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**communist party of israel
central committee·tel aviv**

May-June 1967

P.O.B. 1843

SPECIAL ISSUE :

**S. MIKUNIS IN THE KNESSET ■ I WILL NOT
DIE, I WILL LIVE! ■ M. SNEH : THIS
CAMPAIGN ■ "KOL HAAM" EDITORIALS ■
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To our readers,

We are presenting to you, dear comrades, a special edition of our Bulletin. As is well known to all of you, between the time of the issue of our previous Bulletin (No. 4) and the present one, the most tragic event in the life of peoples has happened - war, the Six Days War between the armies of Israel and of the Arab countries.

The Communist Party of Israel, its leaders, its representatives in the Knesset (Israel's parliament), in other public institutions and all Party members in the cities and villages of Israel, the daily and weekly press of the Party, stood in the various stages of this campaign as befits Communists, patriots and internationalists :

★ During the days of tension, on the eve of the war, they called and mobilised the people to ease the tension and to prevent the war.

★ When the war broke out, after the aggressive act of closing the Straits of Tiran, the blockade against the passage of Israeli ships in the Red Sea, followed by the threats of destruction voiced by all Arab rulers against Israel and its state, our Party stood by the side of the people, together with the people in its defensive action, aimed at achieving agreement and peace to put an end to the Israel-Arab conflict. The members of Israel's Communist Party on the battle-grounds and the home-front resisted, during the war and after, the cases of robbery and unlawful behaviour against the Arab population.

★ Immediately after the end of the war, our Communist Party raised a programme of peace, giving the Arabs of Palestine the right of self-determination and the possibility to establish an independent Arab state of their own. This our programme of peace became the central theme of public discussion in our country, presenting a practical alternative to the demands raised by right-wing and militaristic circles in the government and in Israeli society who want to annex territories occupied by Israel's army.

The position of the Communist Party of Israel and its campaigns during all the stages of recent developments in our regions are outlined in this Bulletin containing a small selection of the wide-spread material issued by our Party with the sole aim of putting an end to the Israel-Arab conflict, foiling all kinds of imperialistic intrigues, defeating the trends of reaction and achieving the noblest of all aims : Israel-Arab peace.

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"MAO'S THOUGHT - OUR BEACON LIGHT"

Hsinhua News Agency published on 15. 5. 1967 the following item, showing the relations between the "Palestine Liberation Organization" and the Chinese leadership.

Peking, may fourteenth (Hsinhua) -- "Mao Tse Tung's thought has become a strong ideological weapon for the world's people in their revolutionary struggle. The Palestine people and army are conscientiously studying Mao Tse Tung's thought because they know that it is the beacon light guiding their revolutionary struggle".

These are comments made in a recent Hsinhua interview by Rashid Said Gerbou, head of the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking, speaking on the Palestine people's struggle.

In accordance with this teaching, the Palestine people had found that their main enemy was U. S. imperialism and that Israel was merely a base for U. S. imperialism to invade Arab countries. The Israeli army served U. S. imperialism and was a fascist army.

He said that the Palestine people had formed an army after they established their own liberation organisation. In his writings chairman Mao had explained the theory of people's war. The Palestine people were convinced that armed struggle and people's war were the only way to liberation.

R. S. Gerbou pointed out some large countries believed in "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism. They did not want revolution. But the Palestine people do want revolution and would never tolerate "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism and Israel. No matter what price the Palestine people had to pay, they would fight until final victory.

R. S. Gerbou said that China's great proletarian cultural revolution had raised still higher the political consciousness of the Chinese people who would defeat imperialism and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

1. The six weeks since the air-foray of the Israeli air-force into Syria have been marked by a constant increase of military tension which reached its peak in these days. The air-foray of the 7th of April has not stopped the terrorist activities of "Al Fattah"; in the contrary, these activities have multiplied and increased (14 cases of employing explosives, mines, shells on settlements, on roads, on Israeli installations), accompanied by official declarations of "a people's war for the liberation of Palestine and the liquidation of Israel" that have been voiced in Syria and in other Arab countries. The last declarations of Israeli government ministers and army commanders relating to military reprisal have roused fears in the region and throughout the world, that Israel is preparing a general attack on Syria. After these declarations, Egypt concentrated military reinforcements on her border with Israel for the case that Syria is attacked, and instructed the U. N. forces to evacuate their positions on the Sinai border, so as to remove a barrier from the way to a war with Israel. Following Egypt, the governments of Iraq and Jordan also decided that their armies join the front of the Arab states in the case of a clash with Israel. In this tense and dangerous situation, every hasty step of provocation may cause the outbreak of a destructive war.
2. The people of Israel, and not less the people of Syria and the other Arab peoples, have no interest and no desire for a new war. Only foreign factors, the imperialistic enemies of the peoples, can profit from relations and acts of hostility between the peoples. Peace, being the superior interest of the peoples, is to the detriment of imperialism and stands in its way. Therefore, everybody who causes an increase of tension in the Israel-Arab relations, everybody who causes the outbreak of a fire on the Israel-Arab borders, does not serve the benefit of his people, but the intrigues of imperialism, whether knowingly or unknowingly.
3. The most urgent need of the hour is to prevent war in our neighbourhood. For the prevention of a new Israel-Arab war, the Arab governments must stop the acts of terror and the adventurous plans of "Al Fattah", of the "Palestine Liberation Organisation", etc., and also cut off the sources of encouragement and aid that are feeding these war-mongering bodies. For the prevention of a new Israel-Arab war, Israel must abandon the method of military reprisal, the military forays into the territory of the neighbouring countries. Every additional violation of Israel's security, every military foray into an Arab country is apt to plunge the whole region into a horrible turmoil of war.

4. The Communist Party of Israel regards the change from the way of hostility and war to the way of agreement and peace in Israel-Arab relations not only as desirable and necessary, but also as possible and prospective. Firstly, all the parties to the conflict must undertake an obligation not to use force and not to threaten their opponent with force; such a renewed public obligation in itself will ease military tension considerably. Secondly, the armistice commissions, in general, must enforce their full authority, and the discussions of the Israeli-Syrian armistice commission in particular must be renewed, so as to solve by agreement the partial problems in dispute that need an urgent solution. Thirdly, after the easing of tension and after the liquidation of the urgent limited conflicts, it will be possible to advance towards the conversion of the armistice agreement into peace treaties between the Arab states and Israel which will take into consideration the legitimate rights of all the peoples concerned. Fourthly, a joint regional development programme will serve as a valuable instrument for the implementation of the peace treaty and the establishment of relations of good neighbourhood and friendly cooperation between the Arab peoples and Israel.

5. The Communist Party of Israel demands that the Israel Government display in this perilous hour full responsibility with regard to national security and international peace, by abstaining from initiated military action against any neighbouring country and by careful consideration so as not to transcend the line of defence of Israel's borders and of Israeli territory; by abstaining from any step that might implicate Israel in interests of foreign imperialism and Arab feudalism, interests that have nothing in common with us; by taking the initiative for a peaceful solution of the conflict with the Arab states based on the mutual recognition and mutual respect of the rights of both peoples, Jews and Arabs.

Prevent the war !

Safeguard peace on the borders !

Long live the struggle for Israel-Arab peace !

Long Live Jewish- Arab people's brotherhood !

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel
The Politbureau

Published in "Kol Ha'am", 19. 5. 1967

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

(Tel Aviv, May 24th, 1967)

Yesterday evening, the Communist Party of Israel released a statement calling on all the peaceloving international factors to undertake urgent efforts for preventing a bellicous conflagration between Israel and the Arab states. The factors were asked to use their influence on both sides in the Israeli-Arab conflict to make them refrain from any step which might lead to war. - The CPI statement says that the blocking of the Tiran Straits before Israeli shipping on part of the government of the United Arab Republic constitutes an aggressive step infringing with international law and endangering the peace in the Middle Eastern region. At the same time demands the CPI that the Israeli government abstains from any step liable to increase tension and to cause a further deterioration of the situation in the region.

"The urgent cause of saving peace in the region makes it imperative for all peaceloving factors and for the U. N. O. institutions to act for a retreat of the Israeli and Arab contingents from the border areas, for abstention from the use of force on part of both sides involved, and for strict observation of the existing armistice agreements.

The statement of the Communist Party of Israel ends as follows :

"The dangerous situation existing on the Northern and Southern borders makes it imperative for the Israeli government to stop for its part any threat with the use of force and any use of force outside the borders of Israel; to initiate political steps for receiving a similar undertaking also from the Arab countries; demands that the Israeli government expresses readiness to return to the Israeli-Syrian Armistice Commission, and that it strictly honours the Armistice Agreements which constitute the only international legal basis of relations between Israel and the Arab States."

COM. S. MIKUNIS SHOWED THE WAY TO SAVE PEACE

On 24. 4. 1967, with the growing tension on the Israel - Arab borders, C. P. I. General Secretary S. Mikunis tabled, at the close of the debate in the Knesset, the following resolution :

a) The Knesset calls upon the government in this perilous hour carefully to abstain from any step that might increase tension, violate peace and lead to a war between Israel and the Arab countries.

b) The Knesset condemns the closing of the passage through the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships by the government of the U. A. R. as an aggressive step, because it constitutes a violation of international law and endangers peace.

c) The Knesset calls upon the United Nations Organisation and all the peace-loving forces in the world, to exert their utmost influence on the government of the U. A. R. to repeal their decision on the closing of the passage through the Straits of Tiran, and on all the states concerned in this region to comply with the United Nations Charter, with the armistice agreements, to abstain from violence in relation to other states.

On the previous day, the 23. 4. 67, Knesset member S. Mikunis held a speech in the Israel Parliament during the political debate. Reacting to the statement made by the Prime Minister, L. Eshkol, he said among others :

The one-sided and smooth statement of the Prime Minister ignored the main hero of the dangerous situation evolved on our borders - U. S. imperialism.

International reality and common sense alike teach us that it is the global and regional policy of the United States, and also of Britain, that is interested in increasing tension between Israel and Syria and Egypt. Besides this objective evaluation, there are also outspoken symptoms that the U. S. A., more than any other factor, is interested in kindling the fire of Israel - Arab antagonism in the region, be it only to divert public opinion in the world and in the United States from their horrible crimes in Vietnam, from the methods of genocide employed by them against the Vietnamese people, which arouse the resistance of all peoples. From Hanoi to Athens and from Athens to the Israel - Arab borders, the dirty and dangerous hand of American imperialism, is clearly visible.

Calling on the government of Israel to abstain from any action that might increase tension, the C. P. I. spokesman said :

"That is how threat of force and use of force from both sides of the Israel-Arab border has served in the past and is serving today, too, the exclusive interests of imperialism. This has not solved any problem, but has aggravated all problems in dispute between Israel and the Arab countries. One of the important conclusions to be drawn by Israel is to abstain from any step that might involve Israel in foreign interests of imperialist forces."

S. Mikunis criticised a one-sided approach in evaluating the factors of tension and the sources of the present danger, and said :

"There are no entirely just men and no entirely wicked men on both sides of the Israel-Arab conflict. Any one-sided approach, any dogmatic division into black and white, into one just side and another unjust side will not serve the cause of peace. Imperialism is able to exploit the Israel-Arab problem, because there is an Israel-Arab conflict since many years. In order to struggle more successfully against imperialism, in order to safeguard the independence and security of Israel and the neighbouring states, the conflict must be peacefully settled on the basis of mutual recognition of the just national rights of both peoples. In this fundamental task, the rulers of Israel and of the Arab states alike must admit that they have largely failed for many years.

As long as the rulers of our country disregard the legitimate rights of the Arab refugees, as long as the rulers of the Arab countries deny Israel's right to exist - as long as this goes on, the end of the Israel-Arab conflict cannot be foreseen. But in this moment we are faced with the urgent question of saving peace. From this point of view, of saving peace, we reject the pressure of the militaristic circles in Israel who prefer a large-scale military campaign rather than prolonged activities of defence on the borders against the infiltration of saboteurs and murderers, although they themselves are forced to admit that Israeli military actions across the border are of no avail."

At the end of his speech, MK S. Mikunis said :

"From the same point of view, we reject the campaign of agitation and organisation under the banner of "Liberation of Palestine" which is aimed at liquidating Israel. The campaign of a small war as a prologue to a big war against Israel has nothing in common with liberation, but

supports the intrigues of Imperialism in the region. This campaign is a further disaster for the Arabs of Palestine following the chain disasters brought upon them by all kinds of Shukeiry's; a campaign that is only an adventure of no avail and no prospects - whether the crusaders are arch-reactionaries or whether they are so-called anti-imperialists."

The people of Israel and the Arab peoples are interested in removing war from the scene of Israel-Arab relations. It is, therefore, the duty of the government to reject external and internal pressure in favour of any military showdown whatsoever. It is right of Israel, as of any other country, to use force only in the case of utmost necessity, in self-defence, but any such step must be carefully considered, especially when the borders are warmed up'.

The dangerous situation on the northern and the southern borders obliges the government to cease on its part any threat or use of force across the borders of Israel; to initiate political action so as to impose such an obligation on the Arab countries, too; to agree to return to the armistice commission and faithfully to observe the armistice agreements which are the only international legal base of the relations between the State of Israel and the Arab States.

The fateful test - for Israel, her neighbours and for all the forces of peace in the world and in the region - will be the extraordinary effort to prevent the outbreak of war on the borders, to save peace."

The Central Organ of the Party "Kol Ha'am", dedicated many editorials, and articles to the same subject in these days of growing tension.

Many public meetings, group meetings in the homes of party sympathizers and meetings of party branches were held throughout the country.

In these meetings, members of the C.P.I. Politbureau and Central Committee lectured and explained the grave danger and how to prevent it. The Communist Party programme for the prevention of war and salvation of peace was brought by the activities of the C.P.I. to factories, offices, universities and schools and was received with sympathy by the public.

EMERGENCY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

In the evening and night of the 25th of May 1967, the Central Committee of the CP of Israel, together with the members of the Central Control Commission, held its 16th Plenum - an Emergency Session - to discuss the military and political crisis in the Israel-Arab relations. The General Secretary, S. Mikunis, gave a report on this subject.

The session was presided by the Politbureau member and secretary of the C. C., Esther Vilenska. 23 comrades took part in the discussion.

It was decided to address an emergency call to the people of Israel, to the Arab peoples and to all the forces of peace in the world, so as to remove by joint efforts the danger of war and to save peace in the region.

It was decided to send to the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union an urgent message stating the view of the CPI on the present crisis in the Middle East and on the means for its solution and for the prevention of war. It was also decided to send a message on the same subject to Communist Parties in several other countries.

The C. C. approved of the attitude of the Politbureau towards the security and political situation, which found its expression in declarations, articles in "Kol Ha'am" and addresses in Parliament.

EMERGENCY CALL

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, at its Emergency Session on May 25th, 1967, decided to turn with the following appeal to the people of Israel, the peoples in the Arab countries and all peace-loving peoples in the world.

To the People in Israel

In this fateful hour let us unite and fight in a body to prevent war, to save peace. We, the Jewish people who have suffered so much and lost so many of our brethren and who are building a new life in our historical homeland, have felt the impact of the terrors and horrors of war in their worst form, and we aspire with all our heart, with our soul and all our being to be able and be permitted to build and construct a new life, to develop our national economy and our national culture. For the sake of security, for the sake of life as against the danger of destruction and murder - let the people of Israel solemnly declare: Israel will not take any step to increase the tension which might lead to a flaring-up of war. Let there be from the part of Israel full readiness to seek for and find a solution for the present crisis in peaceful ways and by peaceful means only.

To the Arab Peoples

We, the people of Israel, wish for peaceful and friendly relations with you, our neighbours. Only the imperialists, the enemies of the peoples, with the help of those in their service on both sides, have fostered feelings of hatred and animosity between us. Imperialism is the common enemy of both of us, yours and ours. Peace, construction, freedom and independence are our common interests. Let us fight, each in his home country, against any military action, any inclination to military actions as a means to solve the Israel-Arab conflict and problems arising out of it! Fight in your countries against any project suggesting a "People's war for the annihilation of Israel"! Israel must concede the Arab refugees the right to return here or to get adequate compensation; you, the peoples of the Arab countries, have to acknowledge the existence of Israel as a sovereign country in the Middle East. Let us put an end to hatred, animosity and war and find together the way that leads to friendship and peace between you and us.

To all the Progressive and Peace-loving Men in the World

By decision of the peoples and nations in the world, an international

decision we, the people of Israel who have escaped the Nazi holocaust, a people persecuted and suppressed, have started a new national and independent life on the ground of its legitimate rights to do so. We, this people, turn to you with the appeal : Save the Middle East, save our country and save the neighbouring Arab countries from the danger of a war of total destruction ! Use all the national and international means in your power to bring the crisis between Israel and the Arab countries to an end without the use of force and war; let peace prevail ! Exercise your influence to induce the governments concerned in the conflict to refrain from any act of violence . Oblige the governments of both sides to cancel all activities they have started in preparation of war - the concentration of armies at the borders, the closing-up of the Straits of Tiran, the penetration of saboteurs into our territory on the one hand, and rush military border-invasions on the other hand. Impose upon the governments of both sides, the Arabs and the Jews, that have signed armistice agreements, to honour these agreements faithfully and to cooperate in the Mixed Armistice Agreements, to find and agreed-upon temporary order as long as a final peace-settlement has not yet been reached.

Let us prevent the war in the Middle East !

For the sake of the peoples living in this part of the world, for the sake of world peace, let us keep and maintain the Armistice Agreements !

Statement of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Israel
made at the Emergency Session,
25. 5. 1967

(Published by "Kol Ha'am" 26. 5. 1967)

DANGER OF WAR AND THREATS OF ANNIHILATION

In this situation of severe military tension which developed on the Israeli-Arab borders, it is the foremost duty to prevent a military show-down, to save peace. That is why we - all the time and again and again - called upon all parties concerned to abstain from every action or talk which might add to the already prevailing tension and increase the existing danger. We first and foremost addressed our call to the government of Israel, at the same time stressing that things depend no less on the Arab governments, and also expressed the hope that world peace factors would influence both sides not to use force and not to threaten with force. In this spirit we published on May 26th in "Kol Ha'am" the emergency call of the C. C. , C. P. I. However, to our deepest regret the situation is developing in the opposite direction.

The President of the U. A. R. , Gamal Abdul Nasser, held a speech to the delegates of the Arab trade unions, that cannot be defined but a speech provoking war against Israel. From the first moment we regarded the conquest of Sharem El-Sheikh and the closing-up of the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships an aggressive step violating international law and endangering peace. Now, the President of U. A. R. has confirmed in his speech this our definition, as the confession of the person in court being like the testimony of hundred witnesses.

Nasser knew - he said in his speech - that the occupation of the Straits and their closing-up means "a practical confrontation with Israel" and therefore he did not so till now - despite complaints made by Arab circles against him - because "it was necessary to prepare for a full-scale war against Israel"; Nasser also declared that the aim of the showdown, if it would break out, will be the "annihilation of Israel". So, after the aggressive step of imposing a blockade on the passage of Israeli ships in the Straits of Tiran, came the aggressive speech threatening Israel with extermination. It is true that Nasser pointed out in his speech that his main struggle is against the United States and Britain "who are hostile to the Arabs because of their support of Israel", but by his action of occupying Sharem El-Sheikh he directed the stroke of the blockade against Israel only and not against the two imperialistic powers. The speech is anti-imperialistic, the action is anti-Israeli. Nasser's action that is violating the freedom of passage through an international water-way, may serve as the pretext for the intervention of the U. S. Sixth Fleet or of the British Royal Navy. Therefore, despite the anti-imperialistic talking, the blockade imposed by Nasser has in fact an objective significance that is convenient for the imperialists. The claim that the renewal of the blockade on the passage of Israeli ships in the Red Sea abrogates one of the results of the

Sinai-Suez War is not to the point, because this blockade was unlawful before 1956, too. And above all, the blockade in the Straits of Tiran is and was intended from its very beginning to violate a sovereign right of the State of Israel, knowing that this aggressive step leads to a "general confrontation" with Israel and with the intention to "liquidate Israel". And this shall be called "an anti-imperialist and peace-loving policy" ?

With the replacement of the U. N. Emergency Force on the border of the Zone of Ghaza by no others but armed units of the "Palestine Liberation Army", according to the decision of the U. A. R. Army Command, we knew and wrote that this can only further aggravate the security situation. And indeed, the "Supreme Commander" of the "Palestine Liberation Army" Ahmed Shukeiry, calls in the Mosque of Cairo for a "Holy War" against Israel - and his men already lay mines on a way on the Israeli side.

The severity of the danger reaches its peak. Only a highly authoritative and weighty international initiative is still able to remove the nightmare of war and cause a turn in the situation towards safeguarding peace. We address, therefore, all peace-loving factors in the world with the appeal actually and urgently to initiate steps for saving our region, saving Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries, from conflagration of war, by the abrogation of all measures which brought to the threshold of war : first of all abrogation of the blockade of Israeli shipping in the Tiran Straits; withdrawal of the armies concentrated at the Israeli-Arab borders from both sides of the borders; stopping the infiltration of saboteurs into Israeli territory and stopping military retaliation raids into the territory of Arab countries; resumption of the work of the Mixed Armistice Commissions - the Egyptian-Israeli and the Syrian-Israeli commissions.

Egypt's demand to convene the U. N. Security Council in order to discuss "Israel's aggressiveness during the previous 18 years" creates the impression, that it is aimed to cover up the anti-Israeli actions and threats of the previous 16 months. . . . Of course, Israeli-Arab relations since the decision of the U. N. General Assembly on November 29th, 1947 have a long history, and the history of these last 19 years and a half (19½ and not 18) knows aggressive actions from both sides, that of the Arab states as well as the Israeli side, but this chain of aggressive actions which began on May 15th, 1948, by the forcible violation of the U. N. decision - was not started by Israel. But we deem that this is not the proper time for historical evaluations, but for the salvation of peace from actual danger.

("Kol Ha'am" editorial, 28.5.1967)

The preventing of war and safeguarding of Israel's rights by peaceful means - are the objectives advocated by the Communist Party of Israel (Maki) and its leaders in the Knesset, at public meetings and in the daily press, at the time of grave tension along Israel's borders and in the Tiran Straits where the government of the U. A. R. has imposed a blockade.

In the Knesset debate on 29. 5. 67 following the Finance Minister's speech - which, because of the situation, dealt with the entire Israeli economy in times of emergency, S. Mikunis M. K. Secretary General of the Israeli Communist Party, said :

"The supreme national task facing the people of Israel and the State of Israel is to adopt all possible ways and means of a political nature in order to avert war, to refrain from any step liable to aggravate the situation on the border and to safeguard Israel's rights by peaceful means."

S. Mikunis condemned the striving of the extreme Right (Gahal) and the Ben Gurionist militarist elements to get into the government using the pretext of the current situation of emergency. The speaker stressed the danger inherent in these strivings.

"We know these people, the CPI representative said : "To this day we are still reaping the bitter harvest of what they did in 1956 (the Sinai-Suez war). We are aware of the situation of bankruptcy in the political and security fields in which we have found ourselves because of these same individuals who today claim that all they want is to save the State of Israel."

INTERNATIONAL FACTORS SHOULD NOT BURY THEIR HEAD IN
THE SAND

As we have pointed out, day after day Kol Ha'am, CPI's daily paper, warns against the danger of war and points out the ways to safeguard Israel's rights by peaceful means. In its editorial on 30. 5. 1967, the CPI organ commented on the Prime Minister's broadcast over Kol Israel, which included the cabinet's decision to allow for a breathing-space in order to enable international factors to ensure free passage in the Red Sea by diplomatic means. The Kol Ha'am editorial went on to call upon international factors :

"In order to save the peace, it is essential that the international factors should not bury their head in the sand but should look reality clearly in the face. The issue now is not only of lifting the maritime blockade against Israeli shipping in the Straits of Tiran, even though

that is at present the principal focus of the tension. It is essential to study carefully the speeches of the UAR President and to treat them with all due seriousness emanating from his status in the Arab world and the support that he has in the international sphere. Of late, Abd el-Nasser has been making speeches every day, and from day to day he has expressed his objective more precisely. Following his two aggressive and bellicose speeches before a trade union delegation and a press conference, he has now given a third address - this time to the delegates of the UAR's National Assembly, in which he defined the aim of his policy as follows: "To return to the situation as it was before 1948"; "to eradicate every vestige of 1948" - in other words, to wipe out the State of Israel which was established in 1948. Everything else follows from this aim: The blockading of the Tiran Straits to Israeli shipping is only a stage towards the fulfilment of this aim; the despatch of armed Palestinians for acts of sabotage and murder in Israel, for a so-called "War of Liberation", this too is only a stage and one item in the plan; the assurance of the assistance of the Egyptian army to terrorist organizations of this army along the Israeli border is another of the stages and another of the items in Nasser's plan. The demand to sever Eilat from Israeli territory again is one more item of the plan as a whole; and the lodging of a complaint with the Security Council on "18 years of Israeli aggression" is but one more means towards that same end - the wiping out of Israel.

Nasser is not unique or alone in making such declarations. The Syrian Prime Minister, Dr. Jusuf Zuayin, yesterday stated explicitly that the closing of the Tiran Straits was only the beginning of the "smothering of Israel", and that now the time had come to complete the annihilation. Clear words indeed. And to these the UAR President added: "We shall be the ones to determine the time and place of the showdown." However, this is not the intention of Cairo and Damascus alone; the "front for the annihilation of Israel" has also been joined with great enthusiasm by those well-known "anti-imperialists", King Feisal and King Hussein. . .

It is therefore evident that in order to save the peace, it is essential to uproot from the minds of the Arab leadership the purpose of wiping out Israel. Without this, there can be no peace since as they themselves have stated, they will decide upon the time and the place most favourable to them for the launching of the war to achieve their stated purpose of annihilating Israel".

The article also, in this connection, refers to the rights of the Palestine Arab people and the way to ensure these rights:

"In his last speech, the President of the UAR emphasised the issue of the Palestine Arab people's right. But the historic truth is that it is the refusal to recognise the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine which caused the tragedy of the Palestine Arab people. The historic truth is that the aggression of 1948 was not against the Arabs but against the Jews, and Col. Gamal Abd el-Nasser surely is aware of this fact and remembers". The historic truth is that British and American imperialism in 1948 stood behind the Arab League and the aggression against the State of Israel at its birth, as the delegates of the Soviet Union to the United Nations institutions of that time stated with great honesty and courage. It is evident then that the President of the UAR distorts the historic facts in order to justify his aggressive aim of annihilating Israel.

Only an agreement on peace can safeguard the legitimate rights of the two peoples - the Jewish and the Arab. A peace settlement will ensure the right of the Arab refugees to either return or receive compensation; and a peace settlement is possible only on the basis of recognition of the State of Israel to exist. If then, there is an Arab statesman who is sincerely and truly concerned for the fate of the Palestinian Arabs, on these same grounds he must also demand peace with Israel and not war".

SOME THOUGHTS AND MEDITATIONS IN THESE DAYS

by Moshe Sneh

The thought uppermost in the mind of every peace-loving person in these days when the threat of war looms over us and the wish for peace is becoming a longing is : what is the cause of the extreme deterioration of the security situation in the Middle East, what has brought about this war atmosphere and increased tension between the Arab countries and Israel ?

The causes are many and they are not altogether unknown. Imperialism has always endeavoured and is surely endeavouring now to divide peoples in order to rule them. Nationalistic antagonism on both sides of the border has always constituted a danger of clashes and provided fertile ground for the seeds of war. There can be no doubt that China exercised an influence and has greatly encouraged the spirit of military adventure in these nationalistic Arab circles, a fact that has made the task of Soviet policy, striving to influence and direct these same circles on the way of peace and the fight against imperialism proper, extremely hard. Punitive military operations across the border on the part of Israel in answer to the penetration into Israel of saboteurs and murderers from the Arab countries have increased the already high tension.

Nasser was against an immediate war, he opposed the infiltration of terrorists into Israeli territory sponsored by Syria, - now, when he has adopted the idea of immediate war, he did not hesitate to change his tone and to declare himself ready to support and encourage the "Palestine Liberation Fighters" that are to penetrate into Israel and to perform acts of sabotage and aggression under the slogan of "Liberation of Palestine", and that, it seems, is the reason why the Egyptian high command has posted units of the Palestine Liberation Army in the Ghaza strip and not units of the regular Egyptian army.... And if the idea is immediate war, it follows that any act of defence on the part of Israel in answer to the penetration of "The Palestine Liberation Fighters" will be presented as "aggression" and serve as a pretext for bringing into action the regular Egyptian army concentrated on the Israeli border, according to Nasser's own statement, precisely for this purpose.

Nor did the President of the U. A. R. conceal the aims of all these designs from us : one day he spoke about a return to the situation as it was before 1956; - and the next day he was already demanding to turn back the wheel of history and restore the situation as it was before 1948, that is to say, to annul the very existence of a Jewish state in Palestine.... In our time it is not usual any longer to declare war, unless war is started, but blocking the straits of Tiran, concentrating armed forces on the border of Israel and the claims and declarations accompanying these acts, can have one meaning only :

As the political purpose is "the liberation of the conquered territory of Palestine, called Israel", it is clear that this political purpose cannot be achieved in a peaceful way. And the Moslem priests in their mosques are already calling the people to a holy war, Jihad as they call it....

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The change came from Egypt with Nasser's changed attitude passing from postponing the war with Israel to speeding it up, according to the wish of the government of Syria, and this change of attitude induced other Arab governments to join the front against Israel with the purpose of annihilating this hated state. Not only did King Hussein sign a military pact with Egypt, but King Feisal sent his army to reinforce the Jordanian army, and the President Aaref too is sending units of the Iraqi army to the countries bordering on Israel. Habib Bourghiba President of Tunisia, has also, though from farther away, joined the anti-Israeli military alliance and Algeria, needless to say, will not stay away, and so on and so on.

What is the nature of this front ? We will not and cannot accept the utterly false name given to it, that of an anti-imperialistic front.

No doubt anti-imperialist elements can be found there too, but the common denominator of the composition of this front is not anti-imperialism. Several members of this front are sworn pro-imperialists, and even

agents of imperialism, as they were dubbed only recently by other members of the self-same front. What then is the common denominator of this composition that counts among its members feudal kings, military despots and presidents of republics, some of whom are known as anti-imperialists, and some as outspoken pro-imperialists? - The common denominator is Pan-arabic anti-Israeli nationalism and not progress and anti-imperialism.

It has happened before. Three Arab summit conferences of thirteen kings and presidents taking place in the years 1963 - 1964, were solemnly declared as anti-imperialist summit conferences. Only two years passed and those who placed the crown of anti-imperialism on Arab unity, poured pitch and sulphur upon it, denounced it as an imperialistic plot, and swore a solemn oath never to attend such "summit conferences" again....

Who can say if, sooner or later the day will not come when this present Pan-arabic, anti-Israel union, the product of May 1967, will not be judged and condemned in the same way?

There may be people who maintain that only at the beginning do the various Arab forces unite on the basis of an anti-Israeli programme, yet in due course this anti-Israeli programme will turn into an anti-imperialist programme. There is nothing new in this argument and there will be nothing new in an argument to the contrary, pointing out that no progress has ever come riding the horse of hatred for Israel, though quite a number of false prophets have predicted and promised it. For instance, "The Palestine Liberation Organisation" with Ahmed Shukeiri at the head, that has in its programme war as the solution to the problem of Palestine, the abolition of the Jewish state and the expulsion of the Jewish people from their homeland, will never be a bridge from anti-Israelism to anti-imperialism, but rather from anti-Israelism to anti-Communism. Let this serve us as a warning!

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All the facts mentioned above do not, of course, absolve the Israeli government from sharing in the responsibility for the critical situation that has arisen on the country's borders. They put their trust in the Western powers and did not realise that they were leaning against a treacherous, broken reed and that this one-sided orientation has estranged us from the socialist and neutralist countries and made them distrust us; they relied on the deterring and determining power of the army in Israeli-Arab relations and did not endeavour or show any readiness to come to a peace agreement respecting the mutual rights of both peoples, even at a time when such an initiative might have shown positive results; they paid no heed to our warnings that punitive military operations across the border would not stop terrorist activities on the part of the Arab countries, but would rather unite them in a common front against Israel.

A time of crisis is the proper time for introspection and moral stock-taking. And if the coalition parties in the government had done so, they would have come to the conclusion that Israeli policy should take a turn to the left and not add rightist members to the government. If Moshe Dayan's suggestion and his point of view had been accepted in the beginning of 1964, war would have broken out then, in order to prevent the diversion of the waters of the Jordan river. And yet, the waters of this river have been flowing peacefully along their course for more than three years now without Moshe Dayan being in the government and without the outbreak of a war. - There is no need for further explanation.

Our people does and will insist on its rights to exist, for security, independence and a sovereign state of Israel. To succeed in this fight, in our opinion, three principles must be strictly observed : a) to prefer political to military means, b) to adopt a line of defence and not of attack, c) to rely on the sympathy of the peoples in the world and not on imperialist forces.

The more strictly we observe the first two principles, the greater will be our prospects of making the third come true.

(Published in "Kol Ha'am" 2.6.67)

URGENT LETTER TO THE FRATERNAL PARTIES

Urgent letter, sent by the Communist Party of Israel to the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties the world over. (4.6.1967);

"Dear Comrades,

We consider it our duty to turn to you, our comrades, with the request to exercise all your influence and exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war in our region here, a war apt to kindle a conflagration consuming all the world.

To our sorrow attempts are being made from various quarters to mask the real character of the crisis in the Israeli-Arab relations and to present a distorted picture to international public opinion, according to the misleadingly - simple, deceptive formula that this is nothing but a struggle between imperialism, the representative of which is Israel on the one hand, and anti-imperialism, the representatives of which are the Arab countries, on the other hand. There can be no doubt that in all the countries in this part of the world, in the Arab countries as well as in

Israel, a struggle between pro-imperialist and anti-imperialist forces is being waged and we, the Communist Party of Israel - have been fighting all the time and during all the years for a change in the exclusively western orientation of the Israeli policy and have endeavoured to direct it towards non-identification independence and neutrality.

Yet the forces rallied here in a common front against Israel have not united on the basis of progress and anti-imperialism, but on the basis of Pan-Arabism, as there are joined together anti-imperialist elements with feudal kings, with military despots standing at the head of reactionary regimes and serving imperialism. And the declared purpose for the sake of which this Pan-Arabic unity has come into existence is "to wage a war of total destruction against Israel".

We, - the Communist Party of Israel, see in the conflict between the Arab countries and Israel one of those conflicts frequently arising between neighbouring countries, the solution for which must be found in peaceful ways only, on the ground of mutual agreement, taking into account the legitimate rights of all the peoples involved. At present, however, the task confronting us, the most urgent task is to prevent war in order to save our country and the Arab countries from ruin and destruction and to make finding a political solution for all the questions resulting from the conflict possible. That is how all of us acted at the time of the crisis and the impending danger of war between China and India, India and Pakistan etc. We all of us stood up for peace between them, did not side with one or the other party involved in the conflict. It is inconceivable that our communist camp should behave differently in the present Israeli-Arab crisis.

In the present crisis our party has started on a large-scale campaign to induce the Israeli government to employ political means only and to refrain from any step liable to increase the danger of war, - just as we opposed in the time preceding the present crisis Israeli military inroads into Arab countries, undertaken in retaliation for the penetration of saboteurs and terrorists into Israeli territory. But to bring this severe crisis to an end and to eliminate the danger of war is not in the hands of Israel only. for this the concentrated efforts of all the international peace-minded forces are needed.

The Communist Party of Israel proposes the following steps to be taken in order to ease military tension and to promote peaceful solutions to all conflicts and differences : -

a) to cancel the arbitrary blockade the government of U. A. R. has imposed on Israeli navigation in the Red Sea (the Tiran Straits);

b) to remove the troops concentrated on both sides of the border between Israel and the Arab countries;

c) to stop the penetration of terrorists into Israeli territory as well as subsequent retaliation actions by the Israeli army in the Arab countries;

d) strict observance of the Armistice Agreements of 1949 under the control of mixed committees who have to guarantee that these agreements are faithfully kept;

e) the convention of an international conference which is to establish peace in the Middle-East, similar to the Geneva conference of 1954 that established peace in the Far-East. It is essential that the Great Powers should participate in such a conference, as well as some Neutralist countries and those countries which are partners to the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The Communist Party of Israel holds that it is absolutely possible to achieve permanent peace between the Arab peoples and Israel on the grounds of the recognition on the part of Israel of the rights of the Arab refugees to return or to receive adequate compensation, on the grounds of the recognition of the Arab countries of Israel as a sovereign state with adequate rights in the Middle-East.

Dear Friends,

We appeal to you to help us in this struggle, to assist us to realise our programme, a programme prompted and inspired by anxiety for peace in the Middle-East, for world peace, by fear for the fate of our people that have suffered so much and of whom millions have been murdered, by our deep-felt desire for good neighbourly relations, for cooperation and fraternity with the Arab peoples, for the national and social liberation of all the peoples in this region, for the common fight against imperialism.

Fraternally,

The Communist Party of Israel
The Central Committee

S. Mikunis, General Secretary

Instantly after the outbreak of the fights between the Arab and Israeli armies, on the 5.6.1967, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel convened a special meeting (the 17th session of the Central Committee) and took resolutions that found expression in the following speech of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, Comrade Samuil Mikunis, in the Knesset.

SPEECH OF COMRADE S. MIKUNIS IN PARLIAMENT

The people in Israel, survivors of the Nazi holocaust, a people persecuted and exposed to the most cruel sufferings, who by decision and permission of the peoples of the world, in recognition of their legal right to it, have started a new national life in a sovereign state of their own, are a peace - loving people.

To our great sorrow our people, very much against their will, are today engaged in a cruel war. Our hearts go out to those who are fighting in defence of their country, to our sisters and brothers wherever they might be.

Before turning to the draft of the fiscal bill tabled here, I beg the permission of the House to define in principle the attitude of our Communist Party to the grave situation which has arisen.

First of all I wish to point out, in connection with a certain declaration that was given here, that it is quite absurd and an act of deceit to compare the war that has broken out to-day to the Sinai campaign of 1956. It is common knowledge that the Communist Party of Israel objected to war when the Israel-Arab crisis started, and exerted all its efforts to prevent war. The Israeli Communist Party, being inherently Israeli and not in name only, has cautioned both sides not to threaten with the use of force and not to use force. After hostilities between the Arab and Israeli armies have started, our attitude to the military operations has been determined, - according to the theory of Lenin on War and Peace, - by the political aims and purposes of the combatants : a war for what they call "the liberation of Palestine" and the abolition of the State of Israel - on the part of the government of Egypt and other Arab governments on one hand, - a war for the integrity, existence, security and sovereign rights of the State of Israel on the part of Israel on the other hand.

The Communist Party of Israel has taken its stand in this battle alongside with all the people of Israel.

Inspired by fear for the peace in this area and in the world, and dreading the grave consequences of a continuation and spread of the war, the Communist Party of Israel hopes that the Great Powers will not interfere in the armed conflict, one assisting and pledging support to one party of the combatants and one to the other, but will make a common and agreed-upon effort within the frame of the United Nations and outside of it, to bring about a cease-fire and find a solution for the conflict in a peaceful way, respecting the legal rights of both the Arab and the Jewish peoples.

In this grave and fateful hour my party turns to all factors concerned to convene an international conference in order to establish peace in the Near East, to amend the Armistice Agreement of 1949 between the Arab countries and Israel and make it an agreement promising lasting peace.

In this grave and fateful hour, the C. P. I. is calling upon all the factors concerned to convene an international congress for the achievement of peace in the Middle East, and for turning the armistice agreements of 1949 between the Arab states and Israel into a permanent peace treaty.

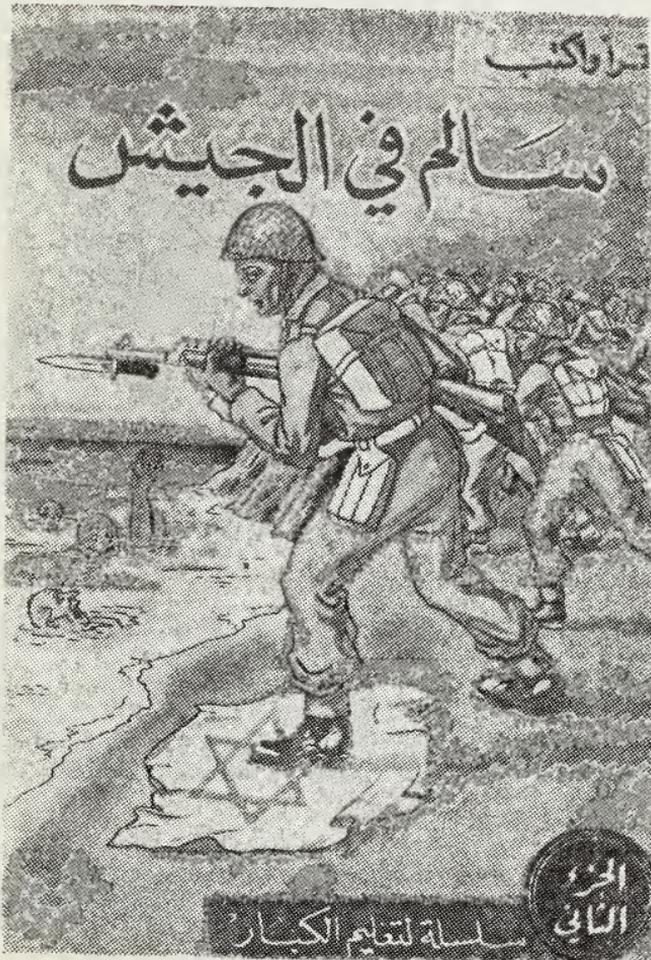
In accordance with this attitude we agree to the Law of Security Loan and to the Law of Israel State Bonds (Independence Loan). We agree to the direct levy linked with the income tax. But I wish to suggest that the Committee of Finance to which these draft laws are submitted reconsider the question of the levy to be imposed on wage-earners, with the aim of changing the proportion between the payments to be made by wage-earners, independent tax payers and capitalists.

It is imperative that the rich and well-to-do bear now a greater burden, while the employees and poorer people should pay less. This will not affect at all the funds needed for security purposes but such an approach, no doubt, will raise the spirit of the masses of the people who are displaying under all circumstances an exemplary sense of responsibility and spirit of devotion.

The speech of the C. P. I. representative in the Knesset was received with an exceptional measure of attention by all members of parliament and were the main theme of conversation in the lobbies the House.

A great impression made also the fact, that two foreign correspondents from France interviewed M. K. S. Mikunis on the situation.

The title-page of the Syrian pamphlet "Reading and writing, Salem in the Army" - intended to spread elementary education to the S. A. R. army. This A. B. C. is an A. B. C. of hatred against Israel, a "lesson" how to push the Jews into the sea.



This cartoon presents another monstrous proof of the "anti-imperialism" and "socialism" as the rulers of Syria understand it. "To Hell with you, Zionists!" calls the slogan.



The C. P. I. daily "Kol Ha'am" published on 7.6.67 an editorial giving a profound explanation to the question why the Arab rulers are spreading the lie regarding American-British participation in the military campaign at the side of Israel. "Kol Ha'am" writes :

"The Security Council is still in session and we think that the competent powers can reach an agreed formula that will bring about a cease-fire. However, it is deplorable that the same Arab forces which had started the fire of war and suffered a military defeat, are now interested not in putting out the fire but in kindling the fire. It seems that they hope, by turning the armed local conflict into a large-scale war with the participation of global forces, to escape the trap in which they themselves have fallen, to blur their defeat.

That is why the propaganda organs of the government of the U. A. R. started a campaign of lies claiming that maritime and air forces of the U. S. A. and Britain are taking part in the present military campaign at the side of Israel. This deceptive agitation is intended to exert pressure on the Soviet government to intervene in the armed conflict at the side of the Pan-Arabic front, so as to outweigh the support allegedly extended by the Western powers to the Israeli side. This is an insolent lie, continuing the distorted version on the character of the conflict that is said to conform the attitudes of the parties concerned towards imperialism. This is criminal blackmail intended to drag a Soviet force into the turmoil. The pan-Arabic blackmail is aided by Peking spreading the legend of "a plot between the Soviet revisionists and American imperialism, together with its lackey Israel against the Arab peoples." With the aim of increasing the pressure of this blackmail, the governments of Cairo, Damascus and Alger decided to cut off diplomatic relations with Washington (and one of them even with London), presenting this act as a reaction to U. S. and British participation in the military campaign together with Israel."

The C. P. I. organ warned that "this pan-Arabic-Chinese blackmail implies the terrible danger of the local Arab-Israeli armed conflict becoming a global war, in which the big powers take part, each backing the opposite side. Such an outburst of a big fire in the Middle East, in addition to the fire in Vietnam, might cause a third world war."

FOR IMMEDIATE AND MUTUAL CEASE-FIRE

This is the headline of the editorial published by the Israel Communist daily on the following day (8.6.67), in connection with the call by the U. N. Security Council to cease fire. This call was welcomed by the Communist Party of Israel and "Kol Ha'am" wrote :

"A cease-fire is possible only if it is mutual. A one-sided cease-fire means one-sided continuation of the fire by the opposite party. And the governments of Egypt, Iraq and Saudia have explicitly rejected the demand of the Security Council to cease-fire, while the government of Israel expressed its consent to an all-sided cease-fire. In view of this fact, we regard the imposing of responsibility for the continuation of the fighting on the Israeli side as a demonstration of support for the Arab side rather than a practical effort to put an end to the fighting. Considering that the Israeli side agrees and the Arab side refuses, we think that justice and common sense necessitate to influence the refusing side and not to condemn the agreeing side."

In view of the refusal of the above Arab countries to cease fire as ordered by the Security Council according to the proposal of the Soviet representative - the Israel Defence Army continued to advance. "Kol Ha'am" wrote on this subject :

"The advance of the Israel Defence Army on the fronts is no proof whatsoever of aggression. We have always demanded that our Army acts as its name says as an Army for the Defence of Israel - and not as an army of aggression, nor in the service of foreign interests. It is obvious, that in this campaign the Israel Defence Army is solely dedicated to the defence of Israel against the plans of liquidating the country and the people. And because the task fulfilled by the Israel Army in this campaign is defence in the service of the whole people, it achieves so splendid victories. Therefore, the advance of Israel's army in the territories of Egypt and Jordan stems mostly from the very defensive character of its action. This cannot be said with regard to the Egyptian army, because it has been sent to the Sinai peninsula not to defend Egypt from intended conquest, liquidation and extermination, but for an attack against Israel with the aim of conquest, liquidation and extermination. Condemning Israel as an aggressor is therefore entirely unfounded, neither as a matter of fact, nor politically, nor formally-legally. With regard to the armies of Jordan and Syria, they have started the attack on Israel after and despite the public promise of the Israel Prime Minister that there would not be any violation of these neighbouring countries unless they attack Israel on their part".

THIS CAMPAIGN

by Moshe Sneh

This campaign is a national campaign of defence on the part of Israel, and that is why the Communist Party of Israel whole-heartedly supports it, together with the whole people. The only common aim that rallies in this campaign the ruling circles of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq, is "the liberation of Palestine from Jewish conquest", the "liquidation of Israel", the "extermination of Israel". The President of the U. A. R., Abdul Nasser, has declared that he wants to restore the situation that has existed before 1948, which means to annul the right of the people of Israel to national independence, to sovereign existence as a state - a right that has been confirmed by the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

This campaign is, therefore, a continuation of the War of Independence of 1948, that has been launched in those days, too, by the armies of the Arab League with the aim of liquidation of the State of Israel when it was born and to suppress the right of the Jewish people to independent statehood in a part of Palestine. The reason for the war is the political attitude of the rulers of the Arab states and of the Arab national movement claiming that the country called "Falastin" in Arabic or "Eretz-Israel" in Hebrew belongs solely to the Arabs, and that the Jews have no share whatsoever in it. This is a political attitude that is fundamentally denying the natural and legitimate right of a people (the Jews) and no Communist or Socialist nor any Democrat can justify this attitude.

The armed struggle is nothing but a continuation of the political struggle by means of violence. We disagree with the policy of all the governments that have existed in the State of Israel almost from the day of her foundation up to this day in so vital fundamental questions such as the international orientation and the approach to the solution of the Israel-Arab problem; but the policy of the official circles in Israel wanting to keep the status quo fixed in the armistice agreements, a policy that may be regarded as negative indeed, is not a policy calling for an aggressive war, it is not a policy that is logically implying an aggressive war. On the other hand the policy of the Arab governments wanting to annul the very existence of the State of Israel is a policy inevitably leading to an aggressive war.

Just as the aim of the Communist Party of Israel in the political struggle that preceded the military campaign was the prevention of war, so as to advance towards an Israel-Arab peace treaty - it is our present aim to put out the fire, so as to sit down around the conference table, so as to

make peace in our region, so as to replace the broken armistice agreements by permanent treaties, not a peace of dictate on the one part and of surrender on the other, but a peace of mutual agreement that will take into consideration the just rights of all the peoples concerned. That is how we stand in the campaign for the defence of the existence, security, independence and sovereignty of the State of Israel together with the whole people, and within the people we shall fight for a just peace to be the outcome of the military campaign, just as before the opening of the campaign we have fought to prevent it. Our aim in the campaign is in the first stage to defend ourselves against the intention to liquidate Israel, and in the second stage - to achieve peace and relations of good neighbourhood, and not territorial conquests or denying any right to any people.

B.

There is no truth in comparing the present military campaign with the Sinai-Suez Campaign. At least four essential differences must be recognised :

1) In 1956, Abdul Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal, an act that promoted Egypt's national sovereignty - while now, in 1967, Abdul Nasser closed the Red Sea to the passage of Israeli ships, and this is an act that does not serve the Egyptian people, but violates a sovereign right of the people of Israel.

2) In 1956, Nasser's attitude (followed by other Arab rulers) regarding the problem of Palestine - despite the infiltration of saboteurs and fierce reprisals - was, that the problem should be solved peacefully and on the basis of the U.N.O. resolutions, as he himself suggested at the Conference of Bandoeng (April 1954) and as was decided by that Conference - while now it is Nasser's opinion and that of other Arab rulers, that "the time has come for a general showdown with the final aim of liquidating Israel".

3) In 1956, two imperialistic powers, Britain and France, made the attempt of colonial re-conquest of the Suez Canal, and the Ben Gurion government sent the Defence Army of Israel into the "Sinai Campaign" as a prologue to the Suez War - while now, in 1967, Israel's Army is alone in the campaign, without any cooperation with any imperialist army.

4) In 1956, the Arab side of the campaign was represented by the most advanced of all Arab states from the point of view of anti-imperialistic development - while now Arab countries of various and opposite regimes and trends have got together, some of them pro-imperialistic and

archi-reactionaries, and the common denominator of all these countries is, of course, not anti-imperialism, but anti-Israeli chauvinistic Pan-Arabism.

We do not add a fifth difference, namely that in 1956 it was Israel who opened the military campaign, while now Egypt has started hostilities (U. Thant reported to the Security Council that it cannot be ascertained which side opened the attack), and all agree that Syria, Jordan and Iraq have not been attacked by Israel, but on the contrary. We have not stressed this difference, because it is not essential for determining the character of the campaign and the place of the sides in it.

Therefore, he who draws a line of comparison or even an equation-mark between the Sinai-Suez-War and the present campaign, with all the honour due to him, does not understand anything or is knowingly distorting the facts. In any case, he has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism that calls for evaluating every war by a practical analytical approach and not by a simplifying "general" approach. Drawing the difference between imperialistic and national wars - Lenin wrote - Marxism arrives at a conclusion of accepting the defence of the homeland or rejecting the defence of the homeland, derived from the analysis of the historical-practical qualities of every war separately, and by no circumstances from a "general principle", neither from any special paragraph of the programme" (Letters, fourth Russian edition, Vol22, Pg. 137)

And having mentioned the Marxist approach to the definition of war, let us recall some more fine words written by Lenin on this subject : "Of course, the basic assumption of Marxist dialectics is expressed by all the reserves in nature and in society being conditional and fluctual, because there is nothing that in certain conditions cannot be converted in its contrary. A national war can develop into an imperialistic war and vice-versa."... And after several examples from the history of wars, Lenin winds up : "Hence it is obvious that it would be foolish to use the term imperialism by way of routine, and to draw the conclusion that national wars are 'impossible'" (id., pg.295,297).

We - the Communist Party of Israel - never ignored and do not ignore the task of imperialism sowing friction between peoples and pushing them to mutual relations and acts of hostility. But we always opposed the schematic, dogmatic approach of simplifying routine refusing to see with open eyes the very complex realities changing uninterruptedly. Therefore, we did not accept the misleading version pretending that in the Israel-Arab conflict the Israeli side is identical with imperialism and the Arab side with anti-imperialism.

We did not agree and never will, that a factor declaring its intention to destroy a neighbouring state is anti-imperialistic and totally progressive; while the intention of destruction is nothing but an "aesthetic mishap" that is not worthwhile of being paid attention. And how can we agree that the crown of anti-imperialism and progressism be put on the heads of King Hussein, the Anglo-American puppet, of Colonel Aref, the bloody military dictator - who are two among the four partners in the present active campaign against Israel ? !

Against this distorting identification we hold that the line of Israel-Arab antagonism is the line of national conflict that is not identical and equal with the line of contradiction between imperialism and anti-imperialism, between reaction and progress in the Middle East, although there are points where these various and many-sided contradictions and antagonism touch each other.

The simplifying approach said that American imperialism plans the removal of the existing regime in Syria and for this purpose it forged a triple complot between Eshkol and the Kings Hussein and Feisal. Heaps of articles, notes and "reports" were published on the basis of this distortion, and now Hussein and Feisal are in one front with Syria and Egypt against Israel and not in one front with Israel against Syria. The Prime Minister of Israel addressed on the first day of the campaign the governments of Jordan and Syria alike, not to join the war against Israel because Israel does not intend to hurt them, and if Damascus had followed the call of Israel's Prime Minister, there had not been any clash between Syria and Israel. And if Syria had complied with the resolution of the Security Council (a second time-on the request of the Soviet delegate) to cease fire, everything would have ended between Israel and Syria without serious results. Do these facts of reality prove the correctness of the fundamental assumption that had been spread among the whole world progressive camp, that it is the aim of the State of Israel to destroy the present regime in Syria - or do the facts prove that this assumption is totally unfounded ? Truly, for Israel the difference between the right wing of the Baath Party and the left wing of the Baath Party is not worth the life of a single boy, and certainly not the risk of life and existence of the whole state, because it is obvious that for Israel there is no difference whatsoever between the two-regimes that changed places in the Syrian revolt of February 1966...

Accordingly, the C. P. I. determined its attitude in accordance with the scientific principles and the practical analysis of realities : The Pan-Arabic alliance in this military campaign, if victorious, will execute its political aim namely the liquidation of Israel; this will be a continuation of the Hitlerite extermination and will not open an age of progress in the

Middle East; while the victory of the people of Israel in this military campaign will not only save the existence and sovereignty of the State of Israel, but will also prove the need of a mutual Israel-Arab peace agreement that will be a heavy blow on the head of imperialism and will open before the peoples of the region the way to cooperation, i. e. to economic development, to welfare and social progress. In any case, for this aim to be accomplished by Israel in the campaign is fighting and will fight the Communist Party of Israel together with other socialist, democratic and peace-loving forces.

C.

We resisted the affiliation of the representatives of the Rafi and Gachal parties to the government for reasons of our own, and not only because this draws the government far to the right, to the side of bourgeoisie. The participation of Moshe Dayan and M. Begin in the government increases trends of war and territorial expansion. The pretext of a "government of national unity" at a time of emergency has no validity. For national unity in the defence against conquest and destruction it is not necessary to participate in the government. Military victory could have been achieved without the affiliations that might do harm to the political outcome of the military campaign.

There has already appeared a trend in this direction - in the editorial and other publications of "Ha'aretz", mouthpiece of Rafi and Gachal. It contains firstly an attack on the Prime Minister Levy Eshkol because he "does not get tired of speaking to the Soviet Union in the language of a lover who does not despair of his love, although it is rejected time and again." It is obvious that political wisdom calls for patience and a far-sight towards the political campaign to be expected. In this future campaign the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union will be of foremost and maybe decisive value. Therefore, the present tension in the Israel-Soviet relations must not lead to a conclusion of further deterioration, as advised by "Ha'aretz" - but to the conclusion that first of all relations must not be spoilt and later efforts must be made to repair and to improve. Simultaneously with the attack on the Prime Minister, there is an attack on the Foreign Minister Abba Eban, that political activities should be curbed and Israel's Army should mainly be allowed to advance on the battle fields. On the same day "Ha'aretz" published a letter to the editor, demanding to replace Abba Eban by Shimon Peres as Foreign Minister.... Thus, despite all our principled disagreement with the policy of Eshkol and Eban, we shall not cease to draw a difference between them and Dayan-Peres. This means that our aim in the military campaign is to bring it quickly to an end, so as to open a page of peaceful policy. That is why the difference between different opinions and

different personalities in the 'government is so important.

The government of Israel will shortly be called not only to take the initiative for peace, but also to change its stand in international relations. It relied on the western powers, mainly on the United States, to support Israel in the present campaign. It happened that one after the other proclaimed their neutrality, despite their interest in the freedom of passage through the Red Sea, because their relations with the Arab states are considered more important by them than the ties with Israel. If official Israeli policy will not learn from this experience the lesson that it is expedient to follow a line of non-alignment, of independence on the West, of a balanced policy towards West and East, another great opportunity will be lost.

D.

Our world communist camp, too, will have to draw its conclusions from the military trials that broke out in our region.

The view, that Arab unity against Israel is or will be anti-imperialistic, has failed. It is enough to look at the alliance between the Nasser government in Cairo and the Baath government in Damascus, as tested in this campaign against Israel, so as to see what is the quality and steadfastness of these forces as allies of the world camp of peace and socialism. It goes without speaking of such allies as King Hussein and the dictator Aed. We think that the movement of national and social liberation of the Arab peoples has splendid chances, but to realise these chances it is necessary among others not to spoil nor to soothe anti-Israeli chauvinism reaching a frenzy, but to uproot it as a bad grass that spoils the fields. The world camp of peace and socialism cannot stand on one side, that of pan-Arabism, in the conflict with Israel, but only on the side of peace between both parties.

This military campaign has brought forth three dangers from the international point of view :

1) If the big powers do not cooperate to stop the fire on all sides and if one power supports this side and the other supports the second side, there exists a danger of expansion of the war to global dimensions; Asia is on fire on two corners - Vietnam and the Israel-Arab border; if the great powers are involved in the armed conflict it is a real danger of a third world war.

2) If the governments of Egypt and Syria, in their attempt to carry on the military adventure so as to avenge their defeat, will encounter the restraint of the Soviet Union only - they might invite People's China to active presence in the Middle East, with all the dangers involved to the peace of the region and the world.

3) The government of the U. S. A. might take advantage of the opportunity to impose a "Pax-Americana" between Israel and Jordan, without general peace in the region, imposing absolute dependency on both sides that might come under American domination.

The only way to prevent these three dangers is cooperation and agreement between the four great powers - U. S. A. , the Soviet Union, Britain and France - to demand together an international conference for peace in the Middle East, with the participation of the great powers, several neutral states, Israel and the Arab states concerned. This conference - similar to the Geneva Conference on South East Asia in 1954 - should solve by mutual agreement all the problems in dispute, so as to liquidate the cancerous conflict and to put out the fire of hatred and war threatening the peace of our region and of the world.

(published in Kol Ha'am, 9.6.1967)

SEVERING OF RELATIONS

The announcement by the government of the Soviet Union of the severance of diplomatic ties with Israel has caused much regret among all sections of the Israeli public.

In no sense should the blame for aggression in the armed conflict which broke out on our borders last week be placed on Israel. In determining where responsibility lies in the outbreak of hostilities it is inconceivable that the declared purpose of the Arab states should be ignored, and their methodical preparations for war against Israel, under the slogans: "Liberation of Palestine from the Jewish conquest" and "Restoring the situation of before 1948". Even U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, did not find the courage to determine which side began hostilities. And even more conclusive is the evidence of the principal witness himself - namely, Abdul Nasser's own words in his resignation speech of last Friday, when he did not say that Israel launched the attack on Egypt but he did relate how there were those who assured him with absolute certainty that Israel was about to attack... Syria. And it was on the basis of this "information" that Nasser decided to launch a "general trial of strength with Israel". With regard to the "certain" Israeli offensive against Syria it is relevant to recall the call of the Israel Prime Minister to the Syrian Government, when the fighting began on the Southern Front, with the assurance that Israel would not harm Syria in any way if Syria did not launch an attack on Israel. Therefore, if it is agreed that in any armed clash it is of prime importance to determine who is the aggressor, in the present case the determination must be made on the basis of an objective and all-round examination of the facts and not on a subjective and unilateral basis.

Nor is there any basis for the contention - why Israel did not implement the Security Council's resolutions for a cease-fire. The factual truth is that Israel was the first side to express agreement to a cease-fire, on a mutual basis, naturally. After Israel, Jordan was the next to agree, and indeed the fighting stopped on the Israeli-Jordanian border. However, Egypt, Syria (and Iraq) were the ones to refuse to stop the shooting; that is why the fighting continued on those fronts longer than it did on the Jordanian front. Afterwards, Egypt finally agreed to a cease-fire, too, and the shooting stopped along the Egyptian front as well. Syria was the last to stop the shooting, and that was after the Baath government had played a provocative role in dragging Egypt into the whirlwind and in its betrayal of Egypt in the initial, decisive stage of the armed conflict. And it is no coincidence that Nasser thanked only Hussein for his part in the fighting, without mentioning Syria in this context... In view of these facts, it is hard to understand how it is possible to place the blame on Israel for the cease-fire not having been implemented with the required speed.

In any case, we recall quite a number of armed conflicts between neighbouring states in different parts of the world, but we do not recall a single case of the Soviet Union severing its ties with one of the sides involved. In the armed conflicts which broke out between China and India, between India and Pakistan, between Ethiopia and Somali, between Morocco and Algeria etc., the Soviet Union adopted a stand and took the initiative for a peaceful settlement between the sides without taking a stand with one side against the other. This stand had the support of the entire international Communist camp (except for those with the Chinese outlook). We see no reason why there should be a different Communist stand towards the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Furthermore, according to the UN Charter, the imposition of sanctions against any state whatsoever is a matter for the competence of the UN institutions. It therefore appears to us that the application of sanctions other than according to an authorised decision of the United Nations is a violation of the UN Charter and will not further the cause of peace between the nations of the world.

We are confident that the severance of relations between the Soviet Union and Israel is only temporary and that they will be resumed in the near future and placed on a firmer basis than in the past.

In any case, we - the Israel Communist Party - will not relax our struggle not only for the resumption of diplomatic ties but also for the establishment of relations of genuine, all-round friendship between our country and the Soviet Union. Now, the fighting has stopped along all the fronts and this is the time for a peace initiative on Israel's part, for a peace initiative that will honour the legitimate rights of the peoples concerned and will contribute to the collective security of the Middle East. Such an initiative should benefit from the encouragement and support of the Soviet Union and of all peace-seeking factors in the world.

(Kol Ha'am editorial 11.6.67)

The stormy events of the past week and the changes that occurred in their wake, raised to a rank of foremost importance - politically as well as socially-morally - the problem of the treatment of the Arab population - that living within Israel territory since a long time, and that population in the areas conquered by the Israel Defence Army during the last military campaign.

During the trials of the state of war - and a state of war is always a trial for every individual and for every community - the Arab national minority in Israel as a community displayed a high degree of civic loyalty and even of patriotic faithfulness. This is a further proof that there is no reason for the attitude of suspicion towards the Arab population and for the discrimination based on this suspicion. The fact that the Arab population did not disappoint despite the discrimination from which they had been suffering for years and which did not cease up to this day in many spheres of life, is a further and striking proof that it is imperative to abolish completely any kind of discrimination towards the Arab inhabitants as individual citizens and as a national minority, and that full equal rights must be granted them in practice as in theory.

However, this time we are referring mainly to the Arab inhabitants of the conquered territories. We have been told that only a small part of them have abandoned their places of residence and moved eastward, and some of those who had departed are coming back from half the way; in any case, the overwhelming majority of the Arabs of the Western Bank and the Ghaza Strip have not left their domiciles. This means that hundreds of thousands more Arabs are under Israel rule. Therefore, it is the political and moral duty of the Israeli authorities to treat this Arab population not as conquerors and oppressors, but as representatives of a people who want to reach a mutual peaceful agreement and relations of good neighbourhood with the neighbouring people, relations of cooperation and friendship. Such a policy, such an approach, will be tested not by the declarations of the authorities, but by the feelings of the Arab population: Is this an enemy bringing them oppression or a neighbour bringing them a desire for peace. ?

It is not only necessary to prevent by all means any violation of life, property, or honour of the Arab population, but sincere and systematic care must be taken to supply its material and cultural necessities, its civil and public needs; the regular functions of local self-rule must be secured, so that the public services be conducted on the basis of self-administration and so as to achieve friendly cooperation between the authorities of Israel and the Arab population and its representatives, until a permanent solution is found for the relations between both peoples, that will safeguard the rights of both of them.

ALL OUR STRIVING IS FOR PEACE AND NOT FOR CONQUESTS

by Moshe Sneh

The military confrontation that took place from June 5 to 10, 67 ended in a brilliant victory of the Israel Defence Forces over the armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria. As soon as the fighting died down, the political confrontation began in the international arena over the outcome of the war, over the manner and ways of its conclusion. It is hardly surprising then that an internal debate has also begun among the Israeli public over the issue : what was the aim which we had before us in the military struggle and what is the aim we are seeking to achieve in the political arena ?

Contrary to the Arab rulers, who declared their purpose of annihilating Israel, Israel's aim in the war which was forced upon her despite her own will was not to deprive any neighbouring country of anything whatsoever, and certainly not to threaten its sovereignty or existence or to intervene in the internal affairs of any Arab state. It was Israel's purpose to remove the permanent threat to wipe it out; to remove the threat which emanates from non-recognition of any right whatsoever of the Jewish people to any section whatsoever of this country, to remove the threat which in itself contains the way to its own fulfilment by "a popular war for the liberation of Palestine from its occupation by the Jews" whether through Shukeiri's "Palestine Liberation Army", through the "United Arab Command" or through the Egyptian-Syrian, the Egyptian-Jordanian and the Egyptian-Iraqi military pact - or through any other means whatsoever. For this reason we said that, fundamentally, the military confrontation of June 1967 was a continuation of the War of Liberation of 1948 : for then as now, the Arab rulers negated the very notion of partition of the country, because they reject fundamentally and absolutely the right of our people to national-political existence even in the smallest of territorial regions, since their argument is, and always has been - "It is all mine". It is for this reason that we said that the State of Israel is the party which has justice on its side in the struggle of 1967, just as it had in the struggle of 1948.

Therefore, in order that our political campaign, following upon the military confrontation, shall correspond to the aims we set ourselves before the fighting, it must be absolutely clear to us - the Israeli people internally - to the Arab peoples around us and to international factors outside, that we are thirsty for peace and not for conquests, that we are seeking to safeguard our own rights and not to undermine the rights of others.

Our aim is - peace. By this we do not mean a peace of enforcement from one side and surrender on the other. Such a peace is entirely unthinkable; and if it were to emerge, it would quickly collapse. What we have in mind is a peace of mutual agreement which will respect the legitimate rights of both parties.

We must beware not to tackle the political campaign as arrogant victors, who come to dictate the terms of peace. We must understand that our military victory has even further deepened the hostility towards us, whereas we are concerned to lessen it. Any attempt to dictate the terms of peace will only fan the flames of hostility and thwart achievement of the aim. Only by extending the hand of peace as between equals have we a chance of coming closer to our aim. Only a display of a sincere willingness to wipe out memories of the wars of the past and their results, is liable to help towards a future of peace.

The daily "Haaretz" on June 9 published an article by one of its editors (under the pseudonym "Poles") advocating that Israel should annex part of the invaded territories and return the rest to King Hussein. He sharply rejected the establishment of an independent Palestinian Arab state, since its "left-wing, republican" government would not agree to the territorial dictates imposed by Israel, whereas the monarchist regime of "Abdallah's successors" was most likely to agree...

Without at this point determining precise details of a concrete blueprint for a peace settlement, we feel bound to point out that the train of thought of the "Haaretz" editor, who apparently expresses the intentions of Moshe Dayan, is the direct opposite of the principles which guide us in our searches for the road to peace. It appears to us, on the contrary, that the first and most urgent measure for us to take is to apply to the Palestine Arab people, the decisive majority of whom are in the territories taken over by the Israeli Defence Forces, and tell them: "We have come to you for peace and not for domination and suppression; your hour has come for the realization of your right to self-determination; there were those Arab states who in their aggressive war in 1948 not only sought to destroy Israel's right but also abandoned the right of the Palestine Arab people and annexed most of its lands to their own territories; they forgot all about you in the Armistice Agreements they signed with Israel; all those years they have been speculating over the tragedy of the Palestinian refugees, promising to "liberate" you in a war against Israel, but have brought you only a new defeat. As against this, the State of Israel which, despite its own will and out of self-defence against the threats of its destruction, was brought into a new war and which in the course of the battles invaded areas populated by Palestinian Arabs, not only had no intention to prevent but will

assist in and encourage the establishment of an independent Palestinian Arab State and will be prepared to sign a peace agreement between the two peoples of this country - between the State of Israel and the State of Palestine.

This of course would make it essential to ensure the conditions for absolutely free and democratic elements, of the representation of the Palestine Arab people. For the first time there will be someone to speak truly on behalf of that people. For in the years 1947-49, in the years when the fate of this country was determined at the United Nations, the Palestine Arab people was represented there by the "Arab High Committee" founded by Hadj Amin el Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who became Hitler's agent and brought disaster upon the Palestinian Arabs by rejecting absolutely the UN resolution of 29 November 1947. And now the "Palestine Liberation Organization" founded by the adventurer Ahmed Shukeiri, continues to advocate the idea of the Mufti, his former mentor, of destroying Israel, and the leadership of this organization has never been elected but is appointed by its "chairman", Ahmed Shukeiri himself... What we have in mind is a democratically-elected Assembly of Palestine Arabs which will set up an elected, democratic government that will negotiate with the government of Israel on the basis of absolute equality and of mutual recognition of the legitimate national rights of both the peoples. At these negotiations, permanent boundaries will be worked out on a basis of mutual agreement, boundaries of peace between the Jewish and the Arab sections of the country, as well as a settlement of the refugee problem through either repatriation or compensation. In this way the partition of the country will finally be implemented in an agreed manner, through peaceful means, and the resolution of principle of the United Nations will finally be implemented in a normal manner. The Palestine Arab State will decide as it sees fit on the nature of its relations with the neighbouring countries. It is logical to assume that the State of Israel will propose an economic pact and a defence pact, and in general ties of cooperation and close friendship.

This is only a demonstration - only a thought and an example, of how it is possible to adopt a policy of leaving behind the war, to opt for the way of peace without dictates and surrender, in contradistinction to "Haaretz" and all those that are behind it. It must be understood : if we negate the right of the Palestine Arab people to its own independent existence, how shall we expect to obtain the agreement of the Arab peoples to the state of Israel's right to sovereign existence ? To demand recognition of our own rights while at the same time denying the right of the other party - is indeed an attempt to dictate terms of surrender under the force of the military victory. This will not be, and if it could occur, it would

only aggravate the hostility and intensify the danger of a future war.

The military victory should serve Israel as an opportune moment for a genuine agreement with the Arab people, and not for a conspiracy with King Hussein. Such a conspiracy would have a double significance : of Israel linking herself with the reactionary elements among the Arabs; and of Israel, together with Jordan, taking refuge under a dome where American imperialism would be the absolute ruler. It is not surprising that our opinion is the direct opposite of those of Moshe Dayan and "Haaretz" considering that our intentions are directly opposite.

A settlement of the Palestine problem through direct agreement between the two peoples will remove the principal obstacle in the way of agreement with the neighbouring Arab states. No grounds of contention against us will be left to them, and we will have no further grounds of contention against them. Following the determination of the territorial partition of Palestine, it will become a simple matter to confirm the international boundaries of prior to 1948 through peace settlements with Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. For the sake of a peace settlement with these four neighbouring states, that would cover such issues as freedom of navigation etc., Israel will certainly give up such conquered areas as the Sinai Desert and the Syrian plateau without protest or argument.

A further stage towards a peace settlement could and should be a joint regional development plan for the Arab states and Israel which with the help of international finance, would make possible the adequate absorption of the refugees and raise the economic power and the living standards of all the participating countries and which would furthermore help in the transition from relation of enmity and hostility to relations of partnership and mutual aid.

It is no coincidence that the article in "Haaretz" calls upon the "Big Powers to let the factors of the region itself arrive at a settlement through direct contacts, and that they should not fulfill any functions whatsoever around the conference table." At first glance, this would appear as the supreme expression of the wish of small peoples for independence. However in fact, the purpose of the "Haaretz" circles is to create a united front together with Anglo-American imperialism (an Israeli agreement with Hussein under the patronage of Washington and London) against the Soviet Union and France. That is to say, to leave the region open to a clash between the conflicting interests of the great powers, to throw in Israel's lot with two Western powers which are most unlikely to cease to compete with their rivals for influence in the other Arab countries which, according to the "Haaretz" proposal, would remain

with the same hostile relations with the State of Israel. Contrary to this purpose, we are aiming not for a partial peace under the patronage of imperialism, but for an all-round Israel-Arab peace that goes hand-in-hand with an international agreement of the four Big Powers that will make it possible to put a stop to the arms race in the Middle East region and to raise international aid for the joint development of the Arab states and Israel.

What we have suggested should in no way be regarded as a final and detailed peace plan that bears no change. The Communist Party of Israel has determined only the fundamentals for a peaceful solution - mutual agreement, respect of the rights of both peoples, neither dictates nor surrender; no privileges and no repression of rights - however, it has throughout the years at all its congresses, stated that it would be "prepared to support any peaceful solution of the conflict that would take into consideration the legitimate rights of both peoples." We maintain these same ideas still today, after voicing our objections to the political solution proposed by "Haaretz" that is based on the dictates of the victors over the defeated, on the annexation of territory and the repression of the rights of the other party. Such a conduct of the political campaign will run counter to the purpose of peace that the people hoped to achieve in the military campaign, and is liable to bring political fiasco in the wake of military victory. As against this, a policy whose aim is a peace based on mutual agreement between the peoples will ensure the successful outcome of the military campaign.

Thus we see how two diametrically opposite lines have emerged in Israel's political thinking immediately upon the dying down of the fighting : peace as the aim or conquest as the aim ? Agreement with the neighbouring people or with the neighbouring king ? Closely allying oneself with the United States or an endeavour for an inclusive agreement between the four powers ?

"Haaretz" has, all along, beginning even before the fighting, conducted a systematic campaign against the "Eshkol-Galili-Eban-Alon Government" and for "a new leadership", and first and foremost for Moshe Dayan as the angel of salvation. This is clearly an endeavour to pave the way for the restoration of personal-military power of the Ben-Gurion days, but this time replacing the elderly ruler by a younger man. This is where the trend of military conquests as a major aspect of foreign policy goes together with the anti-democratic trend of the sole ruler in internal policy just as, with us, the policy of a peace based on mutual agreement in external policy goes together with a tendency for preserving democracy at home against the threat of tyranny and military activism.

This is the line that today divides the Israeli public. We shall of course be prepared to extend a hand to all those who make it their aim to defend democracy and peace.

THE DUTY OF THE U. N. ASSEMBLY

(Kol Ha'am Editorial of June 15, 1967)

If and when the United Nations General Assembly convenes to discuss the situation on the Israel-Arab borders - what will be its task ?

If the Assembly is to be loyal to its authority and its responsibility, it cannot back the attitude of one of the parties against the other in the armed conflict of the 5th to the 10th of June. None of the U. N. bodies has stated which is the party that started the attack on the opponent. The U. N. General Secretary, U. Thant, has explicitly declared before the Security Council that according to the information (or lack of information) in the possession of the Staff of U. N. Observers, he is unable to determine which side started the military campaign. The Commander of the U. N. Emergency Force, General Rikya of India, believes that "both sides started the war". The Security Council only yesterday refused to define Israel as an aggressor. From the point-of-view of the U. N. it is therefore, impossible to condemn one of the parties that has not been defined as responsible for the breach of peace.

We understand that the U. N. Assembly cannot deal only with the liquidation of the result of the Israel-Arab armed conflict, without considering the reason of this conflict. The result of the war clash is the conquest of territories by the Israeli army from the neighbouring Arab states, but the cause of the war clash originates from the declared policy of the governments of U. A. R. and other Arab states to liquidate Israel by way of a "People's war of Liberation". The annulment of the result and the annulment of the reason are mutually linked, and both are possible only by means of a mutual, stable and just peace treaty. In this direction, the U. N. General Assembly is bound to influence all the parties concerned.

Every member of the United Nations, every big power and the U. N. General Assembly as a whole - if it wants to be a peace-making factor in the Middle East and not a factor spurring one party to the conflict - must help the parties concerned to meet at the conference table, so as to solve peacefully all the problems in dispute, the old ones and the new ones, by mutual agreement and mutual respect of the neighbour's rights.

("Kol Ha'am" editorial, 15.6.1967)

A HUMANITARIAN RESOLUTION THAT MUST BE COMPLIED WITH

The Security Council, after having rejected the proposal to condemn Israel and to order her retreat to the lines of 1949, unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon Israel to safeguard the welfare of the inhabitants in the conquered territories and to make possible the return of the residents who abandoned their domiciles following the military activities; the resolution also demands that all the parties concerned extend a decent treatment to the population living in the zones of war and to the prisoners of war.

This is a humanitarian resolution that must be absolutely complied with. The declarations of the Israeli representatives at the United Nations and of the Governor of the Western Bank are an expression of compliance with the letter and the spirit of the said resolution - but care must be taken that this compliance be not only in words but also in practice, not only in general but also individually. This is a political as well as a moral necessity.

Israel has forcibly entered the six days' military campaign, so as to defend her existence against a declared war of annihilation, and to achieve permanent peace and mutual agreement with the Arab peoples. Therefore, any acts of violence against the Arab civil population contradict the defensive character and the peaceful purpose of the military campaign on the part of Israel. Israeli public opinion, united around the banner of defending the existence and rights of Israel, is also concerned with safeguarding Israel's honour, and that is why we are very sensitive to every report or rumour on the destruction of an Arab village, on every expression of an arrogant attitude toward Arab citizens under Israel rule. We know very well that a slanderous propaganda is being conducted against Israel, spreading false allegations, but it is just for this reason that it is necessary to take care that no deed of injustice is being committed even against one individual, a misdeed that might serve as a pretext for exaggeration and hostile generalisation; the moral command to safeguard the right of the other people is in this case in full accord with the political command to safeguard our national honour and our good reputation.

We therefore demand that the competent Israeli authorities explicitly outlaw any violation whatsoever of the right of the Arab population in the occupied areas, that they take all measures to prevent such violations in the future, that they investigate such violations committed

hitherto and that they punish the guilty with the utmost severity. Furthermore, all the factors exerting any influence on public opinion and on the education of the soldiers and youth must make every effort to stem the tide of anti-Arab chauvinism accompanying the atmosphere of war. Let us not forget : Our aim is peace with the Arab peoples and every deed or talk stirring up chauvinistic hostility spoils the relations between the peoples and postpones the achievement of our superior national aim.

The method of "a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye" must be firmly rejected. If the Syrian bombardments have destroyed Israeli settlements in the north of the country, this is no justification for the deliberate destruction of a Syrian (or Jordanian) village. If Israeli prisoners-of-war have been lynched in public in Egypt and Syria, nobody in Israel thinks of taking revenge on Egyptian and Syrian prisoners, and the Israel army is providing with water the Egyptian soldiers who are still ranging in the Sinai desert, and wounded prisoners of war are rendered the best treatment possible.

The activities of the municipal and public services in the occupied territories must be still further encouraged, care must be taken to provide the material and cultural necessities of the Arab population, and mutual approachment, understanding and cooperation between them and the Israeli administration and citizens must be fostered.

With all our support of the humanitarian resolution of the Security Council, we must say that it should be supplemented in one respect. The resolution does not call upon the Arab states to take care of the security and rights of their Jewish citizens. This was a timely call, had it been included in the resolution, considering that hundreds of Jews have been thrown into prison in Egypt, pogroms have been staged against the Jews of Lybia, synagogues have been burnt in Tunis, etc. etc. All the talks, pretending that the intention of wiping out Israel is directed against "the Zionists" only, but does not affect Jews outside Israel, have been proved to be unfounded and untrue chattering. The campaign of agitation against Israel is directed not only against the Jewish state but against the Jewish people as a whole. The anti-Israeli incitement inevitably rouses anti-Semitism. It is time to sound the alarm against this danger in the United Nations Organisation and among the humanitarian world public.

("Kol Ha'am" editorial, 16.6.1967)

I WILL NOT DIE, I WILL LIVE.'
S. Mikunis, General Secretary, CPI

This unwritten motto, older than the hills, this steadfast affirmation and belief is as true in our present struggle as it was in the past. Let it be said that the necessity to affirm this motto has risen once again, this time for our people of Israel, only 22 years after the holocaust, after the great victory over the Hitlerite murderers.

Anybody who still has some taste for truth, anybody whose conscience is alive, should discern the fact that Arab nationalism, and especially its outspoken chauvinistic circles, were not able to acquiesce with the very existence of Israel. In the past, some of them used to voice disagreement with official Israeli policy concerning the Palestine problem. Over the last years however, Israel as a whole has become "undesirable". Last week, just a few days before the outbreak of the war, the president of the UAR openly and distinctly declared that his ultimate aim was the destruction of Israel. This was stated with the consent of all Arab rulers. They accepted the original adventurist project of Akhmed Shukeiry, the plan of war against Israel, the plan to liquidate the State of Israel as a national entity.

This "plan" was accompanied by Hitlerite incitement propaganda in the style of Goebbels, the contents remaining the same but the form altered from "Judeo-Bolshevism" to "Judeo-Colonialism". One of the most dangerous and shameful instruments in the campaign against the Jewish people has been and still is that of lie and falsification. Over the generations, all over the world the powers of evil have made use of this instrument to torture and to unleash pogroms and shed our blood. Lie and blackmail are being used now by the reactionary, as well the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world against Israel. Over the past years, Arab anti-Israeli chauvinism has been trying hard to poison even the anti-imperialist progressive movement in the world, and this has, and still is being done by artificially, vulgarly and deceptively dividing the Middle-East into two fronts. According to this division the Arab side is supposedly wholly anti-imperialist, while the other side, the Israeli, is being identified with imperialism.

The history of the foundation of the State of Israel is falsified in order to prove that Israel is a colonialist conquerer and therefore, according to this "theory", it is a holy, anti-imperialist task to "wipe out" Israel and to give back Palestine to the Arab people.

This writer, deeply concerned over this development, initiated an open discussion as far back as August 1964. It began with an open letter

to Ben-Bella (President of Algeria at this time) against his hostile and adventurous anti-Israeli declarations. From that time onward our Communist Party has been waging an open struggle against Arab chauvinism and its progressive helpers, a struggle to prevent the world anti-imperialist movement from being contaminated by its bacteria. This struggle of ours has been an absolute necessity for the security of Israel as well as for its Arab neighbours. It had to be waged, and has been waged also in order to successfully fight Israeli anti-Arab chauvinism and extreme militarism. This was done in order to consolidate a workers' and national-democratic front. It was done with the aim of changing the official policy of the Israeli government, and in order to settle the Israeli-Arab conflict by peaceful means, taking into consideration the legitimate rights of both sides and for the good of both sides.

In this our great and complicated struggle, which is basically directed against imperialism, and for peace and socialism, we adhere to the lofty principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and Israeli patriotism.

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This is not the time to list the names of the fraternal parties and progressive forces which heeded our warnings and arrived at the proper conclusions. The five days of war between the pan-Arabic front - Egypt Jordan, Syria and Iraq - on the one hand and Israel on the other, proved with blood and fire, that our profound anxiety as to the "new" attitude of the Arab ruling circles towards Israel, was not without foundation. We had been repeatedly told not to pay heed to the threats against Israel, it was explained to us over and over again that these were mere words, which would disappear "with time"... we had been preached at to be lenient with the Arab anti-imperialists, at least, notwithstanding their war-mongering, because they were not only progressive but also on friendly terms with the Soviet Union... And even more : because of - what is called "the general interests" of peace and socialism. Only such a "trifle" as the determination and the right of the little people of Israel and of the little State of Israel to exist, to live - this trifle was not taken into consideration. The strong desire of the working class and the masses of the people of Israel, to live in peace with the Arabs for their common good and happiness, was not taken into consideration either.

Just one of Lenin's theses was forgotten, namely that not only imperialism but also nationalist hatred can breed war between nations and states.

Also forgotten or not properly understood was the lesson to be learned from the failure of policy in Indonesia, Ghana etc. Thus the flattering

of Arab chauvinism continues to this moment by those who see the "general interests" and base themselves on quicksand. . .

It was easy for those who did it to lull their conscience with the worn-out formula saying that Israel and imperialism are one and the same thing; and that is why every dirty scheme against this state was considered Kosher (permissible). Even a boycott of the progressive and peace-loving forces of Israel was condoned.

Gamal Abdul Nasser himself admitted in his resignation speech of June 9th, that he entered the war on the basis of fabricated "information" according to which Israel has been preparing for an attack on Syria.

It is a fact that at the beginning of May, threats were voiced by ruling personalities of Israel in the direction of Syria, stating that the Syrian acts of terror and sabotage would be avenged. This was considered grounds enough for fabricating and repeating day by day the false information that Israel was concentrating forces on the Syrian border in order to attack Syria, and furthermore : that there was an Israeli-Jordanian-Saudi-Arabian plot, under the guidance of imperialism, aiming to overthrow the Syrian government.

The events of recent weeks have completely shattered the above-mentioned fabricated "information".

It was Egypt which began a mass-mobilisation and not Israel. The fabricated "information" served as a pretext in order to concentrate on the Egyptian-Israeli border an army of about 100,000 Egyptian soldiers, 1,300 tanks, a substantial air force and a colossal amount of military equipment for aggressive purposes. It served for the conclusion of the Egyptian-Jordanian and Egyptian-Iraqi aggressive pacts; it served as a pretext for the blockade of the Red Sea to Israeli navigation, and was used in order to foment the campaign for the annihilation of Israel.

These aforementioned provocative, dangerous and aggressive steps taken by the Pan-Arabic front under the banner of "the annihilation of Israel", - forced Israel to mobilise its forces. Our entire people mobilised in defence of its existence. Our Communist Party took its stand in this fateful struggle with all the people against the annihilation-plan of the Arab armies, in defence of our security and of our very lives.

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Lenin taught us to define our attitude towards a war according to the political aims of the belligerent parties. The political aims in the case

of this war between the pan-Arabic front and Israel were and remained very clear : On the part of the people of Israel it was and remained a war for its very existence, for its life.

True, our forces have destroyed the military machine of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and partly of Iraq, in a mere few days, Our people has manifested heroism, devotion and bravery in the fateful battle, - one and alone against four fronts. Hereby it has been made clear to the Arab chauvinists that we shall not let them annihilate us; I think that this explanation will be understood also by others, outside the Middle Eastern region. Our cry of "I shall not die, I will live", may now be better understood !

The solidarity with our just struggle, on the part of Jews and non-Jews, of left, democratic and progressive forces in various countries, has given us moral strength. Lie shall not triumph again, black shall not be called white, nor white black !

Our Party has always fought against threats and the use of force on both sides of the borders ; those are not the means for solving controversial issues between Israel and the Arab countries. Now that a cease-fire between the Israeli and Arab armies has been achieved in accordance with the decision of the Security Council, we shall again do all in our power to achieve a stable and just peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

It is quite clear to us that a necessary condition for peace is to negotiate without imposing dictates, and without demanding capitulation whatsoever. Peace is necessary and possible on the basis of respect for and assurance of the legitimate rights of both Israel and its Arab neighbours.

It is quite clear to us that we are the beginning of a time of struggle against our own chauvinists and militarists with regard to the delicate problems of Israel-Arab peace.

We wish to hope that the peace-loving forces all over the world will show their readiness to help in establishing peace between Israel and Arab peoples, a peace which would provide for security in our region, a peace which would do away with the danger of a new war, a peace which would open up new vistas for good-neighbourly relations for fruitful and multiform cooperation for independence, freedom and progress for all.

Israeli-Arab peace will also further the cause of world peace, and the struggle against imperialism and reaction; such a peace will advance the struggle for socialism in Israel and the Arab countries.

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