

The Stalinist roots of 'left' anti-semitism

What should the socialist attitude be towards Zionism? For much of the left the answer to that question is simple: the same as to racism or fascism.

'Anti-Zionism' is a central principle for many socialists, equal (and equivalent) to 'anti-racism'. Zionists have been banned in some British college student unions. In one college, students had to pledge commitment to 'anti-Zionism' to be entitled to union membership. That Zionism is a form of racism is the official policy of the United Nations.

Many people see Israel as not only racist, but also a major bulwark — for some, *the* bulwark — of imperialism in the Third World. Zionism is an extension of, or the sharp end of, imperialism. Israel is like South Africa or even Nazi Germany.

For Socialist Action "Zionism represented a historic accommodation to anti-semitism...Its offspring, the Zionist state, today concretises the reactionary origins of Zionism in its racist laws (etc)..."

The story, as told by Socialist Action or by the British Socialist Worker, can be summarised thus. There was anti-semitism in Europe. Some Jews capitulated to it and resolved to build a Jewish state in Palestine. These evil men shared the attitudes of the imperialist anti-semites and conspired with them. Likewise they were racist against the Arabs. Israel today is the fruit of their work.

There are some facts which seem to back up this story. Most of the leaders of the Zionist movement were cynical wheeler-dealer bourgeois politicians, no better than any others of their sort. Especially in the early years of their movement, they shared the racism common in Europe towards Third World peoples. The Arabs in Palestine scarcely merited any consideration; if they were considered, most Zionists assumed that the Arabs could only gain from Jewish colonisation.

And Israel today *is* brutal towards the Palestinian Arabs.

There is one thing drastically wrong with the story current on the left. It presents the whole history of the working-out of a bad idea, as a conspiracy by evil people.

But Marxists understand history differently. We ask: why did the 'bad' idea of Zionism gain mass support among Jews? What material factors brought this about? Why did 'evil' people like Herzl succeed in their 'conspiracies'? Who are the Israeli Jews today? They are not just extrapolations of the 'bad' ideas of their forefathers.

And we look at the *whole* reality of Zionism. Some Zionist leaders were evil people. One (minority) strand of Zionism was even fascist-inspired. But similar elements of chauvinism and racism can be found in all nationalist movements. If Zionism stood out among nationalist movements, it was in fact for the larger-than-usual minority within it that *opposed* the chauvinist and racist excesses.

Socialist Action and Socialist Worker just take particular incidents and elements from Zionist history to fit their own story.

A good example is the famous visit to the Tsarist Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve, by Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism. It did happen, and it was the first of many disreputable Zionist negotiations with anti-semites. But the readers of SA and SW would never know that Herzl's talks provoked outrage amongst Russian Zionists.

Again, Socialist Worker and Socialist Action tell us about the plight of the Arab peasants driven off their land and made destitute as, up to 1948, the Zionists bought up 6% of Palestine's land. They do not mention the plight of the peasants made destitute by the profit-grabbing efforts of Arab landlords on the other 94%. They tell us about the atrocity at Deir Yassin in 1948, where Zionists murdered some 250 peaceful Arab villagers, but not about the pogroms just a couple of years before in Poland where dozens of Jews had been killed.

They tell us about the terrible sufferings of the Palestinian Arab refugees, but not about the plight of the European Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. Those survivors faced pogroms in countries like Poland, but the British and US government told them to stay in those, their 'home' countries. Noone in the world would welcome them except the Zionist community in Palestine.

Socialist Action and Socialist Worker tell us about how over half a million

Arabs were driven out of what became Israel during the 1948 war. They do not tell us about the almost equal number of Jews driven out of the Arab countries by anti-semitic persecution in the following years. They do not tell us that the 1948 war was started by the Arab League — with British-officered armies and intentions that had little to do with helping the Palestinian peasants.

They tell us about the alleged collaboration of Zionists with the Nazis during World War 2, but not about the actual collaboration of Palestinian Arab leaders with the Nazis.

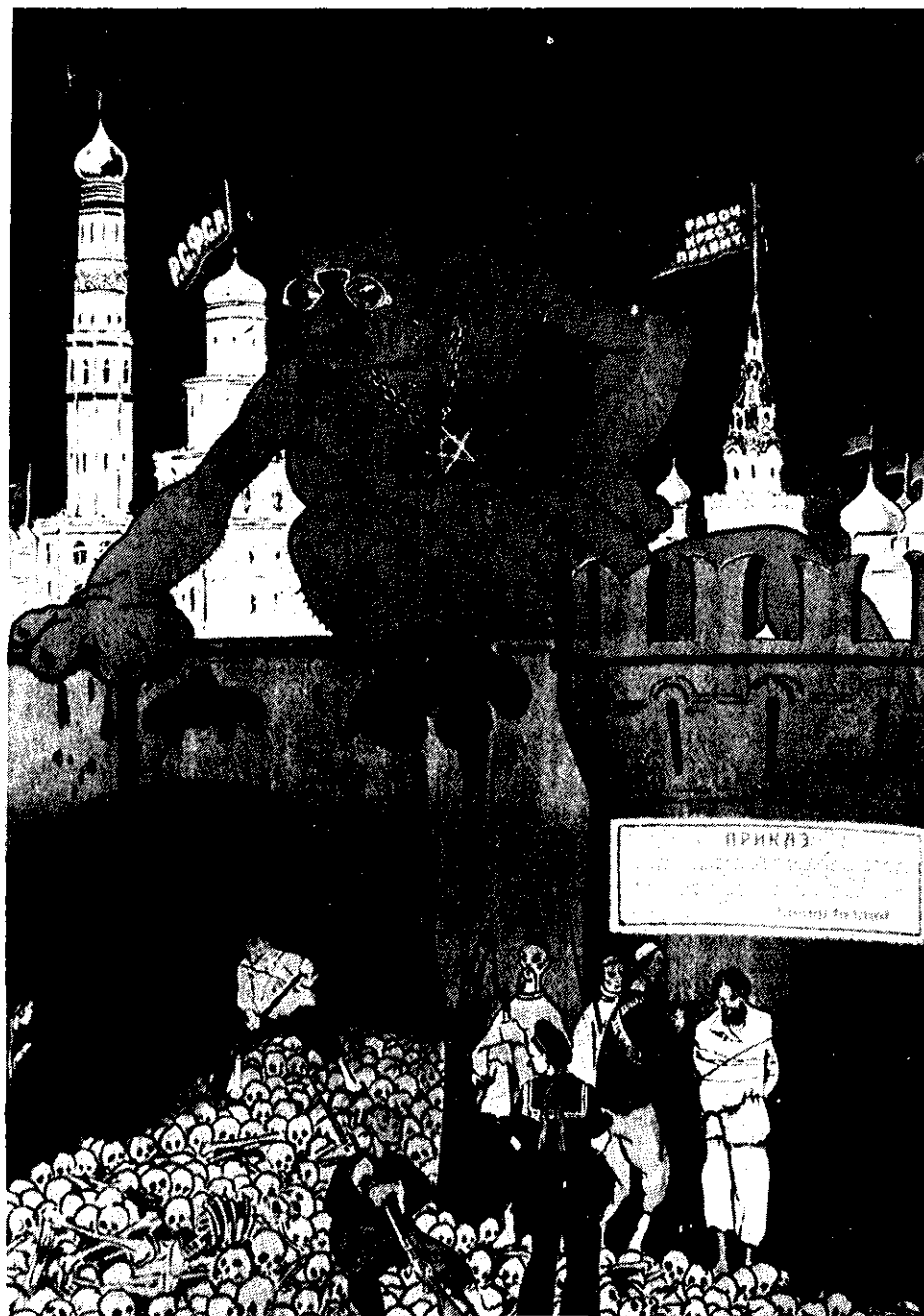
None of the facts omitted by Socialist Action and Socialist Worker justify the crimes of the Israeli state. But those facts do tell us that the history of Zionism is one of oppressed people trying to hold their own corner in the dog-eat-dog world of capitalism and imperialism, not one of a demon let loose on an otherwise tranquil universe.

The socialist movement has historically opposed Zionism — and similar nationalisms. Marxists argued against the Zionist project of an independent Jewish state as the solution to anti-semitism; they argued for working-class unity and the fight for socialism instead. Against the notion that anti-semitism — or any other prejudice — is unchangeable or natural, Marxists have argued that it is possible to build workers' unity to fight all oppression and discrimination.

Socialists also pointed out that Zionism was forced by the logic of its own enterprise into an alliance with the British colonial authorities who ran Palestine, and into conflict with the indigenous Arabs.

Many Zionists did argue that Gentile anti-semitism was more or less impossible to change — in the same way that radical feminists consider male sexism to be permanent.

Socialists rejected this view. But in the propaganda of Socialist Worker and Socialist Action, this traditional critique of Zionist nationalism is given an extra twist. The 'acceptance' of anti-semitism is treated as an *explanation* for Israel's treatment of the Palestinians, and for its alliance with imperialism. This is a 'conspiracy' or 'evil men' view of history — like the school textbook versions which describe the past as an affair of 'good kings' and 'bad kings'.



White Russian anti-semitic propaganda produced during the Civil War attacks Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. Stalin later revived these traditional themes.

Socialist Action comments on the 1930s: "Zionism, by counterposing the fight against Nazism to the colonisation of Palestine, sabotaged the united front that was needed to defeat Nazism". But where, exactly, was this united front? What sense does it make to blame the bourgeois Zionist leaders for not forming a workers' united front against Hitler? It was Stalinism on the one hand and Social Democracy on the other, that sabotaged that united front. Wasn't it? Or will Socialist Action give us their critique of Trotsky's writings on the rise of fascism? No doubt they think that rather than denounce the Stalinist Communist Party, Trotsky should have denounced the Zionists instead.

Zionism's responsibility for the rise of Nazism was utterly marginal; and Zionism's growth can only be understood in terms of the *failure of the labour movement*. In the late 1920s Zionism looked like a fiasco, a hopeless fantasy. As the '30s marched on, the claims of Zionism appeared more and more to be vindicated;

by 1945 they seemed, in the wake of the Holocaust, to be entirely vindicated from the point of view of many of Nazism's victims.

Socialist Action evokes the memory of the Trotskyist, Abram Leon, who died in Auschwitz, whose book "The Jewish Question" they describe (not very accurately) as "the first...systematic Marxist critique of Zionism." Yet Leon's basic argument was that it was *impossible* to create an independent Jewish state under capitalism — hardly the same argument as today's 'anti-Zionists'.

Leon Trotsky, too, speaks against the kitch-Trotskyist "anti-Zionists". All his life he had been an opponent of Zionism. He never supported nor believed in the Zionist project in Palestine. Nevertheless he wound up a believer by the late '30s in the need for a Jewish national state, convinced by the experience of Stalinist, Nazi and other strains of anti-semitism which polluted the world's air with its 'poisonous vapours' in the 1930s. (See the Workers' Liberty pamphlet "Arabs,

Jews and Socialism".)

The Jewish nationalists of the Zionist movement are said by the left to have "capitulated to anti-semitism" and to have taken their stand on the same ground as the anti-semites when they concluded that a Jewish nation state was the only progressive solution to anti-semitism. In that case, Trotsky, too should be denounced for "capitulating to anti-semitism."

Israel did not come about just because a handful of wicked Zionists managed to get their way — either by convincing some imperialist power or other that Israel could be an "outpost of civilisation against barbarism" or by any other devious trickery. Above all, Zionism achieved its objective because of what happened to the Jews in Europe, and because of the utter failure of the labour movement to prevent it.

The traditional Marxist critique was not wrong. The nationalist answer to the Jewish problem did lead to conflict with Arabs because of the 'colonial' character the Zionist enterprise had to take. Deutscher likened what happened in Palestine to someone jumping out of a burning house who lands on a person walking past and injures them. They might pick each other up and live peacefully afterwards, or they might fight each other. In fact, the one who is to blame for it all is the person who set the house on fire.

The Israel/Palestine conflict is a bit like that. The Zionist settlers, fleeing from the fires of European anti-semitism, from the beginning behaved like settlers — mistreating their Arab neighbours. Israel was eventually founded via a war of conquest and the driving out of 500,000 or more Arabs; later more wars of conquest followed. But without even attempting to understand the rise of Zionism as more than an evil pro-imperialist plot, the realities of the conflict today can only be blurred.

In fact the demonology is a way of rewriting history to fit in with a preconceived political conclusion. Papers like Socialist Action and Socialist Worker argue not for the right of the Palestinian Arabs to an independent state of their own alongside Israel (as Workers' Liberty would), but for the *destruction* of Israel. Zionism is so evil that the only answer is to deny the 'Zionists' (the Israeli Jewish nation) the right to govern themselves, and to put them under the control of an Arab state.

The modern 'left-anti-Zionist' attitude to Zionism is completely different from that of Lenin, Trotsky or indeed the post-Trotsky Trotskyist movement up to the late 1960s. It is not Marxist. The most striking proof of this is the fact that *all* its main themes were first formulated as tools in a vicious anti-Jewish campaign by the ruling bureaucracy of the USSR. Stan Crooke's article documents this — and shows that the basic thesis of the Stalinists' alleged 'Marxist critique of Zionism' was a re-run of the old myth of the 'world Jewish conspiracy'.

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In the 1970s the rulers of the USSR launched a sustained "anti-Zionist campaign which put a crude "Marxist-Leninist" gloss on traditional anti-semitic themes. A number of the campaign's themes have since become the stock in trade of much of the British and international "far left".

In the late 1940s and early 1950s the Stalinist propaganda machine in the Soviet Union had churned out a virulent anti-semitism, thinly disguised as "anti-Zionism" and "anti-cosmopolitanism". "Rootless cosmopolitan" and "the person without a home" became code words for "Jew".

This "anti-Zionist" campaign figured prominently in the Stalinist show-trials of Rudolf Slansky and others in Eastern Europe in these years. Mordechai Oren quotes the following interchange with the prosecutor at his own trial:

"Would you be ready to confess that in 1948, after Tito's betrayal, you met Moshe Pijade as well as Dr. Bebler in Belgrade?"

"I didn't meet Pijade in 1948, and even if I had, that would have been no crime. Nor was it a crime to meet Bebler."

"He's a Jew, and you too, and both of you are Zionists." (1)

By 1953 the stage had been set for the mass deportation of the surviving Jews of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; an anti-semitic show-trial was due to be staged, in which five Jewish doctors from the Kremlin's own hospital were to face charges of poisoning and plotting. As with the Crimean Tatars after the war, such a mass deportation would have cost the lives of countless tens of thousands. Stalin died before the trial could be held, and his successors dropped it.

In the late 1960s a new official "anti-Zionist" campaign was launched in the Soviet Union, in the aftermath of Israel's victory in the Six Days' War over Arab states friendly to the Soviet Union. In the 1970s, as Israel inflicted another defeat on Arab states in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, and Jewish organisations internationally stepped up their campaign for Soviet Jews, the "anti-Zionist" campaign ran rampant.

Proceeding backwards from a concept of Zionism as a bulwark of anti-socialist pro-imperialism, the origins of Zionism were described in terms of a conscious plot to dupe the Jewish working class, strengthen the position of the Jewish bourgeoisie on an international scale, and advance the interests of imperialism in the Middle East.

"Political Zionism emerged at the close of the nineteenth century as the ideology,

Stan Crooke looks at the crudely anti-semitic campaign against 'Zionism' in the USSR, and finds that Western left wing 'common wisdom' on the issue has borrowed a lot from the Kremlin.

and then the practice, of the reactionary Jewish bourgeoisie, fearful of the awakening of the heroic self-consciousness amongst the Jewish proletariat." (2) Jewish workers in European countries were participating ever more actively in the class struggle and revolutionary movements. Hence, "to tear them away from this struggle, to confine them to a new, but this time "spiritual ghetto" — such was the social instruction given to Zionism by the bourgeoisie which created it." (3).

The creation of a national home for Jews was the means whereby Jewish-bourgeois hegemony over Jewish workers was to be maintained: "The powerful Jewish bourgeoisie, allied with imperialism, needed the creation of a "national home"...first and foremost in order to keep under its influence the mass of Jewish workers." (4).

But the Jewish bourgeoisie was motivated not only by fear of the growth of socialist influences. "In the West Jewish capital became such a powerful force that it was able to participate independently in the colonial division of the world." (5). This growth in the power and influence of the Jewish bourgeoisie was "one of the principal impulses behind the birth of the new Jewish nationalism — political Zionism, with its idea of a Jewish state...The emergence of political Zionism was...a consequence of the struggle of the Jewish bourgeoisie to extend its positions in the economy of the most powerful capitalist states of that time and in the economic system of world capitalism as a whole." (6).

Elsewhere, however, it was argued that the colonisation of Palestine did not represent Jewish capital *competing with* other capitalist groups, but rather *servicing* them or acting as their vanguard and leader.

"The capitalists of England, the USA, France, Germany, and other countries, amongst them millionaires and multi-millionaires of Jewish origin, who had their eyes on the wealth of the Near East, helped the creation of the Zionist idea. From the very outset it was linked with the

project of the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state as a Jewish fortress, a barrier against Asia." (7).

If the Soviet "anti-Zionist" publications of the 1970s made any reference at all to the anti-semitism of the late nineteenth century, then it was only to deny any causal relationship between it and Zionism. The Soviet Academy of Sciences' publication, "The Ideology and Practice of International Zionism", for example, mentioned in passing that "it is claimed (by "Zionist ideologues") that Zionism is nothing but a reaction against anti-semitism." (8).

The Soviet Academy of Sciences referred to the Dreyfus affair — in a footnote. It was not the anti-semites but the Zionists who exploited the affair: "The Dreyfus affair was used by the Jewish bourgeoisie of Western Europe for the consolidation of nationalist political forces in the united World Zionist Organisation, set up in 1897 in Basle." (9).

According to Soviet "anti-Zionism": "Zionism and anti-semitism are two sides of the same coin — racism. Zionists greeted the anti-semitic policies of Tsarism in its time and also the monstrous policies of genocide at the time of Hitler." (10).

On the surface, Zionism and anti-semitism might appear to be enemies. But the Soviet "anti-Zionists" probed beneath the surface. "Both Zionists and anti-semites acknowledge the "exclusiveness" of Jews: the former in their sense of superiority and being the chosen people, the latter in a totally negative sense. Zionists and anti-semites are nationalists and chauvinists. Zionists regard every non-Jew as a "goy", as anti-semite. Anti-semites regard all Jews as Zionists. Both the one and the other see the resolution of the Jewish question in contemporary conditions as possible only through the segregation and despatch of Jews to Israel." (11).

Zionism and anti-semitism did not merely have much in common. Zionists regarded the existence of anti-semitism as being to their advantage: "Zionist ideologues have never concealed their positive attitude towards anti-semitism, in which the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie and Judaic clericalism saw a convenient means of maintaining their influence over the Jewish communities." (12). Anti-semitism is "a form of national and religious intolerance which expresses itself in a hostile attitude towards Jews," but at the same time, "this reactionary, anti-human phenomenon has been used (and still is used today) in a speculative manner by Zionists and rabbis as a bugaboo with the help of which it was intended to achieve a consolidation of the crumbling Jewish communities." (13).

Nor is this the only use which Zionists make of anti-semitism: "Zionists have used anti-semitism in the political practice of the Jewish bourgeoisie...Any manifestation against the industrialist-Jew, the banker-Jew, the merchant or the middle-man, was characterised as "anti-semitism"; protests of workers and clerks

against the most difficult conditions of employment with boss-Jews were also included under the heading of "anti-semitic" manifestations." (14).

Thus, the Jewish bourgeoisie and its ideologues have shown, and continue to show today, "great interest in the existence of anti-semitic attitudes, in the whipping up of anti-semitism at the level of state policies." (15). The idea that Zionism was a response to anti-semitism had gained ground merely because of the "efforts of the Jewish bourgeoisie and of the press which it has bought". (16). The Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign moved on to accuse Zionists of not merely using or welcoming, but promoting anti-semitism, financing anti-semitic organisations, and inciting anti-semitic pogroms:

"In 1930, at the time of a crisis in the United States, there emerged more than a hundred organisations, the time and resources of which were spent on propaganda of hatred towards Jews. (It is important to note that many of them were covertly financed by secret Zionist funds.)" (17).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s: "Secret agents of Zionism whipped up feelings of fear amongst the Jews of Syria, Libya, Tunisia, the Lebanon, Algeria, Morocco, and Egypt, from where entire city communities departed (for Israel)...In the course of several years Zionists stoked up and provoked in every way possible "useful anti-semitic activities" which helped promote the mass exit of hundreds of thousands of believers in Judaism from Arabic countries." (18).

Zionists did bomb a synagogue in Iraq to promote Jewish emigration; but the Soviet campaign extrapolated from such episodes to present the whole wave of anti-Jewish persecution in the Arab countries which followed 1948 as a conspiracy by Zionists.

In Western Europe "As early as 1950 hatred towards Jews was already very widespread in the West. The powerful Jewish bourgeoisie was far from being the least responsible for this. The many anti-semitic organisations which it created, the state machines in a series of imperialist countries which bowed down before powerful (read: Jewish) capital, and, finally, the ruling Zionist camarilla of Israel used anti-semitism in their class interests." (19).

And in the 1970s: "The propaganda of anti-semitic views in many capitalist states has kept its importance as a tool of reaction...The Jewish bourgeoisie itself and the many groups and parties which it has created in the service of powerful capital play their role in this...Anti-semitic organisations have been set up with the resources dispensed from the secret funds of Zionism." (20).

These (unspecified) anti-semitic organisations then became a further means whereby the Zionists could maintain their influence over Jewish communities: "These organisations committed provocative actions, the object of which were poor Jews and the Jewish mid-

dle strata. The highest stratum of the Jewish bourgeoisie, the finance and finance-industrial magnates, who constitute the core and the leadership of the entire system of international Zionism...had the possibility of presenting themselves as the "sole defenders" of the Jewish population...and of demonstrating on more than one occasion "Jewish solidarity" with the victims of anti-semitism." (21).

The "anti-Zionist" sections of the British far left have refrained from the more exotic allegations raised by the Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign with regard to the relationship between Zionism and anti-semitism, though the same interpretation has frequently been placed upon Herzl's statement (often quoted in the Soviet campaign) that "in Paris I achieved a freer attitude towards anti-semitism, which I began to understand and pardon."

Alleged collaboration between Zionism and fascism was one of the leitmotifs of the Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign, as —

"The Stalinist propaganda machine churned out a virulent anti- semitism thinly disguised as 'anti- Zionism' and 'anti- cosmopolitanism' "

in a rather less hysterical form — it is in Jim Allen's play 'Perdition'.

"The Zionists welcomed the arrival in power of the fascists in Germany." (22). "What saved the Zionists? Fascism! It sounds paradoxical, but it was exactly thus." (23). The Zionists wanted Jews to leave Germany, and so too did the Nazis: "The plans of the fascist and Zionist leaders coincided: the fascists planned to drive the Jews out of German "living space", and the Zionists wanted to realise their goal at the expense of those Jews driven out." (24).

(Cf. "Perdition": "The Nazis wanted the Jews out of Europe and the Zionist leaders were only too happy to oblige — providing they went to Palestine. Thus, in form, if not in essence, the interests of Zionism and Nazism coincided." (25).

The Zionist-Nazi links which the Soviet campaign claimed to have uncovered were merely a continuation of the traditional alliance between Zionism and anti-semitism in general: "We know that Zionism always saw in anti-semitism an ally in the achievement of its goals. It was no coincidence that a mutual understanding emerged between the Nazis, who horribly persecuted Jews, and the Zionists, who played the role of "saviours" of the

Jews." (26). Hence it came about that Zionists "co-operated with Hitlerites and helped them to destroy millions of Jewish lives, attempting to save only the capitalists. The Zionists always regarded anti-semitism, and still do so, as an important means of forcing all Jews to leave their countries and escape to the "Promised Land" in Israel. (27).

(Cf. "Perdition": "Without anti-semitism there would be no Zionism. Why emigrate to Palestine when you are doing all right in New York, Berlin, or London?...Then Hitler arrived to confirm the Zionist rationale that assimilation would not work." (28).

There was, moreover, an overlap between the theories of Zionism and fascism: "As regards the theory of "racial purity", the treatises on "lower" and "higher" peoples, the concepts of the "Aryan" and the "superman", here there is really not a little in common between the Zionists and the fascists." (29). The theories of various "Zionist ideologues" did not differ "at all from the views on racial exclusiveness to be found in the "collected works" of Hitler, Rosenberg, and other fascist theoreticians." (30). "Zionism is akin to Nazism" (31) because "the ideologues of Zionism and apartheid are related to it (Nazism), (and) are merely contemporary variations of the myth (the Nazi "myth of the twentieth century" about the supposedly innate inequality of people and races"(32).

(Cf. "Perdition": "They (the Zionist leaders) entered into secret negotiations with the Nazis, arguing that they too believed in racial exclusiveness..." "Are you saying that the German Zionists accepted the Nazi concept of race?" "No, but they did accept racial separateness." (33).

Thus it was that Zionism and fascism ended up collaborating with one another: "The monstrous plans of the fascist animals, based on the inhuman and racist ideology of Hitlerism, met with the co-operation and support of other racists — Zionists." (34). "Co-operation between the Zionists and Hitlerites spread to the occupied territories of the USSR. The Zionists helped uncover those of Jewish origin who were hiding from the Gestapo and the police, handed them over to the fascists, and took part in the mass slaughter of Jews." (35). "It has become known that Polish Zionists who have now fled to Israel worked side-by-side with the Gestapo and the Nazi military intelligence service during the war." (36).

(Cf. "Perdition": "The fact is, Doctor Yaron, your daily contacts with Eichmann and the SS, the step-by-step compliance and co-operation with the German and Hungarian fascists ultimately led to out-and-out collaboration." (37).

The Zionists, claimed the Soviet campaign, were not concerned about the fate of Jews living (and dying) in Germany under Nazi rule: "The Zionists were completely unconcerned with the interests of the German Jews." (38). The fate of the Jews in Nazi Germany "did not at all alarm the Zionists during the years of the

war against fascism. And this in a situation where the Jews were the victims of atrocious terror and persecution." (39). For the Zionists, creating a Jewish homeland in Palestine was more important than saving Jewish lives: "The Zionists reconciled themselves to the camps and the ghettos, to the extermination of millions of Jews...The Zionists needed the corpses of these Jews because across them lay the road out of the occupied countries and into Palestine. The Jews who were allowed to be victims of fascism were "proof"...of the necessity of the creation of a Jewish state." (40). The attitude of the Zionists was: "let millions (of Jews) drown in blood if there remains one road open for hundreds of thousands — to Palestine." (41).

Cf. "Perdition": "Doctor Kastner was a fanatical Zionist...he would have sacrificed a thousand or a hundred thousand of his blood to achieve his political goal." (42). "Had the refugee problem been divorced from Palestine, international pressure and sympathy for a Jewish state would have evaporated." "To him (Kastner) this act of collaboration was justified in terms of building the Jewish Homeland." (43).

The only Jews whom the Zionists were concerned to save from fascism were the wealthy — they cared nothing for German Jews "with the exception of German Jew-capitalists, who, as soon as Hitler came to power, transferred their capital to Swiss and German banks." (44).

Cf. "Perdition": "You chose suitable candidates for salvation, did you not? The rich, the "prominents", and the Zionist functionaries." (45).

The Zionists were prepared to let the weak go to their deaths so that only the strong would be left to inhabit Israel: "With the assistance of the Nazis, the so-called "selection" of the settlers was achieved, the citizens of the future Israel. "The dust of the old world" was turned into ashes of the concentration camps." (46).

Cf. "Perdition": "Once the extermination programme began, it then became a salvaging operation: the salvation of the "best biological material"... (which) would help build the Jewish homeland in Palestine." (47).

Financial greed was cited as a further factor behind the collaboration with the Nazis: "Zionist leaders over the seas made friendly agreements with Hitler and consented to the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews...At a time when the ovens of Buchenwald and other death camps were burning hundreds of thousands of Jews, American millionaires and multi-millionaires of Jewish nationality traded with fascist Germany via "neutral" middlemen, supplying it with weapons and credit." (48).

Similar themes were a pronounced feature of earlier versions of "Perdition": "phrases which stereotyped Jews in terms of financial dealing and Christian rhetoric also disappeared (from later versions of the play). For example:... "Was it (Israel) worth it? Was the purchase price of half a

million Jews worth it?"... "The road to Golgotha (which) passes along Park Avenue" where rich American Jews in "fur-lined dug-outs" hurl contributions at Israel." (49).

Without the assistance of the Zionists, the Nazis could not have carried out their extermination programme: "Could the fascists have managed without their Zionist assistants? This question can be answered only by clarifying the role of the Zionist leaders in the extermination of the Jews of Europe. Their assistance gave the fascists the possibility of exterminating hundreds of thousands of Jews at the hands of dozens or a few hundred selected killers." (50).

Cf. "Perdition": "What made it (the Holocaust) possible was the presence of Jewish leaders who carried out the instructions of the Nazis." (51).

Particularly important in this respect was the role of the "Judenrate" (Jewish Councils): "The Judenrate sincerely and

"Facile analogies now prevalent on the British left featured constantly in the Soviet campaign"

exactly carried out all the orders of the fascists, even orders about the physical mass elimination of the Jewish population...In the shape of the Judenrate the activities of the Zionists were legalised and their leaders became loyal executors of fascist policies." (52).

Cf. "Perdition": "Co-operation ended and collaboration began when the Judenrate participated in the killing operation...The majority of Jewish leaders acted as filing clerks in the extermination process, making up the lists for deportation, providing ghetto police to seize Jews and put them on trains." (53).

The Zionists also attempted to prevent any opposition to the Nazi policies: "Wherever the inhabitants of the ghettos who were condemned to death succeeded in organising uprisings against the fascists, especially in Warsaw in 1943, the Zionists helped the Germans frustrate the uprisings, or crush them where they occurred" (54) — but the Warsaw uprising was in fact led by a Zionist!

Cf. "Perdition": "When Jewish workers went out onto the streets joining forces with the German working class to fight the Brownshirts, most of the Zionist leaders waved olive-branches and condemned all anti-Nazi activity." (55).

In addition, the Zionists spied on behalf of the Nazis: "In many cases the Zionists served as a "fifth column" for Hitler, their international network was used in pursuit of the goal of establishing the world domination of Nazi Germany." (56). In a number of countries they presented themselves as victims of German fascism and "introduced themselves into the state and economic apparatus of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition and betrayed secret information to the Abwehr." (57).

Cf. "Perdition": "What did the Zionists have to offer in return?" "Co-operation. Even to the extent of providing the Nazis with intelligence information." "You mean spying for them?" "Yes". (58).

The central message of the Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign in relation to the alleged Zionist-Nazi collaboration was clear: "The Zionist crimes in the ghettos and the death camps must be completely uncovered, so that it can be recognised at what price it was that the state of Israel was created...That the state of Israel was created by hands warmed in Jewish blood is indisputable." (59). Here, as on so many other points, Jim Allen (and his camp-followers in the Socialist Workers Party) is of a similar opinion: "Perdition is the most lethal attack on Zionism ever written because it touches at the heart of the most abiding myth of modern history, the Holocaust; because it says quite plainly that privileged Jewish leaders collaborated in the extermination of their own kind in order to help bring about a Zionist state." (60).

The Zionist state

"There is an unbroken continuity from the earliest Zionist writings, through Zionism's criminal response to the threat of Nazism, to its present policies towards the Palestinian people," claims the avowedly Trotskyist newspaper "Socialist Action". The Socialist Workers' Party would be of the same opinion. And so too was the Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign.

"Zionism, being the official ideology and policy of the ruling Israeli circles, created a racist state which oppresses the people of this country and represents a constant source of danger for its Arab neighbours...Racism is the basis of the domestic policies of Israel as well." (61). Immediately upon the creation of the state of Israel, "Zionism, a dangerous, fascist force reminiscent of the Black Hundreds, a doctrine which is reactionary and expansionist by its very nature, became the ideology of its ruling circles." (62). "Such is the irony of history: the Zionist rulers of Israel carry out the very same policies of genocide in relation to the Arabs as those which were carried out by the Hitlerites in relation to the Jews." (63).

The three factors which Soviet "anti-Zionism" had discovered behind the emergence of Zionism — the devilish cunning of the Jewish bourgeoisie in its efforts to maintain control over the Jewish working class, the participation in imperialist expansion by the Jewish

bourgeoisie as an independent force, and the role of the Jewish bourgeoisie as the vanguard of imperialism in general — likewise lay behind the creation of the state of Israel: “The monopoly Jewish bourgeoisie established control over Jewish workers in different countries of the world, strengthened its positions in the major capitalist countries, and achieved an extension of colonial expansion in Asia and Africa. The most important instrument in the realisation of these tasks of the Jewish monopoly bourgeoisie in contemporary conditions is the state of Israel, which is ruled by Zionists — an inseparable part of international Zionism.” (64).

“In a situation where the colonial system was collapsing, imperialism began feverishly to search after and work out new forms and methods for the achievement of expansionist policies. The state of Israel was created just at the time when the waves of the rising national liberation movement in Asia and Africa began to destroy the colonial empire (65). The creation of Israel was thus “the creation of a strategic “buffer” between Europe and Asia, an advance outpost of the struggle against communism and the national liberation movement.” (66). You would hardly know that Israel got its weapons for the 1948 war from Soviet-controlled Czechoslovakia; that the USSR was the first state to recognise Israel; that the left-Zionist group Mapam, very influential in the Zionist armed forces in 1948, ardently supported the Soviet Union; that the CIA was extremely worried about what it saw as the leftish and pro-USSR tinge of Israeli politics after 1948; or that the British Empire, through Arab armies largely controlled by Britain, made war on Israel in 1948.

Israel continues to fulfil the same function today: “Israel was and remains so today an important tool in the hands of imperialism in the struggle against the national liberation movement of the Arab countries, in the struggle for control over the oil of the Arab East.” (67). It is “an advance outpost of the imperialism of the United States in the Near East... To this state has been allotted the role of being a co-participant in carrying out the neo-colonial policies of the imperialist powers in the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.” (68). It has the job of “acting as a gendarme in armed conflict against the Arab peoples”. (69) and performs a similar function in newly created states as well: “It must be noted that Israel actively carries out its mission as an agent of imperialism in young developing states.” (70).

Apart from acting on behalf of imperialism in general, Israel also acts on behalf of the Jewish bourgeoisie in particular: “With the aid of the new Zionist political programme, the monopoly Jewish bourgeoisie attempts to continue the realisation of its class tasks, but on a more extensive basis, i.e. on the basis of the state of Israel.” (71). Israel therefore exists “for the defence of the strategic and economic interests of the imperialist

powers and also for the colonial expansion of the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie.” (72). Although Israel “acts everywhere as a tool of imperialism, at the same time it pursues its own goals, flowing out of the Zionist doctrine and the fantastic plan of the creation of a “Jewish Empire” or a “Great Israel”.” (73).

And Israel was not just an aggressive but small sub-imperialist state. The great Jewish power behind it enabled it to act as the veritable vanguard of imperialism.

Israel’s own resources did not allow it to pursue policies of economic expansion into “Third World” countries, but “in such cases international Zionist capital comes to its assistance.” (74). This has an impact on the nature of the Israeli state: “The financial-economic support of Israel on the part of internationalist Zionist circles transforms it into a parasite-state.” (75). This economic backing also means that “the economy of Israel is in reality controlled by the internationalist Zionist corporation, by Zionist capital of the USA, England, France, and a series of other countries.” (76). Thus, “the nationalistic ruling stratum of Israel is in fact part of the international Zionist concern, based in New York and controlled from the United States.” (77).

The Soviet “anti-Zionist” presentation of Israel as an outpost of imperialism differed from the British left on one point — to the disadvantage of the left. The Kremlin hacks did write about class struggle within Israel. “The working class of Israel responds to increased exploitation and oppression by the traditional method of the proletariat — strikes. In the struggle for its rights and interests, it is forced to oppose not only the bosses and the government, but also the leadership of the Histadrut.” (78).

Israel and South Africa

Israel and South Africa are vastly different societies. Israel is a Jewish nation state in which there exists a comprehensive Jewish society divided along class lines. Whilst Arabs living in Israel face institutionalised discrimination and Arabs living in the occupied territories are denied basic rights (above all, the right to a state), these factors are separate from the existence of the Israeli state. In South Africa, on the other hand, a minority white population exists as a ruling caste, resting on the submergence and helotry of a numerically much larger black population. To equate Israel with South Africa is to blot out reality. But the equation is nonetheless a popular one on the British left, and also figured in the Soviet “anti-Zionist” campaign: “Israel has a special relationship of the closest kind with South Africa. Israel and South Africa are linked to one another by economic, political, military, and ideological ties... Israel and South Africa are linked by a common racist ideology and practice, and by reactionary domestic and foreign policies... The union of the racists of Israel and South Africa is a massive threat to the African peoples and to the whole of humanity.” (79).

Facile analogies, now prevalent on the British left, featured constantly in the Soviet campaign. Zionism and apartheid possessed “common ideological roots”. (80). In both Israel and South Africa, “racial-biological doctrines have been raised to the level of an official ideology and of state policies, in accordance with which people are divided into the “elect” and the banished. (81). Both Zionism and apartheid had common religious roots: the former in the Judaic concept of the “chosen people”, and the latter in the Calvinist notions of “pre-destination” and the elect. Both states were also linked with imperialism, both in terms of their historical origins and their current policies: “in view of their important strategic position and wealth of national resources, South Africa and Palestine had long attracted the attention of the colonisers.” (82). Hence, “in the South of Africa, in the Republic of South Africa, and in Palestine, close to the Suez Canal, there arose two platforms of world imperialism, summoned... to put a check to the national-liberation movement of the peoples.” (83).

The immigration policies of the two states were cited as proof of a common racism: “In South Africa the immigration of whites is encouraged, in Israel the immigration of Jews from developed countries, mainly European ones.” (84). But the Israeli Law of Return, which allows any Jew in the world to go to Israel and claim Israeli citizenship, and which is denounced by Socialist Worker and Socialist Action as proof of the racist essence of the Israeli state, was attacked not as racism but from a very different point of view. It was “gross interference in the internal affairs of foreign states.” (85). “Zionist immigration goes beyond the boundaries of the competences of the state of Israel insofar as it involves interference in the internal affairs of other states where Jews live.” (86).

It was not by chance that “the most fervent passions of love are aroused by Zionist Israel and racist South Africa among neo-Nazis, unreconstructed Hitlerites, and right-wingers in the Federal Republic of Germany (87).

The Soviet “anti-Zionist” campaign did differ from the Far Left’s frequent equating of Israel and South Africa in that it was rather more imaginative in discovering supposed parallels. It was, after all, no coincidence that “the entire history of South Africa and Palestine reveals very many identical events and common traits,” (88) the most notable ones being:

- In 1880, in the Cape Colony, the first South African nationalist party had been founded; in the same year the first Zionist organisation was set up in Russia; the former advocated separate development for Blacks; the latter opposed assimilation.

- The turn of the century was a period of conflict between the Boers and the British, resulting in the Boer War; at the same time inter-imperialist rivalries for colonies became more acute, “above all

between British imperial capital and international Jewish capital." (89).

•In the opening years of the century both Zionism and South African nationalism used social demagoguery to attract support: "all possible variants of petty-bourgeois socialism became common in Zionism, just as in South Africa there was national socialism and labourite reformist socialism." (90).

•Both the Zionists and the African nationalists exploited the 1914-18 war, the former obtaining the Balfour Declaration through exploiting the contradictions between the imperialist powers, and the latter through being prepared to organise armed revolt against Britain in order to obtain concessions.

•After the war "both African nationalism and Zionism ever more overtly became the right flank of imperialism, together with fascism." (91).

•In the inter-war years "the Afrikaner bourgeoisie and international Jewish capital created a series of secret organisations, in their own way centralised Mafias." (92).

•In the 1939-45 war both the Zionists and the South African nationalists were "close in spirit to Hitler (93); whilst "English soldiers died on the battlefields, fighting against the Nazis who had set themselves the goal of exterminating the Jews, Zionist extremists did not stop even at the use of terror against the English authorities" (94); the South African nationalists "attempted in an analogous manner to use the war situation to pursue anti-English goals, in order to strengthen their position in the country." (95).

•Immediately after the close of the war Zionism allied itself with American imperialism, and so too did the South African nationalists, in order to "break free of dependence on the British Empire. The Empire lost control over the Palestine problem, and its influence over South Africa fell sharply." (96).

•The state of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May 1948; on 26 May 1948, the Nationalist Party came to power in South Africa. In this evil alliance, however, the leading role belonged as ever to the Zionist conspiracy.

"By 1945...Jewish immigrants (to South Africa), with the support of international Zionist capital, had rapidly occupied the key positions in the economy and trade, and had begun to extract profits from the system of racial inequality dominant in the country." (97). And within a matter of years "the racists (of South Africa) in reality collapsed into economic dependence on the Zionists." (98).

Zionism and the Soviet Union

In pre-revolutionary Russia, claimed the Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign, Zionism collaborated with Tsarism as a result of their mutually shared interests: "Tsarism and Zionism had an interest in the maintenance of anti-semitism and in the attempts to tear away the Jewish masses from the working class movement, which was gaining in strength." (99). The

Zionists "covertly did their utmost in cooperation with reactionary monarchists to tear away workers of Jewish nationality from unity with the workers of Russia." (100). Such was the relationship between Zionism and Tsarism that "Herzl himself met with the Tsarist Minister of the Interior, von Plehve." (That the meeting nearly led to a split in the Zionist movement in Russia was not mentioned). The Zionists also benefited from the pogroms: "The pogroms of the Black Hundreds forced some Jewish workers to emigrate to Palestine...These pogroms were led by the monarchists, but the Zionists amassed the political capital." (101).

Zionist anti-Soviet activities began "in the very first days of the existence of Soviet power." (102). In the civil war "they acted as allies of the counter-revolution...They created Zionist military units which conducted an armed struggle against the Soviet republic." (103). So too did the left variants of Zionism: "the social-Zionist parties, in conjunction with other Zionist organisations, actively participated in the struggle of the united forces of counter-revolution and foreign intervention against the young Soviet state." (104). (We look in vain for any mention of the Zionists who supported the Russian Revolution and fought in the Red Army alongside of the Bolsheviks). The motivation of the Zionists in supporting the Whites was that "they needed the anti-semitism of the counter-revolution in order to force Jewish workers to side with the Zionists and to emigrate to Palestine as a way of escaping the pogroms." (105).

In the years following the civil war "Zionists made anti-sovietism, anti-communism, the main content of all their activity." (106). As a result of the "open hostility towards Soviet power on the part of the Zionist organisations, their active anti-Soviet hostility, the Soviet organs, taking into consideration the demands of the broad masses of Soviet Jews, were obliged to take the decision to ban the functioning of Jewish (and also other) nationalist parties and organisations (107). In fact left Zionists continued legal activity in the USSR until 1927. It was this "pathological anti-communism and anti-sovietism" on the part of the Zionists (108) which explained their collaboration with the Nazis in these years: "The Zionists saw in fascism the force which, by their calculations, was capable of...destroying the Soviet power which was so hated by international Zionism and smashing the international communist and workers' movement" (109).

Hostility towards the Soviet Union remains a central feature of Zionism today: "Zionism and anti-communism, Zionism and anti-sovietism — these concepts are inseparable. This is proven by the whole history of Zionism, and by its contemporary practice." (110). Today, "the main direction of the struggle of international Zionism against the revolutionary forces of the world is the struggle against the USSR." (111). It must not be forgotten that "the main thrust of Zionism is struggle against the USSR, against its

Leninist foreign and domestic policies, against Marxist-Leninist ideology and Soviet culture. The goal of the Zionists is to discredit anything to do with the Soviet Union, the basic content of their propaganda is unprecedented slandering of the Leninist politics of the Communist Party." (112).

By pursuing this anti-Soviet campaign, Zionism, again, acts in the interests of imperialism: "Imperialism bestows upon Zionism a special role in the subversive activities directed against the USSR." (113). Hence the readiness of "American and other millionaires and multimillionaires... (to finance such) ideological actions and activities of espionage and diversion." (114). Especially important in the financing of these anti-Soviet activities is the role of the "powerful Jewish nationalist bourgeoisie (which) makes available massive resources for the financing of various operations of an ideological order and also for the financing of the activities of anti-communist and anti-Soviet centres in different regions of the world." (115).

One last piece of evidence adduced by the Soviet campaign as proof of Zionism's innate hostility towards the Soviet Union was its record of collaboration with Trotskyism. In the late 1920s, "the Zionists looked for support amongst the defeated anti-Leninist factional groupings, amongst the Trotskyite oppositionists." (116). It was therefore "far from being a coincidence that the Zionist newspaper "Tayit" addressed itself to Trotsky in 1927, calling him "our brother", and inviting the Trotskyites to "unity of action" (117). In the attempts to undermine socialism in Czechoslovakia Zionists worked hand-in-glove with the Trotskyites: "...with the remnants of bourgeois parties which emerged from the underground, with right-wing social-democracy, with "national-communists", with Trotskyites." (118). Contemporary Zionism continues to co-operate with "extremists and openly fascist forces, and to maintain at the same time contacts and close links with Trotskyites and revisionists of all shades." (119). Today, "Zionism closely co-operates with many other battalions of anti-communism — neo-fascists, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, Horthyite Ustashi, South African racists, Trotskyites, and Maoists." (120).

Even this kind of cant finds an echo on the British far left. It was, after all, the Workers' Revolutionary Party, backed up by some sympathetic Labour Party members, which declared with editorial authority: "The Zionist connection between these so-called 'lefts' in the Labour Party (i.e. Socialist Organiser) right through to Thatcher and Reagan's White House is there for all to see in its unprincipled nakedness." (121).

Zionism and American imperialism

The Kremlin argued: "The real masters of international Zionism who finance and inspire the aggression of Israel against Arab

Babiy Yar

This poem, powerfully denouncing Russian anti-semitism, was published by Yergery Yertushenko during Khrushchev's thaw.

Over Babiy Yar
there are no memorials.
The steep hillside like a rough inscription.
I am frightened.
Today I am as old as the Jewish race.
I seem to myself a Jew at this moment.
I, wandering in Egypt.
I, crucified. I perishing.
Even today the mark of the nails.
I think also of Dreyfus. I am he.
The Philistine my judge and my accuser.
Cut off by bars and cornered,
ringed round, spat at, lied about;
the screaming ladies with the Brussels lace
poke me in the face with parasols.
I am also a boy in Belostok,
the dropping blood spreads across the floor,
the public-bar heroes are rioting
in an equal stench of garlic and of drink.
I have no strength, go spinning from a boot,
shriek useless prayers that they don't listen to;
with a cackle of 'Thrash the kikes and save Russia!'
the corn-chandler is beating up my mother.
I seem to myself like Anna Frank
to be transparent as an April twig
and am in love, I have no need for words,
I need for us to look at one another.
How little we have to see or to smell

separated from foliage and the sky,
how much, how much in the dark room gently
embracing each other.
They're coming. Don't be afraid.
The booming and banging of the spring.
It's coming this way. Come to me.
Quickly, give me your lips.
They're battering in the door. Roar of the ice.

Over Babiy Yar
rustle of the wild grass.
The trees look threatening, look like judges.
And everything is one silent cry.
Taking my hat off
I feel myself slowly going grey.
And I am one silent cry
over the many thousands of the buried;
am every old man killed here,
every child killed here.
O my Russian people, I know you.
Your nature is international.
Foul hands rattle your clean name.
I know the goodness of my country.
How horrible it is that pompous title
the anti-semites calmly call themselves,
Society of the Russian Race.
No part of me can ever forget it.
When the last anti-semiter on the earth
is buried for ever
let the International ring out.
No Jewish blood runs among my blood,
but I am as bitterly and hardly hated
by every anti-semiter
as if I were a Jew. By this
I am a Russian.

countries and the anti-communist, anti-Soviet activity of Zionist organisations, are the most powerful monopolies and banks of the USA and other countries, that is, the driving forces of contemporary imperialism." (140). But this begs the question of who exerts the major influence and control over "the most powerful monopolies and banks of the USA".

"The existence in the United States of the most numerous grouping in the world of capitalists of Jewish origin...is the most important factor determining the specific nature of American Zionism...About 20% of American millionaires are Jews, although, as is well known, the proportion of Americans of Jewish origin does not exceed 3% of the entire population of the USA." (141). American Zionism, therefore, constitutes "a mighty and powerful detachment of international Zionism, by virtue of both its numbers and also its financial-political possibilities." (142). In the American political arena it thus performs a dual

function: "as spokesperson of the interests of one of the groupings of the bourgeoisie of the USA, playing no small role in circles which determine the policies of Washington, and as part of international Zionism, closely connected with its other groupings." (143).

"The powerful Jewish bourgeoisie is far from occupying the lowest position in the financial oligarchy of the USA." (144). "The position of the middle-man in relation to the organisation of major long-term loans is in reality monopolised by seventeen of the most powerful Wall Street firms. The majority of them belong either partially or entirely to the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie. (145). "A series of monopolies which have contracts with the Pentagon are controlled by the Zionists. The Lazard brothers, for example, who are members of the American Jewish Committee, control the aviation company "Lockheed", 90% of the work of which is for the Pentagon. Zionists have an entrenched position in the "General Dynamics" corporation as well...It is necessary to say that these and other firms

with contracts with the Pentagon are the main suppliers of weapons to Israel." (146).

"American Zionists dispose of massive financial resources and a far-reaching network of organisations. They possess a powerful propaganda apparatus and control a significant share of the means of mass communication in the country." (147).

Other spheres of influence of Zionism in America include the CIA ("The interests of the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie and other groupings of finance capital are interlaced in the secret service just as in other spheres of politics, economics and ideology." (148), primaries for the selection of Presidential candidates ("The participation of Zionist capital in the financing of the primary campaigns and in working out the platforms in the primaries of the candidates for President — this phenomenon is characteristic of political life in the USA" (149)), and the Mafia ("The leadership of the Mafia was (at the time of Al Capone) closely linked with

Zionists and international Zionism, and some Zionists...became its leaders." (150).

It is therefore far from clear who is the tail and who is the dog. American Zionism might be characterised by its loyalty to the interests of American imperialism, but at the same time it is also the driving force behind it: "Zionism has now become one of the most influential forces in the American political arena...The union of the Zionists with different political forces in the USA, expressing the interests of the entire American ruling class, significantly strengthens the possibilities of Zionism exerting an influence on the policies of Washington." (151). Dependent on imperialism in the opening years of the century, a junior partner of imperialism after the creation of Israel, and now a major influence on international politics and on imperialism itself — such was the evolution of Zionism mapped out, in the tradition of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, by the Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign.

The Stalinist Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

The original version of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion was published in Russia in 1903 by Pavel Krushevan. Supposedly the record of a meeting held in Basle in 1897 at the time of the first Zionist Congress, in which the participants plotted to achieve world domination, this piece of fiction quickly became a warrant for anti-semitic pogroms, often organised directly by the Tsarist secret police. The major themes of the forgery were: Jews controlled and manipulated the media in order to gain in power; Jews used cunning and guile to strengthen their position in society; international finance and banking were under Jewish control; Jews aspired to world domination, using these methods of control of the media, cunning and deceit, and control over international finance; this aim was to be achieved in partnership with the Freemasons.

The Soviet "anti-Zionist" campaign of the 1970s was tantamount to an updated version of these Protocols. The leitmotifs of the Tsarist anti-semitic forgery were reproduced seventy years later under the guise of "Marxism-Leninism", coupled with hypocritical denunciations of anti-semitism.

Zionist control over and influence on the mass media was not confined to the United States, or to the Czechoslovakia of 1968, but was portrayed as a general characteristic of international Zionism: "In many bourgeois countries, Zionist organisations have implanted their "cadres" and "sympathisers" into the central press agencies, the editorial offices of radio and television, into the cinema, the sciences, arts, and literature. Using these powerful levers, the Zionists influence public opinion, overtly or covertly preaching their ideas, skirting round in silence or distorting anything which contradicts their ideology in the slightest." (152).

(The author of "Perdition" would be in

agreement with such a point of view: "Most of the thirty minutes of his (Jim Allen's) talk was taken up...with a crude and simplistic account of what he continually termed the "conspiracy" (Zionist, not Jewish, he assured us) to stop his play being shown...He drew the fantastic conclusion that the "Zionists" had greater access to the top media people than the British ruling class." (153).

Zionism exerts "major, sometimes overwhelming, influence on means of mass communication, culture, and the state-administrative apparatus of the major capitalist states." It focuses its attention "in particular on the cinema, television, radio and daily newspapers." (154). As a result of this control over "means of mass communication, the "intellectual industries" and cultural institutions...-Zionism is an indispensable part of the capitalist world, in which "mass culture" fulfills precisely expressed functions of the ideological armoury of the bourgeoisie." (155).

The implantation of Zionist "cadres" and "sympathisers" into the media throughout the world, and the Zionist subversion in the "socialist" states, were not the only examples of Zionist cunning and guile dealt with in the more modern version of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Zionists, for example, were not always open about their activities: "Analysing the organisational labyrinth of international Zionism is very complicated. This is to be explained by several factors. Firstly, the secret of the organisational structure is carefully concealed from the uninitiated." (156). Another factor lies in the fact that "many Zionist organisations...prefer to appear in the guise of "Jewish", "religious", "socialist", "benevolent", "cultural", "educational", "scientific" leagues, funds, unions, groups, and parties"(157). That they do not call themselves "Zionist" is merely a matter of "tactics, of the means whereby to realise the policies of the Jewish nationalist bourgeoisie." (158).

Synagogues are one example of institutions used as a cover for Zionist activities: "Where Zionist political organisations are unable to exist legally, such as in the countries of socialism, they (the Zionists) come running to the services of the synagogues and the rabbis for the purpose of pursuing their subversive activities and recruiting supporters from amongst the believers." (159). Cultural activities can also be another cover for Zionist subversion: "The events in Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1967-8 and also the trials in Leningrad, Riga and Kishinev in 1970 and 1971 bear witness to the fact that the "cultural" activity of Zionists is far from being the harmless affair that they would like to present it as." (160). Literature is likewise used for the propagation of Zionism: "Zionist and pro-Zionist writers attempt to impose upon people false, anti-scientific and anti-historical conceptions which are of benefit to Zionism. As fairly typical examples it is possible to name such writers as Kingsley Amis, Bernard Malamud, Eugene

Ionesco, and many others." (161).

Zionism, in short, is prepared to resort to any form of duplicity in pursuit of its goals: "Zionism uses particularly dirty and provocative methods in this struggle for people's minds. Deception, diversions, espionage, terror, blackmail, bribery, intimidation, falsification, playing on family and national sentiments, unbridled chauvinism — this is a far from complete list of the methods of Zionist propaganda and practice." (162).

Also: "Over the years, Zionism changed into a powerful international concern. The international Zionist corporation...its countless branches and subsidiaries...is one of the most powerful units of finance capital." (163). The economic basis of Zionism is "the most powerful financial industrial-monopolies of the West...Economic conferences of Jewish millionaires are capital united on a world scale, used to exert pressure on states and governments in a series of capitalist countries in pursuit of political goals"(164). The Zionist organisations are controlled by the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie: "in the leadership of the Zionist organisations there has never been, nor is there now, a single worker or peasant; instead, at all levels of the Zionist hierarchy are rabbis, millionaires, bankers, stock-brokers, speculators representatives of monopolies, etc." (165).

The same principle also applies to Judaism, from which according to the "anti-Zionist" campaign, the racist Zionist concept of "the chosen people" is derived (166): "Wherever the rabbis rule together with the Zionists, everything is subordinate to one goal — serving the interests of capital. Therefore, as a rule, the leading roles in religious communities not only in Israel but also in the USA and other capitalist countries are played by wealthy people: businessmen, directors of companies, financial bosses." (167).

The "anti-Zionist" campaign replaced the term "Jewish finance capital" of traditional anti-semitism with the supposedly more Marxist-sounding term "Zionist capital": "In speaking of Zionism we do not stress by chance that this is the creation of imperialism, of the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie which today constitutes an international unification of powerful finance capital. It is not only family and marriage ties which have made possible the coming together of the families of the representatives of the Jewish bourgeoisie. First and foremost they are united today by a common ideology — Zionism — and a common practice — providing assistance to Israel and to Zionist organisations throughout the world. Therefore the formulation used in relation to this "international of financiers" by Soviet and foreign Marxist researchers is fully appropriate: Zionist capital." (168).

The discovery of "Zionist capital" by the "anti-Zionist" campaign not only allowed a traditional anti-semitic theme to be revived in a "Marxist" guise, but also added to the wildly incoherent amalgam of "Zionism", the "powerful Jewish

bourgeoisie", the "international Zionist concern", and support for Israel (a characteristic associated only with the "powerful Jewish bourgeoisie" rather than Jews in general), as well as fitting in with the final and over-arching theme of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: the striving for world domination.

Zionism, which was "called into life at the will of the Jewish bourgeoisie" (169), knows of "ways in and out of the corridors of power of which the uninitiated are ignorant." (170). Apart from its influential position in the politics and economies of the United States and Western Europe, and its subversive activities in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, "the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie is firmly entrenched in Spain and Portugal, in the economies of a series of Latin American countries, in Australia and New Zealand. Its sphere of influence extends to the countries of Asia as well, including Singapore, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, and Malaysia. As a rule, this involves representatives of families which are involved in a series of countries and also in several continents." (171). In Latin America, for example, where "the Jewish bourgeoisie is encouraged by foreign capital, which has transformed it into its base in line with not only its economic but also its political plan" (172), "banks and also securities in Brazil,

Mexico, Argentina, Columbia, Venezuela, and also other countries as well belong to pro-Zionist capital...The powerful Zionist bourgeoisie of the USA plays the role in Latin America of the most aggressive detachment of North American imperialism." (173).

The organisational structure of international Zionism is based on "subsides of Zionist bankers and other capitalists, (through which) was created an extensive extra-state and even supra-state system of organisations entangling, like a cobweb, many capitalist states which spread out their tentacles into the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To this system belongs first and foremost the World Zionist Organisation and the World Jewish Congress." (174).

It is therefore "no exaggeration to say that the system of organisations of international Zionism (which extends throughout the entire world and, at the same time, is strongly centralised) united with a powerful financial-economic base in the shape of the monopoly bourgeoisie of Jewish origin...is the main source of strength and activity of Zionist influence on the politics of a series of leading capitalist states. At present, international Zionism...given the depth of its penetration into the most variegated spheres of political, economic, and social life of the capitalist countries, has no equal amongst

the other bourgeois-nationalist and anti-communist currents and detachments of world reaction." (175).

International Zionism is not satisfied with merely having no equal in the imperialist world. It strives for world power, in the traditions of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: "The representatives of international Zionist capital openly aspire to world domination, although they mask their ambitions of world conquest by way of vague phrases about "ethical socialism"." (176). Going beyond the original version of the Protocols, however, the more modern version suggests that this goal has already been achieved (albeit only outside the borders of the vigilantly "anti-Zionist" "socialist" countries): "Too much bears witness to the fact that in the sum of various factors — economic, political, ideological, social, religious, societal, etc. — which determine the course of action of the ruling circles of the leading capitalist states, the cosmopolitan Jewish bourgeoisie and Zionist capital (closely linked with Judaic clericalism) emerge as significantly more organised, more ambitious, and more powerful than any other influential monopoly (family, banking, regional) groups and groupings of the financial oligarchy." (177).

None of this, of course, was anti-semitism. It was simply "anti-Zionism."

FOOTNOTES

V. Bolshakov (1972): "Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism".

M. Davydov et al. (1973): "We Pass Judgement on Zionism".

I. Mints et al. (1973): "Zionism: Theory and Practice".

V. Skurlatov (1975): "Zionism and Apartheid".

R. Brodsky/Y. Shulmeister (1976): "Zionism — A Tool of Reaction".

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