

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor

BECAUSE I CAN SYMPATHIZE WITH the editor's desire to keep the polemic with Draper from becoming perpetual, I will try to limit my response to issues that have some relevance to policy and program. [See *NEW POLITICS*, Vol. VI, No. 4.]

Draper calls me a Zionist apologist. That is no insult. In fact I wouldn't feel hurt if he went so far as to call me a Zionist. That he didn't do so, I can only attribute to a failure of nerve. What does hurt the socialist movement is that Draper uses the term Zionist as a dirty word in the same sense that we use Stalinist, imperialist and racist.

If Draper is trying to prove that Zionists consider the Jews a separate nation, aliens, foreigners living as a minority among foreign nations, he is breaking down an open door. Every nationalism of a minority nationality makes that claim. Otherwise it would have no reason for separate existence in any form.

The important question is on what grounds the claims are made for this alienation, on class and economic grounds, political or cultural reasons or on the basis of "blood." I don't have to lecture an acute marxist analyst like Draper that if most or some Zionists base their claim to national alienation on cultural, historical economic reasons, then one is bound to differentiate between the varying trends and tendencies within the Zionist movement.

Yes, Israel needs its Revolution. But no revolutionary group will make headway in Israel if it bases itself on the total rejection of everything that Zionism and the Jewish State represent. We must apply the same criteria to Israel that we apply to all countries. Accept the good and fight to overthrow the basic evil—the capitalist system. It is only on such a basis that one builds a political movement as opposed to a

"hippie" rejection of all society or the "establishment," whatever that means.

This ability to differentiate between some Zionists and other Zionists, between some advocates of "Black Power" and other advocates of "Black Power" was one of my central points. Unfortunately Draper's compulsion to damn all Zionists not only distorts his ability to reason but even his ability to read. In the very section wherein Pope Draper excommunicates me and calls me a "white liberal" (a racist epithet by definition) he quotes my statement about "some advocates of Black power" contrasting them to others, not realizing that he is quoting the *direct* opposite of what he is trying to prove against me. I find it quite ironic that Mister Draper can distinguish between different tendencies within "Black Zionism" (a characterization many Black nationalists occasionally apply to themselves) and can not distinguish between the different tendencies in the original article.

Word meanings, too, seem to be a problem for Draper when he deals with Israel. Yes, Draper, Deir Yassin was retaliation. It was a wrong tactic, and it was doubly wrong in being directed against that section of the Arab population that was not responsible for the attacks on Jewish settlements. To draw an analogy, if after Dr. King's brutal assassination some Blacks had attacked the Ford Foundation or the American Jewish Congress, it would have been against the wrong target but it would have been retaliation nevertheless.

Now I appreciate the fact that Draper does not think that the AJC fights "militantly" for Negro rights. But go into a factory and you will be told that the entire civil rights movement is a product of AJC, is instigated by it and is financed by it. This is of course an exaggeration. But, the AJC (which is a Zionist front)

was a major participant in the drafting and in the fight for every major civil rights bill in this country. But Draper has tricked me, he has twisted the issue into one of joining with Jews in the fight for Negro rights. And I followed him. That was not what was being discussed. The issue was—should we give critical support to Israel's just demands. That idea just doesn't seem to enter Draper's mind even as a possibility that merits rebuttal.

A basic issue raised in the polemic is this: When is it desirable to raise the slogan of a bi-national state. Do we

raise it in every country that has a majority and minority population regardless of their relationships, their relative sizes, etc. Bi-nationalism like any other specific proposal is sometimes in place and sometimes out of place. Before the partition of Palestine it was a viable and possible alternative, if it could get popular support. After the partition when the two peoples were separated it ceased being a meaningful or if you wish a realistic proposal. Draper may want to stay in one place, history moves on. Bi-nationalism was revived after the six-day war when the proportions be-

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B. Paid circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	2,250	2,300
2. Mail subscriptions	1,150	1,100
C. Total paid circulation	3,400	3,400
D. Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means	none	none
E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D)	3,400	3,400
F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	800	600
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tween Arabs and Jews living under the same "sovereignty" changed. Once again it made political sense and seemed to offer a rationale for keeping the two parts of Palestine together. It was this Bi-nationalism I criticized as a ruse for holding on to the territories occupied after the six day war.

What is Bi-nationalism? It is not an "orientation toward the region in which the country is situated." Any form of state should adopt this policy. Neither is it equal rights for all citizens. Any state may, or rather must, provide its minority with equal rights. Neither is it the ultimate form of self-determination—separation.

There are literally dozens of countries that have minorities of approximately 10 percent. We demand that ALL these countries give equal rights to these minorities. But do we always demand Bi-na-

tionalism? Syria, for instance, has a Kurdish minority as does Iraq. Does anyone demand that Syria cease proclaiming itself an Arab state? On the other hand do we counterpoise bi-nationalism in Iraq to the Kurdish revolutionaries who are fighting for autonomy or eventual independence? The same holds true for Spain with its Basque minority, etc., etc.

Bi-nationalism is more than an attitude or a declaration, and can take many forms: federation, parity of representation, division of posts, unanimity in certain policy areas, etc. What kind of bi-nationalism does Draper propose for an Israel without the occupied territories? I suspect that he has not given it thought and is using the slogan merely as a slogan whose only purpose *for him* is to exorcise and banish the very idea of Zionism and a Jewish state.

ABRAHAM FRIEND

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EXPANDING THE BOARD

We are pleased to announce two additions to our Editorial Board: David McReynolds and James Petras. Dave is widely known as one of this country's leading socialist-pacifists and is the Field Secretary of the War Resisters League. He received 4,100 votes in the recent election after a vigorous campaign as the candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party in the 19th Congressional District. Jim, is also well known to the radical community. He teaches at Pennsylvania State University and his articles, mainly on Latin American affairs, have appeared in *New Politics* and other publications.

THE ELECTIONS

One of the inherent problems of publishing a quarterly journal is the difficulty of keeping up with important current events. The recent national elections is a case in point. Our copy deadline was several days before Election Day which made pre-election type articles pointless for this issue, and obviously made post-election analytical articles impossible. For our next issue, however, we hope to have a number of articles and views reflecting different currents in the left reviewing the election and its lessons.

NEW POLITICS DISCUSSION GROUP

A New Politics Discussion Group has been organized in the New York area. Thus far two meetings have been held. The first was a discussion of the UFT strike led by Steve Zeluck; the second, on the Czechoslovak events, was led by Ivan Svitak. Readers of *New Politics* who are not subscribers and want to be informed of these discussions should send us a note to that effect and they will receive announcements of these meetings.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS, PLEASE

A number of subscribers have sent us letters of complaint over not having received their current NP. The fault is all theirs. They have moved and failed to send a change of address to us. Now, the post office will not forward second class mail; nor will it return the magazines to us. So, please, if you move and want to get your NP send us your new address—and don't forget the zip.

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