OTHER NEW PAMPHLETS

THE SAKHAROV-SOLZHENITSYN FRAUD
What's Behind the Hue and Cry for "Intellectual Freedom"
by Gus Hall

"Intellectual freedom" in terms of class struggle and socialism. Exposes Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn as enemies of peace, supporters of imperialism, defenders of racism, slanderers of socialism. Points out how Albert Shanker's support of them is consistent with his own class collaborationism and racism. Class nature of freedom and the reality of socialist democracy.
32 pages—40¢

WOMEN ON THE JOB: THE COMMUNIST VIEW
by Judy Edelman

Problems of women's liberation as they affect working women. Special problems of Black and other nationally-oppressed women. Statement of National Women's Commission, Communist Party, U.S.A. CPUSA's program for struggle around the needs of working and nationally-oppressed women. **56 pages—70¢**

LIFE WITHOUT LANDLORDS **by Mike Davidow**

The former Moscow *Daily World* correspondent describes how the Soviet capital city is producing modern low-cost housing for its population. He contrasts the socialist solution to this problem in the USSR with the capitalist failure to solve the housing crisis here in the USA. **32 pages—40¢**

THE COLONIAL PLUNDER OF PUERTO RICO **by Gus Hall**
EL PILLAJE COLONIAL DE PUERTO RICO **por Gus Hall**

Shows why the exploitation of Puerto Rico is highly profitable for U.S. corporations, calls for support for Puerto Rican independence by the people of the USA. English or Spanish edition.
English—16 pages—25¢
Español—16 páginas—25¢

A LAME DUCK IN TURBULENT WATERS **by Gus Hall**

A warning of increased moves toward war, racism and repression in Nixon's 2nd term, discusses growing struggles against this, emphasizes need for political action independent of the 2 capitalist parties. Calls for more open and bolder Communist activity in mass movements, rejects reliance on liberals, indicates need to build the Communist Party much more rapidly. **64 pages—50¢**

USSR—A MIGHTY UNION OF NATIONS **by James E. Jackson**

Discusses unity of the peoples of various nationalities and races of the Soviet Union. Emphasizes liberation of formerly oppressed peoples, role of socialism, application of Leninist principles of class and national interests. Contrasts with situation of the Black people in the United States. **16 pages—25¢**

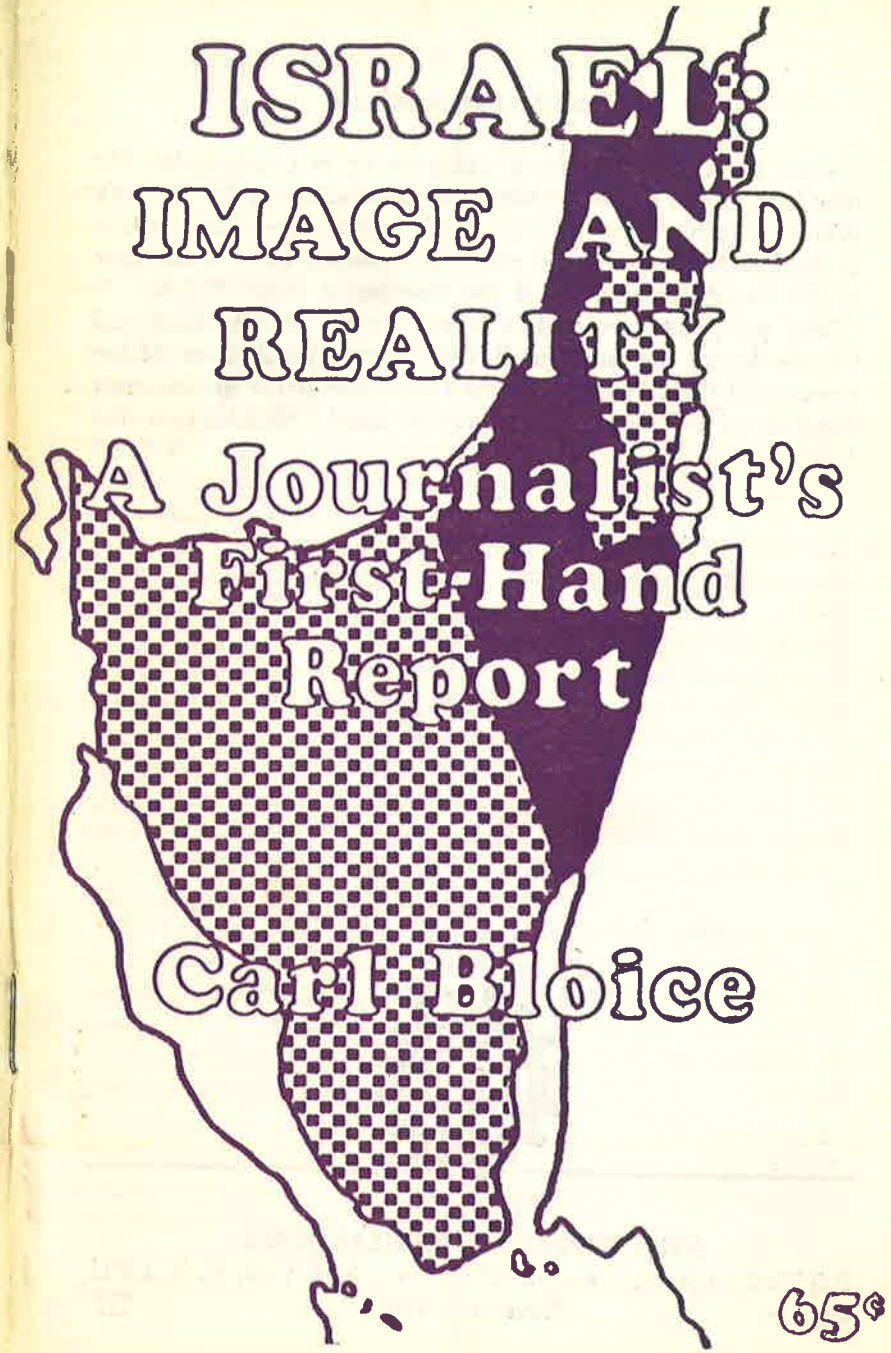
At bookstores or order from

NEW OUTLOOK PUBLISHERS

205 West 19 Street • 9th Floor • New York, N. Y. 10011

Orders must be prepaid (no stamps). Add 20¢ postage on orders under $2.00. New York purchasers include sales tax.

WRITE FOR COMPLETE LIST



About the Author

CARL BLOICE, 33, was born and grew up in Los Angeles. He now lives in San Francisco where he is the editor of the *People's World*, a Pacific Coast Marxist weekly newspaper. Long active in the Black liberation and peace movements, he is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

This pamphlet grew out of a visit to the Middle East and Cyprus during the summer of 1972, during which time Bloice represented the CPUSA's Central Committee at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of Israel (RAKAH) in Tel Aviv, June 21-24.

ISBN 0-87898-103-9

Published by

NEW OUTLOOK PUBLISHERS

205 West 19 Street • 9th Floor • New York, N. Y. 10011

209 November 1973

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

Introduction

In the Galilee section in the north of Israel the people refer to their cities, villages and towns as "hotels." They call them that because these are the places where one sleeps at night and are not where the people—for the most part—work. To work, if you are an Arab, you must travel miles away from home.

In the summer of 1972 I took the bus ride both to and from the "hotel" city of Nazareth—a hot, bumpy uncomfortable ride which was for me a one-time affair; for most of the men around me a daily ordeal.

Most of the towns and villages through which we passed are surrounded by green agricultural land, or barren areas, much of which would grow crops were it irrigated.

Once this land was the source of livelihood for the people who lived on it. For centuries they rose early and went to work in the fields or to tend their flocks and returned to their homes on foot at night. Today the picture is quite different. The men and boys still get up early. But they do not march into the countryside with donkeys and hoes. Instead they pour into the main street to await the buses which take them to the nearest metropolitan area where they are employed—mostly as construction workers.

The lands around do not lie fallow while they are gone, however. Rather they are worked by others who do not live in the ancient Arab villages and towns. The current workers of the land came a relatively short time ago to settle on the land, most of which had been taken from the original owners, the forebears of those who now ride the buses.

Much of the land surrounding these "hotel" areas now belongs to settlements called by the Hebrew word *kibbutz*. Many of the people who live in them say they are constructing "socialist" communities and their fame has spread throughout the world.

As I rode along that hot day in July I glanced alternately at the faces of the men around me and out on the lands of this

strange socialism. As I listened to the story of these men it became even stranger.

Last year Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, commented: "Abroad Israeli leaders like to project an image of democracy while at home they are not only oppressing the people in the occupied areas but also those inside Israel."

The difference between projected image and reality is a big problem when it comes to understanding present-day Israel. Every year millions of dollars are spent in the U.S. to promote a picture of Israel as a land of great justice and democracy, a country which is the antithesis of national, cultural and racial oppression, a land where bustling capitalism co-exists easily with the "socialism" of the kibbutzim.

One obvious response to such propaganda, and the confusion that results from it, is to go and see for yourself. Thousands do each year. The difficulty is that traveling to Tel Aviv is like going to New Orleans. You can be whooping it up on Bourbon Street while miles away at Southern University students are being gunned down.

In New Orleans the visitor need only speak English to talk to a Black person, for that is his or her native tongue. But how many visitors to Israel speak Arabic, or have the privilege I had of having translators who could speak English, Arabic and Hebrew?

Also, one can hardly be confident about the objectivity of most U.S. visitors to Israel. How unbiased is one who comes from a culture where to mispronounce the word "Arab" can evoke howls of laughter? Remember, we live in a country where only recently one of the top popular songs was about "A-hab the A-rab."

Yet the facts won't go away, no matter how much they are obscured or go unreported in the media. The mistreatment and lack of equality of the Arab masses inside Israel can be demonstrated in many ways.

Chapter 1: History and Background

When the state of Israel was established in January, 1948, the new government quickly passed one of the strangest laws in

human history. It said that anyone who at any point between November 29, 1947 and January 9, 1948 left his or her place of residence and traveled outside the area of Palestine, or any place inside Palestine not under the rule of the new state, was to be considered "absent" at the time of independence. Such a person could be a citizen of Israel and have voting rights, but all of that person's property could be confiscated by the state and turned over to a special administrator. Since that time hundreds of thousands of acres of land have been taken from Arabs who once lived on it and worked it.

There are men and women who were absent at the time and are physically absent to this day—the millions of refugees who were either forced to leave or who fled voluntarily during the violence that preceded the establishment of Israel and the conflict that occurred thereafter. Those who stayed, or who were away from their homes for a brief period, are the men and women who live in the "hotel" villages; a major portion of the Arab minority who live in Israel today.

Although the special laws were the principal methods of land acquisition employed by the government in some parts of the country, they were not the only means by which land was acquired. In some places, amid an atmosphere of violence, terror and uncertainty about the future, Arab landowners were persuaded to "sell" their property at prices bearing no resemblance to its real worth. In other cases it was rented urban property: the Arabs who lived on or in it didn't own it and were thus driven out having had no choice in the matter.

The world is full of monuments to man's inhumanity to man and to his greed. One of the most dramatic and depressing is in Jaffa, a city adjacent to Tel Aviv. For centuries Jaffa housed thousands of Arab families. Today, 22 years after the confiscation, a section of it has been turned into a brightly lit area thought by tourists to be quaint. The living rooms and bedrooms of departed Arab families have been transformed into bars, discotheques and craft shops. Strange that one can be saddened, as I was, not by seeing people living in misery and squalor as is usually the case, but rather by their absence, and the almost certain knowledge that many of them are living out their days in refugee camps somewhere in the desert, forbidden

to return to their homes.

One would imagine that the process of confiscating Arab lands would be by now a thing of the past, something that took place in the years following the establishment of the state. And yet it goes on. In many parts of the country, especially in the Galilee area, Arab landowners are under constant pressure to sell their property, at prices set by the government, to make way for new Jewish settlements. Many Arabs still refuse the compensation offered for their lands and often lands are merely seized under the pretext of "security."

Over 80% of the lands which belonged to Arabs at the time of independence have been confiscated by the government over the 25 years since then. In so short a space of time the people who once worked the land have mostly been transformed into landless proletarians.

The position of the Arab worker in Israel today is a peculiar one in the history of world social and economic development. As a rule the development of industry and capitalism as a system has meant an exodus from the countryside as people flocked to the cities to become a pool of labor for the unfolding of industrial production. For the Israeli Arab that has not been the case. The agricultural areas witnessed an influx of people and there was no industry to absorb those who were driven from the land. Today two thirds of the Arab population is rural but only one third are employed in agriculture.

Oppression of Arabs

Today 80% of the construction workers in the country are Arabs and approximately 43% of the wages earned by Arabs come from construction work. Arabs occupy the lowest classifications in the building industry and do the hardest work at the lowest wages. The homes they build, they cannot afford to live in. For the most part, the factories they build, their children cannot work in.

Constituting 12% of the citizens of the country, the Arabs, numbering 350,000, continue to suffer national discrimination in all aspects of Israeli life. They suffer double exploitation and oppression as workers and as Arabs.

The inequities of present-day Israeli life are also reflected in

the way the Arabs live. It is not so much the glaring poverty in Arab areas. It is quite true, as some supporters of the present Israeli government are quick to point out, that on the whole the poverty is no more, and often a lot less, than that suffered in neighboring Arab countries. But that's hardly the point. It's comparable to the racist argument that Black people in South Africa have a higher standard of living than they do in many Black African countries, or the boastful assertion that Black people in the U.S. are better off than Black people anywhere else in the world.

The point is that in states that say they pride themselves on democracy and equality, people increasingly refuse to accept gross inequities, especially when the unequal treatment is sanctioned and fostered by the state—in this case by a government whose leaders continue to insist that they are some kind of socialists.

For instance, Israel has a kind of revenue sharing system whereby national tax monies are dispensed by the government to the municipalities. On the whole, Jewish areas receive 50 Israeli pounds per inhabitant while Arab towns and villages get five pounds per inhabitant.

This blatant unequal distribution of government funds has the exact result it could be expected to have. In village after village, I was told of the disparity in things like health services. Doctors come in for only a few hours each week. The nearest pharmacy is miles and miles away. There is no ambulance service.

An estimated 40% of the Arabs have health insurance as opposed to 98% of the Jews. One third of the Arabs are insured by the workers' sick fund, as against 72% of the Jews.

In most Arab villages there is no electricity.

Despite the massive land confiscations in some parts of the country, many Arabs still till the land. And here again the inequities come full force. Arabs are estimated to produce 20% of the agricultural produce in the country and yet they have only 5% of the irrigated land. Only 5% of the cultivated land in the Arab areas is irrigated while water flows to 50% of the land in Jewish areas.

Not all the lands lying near Arab villages and towns and

tilled by Arabs belong to the Arab villages to tax. Some fall under the jurisdiction of nearby Jewish settlements. The taxes charged by these settlements, I was told, are often high, and should the owner fail to come up with them the land is confiscated and thus passes out of Arab hands.

One of the main reasons the situation in the Arab towns and villages appears so dismal is the position of the young people. Usually one can view the plight of an oppressed people and see hope in the situation because of the prospects for succeeding generations. The militancy of Arab youth, their willingness to struggle to change their circumstances, and their political consciousness, are a source of hope and inspiration; but their economic and social future is bleak. It is here that both the attitude and the designs of the contemporary rulers of Israel as regards the Arabs become patently clear.

In the early 1950s the late Uri Lubrani is reported to have said publicly, "Perhaps it would be better if there were no Arab students.

"If they would remain hewers of wood it would be easier to rule them. But there are matters which are independent of will. There is no escape from this and we have to take counsel and know how to minimize the problem."

Of course Lubrani's words were correct: what is desirable is not always possible. The government must give at least some pretense of providing education for the Arab young. The objective for the past 25 years appears to have been only to "minimize the problem."

The first and foremost handicap placed in front of Arab youth is put there in the name of "security." In the views expressed in the press and internal propaganda of the groups which control Israel today, all Arabs are considered security risks, not to be trusted, and therefore military risks. This is the reason given for the fact that Arab university students are denied the chance to study most of the physical sciences. For the most part, Arab students are simply refused entrance into the schools of physics, chemistry, aviation and other elements of modern technology.

Though officially "security" is the reason given for restrictions on Arab education, when one looks closely at the status of the

education given to Arab young people, another picture emerges, one more in the spirit of Lubrani's words.

Only about 20% of the Arab students ever enter secondary school. As one travels through the towns and villages the reasons become abundantly clear. First and foremost, of course, is the poverty in the areas in which they live, which forces young people to go to work at a very early age in order to maintain themselves and help support their families. Then, there is the paucity of educational facilities available to the Arabs.

It was carefully explained to me by younger Arabs that in most Arab schools students cannot apply their high school grades and credits toward qualifying for college entrance, and therefore, being accepted is dependent solely on the results of a government examination. The reason given for this practice is a regulation that secondary school credits can only be counted if 70% of the students in a school receive acceptable grades. That figure is often not met in Arab schools, and people in those areas say that the teachers sent to them are often incapable of teaching many of the subjects the students will be tested on.

Under these circumstances it is easy to see why, although they are 12% of the population, Arabs make up only 1.5% of Israel's university students.

One also hears frequent complaints about the quality and content of the education given young Arabs. The stories would seem to support the contention of Israeli intellectual Amitai Ben Yena that the education of Arabs is part of a "process of dehumanization." Ben Yena writes:

> First of all, while Jewish teachers have rights of tenure, the Arab teacher trembles his whole life. He can be (and is) expelled for the slightest sign of what is called 'nationalistic' opinions—that is, not being keen enough in the process of national castration which the Arab education in Israel is. The Arab children are compelled to learn (in Arabic) that their fathers were only and always bandits, robbers and murderers.
>
> The history of their land begins from 1877, before this—vacuum. The Moslem religion is merely neglected, but the Christian Arabs suffer double discrimination, as Arabs and as Christians, since they are compelled to learn the most anti-

Christian stories in modern Hebrew literature.

One example of what the Meir-Dayan government apparently thinks is acceptable education in a multi-racial, multi-cultural society is provided by the book, *The Nahshon Gang and the Kidnappers from Hebron.* It is a reading book for elementary school pupils, was approved by the Ministry of Education, and has been available in school libraries throughout the country.

The book tells of one Mustafa Effendi, a landowner and proprietor of a market in Jericho. His main income, however, comes from selling Jewish children to sheiks in Saudi Arabia where they bring a good price as slaves because of their white skins. (Of course, one should note that most Jews in Israel don't have white skins.) Recently the newspaper *Ha'aretz* commented:

"The story of the adventures of the Nahshon Gang does not include merely tension situations and motifs, but also incurs fear from the figment of the Arab. In our social and political situation this may have negative influences on the pupils and the Ministry of Education should tighten its inspection of the reading literature in education institutions."

Try and imagine the *New York Times* using such ridiculous words to condemn showing the racist film *Birth of a Nation* to school children.

Racism in Law

In the administration of justice the inequities meted out to the Arabs stand in sharp relief. The system of justice confronting the Arab population is at the same time frightening and curious. Surely in the legal systems of the world there has been nothing quite like it.

One is tempted to say that the law as applied to the Jewish citizens of Israel is bourgeois democracy (democracy as far as it can exist alongside the undemocratic property relations of capitalism) designed by the Israelis themselves, borrowing liberally from other capitalist countries, while the law applied to Arabs is colonial law, designed by colonialists to deal with a subjugated people. Supporters of the current rulers of Israel would immediately object, claiming first that nowhere is it written that there is one law for Arabs and another for Jews, and second that there are innumerable exceptions which cer-

tainly disprove any such generalization.

But consider the facts.

When in 1945 the British government, which was then the ruler by mandate of all Palestine, issued the "Defense Regulations," there was an outcry from throughout the world, the loudest condemnation coming from Jewish leaders in the United States. Yaacov Shapiro, who was until recently Israeli Minister of Justice, commented at the time, "The regime instituted with the enactment of the Defense Regulations in Palestine has no equivalent in any civilized country. Even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws.

"Only one type of regime is conceivable in such circumstances, that of an occupied country," Shapiro said. "We must declare to the face of the world: the Defense Regulations of the Palestine government threaten the very foundations of law."

Dov Yossel, another former Minister of Justice, said he saw in the regulations "legal terrorism."

These statutes, designed by the British to deal with the people in Palestine before 1948, and denounced in such strong terms, are the very same ones now used by the government of Israel to govern the Arab minority. Through them the same denials of civil liberties and cruelties applied to Jews in the area in the 1940s are now meted out to Arabs.

These laws are, incidentally, very similar to the Special Powers Act, designed by the British imperialists to deal with Northern Ireland. Just as thousands have been herded into internment camps by British troops operating in Ireland, there are prisons throughout Israel and the areas occupied after 1967, where Arabs are jailed under regulations that allow internment for months without trial or even formal charges.

Throughout Israel there are Arabs who cannot leave their villages and travel to other parts of the country; young men and women who are barred from visiting the places of their birth. These are people who have been placed on special "security" lists and cannot move about freely without getting a signed pass from the local military commander. Of course, not all of them are merely yearning to go home for Christmas or Ramadan. Most under such restrictions, but not all, are members of the Communist Party.

These repressive regulations are designed and used to keep people from organizing politically, making it difficult for political radicals among the Arab population to confer. Quite often an Arab Communist applies for a pass to attend a meeting of a party higher body—to which Jewish Communists can travel freely—and is simply refused.

The fact that the pass regulations have little to do with security and are in fact designed for political objectives is underscored by the fact that Arabs from the territories occupied in the June 1967 war, areas in which there is armed opposition, are allowed to travel within Israel without any permits at all. "They want to give the impression that the people in the occupied territories agree with the occupation and can travel freely as tourists," a political activist told me in Haifa.

The Kibbutzim

The thing for which Israel is perhaps best known throughout the world is the kibbutzim. Small communities of collective labor, they are older than the state itself. I had occasion to visit one run by the MAPAM, or left Labor Party, and came away quite impressed. As units of social organization they have much to recommend them.

However, the position the kibbutzim hold in Israeli society varies considerably from the image of them fostered abroad. In 1970 there were 229 kibbutzim with 85,000 members, comprising only 3% of the country's population.

The kibbutzim are currently undergoing a rapid process of industrialization. Each year, while the number of kibbutz members employed in agriculture goes down percentagewise, the number involved in industrial activities associated with the settlements goes up. At the same time, there has been considerable increase in the number of non-member wage earners associated with them. In 1971 over 8,000 persons from the outside were hired to work in kibbutz-related enterprises, and they made up close to 60% of the work force in such operations.

Today the average kibbutz also has connected to it a small factory where manufactured goods are turned out; here again all on a collective basis, with the profits from the sale of goods used to benefit the entire community. Most are heavily subsidized by, and are in debt to, groups in other countries.

The kibbutzim are not places where one would expect to find exploitation. And yet it is there. In many of the settlements, building labor is provided, as it is in most of the country's construction activities, by Arab labor.

People would look at me strangely when I asked in a few places whether wages paid Arab construction workers on a kibbutz were the same as they would be at the construction site for the Tel Aviv Hilton or any of the new housing projects on the outskirts of Jerusalem or Haifa. The answer was yes, and was told to me with the same matter-of-fact expression that I was told that Arab laborers provided the same rate of exploitation (the difference between wages and the value produced) irrespective of whether they were employed by a "socialist" kibbutz or by one run by a group further to the right. What is more, I was to learn, since most Arabs working on kibbutz buildings are contract labor, they do not have the same union protection they would have if employed in the cities.

The facts and figures I have thus far presented do, I think, establish beyond any possible doubt that while the government of Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan tries hard to convince the world that Arabs willing to live peacefully inside Israel and accept majority rule enjoy equality and democracy, in fact, government policy is to perpetuate the status of the Arabs as second class citizens.

Foreign Aid for Zionist Policies

The discrimination, however, is more extensive and many-faceted than I have thus far described here, and more than I have room to detail. Much of it flows from the peculiar quasi-theocratic nature of the Israeli state and its connections with Zionist and non-Zionist groups abroad.

Some $4.7 billion (approximately 24 billion Israeli pounds) came into Israel during the years 1969-72. Some Israelis estimate that had it been divided among the people—Jews and Arabs—there would have been enough for every family to live at a higher standard of living than the present average for five years.

That is a startling figure. What it establishes, first and foremost, is that Israel is very much a capitalist country and the

money which flows in each year from foreign governments and foreign support groups, and shares in the country through the sale of bonds, is poured into a mechanism geared for private profit. It is one in which fortunes can be, and are, made.

In fact, the number of millionaires in Israel has grown at a fantastic rate in recent years, a much faster rate than the standard of living has increased for Israeli workers—Jewish and Arab.

But the figures also hint at something more: the great disparity between the way the national income is used for the two peoples living in the country.

Some supporters of the Tel Aviv government will, of course, argue that since a great deal of the incoming capital is collected by Jewish support groups abroad, naturally it would not be spent for Arabs. Morality aside, such a contention might seem to have logic. But it is logic turned on its head, a dangerous kind of logic that produces conflict and strife, a logic that bodes ill for the country.

As a matter of fact, the capital raised abroad acts directly to perpetuate and extend the inequities in Israeli society.

The purpose of most of the money raised abroad is to aid in the settlement and well-being of Jewish immigrants from other countries. What it contributes to is continuing the process of making room on Arab land for people from abroad, and thus the further impoverishment of the Arab masses.

Consider the situation in the Galilee area. There the government speaks openly of its intentions. "The Judaization of the Galilee still constitutes a severe problem and in the nearest future deliberations are to be expected, in a suitable forum, for advancing this scheme," the newspaper *Ha'aretz* quoted Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir as saying in February, 1972.

For the purpose of carrying out the "Judaization of Galilee," thousands of acres of Arab land have been confiscated by the government for the purpose of building the city of "New Nazareth." Most of the land for the new city was seized around 1955 and the area now contains over 18,000 people.

Many of the people living in the new city are "refugees," immigrants from other countries, some from the Soviet Union. I was told that as a result of the monies raised abroad by components of the Jewish Agency, the standard of living of

these immigrants is higher than the average standard of living in the United States. (This should not be taken to mean that recent immigrants live well in the country. What it demonstrates is that a lot of money is out to lure those who are willing away from the cities into the countryside to settle on confiscated land. Most immigrants, including those from the Soviet Union, find themselves in a very desperate financial situation—wages low, prices high, housing scarce.)

No such aids or supplements exist for the 35,000 Arabs living in the old city, and an estimated 8,000 of them are refugees from land confiscations carried out in other parts of Israel.

In the area around the two cities of Nazareth there are numerous Arab villages and Jewish settlements. The land remaining in Arab hands does not have the benefit of the Jewish Agency, which pays for the water used by the Jewish farmers.

Also in the Nazareth area there is a dramatic illustration of the role foreign aid and investments play in the exploitation of the native working class. It is carried out in classic form.

Arab leaders complain bitterly that the government "took the land but did not provide industry." However, some industrial plants have been established in the Galilee area in recent years, particularly in the upper Nazareth area. The majority of the Arab workers employed in them are women, many in garment factories. Wages in these shops are very low, and I was told that often the Arab women must work three months of "training" before their pay begins.

On the approach to the new city of Nazareth one passes a new plant which manufactures Ford Escorts and Dodge trucks and which is very symbolic of the nature of the oppression and exploitation of the people of contemporary Israel. The original investment capital for many of the Jewish settlements and the new factories came from abroad, particularly from the United States. Enterprises throughout the country are heavily in debt to foreign capitalists and each year pay handsome interest payments. Thus, the wealth derived from the exploitation of Jewish workers and the superexploitation of Arabs benefits both the Israeli capitalists and their foreign sponsors as well. One way or another, some of the money derived from the Arab women's three months of free service finds its way into the pockets of

someone in the United States.

Confiscation of their lands, denial of educational opportunities for their children, a double standard of justice administered to them and superexploitation of their labor, this is the lot of the Arabs of Israel. They are, in a sense, a forgotten people. Government propaganda largely ignores them and the monopoly press of this country acts as if they do not exist.

Chapter 2: The Policy of Conquest

Every now and then something happens in Israel or in the occupied territories that jars the world. An event transpires that momentarily shocks public opinion outside Israel into a partial awareness and concern about the injustices and inequities suffered by Arabs at the hands of the Israeli ruling group. The thing that did it in 1972 was the struggle around the villages of Iqrit and Biram.

Newspapers in the United States reported widely the fact that the villagers had been denied the right to return to their homes, abandoned in 1948, even though they had been promised return when they left and that promise had been agreed to by the Israeli Supreme Court in 1950. The newspapers reported the promise and the court ruling, and the fact that twice within the following three years explosives were brought into the village and every building except the churches was razed. They reported also that in September 1953 the Israeli Air Force was ordered to bomb what remained of the two communities.

All this was done in accordance with what is the standard method of operation of the government: to present the world with an accomplished fact. Never mind the fact that the purpose of their actions in this case was to supersede the Supreme Court.

However, in their reportage the U.S. press failed to mention one thing: an event which took place in 1951. The Court order was handed down July 31, 1950 but it was never carried out, and in mid-September 1951 the case went back to court. A hearing on the matter was set for February 6, 1952. But, on Christmas Eve 1951, the headman of Iqrit was hauled to a hill overlooking the village and made to watch as Israeli forces blew up every house.

The fact that the military would choose to blow up the homes of Arab Orthodox Catholics on Christmas Eve has a special meaning. It is illustrative of the motivations behind the apparent government obsession with blowing up houses.

The blowing up of Iqrit and Biram occurred inside the post-1948 boundaries of Israel. There such practices are quite infrequent. However, in the Arab territories seized in the 1967 war it is a regular practice carried out by the occupation forces of General Dayan.

Between June 1967 and 1970 it is estimated that over 7,000 homes have been deliberately destroyed in the occupied territories. When I visited the West Bank of the Jordan River in mid-summer 1972, I was told that the number had risen to 12,000. Soon after the war, local residents said, three entire villages in that area had been destroyed, leaving 1,000 persons homeless.

Blowing up houses in the occupied West Bank might seem like blowing up houses anywhere in the world. It might seem unnecessary to string out here the many stories I heard: a woman in Jerusalem who refused to leave her home and was blown up with it, or the woman somewhere near Bethlehem who saved all her life to buy a small hotel only to see it razed to the ground —she did what most of the people have done, stood outside while the blasts went off, weeping.

It might seem senseless at first to repeat these stories except that they go to the meaning of the mania of home destruction, practiced in Israel since the establishment of the state and carried to new heights by Dayan's forces in the occupied territories.

It is no secret that most of the people who have had their homes destroyed are innocent of any crimes against the laws of the occupying power (as if anyone could be "guilty" of breaking the laws of a colonial aggressor). Dayan has admitted it himself. He has also admitted that the practice is carried out for political-psychological reasons; that it flows from what the government calls "Arab psychology" and that its aim is terror; that its purpose is to render the resistance ineffective.

There could well be some special form of Arab obsession with home ownership, as the Dayan people maintain. It is said

that Palestinians look with disdain upon renting. The beautiful homes built for newlyweds by their families in many of the villages are testimony to the great pride in home ownership. But that same psychology is evident in many other countries bordering on the Mediterranean. In any case, the government acts on the assumption that the destruction of homes will successfully cow people into political submission and acceptance of control.

The blowing up of houses, like other elements of terror practiced by the invaders against the Arab population in the occupied territories, underscores the truth about another area in which "security" is used as a pretext for accomplishing something entirely different. In this case it is the determination to hold onto the lands seized in 1967 and turn them into physical and economic adjuncts of Israel.

Expulsion of Arabs

There was another recent event in the occupied territories which alarmed progressive public opinion in Israel and would certainly have had the same effect here had it been reported adequately. Most people in this country, however, know nothing about it. It deserves to be detailed here, for it appears to have disturbed many Jews in Israel, particularly young people. It also created serious controversy in one of the government "socialist" parties.

> In Pitchat Rafiah a line was drawn on the plan of the area development. A bulldozer passes. Without taking into account any obstacle, natural or not natural, it breaks through, opening a path tens of meters wide. Irrigated field crops, orchards, Bedouin huts and cisterns—nothing stops it. That is what I saw with my own eyes.
>
> . . . The security fence which is to be constructed there is to encompass 440,000 dunams (approximately 98,000 acres) in the Gaza Strip and Pitchat-Rafiah. In this area there lives a population of several thousands. Apart from this fact, this is the only land reserve for the development of the Gaza Strip. Anyone who claims that Jewish settlement of this area will not be made at the expense of the Arab inhabitants of the area and the possibility of settling there of refugees [Jewish refugees—C.B.] from the camps near Gaza only plays the innocent.

The above is a translation of the remarks of Moshe Epstein, a young member of the Gvulot Kibbutz. They were made at a meeting of representatives of 13 kibbutzim at Nir-Oz Kibbutz in March 1972, after he had witnessed the expulsion of Arab Bedouin families from the lands around Rafah (the Arabic name of Pitchat Rafiah) in the southern part of the Gaza Strip and the destruction of their homes, wells and orchards. (Quoted from *Robbery in Rafiah,* a pamphlet issued in English by the Communist Party of Israel in April 1972.)

Gaza is a small rectangle of land bordered on the west by Egypt, on the north by the Mediterranean and on the other two sides by Israel. It is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. It has never been an easy place for the Israeli security forces to administer. The resistance has been very strong from the very beginning of the occupation. Repression in Gaza has been particularly brutal and it has frequently attracted world public attention, partly because the atrocities have been witnessed by officials of the United Nations refugee operation there, who on more than one occasion have joined Arab protests.

The situation surrounding the enclosure of lands at Rafah created so much controversy that the government eventually disowned the action, claiming it had been carried out without authorization. Just exactly what the government objected to is not at all clear. However, it was charged in Tel Aviv that "deviant" acts were committed in the process of fencing off the area, which was not carried out in accordance with the "accepted order."

Two officers were reprimanded for participation in the events at Rafah and a lower functionary fired. In accordance with the usual practice, the names of the military men so punished were never released to the public, although Dayan identified one of them later as "a very high ranking officer."

Later David Shacham, editor of the Labor Party weekly *Ot,* wrote protesting the mild action taken against the officers—though never mentioning their names. On April 27, 1972, at a special meeting of the Labor Party secretariat, Meir and Dayan

sharply attacked Shacham. They insisted that a "security matter" was involved. So incensed were they that they decided to set up a "small editorial board" to oversee *Ot* to guarantee that such things are not printed in the future.

Knesset member Avraham Ofer asked at the conclusion of the meeting that the summation should say that what had happened at Rafah "is not in the way of Zionism." The proposal was rejected, and the next day *Ha'aretz* declared, "The proposal contained at least a caution in regard to the future. Its rejection sanctions acts which are worthy only of condemnation."

All this is more revealing than important. Like so many other "controversies" in Israeli government circles, it was not a debate over what the government was doing but rather how it was being done. If it had been pulled off in secrecy, the rape of Rafah would not have been controversial.

There are many strange words in the lexicon of the Israeli occupiers, words that conceal their own meaning, words strikingly akin to terms like "pacification" and "protective reaction." One such term is "thinning-out." It is how government officials describe the process whereby the Arabs in Gaza are being forcefully uprooted and shifted about to make room for new Jewish settlements. However, "thinning-out" in Gaza means more. It reveals clearly how the Meir-Dayan regime intends to simply make the area Jewish and incorporate it into Israel.

Speaking of the Jabaliya refugee camp (population 40,000), the evening newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* reported on July 30, 1971, "400 houses have been demolished up to now by 'security forces' in Jabaliya in the Gaza Strip, and up to yesterday 200 families (1,200 persons) were transferred to various places, including El-Arish." At the time General Shlomo Gazit of the occupation forces declared that it was only the beginning.

As usual in such matters, government forces gave numerous excuses for doing something they didn't want to openly admit they were doing. The semi-official *Davar* (newspaper of the Histadrut labor federation) said that the operation had been carried out to relieve the "terrible congestion" in the streets of the camp. It quoted a government official as saying that the demolition was being carried out for the security of the camp dwellers themselves.

By 1971 it became clear that the government was motivated in its destruction by something other than concern for the security and well-being of the Arabs. The Israeli press began publishing reports of a "palliation and pacification" plan for the Gaza Strip, fostered by Dayan. Essentially it meant more "thinning out," by means of wide roads which would crisscross the camps in the area, and dispersal of the thinned-out population to new camps.

In addition, *Yediot Aharonot* said, sources inside the military government in Gaza had reported that the "Dayan Plan" included the establishment of "labor villages" between the cities of Gaza and Rafah.

About this time the government dropped its concern over the safety of the poor congested Arabs and sent out word that the "thinning-out" was being done for security reasons. The camps were a hotbed of saboteurs, it said, and the roads would have to be widened to give military convoys more visibility.

Colonization and Annexation

By this time it was quite clear to all but the naive that the Dayan Plan was being executed for reasons having nothing to do with either humanitarianism or security. It was the land the government was after.

Dayan's visions for the Sinai-Gaza area are simple and quite public. He proposes to build a city called Yamit near Rafah. It will be the site for the country's second international airport, a port development and tourist center.

Today Jewish settlers in the Gaza Strip employ Bedouins on their fields who were only recently removed from their family lands. Their pay is about 18 Israeli pounds per day.

Abraham Melamed, a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee, wrote at the beginning of the "thinning out" operation, ". . . if the building of Jewish urban settlements in Hebron, or the establishment of rural settlements in the Jordan Valley, are 'accomplished facts,' whose aim is the Judaization of Arab lands, the 'Dayan Plan' takes us back to the epoch of brutal maltreatment, when whole tribes and peoples were uprooted from their places of birth.

"The objective of the 'Dayan Plan' is to empty the Gaza

Strip of its inhabitants, and in its first stage to disperse them to the four winds, or to put them into special concentration camps, according to their character and structure ('labor villages'), and in this way to lead them to despair and lack of prospect to ever lead a human life, until they decide 'by themselves and voluntarily' to seek their fortune in neighboring Arab countries or in the West Bank."

(One of the concentration camps is located at Abu Zaneima in the Sinai Desert—C.B.)

"The Israeli militarists secretly hope that if they will not be allowed to keep all the occupied Arab areas, they will at least succeed in keeping the Gaza Strip, and hence their intention to populate empty houses in El-Arish or other places, which are situated on the Egyptian side of the international frontier."

When the events in the Spring of 1972 in Rafah came, even the naive could see. If anyone was still not clear as to what was up, it was those who were completely blinded by the earlier delusions. This time the story was told in great detail by eyewitnesses, the members of the kibbutzim in the area.

Meanwhile, the press began to explain what was really going on. *Ha'aretz* said: "The intention is to concentrate, after the evacuation of the Bedouins, thousands of dunams of government lands in the area. These lands could be used at a later stage for establishing new Israeli settlements."

A few days later, *Ha'aretz* said: "In fact, the Strip is being dissected; this will break the territorial continuity in the Gaza Strip, so that in the future it will be impossible to apply to it any plan based on the principle of self-determination."

In April, *Ha'aretz* said: "Settling within the Strip has a double purpose: to realize what has been said by government minister Galili in the Knesset, namely, that Gaza will be part of Israel; and to strengthen security in the Strip by pushing Jewish fingers inside it. It is the intention that these fingers shall strengthen Israeli presence in the zone, and that they shall virtually dissect the Strip into three separate districts which, when the time comes, so we were promised, will be incorporated into Israel.

"Permanent settling in Pitchat Rafiah means de facto annexation to Israel—or at least the declared intention of such annexation."

Seldom in history have aggressors spoken so frankly of their intentions; not in imperial Germany, imperial Italy nor imperial Japan. Seldom have expansionists spoken so brazenly about their disregard for the people against whom their aggression is directed. It is Manifest Destiny gone berserk, chauvinism unworthy of leaders of a people who have suffered so much in the ghettos of Europe.

I have dwelt extensively on the history of recent developments in Gaza because it shows so clearly what the Meir-Dayan government is all about. It shows why the single slogan that best represents what the present administration in Tel Aviv is seeking is what the "socialist" Meir calls "a maximum of territories with a minimum of population."

However, the picture in Gaza is not unlike the situation in other parts of the occupied territories wherein a total of some 1.1 million people live.

In Hebron, when 4,500 acres were confiscated, the reason given by Dayan for seizing the areas was resistance activity in the area. Soon afterward, the Arab colonial mayor called the people together and told them that Dayan wanted to calm their fears. He told them that the defense minister had given his "military word" that the land would not be used for settlement. Two days later an army camp was built. A few weeks later construction of a Jewish settlement began.

Repression, Brutality, Racism

Proponents of the Meir-Dayan government have attempted, not without considerable success, to convince world public opinion, particularly in the United States, that the post-1967 occupation has been a "humane" or "liberal" occupation. Nothing could be further from the truth. The press in the U.S. has recently taken to considerable reporting about Dayan's liberal-sounding speeches about the administration of the territories. If one reads his speeches closely, however, not relying on U.S. newspaper accounts, it becomes clear that the new relationship he wishes is the kind any conqueror wants from the conquered, a peaceful and cooperative one. The problem is that it must be based on the conquered's acquiescence to being ruled by

others. No more resistance, no more houses blown up. No such thing has happened in the occupied territories, nor will it ever happen. Why should anyone assume that the Arabs are any different from the Europeans who resisted Hitler's aggression?

There have been ebbs and flows, but the resistance of the Palestinians and the Syrians and the Egyptians has never ceased, and each new generation of young men and women, reared in desert refugee camps or under the heels of Dayan's forces, will be the source of new levels of resistance. Nothing but chauvinism could account for Meir and Dayan's cockiness. Nothing but racism would allow them to think it could happen any other way. Nothing else would explain how they could persistently fly in the face of reality.

The Meir-Dayan method of dealing with resistance, or pushing ahead with inhuman projects in the face of protests, is very clear–brutal, bloody and criminal.

In the West Bank young boys and girls are frequently dragged into court for bringing the Israeli Communist Party's Arab-language newspaper *Al-Ittihad* into the occupied areas. Sentences for this have ranged up to seven months. Some are arrested for simply reading it. Jail terms are handed out for collecting money for community organizations and Palestinian charities or for displaying the Palestinian flag. The charges are heard in a military court, and in political cases the sentences range all the way to life imprisonment.

In response to protest demonstrations, the occupation forces have quite often opened fire on demonstrators and passers-by alike, and women and children have been among the victims.

To crush an act of non-violent civil disobedience, thousands of people have been rounded up and thrown into jail at one time. To break a series of strikes, protest meetings and demonstrations, I was told, 10% of the male population of the town of Nablus was held in prison for weeks.

There are volumes of testimony collected by international organizations concerning the conditions inside the prisons. For the most part they appear considerably worse than what is reported from present-day Greece under the fascist junta. But the methods of torture appear to be about the same.

Torture in Israel is something most people in this country know absolutely nothing about. They have never even heard the charges made. Yet, the documentation exists in the files of Amnesty International. The brutal methods employed by the occupation forces are simply never even alluded to in the U.S. press.

The torture methods are the same ones we've come to know about and cringe from when reported out of Saigon, Athens or Johannesburg. Beatings with straps and boards on the bottoms of the feet, electricity to the testicles, left to stand naked in the cold, burned with cigarettes, made to watch others tortured, made to lie in one's own feces, etc., etc., etc.

The courageous Israeli Communist lawyer Felicia Langer wrote in *Zo Haderekh*, October 4, 1972, describing the first Jewish settlement in Hebron:

> On Hebron Kand (Gollan Heights) the "Kiryat-Arba" (housing estate of the Israeli occupationist settlers) has been established under the auspices and with the assistance of the Israeli government. I saw that settlement when it was still in its "swaddling clothes" on its first site, when the present inhabitants still took refuge in the shadow of the benevolent prison walls in the compound of the Hebron military government. Their children, who should have been bred in the spirit of the Ten Commandments, walked around to the sound of the clinking chains of the inhabitants of Hebron who were being led from prison to the nearby military court.
>
> Some of the "settlers" used to enjoy themselves watching the court proceedings, when hundreds of years inprisonment were given to resistance fighters who wanted to live in their own town without any occupants or "settlers." These verdicts continue today too, but the "settlers" have been transferred to their permanent dwellings in pretty stone buildings surrounded by lawns and many-colored flowers.

Attorney Langer had occasion again last year to deal with the brutality, this time as practiced in the Russian Sector of Jerusalem. On November 14, 1972, a woman walked into her office with one bloody eye and swellings on her face indicating that she had been struck with heavy blows. Hadijah Muhamad Abed

El Hadi, a 23 year old resident of the Kalendiya refugee camp, had been arrested August 11. This was one day after her husband Abed Azus El Hadi had been taken away under suspicion of being a member of an illegal organization.

After her arrest, the wife, who was at that point in the last stages of pregnancy, was taken for interrogation to the Russian Sector. She told Ms. Langer that the authorities started out shouting and insulting her and demanding that she "admit to everything." She told them she didn't know anything. After this she was slapped and one of the interrogators threatened to remove the unborn child from her if she didn't talk. Then they brought her husband before her and proceeded to beat both of them.

A few days later Hadijah was released.

Chapter 3: Following the Colonialist Tradition

What the Israeli government is doing in the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula (Egypt), the West Bank of the Jordan and the Eastern Half of Jerusalem (part of what was Palestine before Israel's creation and until 1967 under the rule of Jordan), and the Golan Heights (Syrian territory seized in 1967), is a practice known for centuries as colonialism. This simple fact has, however, been obscured by propaganda that Meir and Dayan have no territorial designs; that they only want a readjustment of the borders to make Israel less vulnerable to attack.

In the Summer of 1972, in an interview with the newspaper *Ma'ariv,* Ms. Meir said, "Israel wants only a minimum of population in the Jordanian territory it wishes to keep." The Prime Minister also told the newspaper: "The Arabs must know that peace will be achieved when they are ready to give up territory."

The "socialist" leader also said in the interview that she saw no need to transfer Arabs out of the areas to be retained by Tel Aviv; that the Gaza Strip could not be returned to Egypt; that Israel wants the Golan Heights; and that Israel seeks a strip along the East side of the Sinai Peninsula.

These are the words of Moshe Dayan: "From the viewpoint of security of the state, the establishment of settlements is not of

great significance," but "it is an extremely important measure since we shall not leave a single place where an inhabited point or militarized community has been set up."

Or, consider the following from Golda Meir: ". . . the border is there where Israeli settlements are, and not where a line has been drawn on a map."

The Meir-Dayan government's open statements attesting to its territorial ambitions, its treatment of the Arab population both in Israel and in the occupied areas, plus the policy of luring immigrants from abroad, is all part of one expansionist policy. It is a policy that has not been without success.

Before 1967, 1.5 million people lived in what are now the occupied territories. During the June war and the 90 days that followed it close to 500,000 fled. Many were driven out, and others left because they had no desire to live under occupation.

Using the Immigrants

There can really be very little question what the Tel Aviv authorities are up to with the massive pouring of settlers into the occupied territories. The fact that these are land grabs and not operations for military security is beginning to come through clearly even in the press of the U.S. But most people, I think, would be shocked by the extent to which racial chauvinism is being used to justify the moves.

Phil Caputo, Rome correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune,* on January 21, 1973 quoted a Western diplomat in Jerusalem as saying, "Even when Germany occupied France in the last war, they did not start building German suburbs around Paris."

Caputo also quoted an Israeli government official as saying, "There is now a huge assault of Jewish people into the territories to develop business and develop the land because there is not enough land left in Israel.

"This isn't being done by government decision, but because the Arabs are idle, an undynamic society, and the Jews are a dynamic society. It is a natural process like finding gold in Alaska. You can't stop it."

If that sounds like something Adolph Hitler might have said, it's because he said pretty much the same thing. Such theories, steeped in racial stereotypes, of "manifest destiny" have been the

justification for most of the armed aggressions and occupations in the history of the world.

As the Arab population is dispersed, scattered or driven off the land, new people come to take over. The Jewish Agency projected 60-65,000 new immigrants for the year 1972 and by mid-year it looked as if they would make it. If the rate held, close to half the new Israelis were former citizens of the Soviet Union. Many of them arrived in Israel and were located in one of the settlements in the occupied territories, or they were assigned to take part in the "Judaization of Galilee."

The statements made by government officials, taken by themselves, should be enough to prove that the Meir-Dayan government indeed has territorial designs and that the annexation of territory of neighboring states is government policy. What they are saying is not merely threats or rhetoric. Once you've seen the settlements, you know they mean it.

I was only able to see the building activity in the West Bank, but there are quite reliable Western and Israeli press reports that construction has been launched of an urban settlement in Sharm el-Sheikh in the Sinai, in Bnei Jehuda in the Golan Heights, and in Jericho. Government activity in the Gaza Strip can leave no doubt about what the intentions are there.

On October 9, 1972, correspondent Bruno Wassertheil on CBS news commented:

> Israel is consolidating its hold on Arab territories captured in the 1967 Six Day War with a new industrial development program that will increase Jewish ownership of property in the occupied areas. From now on, Israelis will be encouraged to invest in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, and Golan Heights, through new regulations that will give investors there special tax concessions, long term loans, or outright grants. Under the new rules, the investor will have to put up as little as 20 per cent of his own money, the Israeli government putting up the rest.
>
> While there's more or less free trade right now between Israel and the million Arabs in the occupied territory, the new development program will certainly go a long way to forging Israel and the occupied areas into a single economic unit, and making it consequently harder to break up geographically, as

> the Middle East continues to go on year after year without a peace settlement.

As regards the matter of immigration, all the talk about Jews from the Soviet Union immigrating to Israel is a little bit like Portugal asking overseas Portuguese to come settle in Angola (not that Jews in the Soviet Union are overseas Israelis). The fact is that many of them are coming to become "settlers," not in Israel, but in portions of Syria, Jordan, Egypt and lands said by the United Nations 25 years ago to belong to Palestinians.

It is small wonder that the government of the Soviet Union should have hesitation about allowing Zionist groups to lure thousands of Soviet citizens away to be used as occupiers of lands belonging to people who have suffered trickery, robbery and colonial aggression at the hands of imperialists for so long.

In actual fact, the immigrants become at the same time both settlers and hostages.

Many of the settlements are merely agricultural camps surrounded by barbed wire in the middle of the desert. In the towns and cities of the West Bank even architecture is in the service of colonialism. Huge apartment complexes have been built in a manner not unlike a wagon train that has formed a circle. These concrete structures with tiny windows are monuments to the frenzied government effort to establish Israeli presence in the areas, accomplished facts from which they shall not be moved.

Exploitation and Plunder

The impact of the government's hold on Arab lands reaches far beyond the mere establishment of outposts. On October 3, 1970, *Ma'ariv* ran a headline which read: "The Gaza-Strip—Reservoir of Cheap Worker Power Which Flows into Israeli Economy." The paper reported that because wages have remained the same since 1967 and prices have risen drastically, an Arab father cannot support his family. Thus, women and children are forced to go to work in capitalist enterprises controlled by Israelis. Children as young as ten years old are employed in candy factories, carpet plants and citrus plantations.

In 1971, when the number of persons from the occupied ter-

ritories working in Israel had reached 36,000, they constituted 22% of the entire work force of those areas. Government statistics said 22,000 were employed in construction, 7,000 in industry (mostly canneries) and close to 5,000 in agriculture. That made them 5-6% of the total persons employed in Israel, 25% of the country's construction workers and 20% of those employed in agriculture.

On February 19, 1971, *Ha'aretz* described conditions in one metal plant near Haifa:

> The Arabs do mostly the unskilled, hard and dirty jobs . . . the directors and foremen point out that they are very disciplined, obedient, and do not refuse any work. It may be supposed that there is an important reason for that—they lack labor protection [Histadrut—C.B.] and may be dismissed from their work any day . . . the wage expenditure on them, with additional social amenities, is only a little over half what is spent on a Jewish worker whose social amenities, in the case of veteran workers, may reach 55%.

From the West Bank and Gaza some 50,000 persons work inside Israel. For thousands of Arab laborers the occupied territories, too, have become "hotels." Early in the morning you can see them in tattered clothes climbing from buses in front of the construction sites for new apartment and office buildings or the new U.S.-owned hotels along Tel Aviv's fashionable boardwalk. Many work at low wages on kibbutzim.

On March 15, 1972, the newspaper *Zo Haderekh* (the Hebrew-language newspaper of the Communist Party of Israel) carried a report by Neora Bar-Nir of a visit to one of the miserable hovels in Jaffa, seriously referred to by the signs outside as hotels, where workers from the occupied territories must spend the night when they cannot return home after work. "And do you think that everyone who comes here works?" said a construction worker who was originally a refugee from Jaffa. "Out of 300 workers who have shown up today in the public park [which constitutes the hiring hall—C.B.] only 150 received work. The others returned with empty hands."

For the West Bank area, the Tel Aviv Ministry of Agriculture is quite clear on its aims: "All the capital-intensive and skill-

intensive production will be situated in Israel, and all the manual-labor-rich production will be situated in the West Bank as it is now." The ministry's five-year plan boasts that this will make the economy of the West Bank entirely dependent on Israel.

Do these things sound as if Meir and Dayan have any intention of giving up these territories as called for by United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967? Have Israeli capitalists and their foreign patrons suddenly gone so mad that they would invest—or allow the government to invest—huge sums in projects over which they will have control for only a limited duration?

The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel to the Seventeenth Congress of the Party (June 21-24, 1972) said:

> The national interest and the security of Israel have nothing in common with the occupation, which only perpetuates enmity and war. Only the imperialist bosses, the big foreign and local capitalists, those who are prepared to sacrifice the lives of our sons for their own "national" interest, for the profits made from the oil fields in Sinai and from the cheap labor of workers from the occupied areas, for the possibility to enrich themselves from robbery—only these gain from the continuation of the occupation.

Many things have come to light over the past couple of years about the origins and aims of the June 1967 war. The most dramatic, of course, are the revelations by military men who commanded the Israeli forces, that contrary to what was maintained at the time there was no immediate threat of military attack against Israel to provoke the Israeli invasion of neighboring Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

Last year a new scandal erupted in Tel Aviv (Watergate-type scandals happen all the time in Israel). A high-ranking employee of the Netivei Neft Company blew the whistle on the concern and its head, Mordechai Friedman. The company took over the oil concessions in Sinai after the 1967 war and, it turns out, with the aid of government officials, engaged in all sorts of underhanded activities which may have cost the government as much as 100,000 pounds.

In the process of investigating this scandal, Friedman himself testified before a government commission, saying that the seizure of the Arab oil fields had been planned long before the war. While the territory was still in Egyptian hands, he said, Deputy Defense Minister Zvi Tsur offered to allow him to head up prospecting and extraction in Sinai.

In addition to oil, territories captured from Egypt in 1967 contain large quantities of iron ore, non-ferrous metals, sulphur, phosphates and uranium.

Soviet economist V. Rachkov estimates that Israeli capitalists have garnered approximately $300 million during the years 1969-72 out of Sinai alone. He estimates that the Netivei Company pulled out $60 million in profits from oil extraction in 1972.

Moshe Dayan reported to the Knesset (parliament) on December 13, 1972 that oil extraction since 1971 had been worth $80 million.

Oil, land and labor power; even if one conceded that the borders might present some security problems for Israel, these three things have been a boon to Israeli capitalists and their investors from abroad and these, and only these, explain government activities in the occupied areas. I don't know how else the policies are to be explained.

Of the three money-making elements, at the moment it is labor power that appears to play the biggest role in lining the pockets of the Israeli ruling class. The exploitation of workers from the occupied areas, whose wages are 30 to 50% lower than those of Israeli workers, has brought in millions of dollars in superprofits to owners of factories, farms and buildings.

For those in business and financial circles the 1967 war and the resultant occupation have been a blessing. However, it is not simply a boss-exploits-wage earner relationship. It is a colonial relationship, with all that that has historically implied, incuding terror to keep the arrangement intact.

Discrimination Against Eastern Jews

Although most of the outside world is only now beginning to learn of it, the wretched life of the Sephardic (Middle Eastern and North African) Jews in Israel and their second-class citizenship status are not a new phenomenon. Indeed, it goes

back to the early days of the State of Israel itself. Nor are the public manifestations of the problems, in the form of street demonstrations, particularly new. The inequities in housing available to the eastern Jews, as opposed to that offered to the Ashkenazim (Eastern Europeans and North Americans), led to the riots of 1959 in the Wadi Salib slum of the city of Haifa.

The slums of Haifa still exist, a striking and jarring contradiction to the loveliness of the remainder of that coastal city. They are comparable only to the worst conditions in the barrios and ghettos of the colored peoples of the United States. The same can be said of the other Sephardic areas I visited in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

An estimated 200,000 people in Israel live in what the government defines as poverty and, though estimates differ, some observers say that 90% of them are Jews from Arab countries. According to Dr. Israel Katz, the director of the Institute for National Insurance, some 250,000 children in the country live either below the official poverty level or near it. The great majority of them are of Sephardic families. These 250,000 children are nearly one quarter of all the children in Israel.

Similar statistics, relating to the conditions of life of those immigrants not from North America or Eastern Europe, can be cited for the other indices of social and economic status. One of the more striking is the fact that while 35% of the children of families of European and North American origin graduate from secondary school, the figure for children of Sephardic families is 6%. While children of the Sephardim represent 67% of the secondary school population, they make up only 4% of the university graduates.

While the Sephardim, or Eastern Jews, constitute over 50% of the Israeli population, only 18 members of the Knesset (parliament) came from their numbers in 1972. Only one government minister—the minister of police—is of other than European or U.S. origin. Only 3% of the people in top levels of government civil service are said to be of Eastern communities.

While the discrimination against the Oriental (Eastern) Jews has continued throughout the history of Israel, the relative quiet about the situation and the ignorance about it in the remainder of the world was abruptly shattered during the first

half of February 1971. That's when a movement called the Black Panthers appeared on the scene.

According to leaders of the Black Panthers whom I interviewed in two Israeli cities, the coming of the group when it did grew from two factors. First, as the 1967 war receded into the background, the ability of the country's rulers to use the argument of an external enemy to hold down protests was lessened. Second, the Panthers say, the massive influx of European immigrants in recent years had the effect of heightening the contradictions between the two Jewish communities. While millions were being spent to house, clothe, feed and woo immigrants from Eastern Europe (particularly the Soviet Union) and other parts of Europe and the U.S., the darker-skinned Jews, living in overcrowded squalor and making little progress, grew ever more resentful and vocal.

The beginning of the Black Panther movement appears to have come in Jerusalem with protests against insufficient social welfare assistance to the Sephardim. It would be wrong, however, at this point to consider it an isolated or minority movement.

In August 1971 a series of demonstrations occurred in Jerusalem following the devaluation of the Israeli pound, and were met with brutal police repression. At the height of the protests 8,000 persons are said to have flooded into the city's streets. Such a demonstration takes on great significance when one considers that it occurred in only one city and that the Eastern Jewish population at the time was about 1,231,000.

"Until the June war, the government said that the budget must be organized for the struggle with the Arabs," a Panther leader in Jerusalem told me. "After the war we have seen that the rich people get even richer. The poor have gotten poorer."

The government of Israel subsidizes milk purchases; however, a Sephardic youth in Jerusalem told me that many people in the poor areas cannot afford milk. In the wealthier areas, he complained, "The beneficiaries of this subsidy are the cats and dogs."

One morning last year the Black Panthers of Jerusalem got up very early. They hijacked all the milk delivery trucks, paying the drivers their wages in full. They passed the contraband

milk out in the poorest sections of the city. With each bottle of milk they left a note which read: "Milk for your children. Organize to struggle. We must take our destiny into our own hands. No one will do it for us."

For the people whose milk had been liberated, there were also notes. They read: "We are glad for your support of poor people. For one day there will be no milk for your dogs and cats. Instead, children will have milk who won't have it during the rest of the year."

The Black Panthers are not a tightly knit organization. For the most part, there is no official ideology. While many of the leaders describe themselves as Marxists, other members are part of the far right wing political parties to which the traditional Sephardic religious (mostly Orthodox) leadership is allied.

Because of the discrimination and hostility many of them have faced in the Arab countries from which they emigrated, antagonistic feelings against Arabs are present in the Oriental Jewish communities. But this should not be overemphasized. The treatment of Jews has varied considerably from country to country, the worst being in the states with the most reactionary governments. According to one Panther, there are more Jews teaching at the University of Morocco than there are Eastern Jews teaching at the universities in Israel.

"Our perspective is to work together with the Arabs in Israel," said a Panther activist. "We must fight together with the Arabs to end exploitation and establish a better society."

Another Oriental Jewish youth said, "The Arabs are people like us, and they have got to have their rights; even the right wing of the Black Panthers has come to that conclusion."

Controversy and Opposition

What of that which is reported in the Western press as a raging debate over the future of Israeli policies?

The only consistent opposition to the basic premises of the government's policies toward the Arabs of Israel and the occupied territories comes from the Communist Party (RAKAH). Some other left groups offer varying degrees of opposition. The Communists receive from 30-50% of the Arab vote in Knesset elections and 3% of the vote in Jewish areas. The Party has three

members in the Knesset.

A rapidly-dwindling group—MAKI (the Mikunis-Sneh group)—which split off from the Communist Party in the mid-1960s, and has supported the Government's position on the 1967 war, has one Knesset member.

Some of the other left groups are hampered by a Troksyist-type line that ends up subordinating both the question of internal racism and the occupation to the socialist revolution.

Today there is an increasing disquiet in bourgeois circles over the Meir-Dayan policies. But the offensive was still in the hands of the annexationists in the Fall of 1972, and very frank and frightening defenses were being offered for the course the government pursues.

On March 18, 1972 the newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* carried an interview with Army Chief of Staff David Elazar in which the military leader was asked to define a "secure border." Elazar gave a strictly military explanation which, in essense, said that such a border was one that was far enough away from population centers and industrial complexes and military targets. As one newspaper columnist noted a few days later, it was a bit of a silly explanation in view of the fact that the new settlements therefore would make the borders less secure by bringing the population closer to them.

But, Reserve General Ezer Weizman, writing in *Ha'aretz*, was unnerved by Elazar's reply. He wrote on March 29: "The borders should be determined according to national, historical interests and in accordance with long range considerations. Only after this should we be concerned with making the borders 'secure.' "

A leading "hawk," Weizman went on to make it clear that the 1967 war was not started because there was any imminent threat to Israel's existence. "A state does not go to war only when it is confronted with an immediate danger of destruction."

Weizman's comments, of course, rival many European despots of the past when preparing to march into someone else's country, proclaiming that it was in their "national, historical interest" to do so. He went on:

> These things contradict the slogan of "no choice." This is a very popular slogan, particularly among the Diaspora Jews,

> who want, for their reasons, to see us as heroes who have their backs against the sea. The danger of destruction was eliminated in the midst of the War for Independence, but the adoption of this "no choice" slogan has produced a Diaspora approach, which says that Jews have the right to fight only when they are confronted with pogroms.
>
> This slogan was joined by a guilt complex. Its source is the psychological difficulty to accept the fact that parts of Independent Israel were obtained not only with Jewish National Fund money, but also as a result of the War of Independence and the Six Day War. The Old City, Beersheva, Ramla, Jaffa, and the Golan Heights were not bought with money but were gained through battle.
>
> The Sinai Campaign in 1956 was an initiated, calculated, and justified political act. This war was meant to guarantee important interests—free passage through the straits and the Suez Canal. Its timing, and the manner of execution were determined more by the desire to exploit international circumstances than by the development and nature of the Egyptian threat.

Weizman's views have been expressed before by prominent members of the Meir-Dayan government, including Dayan himself. On July 5, 1968, he told a meeting of youth of the kibbutzim:

> You have to believe in the concentration of the Jewish people here, you must to the best of your ability, in your time and life, assist in extending settlement. You are not obliged to finish the task. But God forbid that you should say, "this is the end, up to here, up to Degania, up to Mefalsim and Nahal Oz, and no more." This process of expansion has gone on for about a hundred years. You must add your share. Today we are sitting in an area from the Suez up to the Golan Heights . . . and we are advancing, step by step, from the ground of reality, to attain the target set up by us." (*A New Map—New Relations*, pp. 180-181.)

In March of 1973, the Israeli government leaders celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the state with a spectacular military parade through the streets of the ancient city of

Jerusalem. Many U.S. newsmen who covered the event could not avoid devoting a major portion of their reports to the controversy the parade had stirred inside the country.

First, the parade was held despite the clear message from the United Nations that it should not be.

Second, the cost of the show ran into the millions and many Israelis felt that showcasing military hardware was hardly the way they wanted the government to symbolize the country's successes. What's more, the money could have been put to much better use.

The bullish military extravaganza in Jerusalem is worthy of special notice because the situation in that city is quite symbolic of the real story about Soviet Jewish immigrants, the defiance by the Tel Aviv authorities of world public opinion, and the extent of collusion between the ruling groups in Israel and the U.S.

"We continue considering the settlement of Jerusalem as one of the main tasks of the absorption of new immigrants," said N. Pelled, Minister for Absorption, recently.

In Jerusalem the government is making one of its most frenzied efforts to consolidate one of its attempts at an accomplished fact. A divided city since the establishment of the state, the city was "united" in the 1967 war. Tel Aviv now has a master plan for a Holy City, and by 1975 they plan to outnumber the 70,000 Arabs there with 100,000 Jews. That's the relationship between the "settlement of Jerusalem" and the "absorption of new immigrants."

The "settlement" at Jerusalem is different from most of the other settlements on the land seized in 1967. It is not a desert outpost nor the site for some future kibbutz. Rather, it is a bustling city. The argument that Palestine was mostly unused open space before 1948 is a fraud in itself, but the immigrants coming to Jerusalem certainly are not taking over something not in use.

Since 1967 the government has staked out more than 15,000 dunams of Arab land in East Jerusalem (one dunam is about 1,000 square meters or 1,200 square yards). By 1975 they plan to have erected 30,000 new apartments.

Like the buildings I saw in other portions of the West Bank

area, these massive concrete structures stand as confirmation of Meir and Dayan's determination to hold onto the city, not for "security" reasons but because they want it.

Officially, of course, the Arab landowners are being "paid" for their property. It's the same tale told everywhere. True, something like one tenth of the land's value is being offered, but the person being asked to "sell" his or her land has little choice in the matter. David Hirst, writing in the *Manchester Guardian,* described what happens to a reluctant seller when they cannot persuade the person to accept the inadequate compensation offered. Hirst said the officials "make life unbearable by demolishing everything around him, even part of the house itself, the entrance steps or an outside lavatory. The walls crack, the roof leaks, water gets cut off, the rooms are choked with dust."

The Meir-Dayan government now claims that Jerusalem is Israel's capital, and in an attempt to make this an accomplished fact, built the beautiful Knesset building there. This is all in defiance of a United Nations resolution which says that Jerusalem should not become the capital, and which aims for some international arrangement for the city which contains shrines of three religions.

There was shock in Israeli progressive circles in June 1972 when U.S. Presidential aspirant George McGovern, speaking in New York, endorsed what became part of the Democratic Party platform: a call for backing Israel's claim to Jerusalem and saying, "as a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem." One can only wonder whether the "peace candidate" would have gone through with what Nixon—and most Western governments—have refused thus far to do, should he have been elected. It would be a provocative step.

On April 14, 1972, Mordechai Bentov wrote in the newspaper *Al-Hamishmar*:

> The Negev is still almost completely desolate, and there is room in it for millions of Jews. The slogan "Judaization of Galilee" is still basically only a paper slogan. A wonderful place like Mitzpe-Ramon is practically dying. Some of the development towns suffer from a lack of new dwellers. Tens of

small and intermediate kibbutzim are suffering because of a lack of members—and some of them have even collapsed—and still we cannot get along without a new city in the Rafiah area, and without a Hebrew city in Hebron, without upper Edom, and without Jericho Bet, and without a whole list of new outposts along the borders which we want to be new ones.

The truth is that those who base their argument on immigration or on the Zionist 'mystique' are quite aware of the weakness of their arguments and that they are relying more and more on security and political claims.

"All the plans that are based on ignoring the opinions of the Arabs who are living under Israeli rule are based on the belief that it is good to continue the current situation of 'creating facts' continually until the world gets used to it and the Arabs surrender," Bentov wrote. He then went on to make an observation that should be pondered by all progressive people in this country who identify with the aspirations and ideals of the Exodus. It should be meditated on by current supporters of the Meir-Dayan government and contributors to the Jewish Agency and signers of advertisements in the *New York Times* for "Soviet Jews." It would be worthwhile for the "peace movement" inside the Democratic Party to think about these words:

> Is that the way to guarantee our security? It would be worthwhile for people who have clear heads to calculate very carefully the possible gains and losses in the very plan they are proposing today. I am certain that if we liberate ourselves from the unrealistic trauma of the danger of destruction which is supposedly confronting us, if we stop playing the ridiculous game of Samson the hero who is filled with panic and fear, and if we understand that the problem of Israeli security today is a problem of how to guarantee conditions and relations between ourselves and our neighbors which will enable us to live quietly, without the constant fear of wars, attacks, and the loss of lives and property, it will become clear that a continuation of the present situation offers less security than a peace agreement even with not so comfortable borders, so long as our Army on one hand, and demilitarization, on the other, are guarding us.

Chapter 4: The Struggle for Peace

The policies being pursued by the Meirs and Dayans are almost unprecedented in modern history. Of course, there is an analogy with the Europeans arriving at Plymouth Rock and proceeding to take from the Indians all that is North America. It's an interesting analogy and one which Israelis who support government policies will throw up to you at the drop of a hat.

The colonization of North America began during the 1600s. In 1776 the United States was born, but even then there were only 13 states. It wasn't until the mid-1800s that the occupation had spread all the way to the Pacific and a war had been fought with Mexico for the Southwest and California.

Perhaps the Israeli leaders have in mind stringing out a series of accomplished facts for a couple of hundred years until their borders have found their level of "security" somewhere near Turkey on the East and Mauritania on the West. If so, they have made a severe miscalculation.

The era of colonialism is just about over, and with the departure of the United States from Puerto Rico and the Portuguese from Africa it will be practically a thing of the past. Meir and Dayan will soon learn that you cannot build a great nor prosperous nation today through aggression, occupation and annexation.

The United Nations

It is important to keep in mind that the objectives of the Palestinian resistance movement have been sanctioned repeatedly by the United Nations and obviously have the support of the majority of the peoples of the world. Paragraph Two of the first UN resolution on the subject says, in part:

> The General Assembly resolves that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest possible date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for lesser damage to property which under the principles of international law or in

equity, should be made good by the government or authorities responsible. . . .

The resolution was first adopted in 1948 and the section dealing with Palestinians has been reendorsed almost every year since then. The Israeli delegation has consistently voted "no."

Despite this, hundreds of thousands of refugees continue to languish in miserable camps outside the boundaries established in 1948. In 1967 a new resistance movement was born when hundreds of thousands in Jordan, Syria and Egypt found themselves under military rule just as surely as France or Poland were occupied during World War II. In 1967 new camps were set up when thousands more became refugees, many for the second time. It is from these camps that a whole new generation of guerrillas or Fadayeen emerged.

By its passage on November 22, 1967 of Security Council Resolution No. 242, and by nearly all its subsequent resolutions dealing with the Middle East, the United Nations has told Israel in no uncertain terms that acts of territorial expansion are illegal and unacceptable in the world today.

The Meir-Dayan government continues to lead the country in a direction of further isolation from the world community.

On December 8, 1972, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution by a vote of 86 to 7, that all governments should avoid doing anything which would aid the Israeli government in holding onto the occupied territories. With 31 nations, including the United States, abstaining, five Arab nations refused to take part in the votes on what they considered a weak resolution.

Israel's opposing vote was joined only by six Latin American governments which could hardly be considered bastions of liberty: Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Uruguay.

There are four main sections to Security Council Resolution 242 (the November 22, 1967 resolution): withdrawal from the occupied territories, renunciation of force, freedom of navigation, and just rights for the Palestinian people. Of them, the first is the most immediate and pressing need, but it is the last that is at the heart of the explosive situation in the Middle East. There will never be peace in that part of the world until

Israel gives up its racialist policies toward the Arabs within the pre-1967 borders, and grants full economic, social and political rights to them, stops the occupation and renounces any annexationist ambitions.

The fate of the three million Palestinian Arabs is the heart of the conflict in the Middle East. It is not, as some have suggested, a matter of conflict between Israel and neighboring Arab states, in which there is some fault on either side. There are no "two sides," and "evenhandedness" is useless here.

How long will it take for the Tel Aviv leaders to wake up to the fact that their policies are futile, and how long will it take before the mass of the Israeli public realizes the harmful effects the policies are having on their country? For however long it is there will be pain and suffering in Palestine and the danger of war will be ever present.

I have chosen here to concentrate on the fate of the Palestinian Arabs because to a large extent it lies at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East. There is a great and pressing need for people in this country to become aware of the Palestinians' plight and the resistance. Even leaving the obvious humanitarian or ideological reasons aside, a full presentation of the way in which the government of Israel treats the Arabs over which it rules is important if peace-loving people in this country are going to compel the White House and the State Department to refrain from getting involved in a military conflict in the Middle East.

The resistance put up by the Palestinians against the occupation and repression by the Tel Aviv authorities will continue and grow stronger. They are rebelling against a system which exploits, robs and represses them each day. And, as long as the oppression continues, the oppressed will rise up, and there will be violence and strife until the oppression is overcome.

Responsibility of Americans

The above is a rather bleak view of Israel's future and unless there are some changes, Israel's future looks pretty bleak. Zionist propaganda may obscure this fact but it will not change it. In fact, it contributes to making it worse.

The Israeli Jewish intellectual, Amitai Ben-Yena (a pseu-

donym) two years ago wrote an open letter to the American Left in which he said:

> Exactly the same method which is employed by America in Viet-Nam against the Viet-Cong (sic), is employed by my government against the Arabs; indiscriminate bombardment, and driving out of the population, or burning, shooting or otherwise exterminating it.
>
> Napalm is used freely in Jordan and Egypt on every kind of "target." Delayed action bombs, lazy dogs, phosphorus bombs, shooting of peasants peacefully working in their fields, destroying whole cities (like the city of Suez)—these things are done.
>
> Now I am not astonished that the majority of my people here do nothing about it. Why they even consider that if a European paper or television station publishes a picture of an Arab child burned with Jewish napalm, as evidence of anti-Semitism.
>
> But what happened to you American Jews of the left? You fighters for a Viet-Nam moratorium? You are shocked by Napalm in Viet-Nam. Is Napalm here any different?

To that I would like to add a comment directed to Black political figures in this country who often stumble over one another rushing to the support of the Meirs and the Dayans.

These include Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who praises Israel's "democratic achievements in the struggle to maintain justice for her racially diverse population and to carry meaningful assistance to sister nations in black Africa."

What I have witnessed are not "democratic achievements," and the strongest economic links between Israel and any African nation are with South Africa, with which she does a lucrative diamond trade (polished diamonds are Israel's second largest commodity export).

Shortly after the 1972 U.S. Presidential elections, an official of B'nai B'rith observed that there had been a rise in anti-Semitism during the course of the campaign. He specifically cited certain left groups, including the Communist Party, U.S.A., which he accused of waging an openly anti-Semitic campaign.

The man is a liar, he knows he's a liar and that's what he gets paid for.

There was nothing anti-Semitic about the Communist Presidential campaign. But the man explained what he meant. He accused the party of anti-Semitism because it opposed the policies of the Meir-Dayan government and the ruling circles of Israel. To do so, he suggested, is to be anti-Jewish.

It has become standard operating procedure. The charge of anti-Semitism stands there like a giant invisible shield, fending off the condemnation the government in Tel Aviv so richly deserves. It's all so much nonsense—as if opposing the Shah of Iran was being anti-Iranian or opposing the monarchy in the Netherlands was being anti-Dutch; or as if opposing U.S. government policies was "un-American," which is exactly the logic of McCarthyism (and of Watergate).

However, it is high-priced nonsense. Millions of dollars are spent each year to keep the deception alive. The tragedy is that it prevents any sober discussion. The atmosphere it is designed to induce acts on the emotions of people who are in other situations opposed to aggression, occupation, torture, terror and deprivation.

I am hopeful that what is written here will especially be read by people who have a special affection for Israel, those progressive people who contributed to the new state's existence in those years when the Jews of the world were being betrayed by the same Western capitalist powers who for the moment find it profitable to be supporters of Tel Aviv and the policies of Meir and Dayan.

The greatest danger in the Middle East is to Israel. The policies of the government in Tel Aviv are not only an affront to humanity but are also a threat to the well-being and security of all the people living in the area. They are reckless policies, momentarily successful because they are backed up by the government in Washington, the primary interest of which is not the welfare of the people of the Middle East but rather a desire to continue to reap massive profits from the oil resources of the region.

Meir and Dayan have chosen for Israel an ally about which the only predictable thing that can be said is that it will act in

the self-interest of the oil monopolies.

No matter how long it takes, the Palestinian struggle for liberation and a decent life for the Arab peoples of the area will be victorious. Ultimately the destiny of Israel and all of Palestine will be settled by the masses of workers and peasants, Arab and Jew. The millions of dollars collected uncritically in the U.S. and sent to finance the Meir-Dayan policies, and the Phantom jets sent to help carry them out, have in the short run prevented such a democratic solution. Instead they have contributed to the difficulties.

As long as the Meir-Dayan government stays in power and pushes its annexationist and racist aims, Israel will grow more and more isolated in the world. As long as the barbarism I have described continues, the name of Israel will be tarnished. As long as militarism and aggression are the principal features of Israeli government policy, the threat of war will remain, and should one break out, it will mean untold suffering and tragedy for the people—Arab and Jew alike. Further, it will raise the danger of world war.

Progressive and peace loving people in the United States are in an excellent position to help secure a just, peaceful and democratic future for the peoples of Israel. However, this cannot be accomplished by routinely supporting the policies of the Meir-Dayan government or any future regime dedicated to the same course. Nor will it be helped by drawing-room whispers about the discrimination against the Israeli Arabs or shoulders shrugged in response to the atrocities and injustices of the occupation of conquered lands.

For the sake of the future of the peoples of Israel, what is required today is a chorus of voices and political actions demanding that social and economic discrimination against the Arabs of Israel be ended and that political repression directed at them cease. Democratic minded people in the U.S. can best serve the cause of peace in the Middle East by beginning now to educate the people of this country to the terms of the November 22, 1967 Security Council Resolution No. 242 and raising the demand that the U.S. government work for a settlement based on the terms of that resolution.

Only in this way can the security and future of all the peoples of the Middle East, including Israel, be assured.

Postscript

Since the above was written, hostilities have once again broken out in the Middle East. Continued provocations by the Israeli government, including stepped-up moves to transform the occupied areas into permanently annexed territories, provoked the new clash.

The renewal of fighting came at the conclusion of a year of strenuous efforts by the Egyptians, the Syrians, the world socialist nations and progressive international organizations to avoid war and secure a just settlement of the disputes in the area through diplomacy. That effort was sabotaged and the hopes for a peaceful solution crushed on July 26, when a resolution was presented to the United Nations Security Council, once again asking the Meir-Dayan government to live up to the terms of 1967 Resolution 242: the new resolution was vetoed by the United States.

The U.N. vote, however, made one thing clear: the overwhelming support in the world for the Arab cause. The U.N. action, plus the decisions of the September 1973 meeting of the 4th Conference of Non-aligned Nations in Algiers, demonstrate clearly that the demand for return of the occupied territories and justice for the Palestinian people arise from the majority of the nations of the world representing the overwhelming majority of the earth's peoples.

It must be repeated: the Meir-Dayan government is not serving the people of Israel by its stubborn refusal to meet the demands set forth by the U.N. It serves only imperialism and the U.S. oil companies' insatiable greed. Rather than securing the existence of the State of Israel, their policies have placed it in grave danger.

Nor is it in the interest of the people of the United States for the Nixon Administration to continue to pour our resources and tax money into the Meir-Dayan war machine. The interest of the peoples of the entire world demands a settlement in the Middle East. At this point the only hope for peace lies in compliance on all sides with the terms of United Nations Resolution 242.