

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

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*November-December 1977*

Sadat in Jerusalem: Road  
Roadblock to Peace

also: The War Against the Palestinians

## Sadat's Visit to Israel

The bourgeois press and media have hailed President Sadat of Egypt as the new hero of the Mideast. His visit to Israel was reported as if peace had already been consummated and that all was well in that troubled region of the world. Yet elsewhere his visit brought angry response. It has been condemned by broad sections of progressive world opinion. Arab states such as Libya and Syria, the progressive movement in Israel and, most importantly, the Palestine Liberation Organization have attacked the visit as a betrayal.

Sadat's trip, coordinated through the United States embassies in Egypt and Israel, was an attempt to develop an imperialist solution to the problems of the Middle East through the medium of a separate peace between Israel and Egypt. This at a time when both countries are beset by internal problems. Since assuming the presidency, Sadat has followed a conservative, antipopular economic policy engendering widespread mass and labor opposition. He needed something to shore up his image as a leader. Prime Minister Begin has brought in Milton Friedman, University of Chicago economist who is the architect of the fascist Chilean junta's economic policies, to restructure the Israeli economy. This has entailed undermining the gains of the labor movement, denationalizing key industries, and cutting back on social services. This, on top of rampant inflation caused by militarization of the economy, has already led to strikes and other militant forms of opposition.

In order for this aim of a separate peace to be accomplished two issues have to be resolved. First, the unity of the Arab states has to be broken, which the trip accomplished effectively. Second, a way had to be found to bypass the Palestinians in general and the PLO in particular. This was handled without Israel having to concede anything. Sadat's visit made clear that a negotiated settlement with Egypt, the most powerful and populous Arab state, was not dependent on a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

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# Sadat in Jerusalem: Roadblock to Peace

By Bob Prince

In the Middle East today two conflicting tendencies are operating simultaneously and at cross purposes.

On the one hand there is a certain momentum towards peace represented by the Soviet-American statement. This statement called for reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with Palestinian—and by that I mean Palestine Liberation Organization—participation.

On the other hand, the pull towards a fifth Middle East war is more pronounced than ever. We must be frank: this tendency has been fed by massive U.S. arms sales and grants to Israel. So much so that today Israel has been amply refurnished with the military weaponry it lost in 1973. The United States has helped build Tel Aviv into a strong military machine poised to strike another blow further into Arab territory and that is unwilling to end its unjust occupation of Arab territory.

We are facing a situation in the Middle East which could veer closer to peace or bring us to a war in the very near future. Put simply, we will have a meaningful Geneva Conference with PLO participation or bombs may again explode.

## U.S.-Soviet Statement

The joint U.S.-Soviet statement that I referred to was a significant political development. It was the first time any U.S. administration spoke publicly of "legitimate Palestinian rights." Most of the world welcomed it, including *all* our Western European allies, most of the Arab countries, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the socialist states. Only in Israel and in certain circles in the U.S. was the political communique condemned. In Israel, the Knesset and Menahem Begin were incensed. Clearly, they opposed the idea of sitting down with the Syrians, the PLO and the Egyptians to work on a comprehensive settlement. They were looking instead for a way around a comprehensive Geneva conference. Anwar Sadat gave Begin the option the Israelis needed.

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Rob Prince contributed "U.S. Imperialism in the Persian Gulf" to our May-June issue. This is the text of a speech he gave at Colorado State University on November 20, the day of Anwar Sadat's address to the Israeli Knesset in Jerusalem.

Why is Israel so opposed to a peace conference where they would negotiate with the PLO? For the same reason that the John Vorster regime, in its racist tower in Pretoria, South Africa, refuses to have any dialogue with the African people it is brutally repressing (except a dialogue of bullets) so the Begin government in Tel Aviv, stained from Deir Yassin to last week in Lebanon with 30 years of Arab blood and with the oppression and persecution of the Palestinian nation, refuses to sit down at a peace table with the people who for these 30 years Zionism has tried to eliminate—the Palestinians. In this Begin is consistent with Zionist leaders from Herzl to Ben Gurion, Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin.

Israel will not sit at a peace table with the Palestinians until it has absolutely no other choice. At present, Begin has been looking for other options. It appears that he has found one in Sadat's trip to Jerusalem. And today, the option of Geneva looks much more remote than it did a week ago.

There are three major stumbling blocks hampering the reconvening of a comprehensive Geneva Peace Conference: Israeli intransigence, U.S. wavering and Egyptian opportunism.

There are certain Israeli officials who are proud of Israel's occupation of Arab territories. One of them is General Ariel Sharon, current Minister of Agriculture and an important general in the October 1973 war: General Sharon gives us a clear picture of how the Israelis view Geneva.

There is absolutely no possibility of retreat on the Golan. One might correct a border here and there, a matter of a few hundred meters and, I emphasize, not more. And even such border corrections cannot be done everywhere, only in a limited number of places. That's it. Absolutely not more.

Asked about negotiating with Palestinians of the West Bank, Sharon continued:

Israel can negotiate on any subject including the West Bank, but if you mean a geographic division, the answer is NO. Under no conditions can there be a geographic division. There will always be an Israeli presence on the Jordan River, in the West Bank. The Arabs living there will have the choice between Israeli citizenship or of the state east of the Jordan. (*Ma'ariv*, September 9, 1977).

What is Sharon saying about negotiations? Nothing of any substance will be negotiated on the

Golan Heights; there will be no withdrawal from any part of the West Bank and the Palestinians living there have "the option" of leaving their homes or going into exile.

Only on the Egyptian front, and only within rather narrowly defined limits, will the Israelis be open to negotiations.

### Intensified Repression

And then as if to show its total disregard for peace and world opinion, Israel has publicly and blatantly built even more settlements in the occupied territories in recent times. It has revealed its true intentions toward Geneva by intensifying its illegal and brutal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza where Palestinians live devoid of even the most fundamental human rights. All political parties, meetings, even cultural activities have been banned.

Examples of the Israeli treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories were vividly exposed in the June 19, 1977 edition of the prestigious British newspaper, *The Sunday Times*. The article, which got almost no coverage in the U.S. media despite wide coverage in all of Western Europe, commented: "Torture of Arab prisoners is so widespread and systematic that it cannot be dismissed as rowdy cops exceeding orders. It appears to be a sanctioned, deliberate policy."

Such examples make it clear that Israel has no intention of negotiating anything of substance at Geneva. It is inconsistent, to say nothing of inhumane, for Israel to talk of peace while it feverishly builds more settlements near Ramallah and bulldozes Arab homes in East Jerusalem.

All this is further amplified by the events in the United States which followed the Soviet-U.S. declaration. Immediately after that October 1 statement, President Carter came under pressure from Zionist forces in this country angry with the inclusion of the Palestinians in the declaration. The President went all over the country shortly thereafter trying to convince Zionists that he was with them. He began backing down on his comment and since October 1, has carefully avoided talking about the Palestinians and has supported those moves, especially by Israel and Egypt, to exclude them.

But the Zionists were not satisfied with Carter's promises. Less than a week after calling for Palestinian participation at Geneva, Carter agreed to an Israeli-U.S. working paper on Geneva. This work-

ing paper excludes the Palestinians as a factor and goes much further, defining unilaterally how and when the Israelis could negotiate with each Arab participant. The Israelis had what they wanted from Carter and were delighted.

At the same time, Carter hinted of more arms sales and grants to Israel. Here in the United States, children in Toledo, Ohio had to demonstrate to get enough funds simply to reopen their schools: In Pueblo, Colorado 700 more steel workers join the ranks of the unemployed. In Detroit, Michigan, the jobless rate for Black youths is over 60 percent. Meanwhile, Jimmy Carter is thinking of offering Israel another \$1.5 billion in military hardware.

It's those kind of priorities in this country which simply must be turned around!

Administration defenders counter by mentioning that lately the U.S. administration has been mildly critical of Israel's policies in the occupied territories, that our government has made commitments and promises to the Arabs. But the United States *promises* the Arabs everything and gives them nothing. The Arabs get the words. The Israelis get the dollars, tanks and jets. And so the spectacle continues.

### **Carter's Doubletalk**

Jimmy Carter is speaking out of both sides of his mouth on Middle East peace. He merely tells every party what they want to hear, and then obscures intentionally his own policies. In doing so, he has completely undermined the promise of progress towards peace that the October 1 statement represented.

The Zionist movement got 135 members of Congress to sign a letter opposing the U.S.-Soviet declaration, including representatives from Colorado Jim Johnson, Pat Schroeder and Tim Wirth. These representatives bowed to what can only be considered an act of political expediency. To oppose a reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference is to side with those who advocate war. It is plainly inconsistent to call for cutting the military budget and in the same breath support arming Israel to the hilt as Ms. Schroeder and Mr. Wirth do.

For many people in this country, Anwar Sadat's trip to Israel has been understood as a mission to make peace. Given the massive and slanted media coverage of the event, those unfamiliar with Middle East politics might admire the Egyptian president's trip.

But the events in the Middle East, especially those unfolding in Jerusalem this weekend, are not as they appear. Sadat and Begin will not come any closer to making a genuine peace and in fact, after all the melodrama dies down in the coming weeks, there are indications that Anwar Sadat may have committed political suicide this weekend. More importantly, this weekend a Middle East peace was seriously jeopardized.

By going to Israel, Sadat has played his last card—an almost clear recognition of Israel by Egypt, a clear political victory for the Israelis who have wanted such a visit from an Arab leader for thirty years.

What has Sadat gotten in return? Absolutely nothing. Dayan and Begin have been saying all week, "Some to Israel! We'll give you nothing, but come anyway." The U.S. has been saying to Begin, through the media and other channels, "Please, give him something, anything, so he does not have to go back to Cairo empty-handed."

Anwar Sadat will return to Egypt with, at best, only a few empty promises and token gestures. At worst he will be further down the road to even more thoroughly betraying the Syrians and Palestinians by having come closer to a bilateral agreement with the Israelis.

He will also return isolated and in disgrace throughout the Arab world. Sadat has abandoned a comprehensive approach to Middle East peace. He has disregarded the Syrians and Palestinians and put all his eggs in one basket: a U.S.-initiated bilateral settlement between his regime and Begin.

### **Sadat's Desperation**

There is an element of desperation in all these maneuvers. He wants to make a deal with the Israelis at all costs and will do anything to get it, even if it means abandoning the Syrians and Palestinians to the possibility of war.

To be sure, Israel and Egypt would like to come to an agreement. But will they be able to do that? Now that Sadat is in Israel, Begin will try to exact even more concessions. Since Sadat is so willing to make concessions even before they are asked of him (this is his main political "talent"), the Israelis will simply squeeze the Egyptian lemon a little more to get all the juice out of it, before offering some minor, essentially meaningless concession in return.

But even if they did reach an agreement, this would be simply a prelude to war. With the Sinai

front quieted, both Israel and Egypt can turn their attention and energies elsewhere.

An agreement with Egypt would permit the Israelis to tighten their stranglehold over the West Bank and Gaza. Their position *vis a vis* the Syrians will certainly stiffen. Finally, there is a very good chance that with the Sinai neutralized the Israelis would turn their eyes and their guns on southern Lebanon where one of their goals would be to deal the Palestinian revolution there a crippling blow.

Egypt wants to attract foreign investment, particularly from the United States, to help bail out their crippled economy. In doing so, Sadat could then completely dismantle the achievements of Nasser and hand Egypt over, lock, stock and barrel to the multinational corporations.

Secondly, the Egyptians could complete a little project they began last spring—an invasion of Qaddafi's Libya. The Egyptians have an eye on annexing Libya's rich oil-producing eastern region near the Egyptian border. Also, they would like to silence Qaddafi, their frequent and disturbing critic, once and for all.

An Israeli-Egyptian separate "peace" of the kind Begin and Sadat have in mind is a very dangerous idea.

Anwar Sadat's hero image in the U.S. media is only a show to promote a U.S.-initiated bi-lateral settlement. When he returns to Cairo and tries to sell the lemon of a deal he got in Jerusalem to his own people and to the Arab world, he will not look so good. He has unleashed forces in the Middle East that are beyond his control and that could lead either to his political demise or to his severe discrediting so that he can no longer function effectively.

Anwar Sadat did not only betray the Palestinians, the Syrians and the Libyans. He also betrayed all peace-loving people of the world who support a comprehensive Middle East settlement.

Only a settlement that would include Palestinian, Syrian and Egyptian participation with Israel could even begin to address the critical issues at hand! Only a Geneva that calls for the total withdrawal of Israel from *all* the occupied territories occupied in 1967 has a future. Only this kind of Geneva can offer the possibility of a Middle East peace! It is the kind of Geneva we must support!

## Israeli Occupation vs. Israeli Children

**INTERNATIONAL SEMINARY,  
DEDICATED TO THE CHILD'S  
POSITION IN THE WORLD TODAY.—**

**PRAG 3-5 OCTOBER 1977**

**Speech delivered by  
Shulamit KHENIN—Israel**

I am a professional kindergarten teacher, working and living with small children in one of the poverty quarters of Tel Aviv for almost 25 years. I was and still am privileged to bring up hundreds of children and often even see them getting married. I spend with them days of joy, but days of war and grief, too. I have seen mothers when a child's father or brother fell in war, the eyes of these kids looking and asking: Why?

How painful are stories as the one, my friend, the kindergarten teacher from Jaffa told me (she works in one of the few mixed Arab-Jewish kindergartens): "You know," one little boy says to his friend, "now in the kindergarten we are playing together, but when we grow up we will kill each other on the battlefield."

There are many happy children in my kindergartens, but also children who come from ruined houses, from families who live in shacks unworthy of human beings, where there is no room for the children to do their homework, where a child does not know a toy, where it does not see a smile on its parents' faces, nor love and affection, because poverty and despair gnaw at their hearts.

### High Military Budget

We are approaching the end of the 20th century and poverty, oppression and wars still rule in wide parts of the world. To alter this situation we are ready to fight.

*Shuamit Khenin is a leader of the Democratic Women's Movement in Israel.*

Children are the blossoms of life. Will they grow up into happy human beings for themselves and for society? This does not depend on them only. The main point is what society will and can do for them to develop all the good hidden in them.

The policy of the Israeli government, based on occupation and annexation, is disastrous for our people in general, but particularly for our children. This policy leads to sky-high military expenditures, to aggravation of the economic crisis, to galloping inflation and enormous price increases, to cuts in social services, education and welfare, to the general lowering of the living standard.

Over 60 percent of the state budget goes to military expenditures, while public services like education, health, and social welfare are allotted only 15 percent.

What does curtailing the already small budget for education mean? It means stopping the building of schools, closing down of classes by combining two classes and doubling the average number of pupils per classroom, doing away with free education in the ninth grade, less money for youth clubs and sports, lowering the level of care for pupils of slum quarters, fewer libraries and curtailment of the school nourishment programs. In addition to all that is a drastic increase of education fees for secondary schools and universities. For instance, the education fee for colleges is now IL 5000 (\$500) per year; for universities almost IL 6000. These increases have turned the institutes of higher education into a province for children of the wealthy only.

The purchase of weapons affects the education of our children. For instance, the price of one single modern war plane would cover half the yearly budget of a university!

The war policy leads to poverty. In 1973, about one fifth of Jewish families lived beneath the poverty line or just on its margin (approximately 545,000 persons). Since then, their number has grown by many thousands. Our government plans to abolish an important achievement for which the workers lead a fierce struggle—the national insurance allowance for the first and second child—and that will worsen the situation of thousands more families.

This awful poverty, with no way out and no hope, drives thousands of boys and girls into despair and delinquency. Girls from the outskirts of Jerusalem and other slum quarters are being abandoned to prostitution at the age of 12 or 13.

The continuous war policy, the severe economic and social situation, the lack of education are the causes of ever-growing juvenile delinquency. More than 20,000 youngsters at the ages of 14 to 17

neither work nor study. To these are added about 15,000 youths who work but do not study at all, although there exists an apprenticeship law demanding one weekly day of professional learning. Recently, the press reported that the Tel Aviv quarters of old Jaffa, Adjami and Givat-Aliya have reached a "national record"—40 percent of the youth neither work nor study.

Of course, we have in our country, as in all capitalist countries, children who live a life of abundance, but the many thousands of children living in poverty ought to be the greatest concern of the Israeli government.

There are childcare centers and kindergartens in our country, but their number is far from comprising all the children in need of them.

We, together with other organizations, are leading a constant struggle to secure suitable childcare institutions, free hot meals in schools, implementation of the law for compulsory, free elementary education, and for lower education fees in secondary schools and universities. In our struggles we have raised the slogans: "No hungry child in our midst," "For guaranteeing a happy childhood of all our children, Jewish and Arab alike."

## Ethnic Discrimination

Among the Jewish population the poverty problem is linked with the general question of ethnic discrimination. The number of poor families among the oriental ethnic groups is twice as high as compared with the poor families of European origin. This social gap is graver still among the children. Seventy-eight percent of the Jewish children living in poverty are oriental Jews. These children belong to large families with many children.

Sixty-four thousand Israeli families live in inefficient housing conditions. Of these, 43,000 live three and more to one room. The others live in dilapidated buildings unworthy of habitation, which first of all are harmful to the health of the children.

The education system in our country could be illustrated as a "pyramidal building": the lower the oriental children's participation in it, the higher the educational standard.

It was also published in the press that 50 percent of juveniles under control of youth probation officers belong to ethnic oriental communities, the second and third generations of those who came from African and Asian countries, of families falling under the three criterias of the Katz-Commission (this commission was set up by the previous government to investigate youth in distress): a) low income, overcrowded housing and bad schooling; b) broken families; c) parents lacking education.

As a result, poverty among oriental Jews is inherited from generation to generation, and causes frustration and indignation among the young generation who want to break through this vicious circle. The Black Panther Movement, which was founded by young people coming from such a background, rightly connect the poverty question with the continuous situation of war.

Many times graver is the situation of the Arab population and youth, owing to the policy of national and social discrimination regarding wages and land requisitions. This government-policy discrimination finds its expression in many spheres and particularly in the education of the Arab youth in Israel. The allotted budget is so small that many elementary facilities are lacking. The pupils have to study in buildings unsuitable for use as schools, in which vital instruments, educational administration, teachers, *etc.*, are lacking. Even Israeli television could not conceal this grave situation, and showed pictures in which Israeli Arab pupils are obliged to study outdoors, because they had not enough classrooms.

The Arab inhabitants in Israel are 14 percent of the whole population, but in the universities the number of Arab students is not more than one and one half to two percent.

In the occupied territories the Israeli government practices cruel oppression of the inhabitants. Thousands of youngsters, including young girls, as well as adults, are imprisoned and tortured for the sole offense of taking part in the struggle for their liberation, against occupation and for national independence and the setting up of their own Palestinian state. We have observed young eight to nine-year-old children taking part in the resistance to occupation. Many are the youngsters who were wounded and fell in this struggle.

The Democratic Women's Movement of Israel expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the courageous women in the occupied areas. We protest, together with our Arab sisters from the occupied territories, against the terror and oppression and demand our government put an end to it and free all the administrative detainees.

Every year we observe International Children's Day. The first of June has recently been recognized by Na'amat, the mass women workers' organization of the Histadrut. Last year, women's organizations marked Jewish Children's Day also on a date in June, but not on the first of the month.

Our Movement in Israel celebrates the event by organizing gatherings of Jewish and Arab children, at which we educate our children in the spirit of Jewish-Arab friendship, progress and peace. On

this day we organize meetings of parents with children, joint excursions and parties with performances of puppet theaters, films, *etc.*

In the town of Nazareth, a Communist mayor, Tawfiq Zayyad, was elected two years ago. Since then, International Children's Day has become the feast of the whole town. All the kindergartens and schools, including the teachers, take part in mass rallies in a forest near Nazareth. Gifts stream in from women's organizations and shopkeepers to contribute to the festive spirit. Every year our Movement publishes, in Hebrew and Arabic, a special appeal to the public, dedicated to the first of June.

### Anxiety Growing

In the last period anxiety has been growing among Israeli educators, owing to the tendency of the new government to destroy those positive human values still remaining in Israeli education. Various intellectual circles often criticize the new minister of education's rightist, clerical orientation. Youth groups are beginning to understand the danger of turning the educational system into a brainwashing force in the service of war, chauvinist arrogance and the religious "chosen people" theory.

The young generation, our children, need a policy of peace which will secure a just society and a high quality of life, a society which will create and implement laws in defense of their young lives. Is this but a dream? Certainly not. We believe that much could be achieved if peace would reign in our region.

DWMI is a partner to the forces of peace and progress in our country and we do not believe in a "decree from heaven." Peace can be reached if the Government will adopt a peace-loving policy. The constant, unswerving struggle for peace we have pursued for dozens of years has become much more complicated under this extreme rightist government headed by Prime Minister Menahem Begin. Our Government is now in the hands of the extremist, chauvinist forces, standard bearers of "Greater Israel," who utterly disregard the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, who day and night declare that they will not retreat from the occupied territories, that they will not negotiate with the PLO, that they reject any participation of the PLO in the Geneva peace conference, that they prefer settlements in the occupied territories to peace.

This government has joined forces with the worst regimes in the world, with the apartheid regime of



South Africa, with the fascist Pinochet of Chile. This government goes hand in hand with the states that refuse to sign the convention against nuclear proliferation.

People from different political circles who understand that occupation and the absence of peace will lead to disaster are appearing publicly more often now against this stubborn policy. Intellectuals are warning that occupation corrupts our youth, sows hatred and obstruction and turns our sons into cruel soldiers of occupation.

We are struggling for a change in the present policy, for the recognition of the Palestinian Arab people's rights to self-determination and the setting up of their independent state, side by side with the State of Israel.

We want to bring up our children in a spirit of peace and Jewish-Arab friendship. Our children's eyes look up to us and so I will call, with the Israeli poetess Hagar Kadman:

Our hands, oh mother, when intertwined  
will make a wall of peace  
around Ahmed and Yuval.

I would give half my life to  
the one who could make a weeping child smile,  
and would give the other half to protect  
a fresh flower from destruction.  
I would walk for a thousand years after a song  
and travel through a thousand valleys  
arduous to cross  
and ride all the stormy seas  
to gather the fragrance  
of the lilac.  
I am human, with all the cares of humanity.  
Can I have peace  
While blood is being shed?!

*Tawfiq Zayyad*

## True Face of Zionism II

by John Pitman and Zahi Karkabi

The godchildren of imperialism, Zionism and the State of Israel (because of its Zionist leadership) have from the outset played an ultrareactionary role in each particular country and in international relations. Israeli reality itself is the strongest accusation against the racist, nationalist doctrine of Zionism. The Israeli rulers' attempts to represent Israel as a state brought into existence by the Jewish national liberation movement have been exposed.

What has asserted itself in Israel is a bourgeois, pseudo-theocratic and racist regime. Zionism, pressuring Judaism into its service, sanctifies the rule of the Jewish big bourgeoisie over all the other classes of Israeli society. Life in this society is pervaded by religious intolerance, and civil freedoms are curbed. Communal and national discrimination has assumed extreme forms and in its first form (communal) is directed against Jews

whom the ruling circles of European and American origins consider lower (Jews of Asian or African origin).

The plight of the Arabs living in Israel<sup>1</sup> is particularly sad. They are regarded by the Zionist ruling circles as a group of religious communities. The government refuses them the status of a national minority with national rights. Discrimination, national oppression and incredibly harsh social and material conditions are intended to drive the Israeli Arabs from their homeland.<sup>2</sup> Taking these conditions into account, the 30th General Assembly of the United Nations on November 10, 1975, characterized Zionist ideology and practice as racism and racist discrimination.

The outspokenly racist policy of the Zionist rulers of Israel is a class policy. Zionist propaganda in Israel, as everywhere in the capitalist countries,

repeats time and again that all Jews—workers and capitalists alike—are “brothers.” It tries to talk the Jewish working people into recognizing the interests of the bourgeoisie as their interests.

### State Aids Bosses

Yet the state invariably sides with the employers against the workers. Strikes are banned by law in many industries. The police are used against strikers and demonstrators. Zionist leaders do their utmost to prevent a militant unity of Jewish and Arab workers in the country. The chauvinistic and reactionary ideology of Zionism provides fertile ground for the rise of fascist groups in Israel.

Therefore, the Communist Party of Israel stresses that the struggle against Zionism, too, is a class struggle. At the same time, as Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee CPI, wrote, the party rebuffs all who try to describe the struggle against Zionism as a fight against the Israeli people or Jews generally and therefore stigmatize it as “anti-Semitic.”<sup>3</sup> The CPI is convinced that Zionist policy is detrimental to the Israeli nation developing in Israel.

The colonizing activity of Israel's ruling circles in the Arab territories seized by them in the war of June, 1967,<sup>4</sup> and their effort to implement Zionist plans for the establishment of a “bigger Israel” are proof of Zionism's expansionist character. War, occupation and a militarized economy have strengthened the positions of the Israeli big bourgeoisie to an unprecedented extent.

The Israeli ruling circles have faithfully helped imperialism and continue to help it against the national liberation movement. This is seen particularly in the Middle East, where they have committed acts of aggression more than once in an attempt to reverse the revolutionary achievements of the Arab national liberation movement so as to preserve imperialism's positions in the area. The continuing Israeli occupation is a serious means of imperialist pressure on the Arab countries.

The unity of action of imperialism and the Zionist rulers of Israel is not confined to the Middle East, of course. Israel has been assigned a significant role in implementing imperialism's neocolonial schemes in certain other areas. An example of this was imperialist propaganda's advertising Israel's “disinterested aid” to certain African countries, financed expressly by international monopolies. New states were urged in the '60s to draw on the

Israeli experience of “building socialism.”

However, few people in the new independent states still believe that Israel is building socialism. Histadrut,<sup>5</sup> with its economic arms comprising factories and building industries, has become in part a capitalist enterprise harshly exploiting wage labor. The kibbutzim, originally agricultural cooperative, are being transformed into centers where a substantial section of their economy is capitalist-oriented.

The world is also aware that the government of Israel, which advocates Zionist doctrines, is one of the few governments of the world whose official policy is frankly geared to territorial expansion. The Israeli government's support of virtually every imperialist or neocolonial venture, especially as embodied by the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and other countries of Indochina, has earned it an enviable reputation. Not long ago, the Zionist rulers of Israel established a disgraceful alliance with the racist regime of South Africa, which they now supply with arms and military experts to help it in its fight against the national liberation movement of South Africa's peoples.

Lastly, the attitude of Israel's UN representatives—their opposition to any proposal aimed at easing tensions and furthering detente, curbing the arms race and implementing resolutions on national independence and human rights—gives a clear idea of the true nature of Zionism. The manifestly pro-imperialist character of this Zionist practice prompts the majority of mankind to condemn Zionism and induces people to combat it. Governed by Zionists, Israel finds itself in growing international isolation.

### The Deepening Crisis

Zionist ideology and practice, which run counter to the interests of the peoples of the world, particularly the people of Israel and the majority of Jews, were bound to create difficulties and bring on a crisis of the movement in the U.S. and other capitalist countries as well as in Israel itself.

The leaders of world Zionism are deeply concerned about the fact that their claim to speak for all Jews is growing very thin. Campaigns launched in capitalist countries to bring Jews into Zionist organizations on an individual basis produce increasingly disappointing results.

The Jewish communities' declining interest in Israel is an obvious sign of the crisis of Zionism. This decline is particularly marked among the Jewish youth. The majority of Jews realize that the

aggressive policy of the Zionist leaders of Israel is making that state the most insecure place for the Jewish people. This policy has already caused four wars with thousands of victims. It may bring a fifth war, more devastating and with more victims. There is no doubt that this circumstance, in addition to the rejection of the Zionist doctrine, is one of the important reasons for the visible decline in Jewish immigration to Israel registered of late, as well as the growing number of those who emigrate from the "promised land."<sup>6</sup>

Attempts to identify anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism miscarry, too. Even in imperialist countries, fewer and fewer people are misled nowadays by false charges of anti-Semitism when it is a question of making a critical assessment of Zionist activities, condemning the aggressive nature of Israeli policy and backing the just struggle of the Arab peoples, primarily the Arab people of Palestine. Also, there is growing realization of the fact that the Zionists try to divert Jews from the struggle against the true source of anti-Semitism—reactionary monopoly capital—by false laying the blame for "anti-Semitism" at the door of leftwing forces (as, for instance, in the U.S.). In this connection, the 21st National Convention of the CPUSA (1975) pointed out that Jews in this country "are subjected to discrimination in employment, housing, education, access to recreational facilities and other aspects of life. Synagogues and other Jewish institutions are objects of vandalism and desecration. The Jewish people are among the chief targets of the mass of racist filth produced by the fascist ultraright. In pointing this out, the CPUSA calls for "a major mass offensive against anti-Semitism, an offensive directed against its real roots."<sup>7</sup>

Zionism as expressed by the Israeli ruling circles does not help the Jews in capitalist countries, as propounded by its ideologists. Moreover, Nathan Rotenstreich, professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, notes that the State of Israel has not only failed to solve the problem of anti-Semitism but "deepened and reinforced the problem by arousing anger against what the Jews have done."<sup>8</sup>

More and more people the world over want to take sober stock of the activities of world and Israeli Zionism. Many of them come to conclusions running counter to Zionist slogans, dogma and theories. At the same time and as an objective historical process, the rate of assimilation of Jews

in various countries is accelerating—a trend seen by Zionists as the "evil of evils."

## Growing Resistance

A further sign of Zionism's crisis is that progressive and revolutionary ideas are spreading among the Jewish youth in Western Europe and the U.S. and that many of them are taking an active part in democratic struggles in their countries and in actions against Zionist practice, especially in connection with the situation in the Middle East and the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

In Israel itself there is growing resistance among the working people to the ruling circles' home and foreign policy. Progressive opinion takes a stand against curbs on democratic freedoms, against legislation banning strikes and against the activity of reactionary and fascist groups. The Zionist idea of class peace and cooperation is miscarrying. The Zionist policy of expansion by occupying more Arab territories has also reached the point of deep crisis.

The Communist Party of Israel is in the forefront of the country's growing anti-Zionist movement. Its program of struggle for a peaceable settlement of the Middle East crisis, for Jewish-Arab friendship, and for measures to promote the material well-being and security of the Israeli people is steadily gaining adherents.

In line with the appeal of their 1969 Meeting,<sup>9</sup> the Communist and Workers' parties of the world fight without compromise against Zionism and anti-Semitism, against racial and national discrimination in any form. Their unity of action is a powerful barrier to the spread of the imperialist, man-hating doctrine of Zionism.

*continued on page 13*

The real and manifold difficulties that Zionism is experiencing do not mean that it is surrendering to its fate. Indeed, its leaders try and will go on trying to step up their sinister activities. To neutralize Zionism as far as possible, it is indispensable to fight it unrelentingly on all fronts—ideological, political, economic and diplomatic. The fight against Zionism is inseparable from the fight for the vital interests of progressive mankind, for lasting world peace and international security. It is also a fight for the class interests of the international proletariat, for democracy and socialism.

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1. They make up 13.2 percent of the population.
2. In this connection, the Theses for the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel state: "The official Zionist declarations that, because of the "Zionist character" of the state, the Arab population cannot enjoy equal rights and that it has to be evicted from its lands in favor of Zionist colonizing and the "Judaization of the country," are intolerable and only prove the racist character of these Zionist assumptions" (*Information Bulletin, CPI, No. 9-10, 1976, p. 89*).
- For details on the condition of Israel's Arabs, see Salim El-Qassem, "Discrimination, a bankrupt policy," in: *WMR, October 1976*.
3. Meir Vilner, "The struggle against Zionism is a class struggle," in: *WMR, January 1976*.
4. In December 1976, these activities were condemned in several resolutions adopted by the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly.
5. Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) was founded in 1920 and has over one million members. It is controlled by the Labor Party of Israel.
6. In 1975 the proportion of new immigrants declined virtually to that of Jews who left Israel.
7. *Main Political Resolution, 21st National Convention, CPUSA, 1975*. New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1976, pp. 79-80.
8. *Dispersion and Unity, No. 21/22, Jerusalem, 1973/74, pp. 45-46*.
9. See *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1969, p. 35.

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## SEASON'S GREETINGS TO ALL OUR READERS

**ALL GREETINGS TO JEWISH AFFAIRS WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE SPECIAL JANUARY-FEBRUARY ISSUE**

# Jew Burning in Munich

by Sol Flapan

Poland's armed forces newspaper *Zolnierz Wolnosci* (Soldier of Freedom) has reacted sharply to the belated West German news account of a "symbolic Jew-burning" ceremony in Munich's military academy on February 16, 1977.

It was just an "infantile prank," squealed Radio Free Europe, citing a "source close to the Bonn Defense Ministry," as quoted by the Polish daily.

The alleged harmless child's play was in fact an anti-Semitic orgy by what *Zolnierz Wolnosci* derisively calls "20-year-old infantile" cadets. It consisted of burning an effigy marked "Jude" (Jew), accompanied by the spewing of such Nazi gutter songs as the "Horst Wessel Lied" and the shouting of "Sieg Heil." In addition to that obscenity, there have been repeated cases of cadets decorating their exam papers with Nazi swastikas.

In a 600-word news analysis, the Polish military journal denounces the U.S.-spawned, and -funded RFE for whitewashing the scandal and assails those responsible for molding the minds and characters of West Germany's future commanders.

According to RFE those racist excesses by no means reflect the atmosphere in the Bundeswehr, which is supposedly "permeated with the spirit of democracy." Those "free Europeans" ought to be reminded just where the "Bundeswehr's officers of tomorrow get their inspiration for their Jew-burning games," observes the Polish paper.

Citing a few random examples *Zolnierz Wolnosci* points accusingly at the "formal invitations accorded to ex-Nazi military brass to lecture and reminisce in the barracks for young soldiers" and to the flooding of the country with cheap as well as slick trash lauding the "supermen of the Hitler Wehrmacht and the notorious black-uniformed SS elite troops on the battlefields of World War II."

Shades of the frightful pacification operations and mass executions here in eastern Europe, or the infamous massacre of the civilians of Oradour, France in 1944, or the cowardly murder of GIs during the Battle of the Bulge during the winter of 1945-46!

## The Hitler Wave

Still another example of exerting "an unusual educational influence" upon young West Germans is the current Hitler wave in all areas of the public information media.

And so, among other things, the "little brats" of the Munich academy long to keep apace of their Wehrmacht or SS forebears who are depicted by RFE as "matchless examples of patriotism and military virtue."

"Matchless, since those 'lucky' guys were not restricted to burning effigies at some innocent campfire game," says *Zolnierz Wolnosci* with contempt. They had at their disposal real crematoria to burn real Jews, Poles and others whom the Nazis had branded as subhumans, unworthy of living.

Poland alone lost six million of her people during the Nazi aggression and the five and a half years of frightful occupation. Every fifth Pole was killed during that nightmare of genocide authored by the heroes of today's Jew-effigy-burning cadets at the Munich military academy. That nightmare included

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the Holocaust, which nearly completely devoured Poland's three million Jewish people.

Furthermore, those "pranksters" are not even censured for their "infantile aberration" by many key circles in Federal Germany, underscores *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, an observation which remains valid despite the reported suspension from duty of 11 officers involved in that spasm of anti-Semitism at the Munich academy. An investigation is underway, a Bundeswehr command spokesman has announced.

But it is not a question of 11 erring officers and some misguided, fun-loving cadets. The point is, says *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, hundreds of Wehrmacht and SS ex-servicemen organizations operate openly and officially throughout West Germany. There are 15 neo-Nazi groupings and 142 ultrarightist organizations whose programs are modelled on that of the NSDAP, the Nazi party of Hitler Germany.

### SS Accorded Honors

Besides, "are not SS brass accorded supreme honors, like Hans Wassenbach who is a deputy to parliament?" asks the Polish armed forces daily. And others like war criminal SS Colonel Herbert Kappler, mysteriously whisked out of a Rome prison hospital, who is now sheltered in the labyrinth of Federal Germany's legislation? Finally, adding insult to injury, most West German senior officers demonstratively flaunt their Nazi medals not only at home but also abroad during NATO war games in formerly Nazi-occupied countries.

In such conditions, concludes *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, it is not surprising that West German "kids" like the Munich cadets educated in Hitler traditions organized a little Jew-burning game just for fun. And as commanders and instructors of Federal German troops in the not too distant future, they will certainly pass on this game to their subordinates, thus preparing them to ignite the world again.

These and similar racist excesses are not "childish pranks," the paper cautions. They are hard evidence that the gates to the Bundeswehr barracks are wide open for Nazi ideas and traditions and these constitute a high hurdle to be overcome by the "spirit of democracy," despite the honeyed assurances of Radio Free Europe. ■

"Some people ask me,

'Why are there still Arabs

living in Israel?'

"I tell them, 'Ask my mother'"

The struggle for Geneva is like the struggle we waged to force the opening of the "Second Front" in World War II. We are confident we will succeed. But there are governments and forces who are trying to postpone the convening of the Geneva Conference in order to make harder the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East, to postpone it year after year in order to exhaust the forces of peace and bring about the conditions in which the forces of reaction will have the upper hand.

We are for reconvening the Geneva Conference for peace in the Middle East. Through the struggle and unity of the peace forces in the Middle East, through new achievements against the enemies of peace and progress, we will be able to force those reactionary governments and elements to open the second front for achieving a just and durable peace.

It is immoral to speak about a peace conference in the Middle East, that such a conference is very

# The War on the Palestinians

by Emile Habibi

near, while what is happening in fact in the Middle East are acts of aggression, war and bloodshed. We cannot pass to other items of the agenda without addressing ourselves to the most recent aggression of our government in Israel, the brutal aggression on civilian women, children and men in southern Lebanon. One village, Azziye, was erased from the face of the earth. More than 110 people were killed, most of them women and children. There are politicians in your country pretending to be fighters for human rights, who were able to find excuses for such an atrocity, such an inhuman aggression. Openly, officially, in the name of one of the states who comprise the Security Council, it was declared that Israel has no other choice but to retaliate. Not only that: there was an insinuation that such massacres, such pogroms will continue as long as the Arabs, especially the Palestinians, do not capitulate.

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We abhor such an attitude. We deplore such an attitude. We call not only on fighters for peace and democracy, but on human beings to refuse to accept in the last quarter of the 20th century a policy of tribal strife; that as long as a tribe has killed my woman, my tribe has to retaliate and kill 100 women to equal the woman who was killed from my tribe. We cannot build normal relations between states in this way. Can you equalize an act—accepted or not accepted—of a popular movement, of a Katyusha launched by a resistance movement with the air force of a state which is recognized by the UN? Can we call this a justified retaliation?

Mr. Menachem Begin, the prime minister of Israel, cried out in the funeral of the woman who was killed by the Katyusha in Nahariye, "Why was Rifka killed? What did Rifka do?" It is true that Rifka was an innocent Israeli. It is true that Rifka had an elementary right to live in peace and securi-

ty. It is true that we deplore the death of Rifka and her friends. But why, after 30 years since the establishment of the State of Israel, have those wise people who are ruining the State of Israel, who proved that they are very good on the battlefield—why have they been not able to find a common language with their neighbors? Why did they not find any way out for the State of Israel, but drowned more and more in the marshes of the policy of force and aggression?

## The Natural Thing

The leadership the U.S. declared that this has been the natural thing in the Middle East for 30 years. They said that the vicious circle has been continuing for 30 years. Why has it been continuing? Who is responsible for our people living in this continuous bloody tragedy of recurring war, destitution and discrimination?

Rifka was killed because Esau was killed, because the brothers and sisters of Esau are languishing in refugee camps. If they are not killed by the Israeli

aggressors, they are killed by the Arab brothers. Rifka was killed because the leaders of Israel are ready to sacrifice the youth of Israel as cannon fodder in the service of a foreign power. They are cheaper cannon fodder than the cannon fodder that was used in Vietnam. Mr. Begin is making it cheaper and cheaper by his new economic steps in order that the owners of the cannon will be generous with him.

Mr. Begin declares that he is willing to go to Geneva without preconditions. He said "The Arabs will demand that Israel evacuate the occupied territories. They have the right to demand," he said, "but we will refuse. There will be Arabs who will demand that a Palestinian state be established. Let them demand. But we will refuse." And he said, "We are believers, and the Arab leaders are believers. Since we both believe in one God, one day I am sure," he said, "we will come to agreement." And in the meantime, what is happening in southern Lebanon will continue.

Yesterday we read in the papers that again there was an Israeli retaliation because a Palestinian Katyusha was launched at an Israeli village and there were no casualties. In Israel it is easy to invent much bigger lies than a Katyusha.

So what has happened last week will recur. More Palestinians will be killed. New colonialist settlements will be established in the occupied territories; they are not Jewish settlements but white colonialist settlements, antipeace settlements, settlements which are intended to prove that Israeli occupation will continue forever. After a few years the rulers of Israel will declare that the new borders, the borders of occupation, are not secure borders; that women and children are living in those settlements. The rulers of Israel are sacrificing the lives of these women and children in order to be able to declare one day that a new Rifka was killed by a Katyusha and that Israel needs new secure borders.

### Begging Begin

This is what is happening now. This is how they are planning a new Geneva Conference. Mr. Sadat did not learn from the world "Begin," but "begging." He is begging Mr. Begin, and those who are above Mr. Begin, to bring about a solution. Let them meet in Jerusalem, as Mr. Sadat is ready to do, or in Cairo, as Mr. Begin wishes to do. Why will they not bring about a peaceful settlement? What is hindering them? They are planning a settlement

which will not be durable because it will not be just, it will not be accepted by the people who are the core of all this conflict—the courageous and heroic Arab people of Palestine.

Certainly no peace fighter will accept a Geneva Conference that will be only a pretext to postpone the solution, to continue the policies of exterminating a people. Some governments, including Israel, have developed plans for a peace settlement for the Middle East against and without the Arab people of Palestine. Since this people would refuse such a solution, since this people have no place in the plans of aggression and imperialism, these governments think they will be able to exterminate them.

A war of extermination is being waged against the Arab people of Palestine. We have seen it happening for 30 years while the various rulers of Israel were shouting that the Arabs want to throw the Jews into the sea. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, they have been doing everything to ensure that not even one Arab will remain. Through massacres—like those at Deir Yassin and Kafr Kassem—and threats, they forced most of the Palestinian Arabs to leave their country.

Even though 140,000 Arabs remained in Israel, the rulers could not bear them. One of the Zionist leaders of Israel declared in the 50's, "We never thought that Arabs would remain in the State of Israel." And those Arabs who remained—we were born there, that country is our homeland. I must tell you that some people have asked me, "How come there are Arabs staying in Israel?" I told them, "Ask my mother." I have a birthright to that country. The Palestinians have no other homeland. Those who think otherwise—of Jordan or any other Arab country—are mistaken. I am sorry to say that the Arabs countries have proven not a homeland for the Palestinians, but a graveyard. There is no other solution but to give this courageous and heroic people their right to self-determination.

We live under policies of evacuation and extermination. And we are continuing for 30 years with the help of the genuine Jewish progressive forces in Israel, headed by the Communist Party of Israel, which is the only Jewish-Arab party in Israel—the others are Zionist parties, racist parties—we are continuing for 30 years our struggle to preserve our elementary right to stay alive in our country, in our homeland.

For 30 years the government has been confiscat-



ing Arab land. Of 585 Arab villages and towns which existed at the time of the establishment of Israel, only 107 remain now. All the others were razed, their land was confiscated, their people evacuated or thrown out. And yet Mr. Begin declares that he is ready to roll out the red carpet for Mr. Sadat in the name of peace.

### **Endangering State Security**

But all the land that has been confiscated, all the Arabs who have been thrown out—this is not enough. The Galilee is not yet “Judaized,” and 48 percent of the population there are Arabs. This, says the government, is endangering the security of the state.

So what will be done with the Arabs? The government is thinking of a solution on the pattern of what happened to the American Indians over the past 400 years. Begin has sent the commander of the “green commandos”—who roam the Negev and the Galilee destroying Arab houses—to the U.S. to study how it was done historically.

The government confiscated enough land and destroyed enough Arab villages in order to bring about a racist majority in this or that place in Israel, but has not solved the problem of “Judaizing” Israel. The only solution is to expel the Arabs, to exterminate them.

Mr. Golda Meir said openly and unashamedly while she was the prime minister that she is awakened from her sleep whenever she remembers that at every minute a new Arab child is born in Israel. This is not published in the “free” press. It will not be published that the deputy prime minister in the Begin government recently declared, when he visited the Galilee town of Acre, that he is very angry that more Arab children than Jewish children are attending the kindergartens of Acre.

What is this if not racist thinking? It is the thinking of circles who believe that in the last quarter of the 20th century they can exterminate a whole people. And if we do not have enough time, they say, then let us postpone a just solution. And if it is not easy, let this postponement come through a “Geneva Conference.”

We do not find that real conditions exist for convening a Geneva Conference which will lead not to postponement, not to new aggressive attacks on Lebanon and on the Palestinian people, but to a peaceful settlement. The obstacle in front of a

Geneva Conference is not, as they are trying to show us, the problem of who will represent the Palestinians. To this day, the aggressors are not ready to evacuate all the territories occupied in the 1967 war. The fact is that Mr. Sadat has not achieved the elementary demand of the liberation of the Egyptian territories. Neither has Syria. And Begin has declared openly that he will not give up one inch of the West Bank.

So what are they going to discuss in Geneva? With the Palestinians or without the Palestinians, what are they going to discuss? Are there certain Arab leaders who are ready to share with Mr. Begin the Egyptian homeland and the Syrian territories? Mr. Begin wants to discuss with them the fate of their homeland, without preconditions. This is not according to the Security Council decisions. The Geneva Conference should be convened not to distribute the occupied Arab territories between the Arabs and Israel, but in order to find a formation for a stable and just peace.

### **Palestinian Representation**

Representation of the Palestinians in Geneva is not a formalistic question, but a basic one. Mr. Dayan, who speaks freely, declared openly that the Israeli government does not want to recognize the PLO because it does not want to recognize the self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine. He is right in drawing this conclusion, because all this discussion about who represents the Palestinians is a discussion of those who would not want to recognize the right of self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine.

The Palestinians have decided that the PLO is their representative and leadership. We have no right to interfere in their decision or to discuss their decision. They chose the PLO in a very democratic and popular way. Through a long struggle, through sacrifices, they brought about this great achievement of unity of a people—the PLO.

When Mr. Begin recognizes the apartheid government of South Africa, does he ask who elected it? Or when he recognizes the Pinochet government of Chile, does he ask such a question? Or the U.S. government, when it has diplomatic relations with such governments, does it ask how they were elected? They know how they were elected because they elected them. It is a question of the recognition of the self-determination of a people. When you recognize the self-determination of a people, it is

the business of that people to bring about its own leadership and representatives.

Certain aggressive circles want to put the blame on the Palestinians for new aggressions. They want to make retaliation the future policy of the Middle East.

Nobody has the right to demand from the Palestinians to recognize Israel as long as the State of Israel openly declares in the decision of the Knesset that all Palestine is part of the historical land of Israel. When former prime minister Rabin declares that there is no place to meet the Palestinians but the battlefield, how can any honest man ask of the Palestinians that they should be the first to recognize the right of existence of Israel, as long as they are not being recognized even as a people?

We are asking, for the sake of a just peace and durable peace, that Israel withdraw, that it give even a sign that it is willing to retreat from the occupied territories, that it is willing to recognize that another people lives in this country of Palestine.

In the last elections to the Knesset the Communist Party of Israel received for the first time the majority of the Arab vote and a substantial Jewish vote. We are considered officially the representative of half a million Arab citizens of Israel, half a million Arab Palestinians who never left their homeland. Our party declares even from the platform of the Knesset that we recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. Our party defended and defends all the victims of Israeli occupation.

The leadership of the PLO has shown that it will

be ready to accept the internationally proposed solutions if there would be a possibility of implementing them, if Israel will show any signs that it is ready to accept them.

### **Cut the Circle**

When there is blood shed we declare that we have to cut this vicious circle, and there is no other way but to withdraw from all the occupied territories and to bring about a just peace.

Recently we had an official meeting of Jewish and Arab representatives of our Party with representatives of the PLO and we issued a joint declaration. Between us, we represent the Arab people of Palestine. Not only this; we represent the future relations of peace and good neighborliness in the Middle East.

As the struggle of the progressive forces in Israel continues, as the unity of the Arab people of Palestine deepens, as the solidarity of all peace forces strengthens—and especially the solidarity of the forces of peace and socialism and the solidarity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the U.S.—we will be able to bring about a peaceful solution and stop the threat of a new aggressive war, which we consider as the main danger in the present situation in our region. We call upon you, upon all democratic forces, to give more solidarity and more support to the just cause of a just, durable peace in the Middle East. The conflict in the Middle East is a hotbed of a new war, and it is our duty to extinguish it. ■

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### **DECLARATION**

### **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A JUST SETTLEMENT TO THE MIDDLE-EAST CRISIS**

**(Paris—October 14-16, 1977)**

The International Conference for a Just Solution of the Middle East crisis met in Paris from 14 to 16 October 1977 with the participation of representatives of national organizations from 60 countries of all continents and of 20 international nongovernmental organizations. Among them were delegates from Palestine, led by members of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization, delegates representing the main political parties and forces of the Arab countries, as well as delegates representing the peace forces of Israel.

The Conference heard reports of the growing determination of the peoples everywhere to act to

end the dangerous situation in the Middle East, which can lead to the outbreak of another war in the region and which could spark off a global conflagration. World public opinion has the power to act to ensure a solution of the crisis through peaceful means and on the just basis embodied in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

The Conference is unanimous that the key issue of the Middle East crisis is the Palestinian problem. There can be no peace without ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of their own independent national State. There can be no peace without recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Conference appreciates particularly in this connection the resolutions of the United Nations and the stand taken by the overwhelming majority of the governments of the world.

The Conference welcomes the recent Soviet-American joint statement on the Middle East, which could contribute to the reconvening of the Geneva Conference. In this context, the Conference underlines the importance of the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, contained in this statement.

The International Conference for a Just Solution of the Middle East Crisis condemns the dangerous measures taken by the Begin government aimed at perpetuating the Israeli occupation of Arab territories. The participants strongly protest against the increasing Israeli repression and persecution of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. The establishment of new colonies in the occupied territories has been universally denounced. The Conference condemns the continued aggression by Israel in Southern Lebanon.

The Conference unequivocally condemns the deliberate manoeuvres of the Israeli government, in collusion with the US administration, to sabotage the new possibilities for a just solution of the Middle East crisis. The Israeli-US "working paper" on the Geneva Conference impedes all progress towards peace in the area.

The Geneva Conference cannot be convened without the full representation of the PLO on an equal basis with all other participants. The Geneva Conference must include on its agenda the entire question of the rights of the Palestinian people, as embodied in Resolution 3236 of the UN General Assembly. The Geneva Conference must deal with the entire problem of the Middle East crisis in an integral way and not on a partial or "step-by-step" basis. The Geneva Conference must ensure the legitimate rights of all peoples of the region—the

Palestinian people, the peoples of Arab countries and the people of Israel.

The Geneva Conference can secure a just settlement which must be founded on the following conditions: withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967; recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent national State and the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, in accordance with UN resolutions; and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all peoples and states of the region.

The Conference calls for worldwide actions by all peace movements, political parties, trade unions, religious and social organizations, youth and women's movements, by all who cherish peace, to ensure the early convening of the Geneva Conference on the Middle East and its successful conclusion.

The participants in the International Conference view with deep concern the growing arms buildup by imperialist and reactionary forces in the Middle East, particularly in Israel. A just solution of the Middle East crisis is vital and essential for the success of the worldwide movement for peace and the ending of the arms race, for disarmament, national independence and social progress, for the consolidation of detente. The struggle for a just peace in the Middle East is inextricably linked with the efforts for peace and security in the Mediterranean and with the struggle of the people of Cyprus, of the Gulf, of Africa and the Indian Ocean.

The Conference appeals to all peace forces to unite their efforts to prevent a new conflict in the Middle East and for achieving a just peace in the interest of all peoples of the region and the world. ■

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*This is the Declaration of the International Conference for a Just Settlement to the Middle East Crisis, held in Paris in October 1977.*

# א „פעסטונג“ און די פאלגן

ס'ווערט אלץ קלארער און דיילעכער וואס עס טראכט און פלאנירט בעניגס רעגירונג. דאס איז געווען די נאך אין באצוג צום שלום מיט די אראבישע לענדער, אדער וועגן אענקערקען צו מענטשלעכע, בירגערלעכע און נאציאנאלע רעכט פון פאלעסטינער פאלק, נאך ס'רעדט זיך גראד און בעיקר וועגן דער צוקונפט פון די יידן אין ישראל. ווער ס'ויל צעטיילן די צוויי פראבלעמען אויף פארשידענע און פרעמדע אייגענע צוקונפט פון די יידן אין ישראל, ווער זען, אז דאס איז אומגעלעך אין דער ווירקלעכקייט. דאס איז געלעך צו א סיאמער צוויילינג, וועלכן דער גענאלטער טער כירורג קען ניט צעטיילן ווייל זיי האבן נאך ארין היץ. ווי מיר האבן שוין געשריבן האט די ווירטשאפטלעכע „אבערקערעניש“, לויט די עצות פון באקאנטן רעקאמאנדאציען געקאממעט מיטלעך פרימאט, דערווייל געבראכט צו שארפער און קלארער ווענדונג: צום אראפנעמען פון לעבנסניוץ פון די אראבערער און פאלעסטינער פאלק. פאר ספע קוליאנטן, באנקירן און בירושוויקעס זיינען אויפגעפנט געווארן בייטע טויזנטער פאר רויב, שווינדל און לייכטער בארייכערונג.

וואס ער זיך דאס אז צום סיאמער צוויילינג זיי האבן טייל אויף די קא-טאטראפאלע אינפלאציע, ביו 40%—50% א יאר. דער דאזיקער פיער פון באקראט-צושטאנד קומט פון מולטירן דן הארץ פון מלחמה-גרייכקייט, וואס פארדערט פארגרעסערן אלץ מער דאס קויפט געווער און פארגרעסערן די מי-טערישע קריגס-וואפנס. בלויז אויף מלחמה צוגרייטונגען און צאלן חובות פארן אייגענטיקסטן געווער גיט אונטע צוויי דריטל פונעם וועלשען מדינה בודושעט. אזוי ארום קלאפט דאס הארץ ביים דאזיקן צוויילינג ניט ווי ס'וואלט געדארפט צעציידיקן און די פראגע פון אנדערע עקזיסטענץ פאר די אגודע טיע פלענער פון דער מלחמה-פאליטיק. ס'איז א בעיקר אפצושטעלן זיך אויף

דער ביליקער דעמאגאגיע און ליגנט פון דער בעזיר רעגירונג ווען זי שווערט זיך אז זי „זייט אויס“ פאר שלום מיט די אראבישע לענדער. לויט די „שראל“ דייקע פירער קומט אויס, אז ווער נאך ווי זיי, „זארגן“ פאר דער זיכערע עקזיסטענץ און פריידיקער צוקונפט פון ישראל. אויסצונדיק די דאזיקע דעמאגאגיע לייגן זיי ארויף, דערווייל די גאנצע לאסט פון די מלחמה-הוצאות און פון דער אינפלאציע אויף דעם אר-בעטס-מענטש. די ברויזדיקע שטורמ-שע דעמאנסטראציעס און ווארענגונגס-טריקען ווען ארבעטער-קלאס איז געווען דער ענטשער אויפן רויב. די אסאך פון בעניגס רעגירונג קעגן די ארבעטן דייקע איז געווען באגלייט מיט אנהארפן א מרא אויפן פאלק, אז ס'עקזיסטירט א כלומרשט געפאר פאר דער זיכערקייט פון ישראל. ניט וואס איז היינט געפער-לעכער ווי בעטן זיך דער ענטשער שטייט מיט דער ווירקליכקייט: ס'ווערט אלץ שטארקער די פאדערונג פון אלע פעלקער צו אנטוילן די שטענדיקע מלחמה-געפאר אין נאענטן מורח, וואס קען פארוואגן דלט ווערן אין אז אטאמישער וועלט-וויילן פארשטעלן. דאס שפעלען די ישראל-הערשער אין א שווערער לאגע ווייל זיי רייטן, וועלכע זיי האבן פארבראכט. די באשלוסן פון בעניגס-רעגירונג, וואס דארף דערמעגליכן צו שטיין קעגן דער „געפאר“ פון פארלאזן די אקזיסטענץ געביטן, דריקט זיך אויס ניט נאר אין פארקלענערן דעם ארבעטס לויז נאך אויך אין אנטוילן די ווארעמע פאלגן וועלכע קינדער אין די גרונט-שולן, (אמעסטן אויף די ארעמע קווארטאלן), האבן געקראגן. ס'איז אויך באשלאסן געווארן צו פארמאכן א גרויסן טייל פון די טאג אנטשטאלטן, ווו קינדער פון ארבעטניקע מוטערס האבן פארבראכט, ווען מספאריגנט דאס אלץ מיטן וואג-דיקן שטייגן פון די פרייוון אויף די לעבנס מיטלען און דאס אראפנידערן פון ארבעטס לויז קען מען עס ווען די אקופא-

ציע, קלאנאוואציע און די מלחמה צו-ברייטונגען איז ענג פארבונדן מיטן אג-גריף אויף די לעבנס-באדינגונגען פון די פאלקס-מאסן. ס'איז דערביי וויכטיק צו באמערקן אז צוזאמען מיטן דאזיקן באשלוס צו פארנהונגערן קינדער איז באשלאסן געווארן צו בויען פאר הונדערטער מיליאנען לירות גינט סטאט-טעגישע שאסייען, וועלכע דארפן דינען די קומענדיקע מלחמה.

דאס אלץ גיט נאך ניט קיין פולן בילד און באגריף וואס דאס הייסט בעניגן דיין רעגירונג. כדי זיי האבן א באגריף וועגן די דאזיקע צייט און ווי אזוי זיי ווען אנדערע צוקונפט און וואס עס דעצי-דירט ביט זיי, איז גענוג צו געבן בלויז איין פאקט: צוויי זאכען, פון יור-שלימער און חיפהער אוניווערסיטעטן. זיינען ארויסגעטראטן און רדיאן און אין טעלעוויזיע און האבן געמאלדן אז וויכטיקע וויסנשאפטלעכע פארשונגס-לאב-פארטאריעס זיינען פארמאכט געווארן, ווייל די פאנאטרינג אויף דעם איז אפ-געשטעלט געווארן. די געלערנטע האבן מיט זארג זיך געווענדט צו דער בא-פעלקערונג, און דאס איז גיט נאך פארלוסט פארן וואקסנדיקן יונגן דור פאר אויך א געפאר פאר דער צוקונפט פון לאנד ווען ס'עקזיסטירט אן אויסער-געוויינלעכע וויסנשאפטס-אנטוויקלונג אין דער וועלט.

פון דעם אלעמען ווערט קלארער אויף וויפל אנדערע צוקונפט איז פארבונדן מיטן מאכן שלום מיט די אראבישע לענדער און מיטן פאלעסטינער פאלק. דערביי דארף מען ניט פארגעסן דעם צוואנג פון נבחה בעניגן פארן הערשער פון וויילן, וויי אז דאס שטארק-באוואונטע מדינת-ישראל וועט זיין אן „אנטקאמוניסטישע פעסטונג“ אין נאענטן מורח. די דאזיקע הבחטה דארף אויסגעפירט ווערן אויפן השבון גיט נאך פון די אראבער, נאר אויך פון די יידישע פאלקס-מאסן. די דאזיקע „פעסטונג“ מאכט מיט זיך א געפאר פון א גינער מלחמה-פאר-ניכטונג. עס דראט אונז אויך א גע-פאר איז דער צוקונפט צו ווערן אן אפ-געשטעלטע לאנד.

דאס איז די „פעסטונג“ און דאס קענען זיי די פאלגן.

„דער וועג“ א. היילינג



Sadat met Begin under the pretext of "laying out the facts." But the Israeli government already knows the facts. Sadat said the conflict in the Middle East is 80 percent psychological and 20 percent substantive. But the occupation of Arab territory is not a psychological problem. (Egypt's president did not succeed even in winning a promise from Begin for the return of Sinai.) The policy of colonialist settlements, the policy of genocide against the Palestinians, Israel's intervention in southern Lebanon—these are not psychological problems or illusions. Any dialogue that takes place must address these issues. Sadat and Begin avoided them.

Therefore, this is not the road to peace in the Middle East. Real peace in the Middle East requires justice for the Palestinians and recognition of their legitimate representatives, the PLO. Real peace requires a united anti-imperialist position of the Arab states so that they may negotiate a peace settlement in the interests of all peoples of the region, not in the interests of the U.S. government and the oil monopolies it represents. Without this the situation remains unstable. Israel's policies of aggression will continue, and the Palestinians will be further than ever from justice. The lives of all people in the region, Israeli and Arab, will continue under the threat of war.

We repeat what we have said before. The road to peace in the Middle East runs through Geneva with the full participation of the PLO and with the co-sponsorship of the United States and the Soviet Union. ■

## JEWISH AFFAIRS DINNER

How many times have you watched the evening news and wondered what was really happening in the Middle East? When was the last time you got into an argument with your friend about Soviet Jewry and wished you were more convincing? How often have you wanted to explain the need for Black-Jewish unity in the struggle against racism and anti-Semitism, but couldn't find the right words?

For more than seven years, *Jewish Affairs* has been providing clarity and direction on these and other issues. In the heat of hysteria, this magazine has been a cool voice of reason. Contributors such as Emile Touma, Herbert Aptheker, Felicia Langer, Art Shields and John Pittman have brought their expertise to bear on the critical issues of the day. The magazine has remained steadfastly on the side of the struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

Because of this, our readers have always responded generously and enthusiastically to the needs of *Jewish Affairs*. Our subscription and circulation lists are growing and the magazine is improving in style and content.

In particular, our annual dinners have become a tradition in our movement, expressions of a widespread desire for peace and against racism and anti-Semitism. As well, they have become occasions for honoring a magazine that has fought consistently and tirelessly for progressive causes.

Our Sixth Annual *Jewish Affairs* Dinner, to be held on January 22, 1978 in New York City, will be an important step in advancing not only these causes, but also the work of *Jewish Affairs*.

We take this opportunity to thank our readers and friends for their past support and to invite their participation in this event. If you live in the greater New York City area, send in your reservations now; wherever you live, send in your greetings and contributions. Due to a pressing financial situation, we urge you to make a special effort this year to ensure the dinner's success.

Please fill out the dinner coupon and return it to us as soon as possible. ■

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