existence . . . both are in a constant clash with the decisive majorities in the United Nations. Both are reliable centers of strength within the region, which would, without them, fall into anti-Western anarchy.

In other words, without Israel and South Africa, it would be much easier for countries to develop societies that place the needs and well-being of people before profit. Anti-western anarchy is the equivalent of a humane society.

Between 1972 and 1973, 19 countries broke diplomatic relations with Israel. By January 1974, all independent African countries had severed relations with Israel. Thus it was no longer necessary to maintain any facade of opposition to apartheid. It put away its facade of liberalism and joined hands with the South African fascists at the other end of the continent. Weakened by the forces of African and Arab liberation and increasingly isolated in the world community, Israel and South Africa have resorted to an increased collaboration in all areas, culturally, politically, economically and militarily.

ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA CONNECTION

Trade between the two countries increased rapidly after the June 1967 War and even more so after the October War in 1973. In 1969, trade was only \$3 million, but by 1976, it had risen to \$80 million. This extensive trade in addition to direct financial contributions from South African Zionists has helped to prop up and maintain the Israeli economy. Israel buys goods from South Africa and then sells them to African countries who refuse to trade with South Africa.

The military alliance between the two countries is particularly disturbing. With the advance of progressive forces in the Middle East, Israel will become more and more expendable to certain elements of the class of people that rules in this country. South Africa, because of its racial policies, also faces the threat of being isolated in the international community. Thus, the two countries are trying to coordinate their efforts to become independent in the area of military weapons production so that should world opinion turn completely against them and they find themselves unable to purchase arms from anywhere else, however remote the possibility, they would be self sufficient. Israel, with the assistance of U.S. military aid, has built and sold gun boats, military jets and advanced military electronic equipment to South Africa. It is rumored that South Africa is selling uranium to Israel which will be used to make nuclear weapons that could annihilate Arab and African people. South African volunteers have fought on the side of the Israelis in Israel's many wars against the Arab people and no doubt, the day will arise when Israel will be forced to repay the favor and will send people to fight against Africans in Azania, Zimbabwe and

A substantial portion of South Africa's wealth comes from its diamond mining industry. South Africa is, in fact, the world's largest producer of gem diamonds. These diamonds are mined by

Africans who are paid low wages, forced to live away from their families and forced to work under the most inhumane and brutal conditions. Hundreds of Africans each year die in diamond mines while tremendous profits are reaped from their labor. Israel, the world's largest diamond polishing center, imports more diamonds from South Africa than anything else. It is these diamonds, dripping with African blood, that find their way to New York City, the world's largest gem diamond market. Zionists on New York's 47th Street do an annual trade of more than \$700 million in diamonds produced at the expense of African lives.

ZIONISM IN THE U.S.

Zionism's and imperialism's insidious tentacles ensnare, not only in Africa and Israel, but in the United States as well, which harbors one of the world's richest and largest Zionist communities.

Wealthy Zionists furnish much of the private money and key manpower in Presidential and Congressional campaigns. They have one of the most powerful lobbying forces in Congress and thus, their voice, is a voice that is listened to. Zionist lobbyists have been successful in waging a war against affirmative action, thinking that it is a threat to their interests. I don't want to give the impression that it is Zionism alone that has an unduly powerful influence with the American Congress. More often than not, on domestic issues and on foreign policy issues, the interests of Zionism and the interests of U.S. imperialism coincide.

Camp David peace talks, Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat have become household words in America. Not only does this divert attention away from the real issue of Palestinian liberation but it also reflects Zionist influence on U.S. cultural institutions. We are informed daily of so called "terrorist acts" committed against Israelis but do we receive news as regularly or consistently about atrocities committed against the Palestinian people or the people of Azania, Zimbabwe or Namibia by South African terrorists? Palestinians, who are only struggling to gain control of what is rightfully theirs are always depicted as terrorists and murderers. The real terrorists and murderers are the Israelis and South Africans who have illegally seized Arab and African lands. We must understand that most news accounts of what is going on in the Middle East are grossly distorted to favor the side of the Israeli Zionists.

Because of Zionist control of the media, it has become a well known fact to many Americans that 6 million Jewish people were murdered in Nazi concentration camps. This is good because it in-

creases our nation's and the world's awareness of the horrors of racial and religious oppression. But how many Americans know that more than 100 million Africans died during the slave trade or that thousands of Native Americans were exterminated by Americans in the interests of democracy or that there were millions and millions of other victims of Nazism during World War II? It should be clear that Zionism is the ideology of a particular class of Jewish people—the petit bourgeois class and thus, it is an ideology of white supremacy and backwardness.

ZIONISM AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Zionist wealth in the Black community is concentrated in real estate, particularly in rental housing and in retail establishments. Thus, they have control over our food, clothing and shelter: basic necessities of life. We are overpriced and overcharged to create superprofits to be sent to Zionist Israel while the wealth and welfare of our communities is being drained. These profits allow them to live in luxury while we live in tenements not fit for human habitation and have to buy shoddy goods at high prices.

One Zionist financial group, Lehman-Goldman, Sachs has \$5.8 billion of assets concentrated in General Foods, National Dairy, Gimble Brothers, Mays Department Store, Sears, Roebuck and Company and McCrory, to name some of the most familiar. This group has made a large number of contributions to and investments in Israel and has been the main buyer of Israeli bonds.

Less than 35 years ago Zionist elements controlled most of the stores in the Harlem community and consequently, most of the jobs. It was only through the efforts and struggle of people like Adam Clayton Powell and community activists that jobs are now available.

During the 60's when rebellions broke out in urban centers across the country, the complaint was raised that large numbers of the businesses that were burned and destroyed were Jewish owned and the cry of anti-semitism was raised. Black people, however, did not loot and burn stores in the community because they were Jewish owned, but because they were symbols of the continuing exploitation and discrimination that we suffer in our communities. *We are not opposed to Jewish people as a religious or ethnic group—we are opposed to Zionist who are oppressors and exploiters in our community.*

* * *

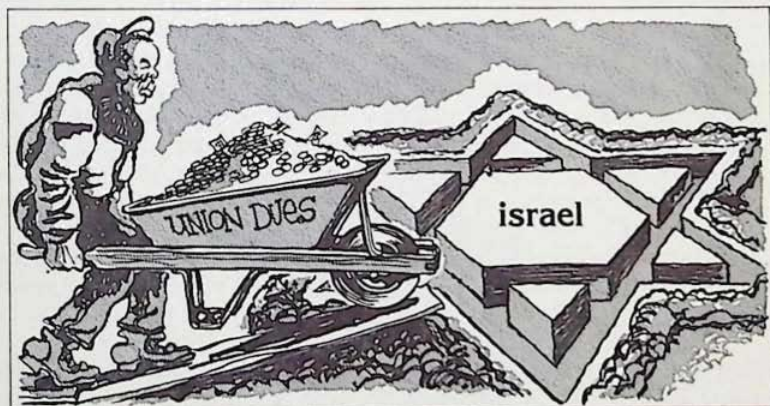
For every position in the United States there are always going to be Black people who will be willing to mouth those positions if they feel they are going to gain some material benefit from it. Thus, it is important to understand that one does not have to be Jewish or white to be a Zionist. In the Black community, there are people and organizations who openly or behind closed doors support the racist, imperialist state of Israel. Among the most outright of these has been Bayard Rustin, who the ruling class proclaims to be a leader of the civil rights movement. Bayard Rustin has consistently taken a pro-Zionist position which is in basic contradiction to the aspirations and needs of Black and poor people.

During the Civil Rights movement, a number of Black organizations such as the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, etc. received large amounts of funds from Zionist elements. In 1967, when the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) adopted a resolution condemning Israeli occupation of Arab territories, within 24 hours, a large portion of its funding was cut off. At a Black National Convention in Indiana in 1972, a resolution was adopted calling for the dismantling of the Zionist state of Israel and supporting African and Palestinian liberation movements. Israeli sympathizers in some of the major civil rights organizations later forced some of the members of the Congressional Black Caucus to water down the text of the resolution. They were willing to compromise the cause of liberation and freedom in order to maintain their funding sources.

Since the Andrew Young incident, a number of these organizations have come out in "support" of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), such as SCLC and the NAACP. We welcome their support if it is indeed genuine. However, we should not let ourselves be deceived. Many of them do not support the PLO unconditionally. Instead, they support the idea of some sort of negotiated settlement while maintaining the right of Israel to exist. Essentially, they are doing nothing more than articulating the policy of the Carter Administration and not the feelings of the Black community. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH appealed to the PLO to "stop its tactics of terrorism and to recognize Israel's right and need to exist." What he refers to as terrorism is a people fighting and dying for their freedom. These groups and organizations support the idea of reforms but not fundamental change which will help masses of people because they feel that their relative position of privilege or funding will be lost. They play both ends against the middle and in the long run, it doesn't matter which side they are on, as long as it is green. Their basic commitment is to the

system. They cannot be expected to support the idea of fundamental change for the Palestinian people or for Black people in the United States. Such a position would require them to come out and confront the real enemy, the U.S. ruling class and unfortunately, they are on the same side. Their viewpoints represent their class interests and not the views of masses of freedom loving Black people in the United States.

A number of other organizations and groups give money to Israel at the expense of the Black and poor constituencies. between 1951 and 1970, \$1.4 billion dollars worth of Israeli bonds were sold in the U.S. Who are some of the buyers? The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) is one of them. Composed primarily of Black and Hispanic women garment workers who are among the worst paid in the city, the union has invested heavily in Israeli bonds. The United Federation of Teachers (UFT) headed by the racist Albert Shanker contributes each year to the United Jewish Appeal, which sends 2/3's of its money directly to Israel. The AFL-CIO mentioned earlier, is also a heavy investor in the Israeli economy. The former president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, actively supported U.S. imperialist policy not only in the Middle East but throughout the world. *The monies it sends come from dues paid by its members, more than 2 million of which are Black.*



The millions of dollars the AFL-CIO sends to Israeli Zionists comes from the membership—2 million of whom are Black.

ZIONISM AND U.S. IMPERIALISM

Of course, the largest supporter of the Zionist state of Israel and Zionism is the United States government and the multinational banks and corporations, which invest heavily in Israel just as they do in South Africa. More than half of all foreign money invested in Israel is American. In 1971 alone, the Israeli government received a \$500 million loan from the U.S. for the purchase of Phantom jets and other arms. The U.S. government gives more money in foreign aid to Israel than it does to any other country. And this year, Israel is asking for a doubling of arms aid "to ward off threats from powerfully armed Arab states to the north." At a time of high unemployment, when vital services to Black and poor people are being cut, the United States government, instead of taking care of problems here at home, is sending money to Israel to help them oppress Arab people and stifle the cause of Arab and African liberation.

Why is this? In the United States, we live under a social system where profit is more important than people. We see examples of it everyday. The day is coming when many people will no longer be able to afford to eat, many people cannot afford to eat now, in fact. Many people will be unable to keep a roof over their heads. As inflation continues to rise, most of our basic goods and services will simply cost too much to purchase. As the unemployment rate rises, so too, will the crime rate as people, denied worthwhile productive employment, pushed to the outside of society, feel they must take what they cannot afford to buy. The powers that be in NYC, the Koch administration, feels that it can cut hospitals and basic services in our communities because the problems we face are not that important, because Black and poor lives are expendable. Racist attacks against Black people are on the rise and it appears that the Ku Klux Klan is alive and well. Across the board, the quality of life for Black and poor people is rapidly diminishing. The social system at home is called monopoly capitalism, abroad it is called imperialism. Wherever U.S. corporations and banks have sunk their roots overseas, they have fostered wealth and privilege for a small elite and poverty, corruption, war and misery for the many.

The ruling class, the government and the corporations are the first to admit that their system is in the midst of a crisis they cannot control. It is becoming increasingly clear that this system is not only unwilling, it is essentially unable to meet the needs of masses of people. The Palestinian people are waging a valiant struggle against the forces of imperialism and Zionism. They are fighting and dying

for a democratic, secular Palestine where Arabs and Jews can live in peace and dignity. They are fighting for self-determination and freedom.

Just as we support African liberation struggles, so too, we have a responsibility to support the Palestinian liberation struggle. At a meeting in Spain last week, Yasir Arafat talked warmly of what he called the "deep feelings for the principles of human rights of American Blacks" and said that "some forces in the United States had subjected them to unjust and barbaric treatment" which he likened to the situation of the Palestinians.

Tonight is an expression of our solidarity with the armed struggle of the Palestinian people because the same forces that prop up and maintain the Zionist state of Israel, prop up and maintain the fascist state of South Africa and oppress and exploit Black, Hispanic and poor people right here at home. Our struggle is one!

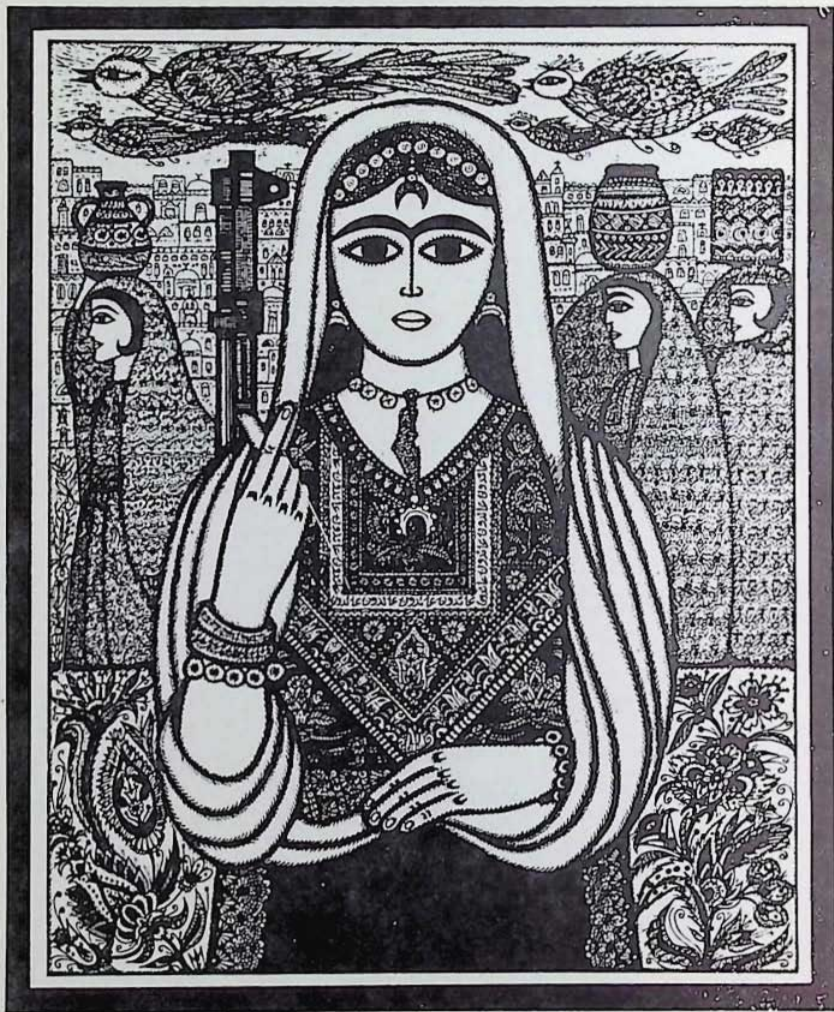
The courageous example of the Palestinian people and the people of Southern Africa who have refused to compromise their freedom and their right to control their destiny is a great inspiration for us struggling here in America.

We must rekindle and intensify our liberation struggle here so that we can create a society where the fundamental human rights of oppressed minorities and poor people come before the quest for profit, a society where dignity, equality and freedom are not myths or words on paper but concrete realities for the masses of our people.

Thank you.



Patrice Wagner—



**Zehdi Terzi—Speech at Mr. Zion Lutheran Church
September 29, 1979**

I walked up the hill and found the name of the place to be Mt. Zion and that made me reflect. Is this the Mt. Zion I know in Jerusalem? Is it connected with the Zionism that you have heard described earlier by the two previous speakers? And I hasten to add this is the Mt. Zion I knew in Jerusalem but it is in no way related to the Zionism you heard the two previous speakers discuss.

The other day I was having lunch with some of my new Afro-American or Black American friends, people I could not really reach during the last four years. During our lunch one of them asked me, "In the spectrum of color, where do the Palestinians fit?" And I wondered, where do we fit? Are we of the white race? No, we are not. Are we of the Black race? No, we are not. And I thought, we are human, and that should be enough.

It is our humanity that brings us together. I think my answer satisfied them. What is it that has brought us so near together in the last few weeks? It was nothing new, the spark was there. But all of a sudden the consciousness was awakened, the consciousness of the fact became clear. We all realized it was an identification of equals, the identification of our struggle, the identification of better conditions of living, identification against oppressors.

It is in this light that we see the long awaited cooperation and accord between Black Americans and the Palestinian people. It is an identification of struggle for our rights. Maybe some of you in the States fight just for civil rights, but we fight for political rights as well. We fight for our right to survive. We fight for the right to live because we have been denied that right. We have been prevented from exercising our rights.

We have followed the path of struggle for many years. We hoped that our plight would awaken the conscience of the world. We prayed, we appealed, we yelled, we went to churches, we went to mosques, we went to synagogues, we came to the gates and doors of the United Nations. And they said of these refugees give them another ounce of oil or maybe two more sheets.

But after many years, we decided the time had come to awaken that conscience and that could only be awakened, unfortunately, through a machine gun. It was the armed struggle that really brought most of the world to at least show some interest in learning about our goals. Of course, some people call us terrorists, others call us communists. These are just labels. We have a much more important cause to fight for than to respond to those allegations.

But the question is asked in the United States as elsewhere: Who are the Palestinians? What do they want? Who represents them? Do they want the moon? Do they want to live in peace? Yes, they do want to live in peace, but not the peace of the cemetery. We want to live in peace and to survive as well.

Who are we? We are the Palestinians. By the very name you should know who we are. We are the inhabitants, the indigenous population of Palestine. We have our roots there. We have lived there for ages. We are not of any particular pure race. I think when one talks about race, one may talk about horses for the racetrack. But the human element, you simply cannot really know your origins. It's all mixed up. We are all human, we live together. We were living in Palestine since time immemorial. I heard the speaker here talk about the land of Caanan and that is one of those things Palestine is, the land of Caanan. That land was hospitable to Abraham who came from the desert. But that was Biblical. That was thousands and thousands of years ago. What we should be interested in is now. What we should be interested in is not only the fate of the Palestinians, not only the Middle East but, I would say, the fate of the world. The conflict in the Middle East has brought the world on the verge of a major confrontation on several occasions. You cannot really speak of the Middle East or Palestine in isolation from the world conflict.

I will not talk about the history, about how the Palestinians became refugees at first, about how they became revolutionaries and how they have scored all those victories and gained a place in the world community. Instead I will tell you what the Palestinians want. Just like you, they want to live in a place they can call home. They want to have full use of and control over the natural resources of the territory which is their country. They do not want and will oppose and reject any form of economic domination that aims at exploiting them. We would like to have a home of our own. We have a home and we would like to go back to that home. We would like to be able to exercise our rights.

Here in the United States, we hear of demonstrations. Even in the Senate you have hearings about violations of human rights but unfortunately, in those hearings, nobody reads or hears of the violations of the human and basic rights of the Palestinian people. They number about 4 million. What do the Palestinians want? They want to go back to their homes, they want to live in peace. They want to exercise the right to self-determination, and national independence in their country and build up a new society. They want

to end this state of misery, this state of statelessness.

Of course, the Palestinians are victims of anti-semitism because the Palestinians are Semites. It is the Zionists who are exercising and practicing anti-semitism against the Palestinian Arabs. Real anti-semitism is the anti-semitism exercised by the state of Israel, the Zionists against the Palestinian and other Arabs. This is anti-semitism.

What are the Zionists doing in our country? They have expelled us by force. Begin, who is received with honors in your country, in the White House, was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize. It was Begin himself who started the campaign of physical extermination, of genocide, the holocaust of the Palestinian Arabs. It was Begin himself who led the campaign against a little village called Deir Yasin. And the result of that adventure was the cold blooded murder of 254 civilians, unarmed women, children and men. Yet such a criminal is received in your country with honors. Such a criminal makes boasts about his crime because, somewhere in his book, he writes that if it were not for Deir Yasin, the state of Israel would not have been born. That is racism, that is vindictiveness, that is hatred that the United States is feeding financially and morally, by the supply of military arms and weapons.

Now, you have all been fooled maybe when you have read in the *New York Post* or the *New York Times* or the other media about the peace prospects in the Middle East. Are we really on the right course to achieve peace? For one, judging by the billions of dollars that the United States is investing in that area in the form of arms and armaments—F-16's, F-8's, cluster bombs, something we just heard of, the bombs and the napalm bombs, I would say not. Is this the road to peace or is this supplying of arms to the Middle East to prepare for another war, a war against the people of the Middle East and against the people of Africa. It so happens that Palestine could safely be considered as the northeastern most state of Africa just as Namibia is the southwestern most state of Africa as well. Now these "peace" prospects, the Camp David accords you've heard of, what do they provide for? They provide for the complete negation and denial of the existence of the Palestinian people who, according to that so-called framework for peace, simply don't exist. Imagine, four million of us simply don't exist!

There is a consensus in the world that the core of the conflict in the Middle East is the question of Palestine, "at the heart of the issue" everybody says is the question of Palestine and the Palestinian people. We are the principal party, yet the Camp David Ac-

cords deny the existence of the Palestinian people. What do they provide for? Among other things they provide for legitimizing the permanence of the Israeli forces of occupation, that all the world—including the United States—considers under illegal military occupation. Yet the United States is supplying billions of dollars worth of arms so that military occupation will be perpetuated. The Camp David Accords were signed and within 72 hours, Begin returned to the occupied territory and authorized the establishment of four more settlements.

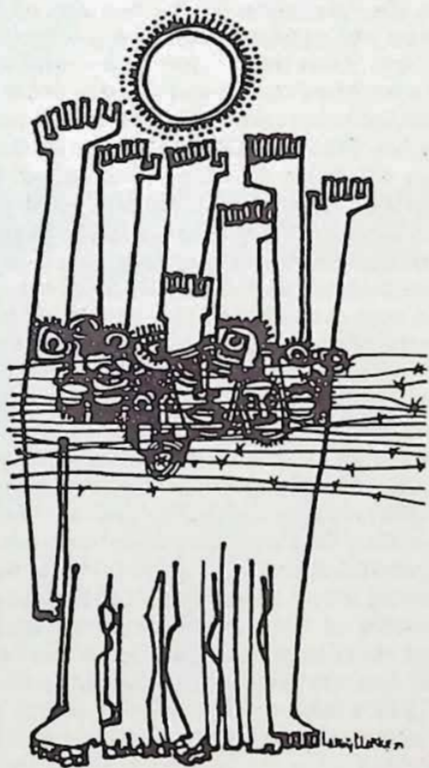
In a treaty, the Munich Pact, the main purpose was to help Hitler gain time. That Munich Pact gave him time to prepare himself for the onslaught that resulted in millions of victims of the Second World War. Of course we hear of the holocaust. We know 6 million but there were 44 million others. Can't we live without discrimination among the victims of Nazism? Do we really always have to discriminate? This is what the Zionist movement has always done. In a way, it has practiced all the crimes of Adolph Hitler under Nazism, with the exception of 6 million Jewish murdered. What is more, we know that the Jewish agencies and the Zionist movement were close collaborators of Nazism. It was thanks to the Zionist movement that Adolph Hitler could get trucks from the United States for his work, for his world at war. The mediator was the Zionist movement.

Again, I come back to the Camp David papers because this is the theme that everybody writes about. You just open the papers everyday and hear about who is in the Middle East, who is in the occupied territory, trying to get this autonomy plan working. What is an autonomy plan? The autonomy plan, as Moshe Dayan defined it, is the form of autonomy for the Palestinian Arabs living in Sumaria and Judea, Autonomy in the dictionary means that those people have some sort of rights but those rights according to the Camp David papers are not defined in any way.

At the same time, we hear of the fate of Arabs who are Israeli citizens since 1948 and the poetry that was read earlier for us was done by an Arab who happened to be the mayor of Nazareth, Tewfiq Zaiyyad. Now the the fate of those Arabs under Zionist domination is even worse than the Bantustans that the Black Africans suffer in Africa. They are objects of what the Zionists now call positive segregation. I will send you a copy of that piece by Dr. Moshe Sharon, advisor on Arab affairs to Menachim Begin who says "this is something kind and good. We give you education but we expect the Israeli Arabs to be loyal." In Israel there is no

room for their national aspirations and hopes. This is a very good thing he says, because this is "positive segregation."

If we are fighting Zionism, it is because we are fighting a form of racism, an attempt at perpetuating Nazism. People might say that I am exaggerating. I will give you an example. In August, Moshe Dayan approached a Palestinian in Gaza who was the head of the section of the Red Crescent. And he said "why don't we sit down and talk. You live in Gaza. Let's try to find a solution. Forget about the PLO. Forget about the criminals, forget about the terrorists. They live happily in Beirut. Let's find a way to work things out together." And the result was that after 19 minutes, Dr. Abdul Shafi said, "listen, we only see our future in an independent state of our own." Now you think the affair ended there. It didn't. The next thing we heard of was that Israeli forces arrested 70 young men in Gaza including the son of Dr. Abdul Shafi. Now if this is



not really what the Nazis used to do in Europe, what is?

So what are the Palestinians fighting for? We are fighting for the right to survive. When Chairman Arafat came to the United Nations, he expressed hope for a peaceful life where people can live together. Yet Moshe Dayan said yesterday in the United Nations we would like Arabs and Jews to coexist. Now really coexistence means segregation. Yet again, when Chairman Arafat said we could have Arabs, Jews, Christians and Moslems all living together with the same rights and the same obligations, he was referred to as a terrorist, a criminal, an anti-semite. We were never accorded that option to live in a democratic state.

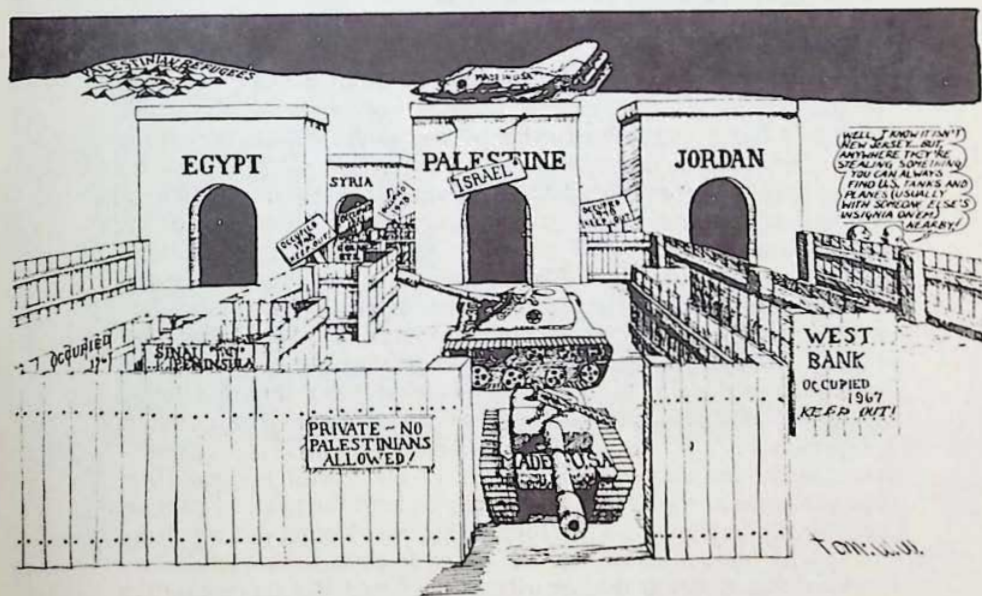
We realize that sometimes, even if we do not fully agree, we sometimes must accept some other reality of life because we are concerned about the fate of 4 million Palestinnains. So we accepted the second option, that we should establish a democratic state for the Arabs, the Palestinian Arabs, in a part of Palestine, and if the United States and its allies want to keep a fascist state in Israel, that is up to them. Then we will join ranks with democratic elements there and overthrow that fascist regime, but at least let's establish our own democratic regime in a part of our country. What did we get? A big No. President Carter said that he does not think that independence will do the Palestinians any good. Of course, we never asked for the opinion of Mr. Carter on that issue. We know Mr. Carter has enough problems in the United States. I wonder where he has the time to make a study of the aspirations of the Palestinian people and decide that independence is not really to our good. President Carter even went further to say that he will not permit the establishment of an independent state for the Palestinians. He is interfering in our domestic affairs and announcing publicly that he will violate all human rights including the right to life as far as the Palestinians are concerned.

What happened with the Black community was that there was a latent feeling, something hidden in the heart, some knowledge, something that people maybe exercised everyday, a belief they have in common with the Palestinians but they were not aware of until something exploded and that thing was what was referred to as the Andrew Young affair. I must say in all sincerity that Mr. Young is a representative of the American system. He was their representative in the most important position in the world. He was their representative at the Security Council, he held the rank of cabinet member. So let's have no illusions. What Mr. Young did was fully in line with his profession. He was asked to get a postponement on a procedural matter at the Security Council and as a representative

of the United States and in order to accomplish that mission, he had no choice but to consult with all the parties debating that issue in the Council. It so happens that despite the position of the United States that opposed our participation in the council, 14 members of the Security Council invited us to participate in the debate. So he *had* to come and talk to us. Again I would like to make it very clear, I repeat, Andy Young was a representative of the system, he had a job to do and he did it. Why they compelled him to leave, that is your business to find out.

We have no illusions, but we do know that this incident was counter-productive as far as our enemies are concerned. It was because of this incident that I was approached by so many Black American organizations.

I am here tonight to say that my being invited to speak to you was one of the benefits that the enemy did not have in his reckoning. We have to make the best use of whatever opportunity is granted us. It is the beginning of relations between the Palestinians and Black America.





“Through our youth—the struggle for Palestine continues!”

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