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Communique 25th CC Session

50 birthday of M. Vilner

For the prevention of a new war
Speech in the CC M. Vilner

A. Habib - about the Congress
of Mikunis - Sneh - group

INFORMATION BULLETIN

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25th PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On November 1 - 2, 1968 the 25th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel was held with participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

The meeting was chaired by comrade Salim al-Oassem.

Meir Vilner, the Secretary of the Political Bureau, reported about the fifth part of the theses in preparation of the 16th Congress of the Party and about recent political developments.

David (Sasha) Khenin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, reported about the sixth part of the theses in preparation of the 16th Congress of the Party.

After the debate which was summed up by the reporters, the fifth and sixth parts of the theses were confirmed and political resolutions were adopted.

Saliba Khamis, member of the Political Bureau, reported about the session of the Commission for preparation of the World Consultative Meeting of the communist parties, which was held on 30.9.68. in Budapest.

After the debate, which was summed up by the reporter, the report was confirmed and resolutions were adopted. A delegation was elected for the next session of the Preparatory Commission which will be held in November this year in Budapest. The delegation consists of : David (Sasha) Khenin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, and Saliba Khamis, member of the Political Bureau.

The Central Committee also confirmed the following agenda for the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel:

1. Report of the Central Committee.
2. Report of the Central Control Commission
3. Proposals for Changes in the Party Statute.
4. Elections to the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.

RESOLUTIONS

1. On the Government's Decision not to Agree to Implement the Security Council Resolution

The Central Committee expresses concern about the fact that the Government of Israel decided in its meeting on 30.10.68. not to agree even in principle to implement the Security Council Resolution from November 22, 1967.

Thereby the Government has reiterated its resolve to continue its obstinate line, preventing a political solution; thereby the continued existence was made possible of the "Government of National Unity", on the basis of a line of military adventurism and territorial annexations, leaning on American imperialist circles, which use Israel for the realization of their global objects in our region against the Soviet Union and against the anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East.

Instead of accepting the Security Council Resolution and to consent to its implementation and thereby to make possible a political solution and to stop the ever increasing bloodshed - the Government's conclusions have caused an aggravation of the situation and are threatening with failing the mission of the U.N.O. emissary, Dr. Gunar Jarring.

The Central Committee expresses its concern about the increasing number of bloody incidents at the cease-fire lines. The latest bombardments in the Canal Zone and in the Jordan Valley, accompanied by heavy losses and great damage, oblige one to be vigilant and to make greatest efforts lest the dangerous development deteriorate into a general conflagration.

The Central Committee condemns the attack made on 1.11.68 by Israeli Army forces in Egypt. This attack of regular army forces beyond the cease-fire lines, against non-military targets, constitutes a dangerous escalation and undermines the international efforts for a peaceful solution of the present crisis.

The Central Committee calls upon all circles in Israel possessing political realism and national responsibility, to struggle and demand of the Israeli Government to accept and implement the Security Council Resolution from November 22, 1968.

The Central Committee reiterates and emphasizes that the delay in implementing the Security Council Resolution is the main cause for the continuation of bloodshed, and threatens with a renewed outbreak of war.

The Central Committee reiterates and emphasizes that the interest of Israel's security and the hopes for an Israeli-Arab peace demand Israel's agreeing to the implementation of the Security Council Resolution, since the Arab states having already given their consent. Only in this way will be ensured, under present circumstances, a political solution which will include : Withdrawal of the Israeli Army from the occupied territories, together with abolition of belligerency and the recognition of Israel's right of sovereign existence within recognized and secure frontiers; free shipping for Israel in the Suez Canal too, together with a just solution of the problem of the Arab refugees, according to the U.N.O. resolutions.

2. About the Policy of the Soviet Union in our Region

The Central Committee warns against the anti-soviet incitement, growing in Israel and having reached its peak with the declaration of the Deputy Prime Minister, Yigal Allon, made in the Knesset, in the name of the Government, that Israel is ready to fight also against the Soviet Union in a war, which the S.U. allegedly intends to impose on Israel. Minister Allon declared that military assistance of American imperialism and the Sixth Fleet is guaranteed in a war against the S.U.

The Central Committee asserts that the Government and its mouth pieces are maliciously and demagogically distorting Soviet policy in our region. The S.U. does not threaten and has never threatened the State of Israel. The S.U. has always defended and is now defending peoples which fell victim to aggression and occupation. The S.U. has never conducted and is not now conducting an anti-Israeli policy. The policy of war and territorial annexations conducted by the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin Government is an anti-national, anti-Israeli policy, and it is that what endangers the State of Israel.

For years the Sixth American Fleet has been in the Mediterranean. Under its protection, the Government was able to start the June 1967 war. The Israeli Government has never protested against the presence of the American Navy in the Mediterranean, at a distance of thousands of kilometres from the U.S.A. It is the Sixth American Fleet in the Mediterranean which is the force acting in defence of the predatory interests of the oil monopolies against the independence of the peoples, for the encouragement of reactionary and fascist regimes, against the Soviet Union and against peace. It is the imperialist presence in the region which endangers the peace of the region and the peace of the peoples of the region.

The Central Committee rejects the demagogic, anti-soviet pronouncement of Minister Allon in the Knesset. The Soviet

Union, as a socialist state, has no egoistical interests in our region or in any other regions in the world. The S.U. has no other object except the defence of peace and security in our region and in the whole world, the defence of the right of existence, security and territorial integrity of each and every state.

The people of Israel will not forget the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union to the abolition of the British mandate over Palestine, to the acceptance of the historical decision in the U.N.O. which bestowed on the people of Israel the right to establish an independent and democratic state, just as it bestowed the self-same right on the Palestinian Arab people, in accordance with the peoples' right to self-determination.

The Soviet Union's official representatives reiterate and stress that the S.U. has insisted and is insisting on the right of Israel to existence and security as a sovereign state, but that Israel has no right to enslave another people and to occupy territories belonging to other states.

The Central Committee asserts that normal relations with the Soviet Union, including reestablishment of diplomatic relations, is a vital interest of the State of Israel. The Central Committee believes that normal relations between the Soviet Union and Israel are possible only if the Government of Israel agrees to implementation of the Security Council Resolution and if an end is put to the consequences of the June war.

3. Protest against the Expulsion of Public Figures from the West Bank and the Aggravation of Oppression in the Occupied Territories

The Central Committee expresses its energetic protest against the arbitrary colonialist measure of the Government, the expulsion this week of ten further personalities from the West Bank to the East Bank, among them the communist leader, comrade Rushdi Shahin, physicians, teachers and heads of the educational system.

The expulsion of public figures from the occupied territories constitutes a trampling underfoot of the elementary human rights and a grave violation of international law.

The expulsion of public figures constitutes part of the intensified cruel campaign of oppression in the occupied territories, expressed by forceful suppression of strikes and quiet demonstrations of pupils, girls and boys, and by a wave of mass arrests.

The Central Committee calls upon all democratic forces in Israel to protest against the expulsions, the arrests and the use of the army against pupils and the civilian population in general, in the occupied territories.

4. Against the Anti-Communist Witch-Hunt

The Central Committee resolutely condemns the intensified anti-communist witch-hunt, the green light for which was given by Defence Minister M. Dayan in his speech in the Knesset on 28.10.68., when replying to the demand of our Communist Party to abolish the administrative restriction orders employed against party leaders and activists and against other citizens from among those opposing war and fighting for peace.

The fabrications and distortions fastened by Minister Dayan upon Member of Knesset Emile Habibi, taken from the dubious sources of the Shin Beit (Secret Police- transl.) were not only intended as a pretext for the continued existence of anti-democratic measures taken against the leaders and activists of the Communist Party and other peace fighters, but also in order to intensify the campaign of persecution and repression against the political activities of the Communist Party of Israel, as it is the consequent political force appearing against war and for a just peaceful solution based upon implementation of the Security Council Resolution.

The Communist Party of Israel rejects with contempt the libels against its leaders and members.

Democracy is indivisible. Depriving communist citizens of their freedoms because of their political opinions and their patriotic struggle for a just peace, is liable to endanger the general democratic freedoms and to strike at all circles of the public.

The Central Committee calls upon all democratic and peace-loving forces in Israel to unite and repel the anti-democratic campaign of threats and repression conducted against the Communist Party of Israel and those in Israel who fight for peace.

5. About the Parliamentary Delegation to Bonn

The Central Committee expresses its energetic protest against the decision of the Knesset Presidium to send a parliamentary delegation to the Bonn parliament. The sending of an Israeli parliamentary delegation to the Bonn Government is a grave violation of feelings of the popular masses and an additional step toward tightening the relations with the Bonn neo-nazis,

with the Kiesinger Government, the Government of the revanchist generals who extend their hands to receive nuclear arms for the realization of their criminal bellicose designs against the security of the European peoples and peace in the whole world. This decision reveals still more sharply the anti-national and adventurist policy of the Israeli Government, contradicting the interests and dignity of Israel.

The Communist Party of Israel points out the activity of its Group in the Knesset directed toward cancelling the expedition of the parliamentary delegation to Bonn, and calls upon all patriotic and peace-loving forces in Israel to act for the cancellation of that delegation's journey.

5. About the Meeting Preparing the International Consultative Meeting of the Communist Parties

The Central Committee confirmed the report of member of the Political Bureau, Saliba Khamis, about the advance of the preparations for the international Consultative Meeting of communist and workers' parties, held recently in Budapest.

The Central Committee expresses its support for the proclamation issued by the last session of the Preparatory Committee, which has pointed out the importance of holding an international consultative meeting of the communist and workers' parties, and expresses its opinion that the need exists for holding the consultation as soon as possible.

The Communist Party of Israel, on its part, will contribute its share to the gathering and to the success of the international consultative meeting of communist and workers' parties, which is today a vital necessity for the advancement of the communist movement's unity in its struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

50th BIRTHDAY OF COMRADE MEIR VILNER
.....

On November 23, comrade Meir Vilner, secretary of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel, celebrated his 50th birthday. On this occasion, messages of greetings from Israel and abroad were addressed to comrade Vilner. We publish the messages sent by the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel and by the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Message sent by the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel:

("Zo Haderekh" - 23.10.68)

Dear comrade Meir Vilner,

With joy, love and respect the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel congratulates you on the occasion of your 50th anniversary and wishes you health, happiness and many years of fruitful work in the leadership of the Party, for the benefit of peace and brotherhood between our two peoples - the Jewish and the Arab.

We greet you as a communist, as a party member for tens of years who, ever since joining the communist party of this country, has devoted all his energies and gifts to loyal and dedicated work for the advance of our Party's cause - which is the cause of the struggle for national and social liberation from imperialist and capitalist slavery; the cause of peace and brotherhood between our country and the Arab countries, the cause of victory of socialism in Israel and in the whole world.

As representative of the Communist Party of Israel in the State Council in 1948, you signed the Proclamation of Independence, declaring the foundation of the State of Israel, in accordance with the decision of the UNO Assembly of 1947 : thereby you expressed the aspiration of our Party that the two peoples of this country - the Jewish and the Arab - may win liberation and independence from British colonial rule and may enjoy an independent, free life of prosperity and cooperation.

Ever since the establishment of the State and up to this day, since you were elected as a representative of the Party to the Knesset, you have fulfilled and continue to fulfil loyally and devotedly your mission as a communist emissary in the service of the vital day-to-day interests of the working class and the popular masses, and have struggled as a patriot who loves his people and as an internationalist who acts in defence of the Arab population against its discrimination and deprivation by the

authorities, and for its rights.

Courageously and unflinchingly you are fighting for a just peace between Israel and the Arab countries and against the foolish policy, bare of any national responsibility, conducted by the ruling circles of Israel. We observe in particular your exemplary stand, which is arousing respect, against the aggressive war made by the Israeli rulers last June in coordination with the imperialists, a war that has caused harm to peace and to the vital interests of the people of Israel. In face of the savage chauvinist incitement against our Communist Party and against you personally, you are standing as a proud communist, and in your speeches and public appearances you contribute a great deal to the militant struggle against imperialism and its helpers, for a just peace honouring the rights of Israel and the rights of the Palestinian Arab people. By this you strengthen the belief and show the prospect for a future of brotherhood and cooperation between the two peoples.

We, your comrades-in-arms, congratulate you as a comrade and leader of our Communist Party of Israel, which is fighting under difficult conditions and is withstanding severe tests. We highly evaluate your important contribution to the success of our Party's struggle in repelling the nationalist, anti-marxist and divisionist assault of the Mikunis-Sneh group, which has gone bankrupt and slid down to anti-communist and zionist positions. We evaluate highly your important contribution to our Party's struggle for the internationalist Jewish-Arab unity - which was and has remained the firm basis for its policy and for the fortification of its status in Israel; for the unity of the international communist movement, for unshaken solidarity with the Soviet Union and Lenin's Party - the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Your courageous struggle against the criminal, adventurist policy of the Israeli rulers, which has up to now prevented the people of Israel from attaining the desired peace, your burning hatred of chauvinism and nationalism in all their forms, and your untiring struggle for a just peace with our neighbours - all these have kindled the fury of reaction; the savage frenzy whipped up against you reached its peak in the abominable attempt on your life last October. But these your struggles and positions have intensified and strengthened the love of your comrades and the appreciation of tens of thousands of people in our country - Party sympathizers, fighters for peace and brotherhood of people, and they have added to you personally and to our Party, a high appreciation among the international communist movement.

For all this, dear comrade Meir, we express our esteem and respect and our feelings of fellowship and friendship.

From the depth of our hearts we wish you, and dear comrade Ita and your children health and happiness. We wish you many years of fruitful labour in the leadership of our Communist Party of Israel, and may you have the privilege to see the fruits of your struggle, which is our struggle victory of peace and socialism in Israel and the entire world.

With friendship and respect
The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel.

GREETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO COMRADE MEIR VILNER
.....

(Translated from the Hebrew version published in "Zo Haderekh"-
23.10.1968.)

To comrade Meir Vilner,

Secretary, Political Bureau, Central Committee of the Communist
Party of Israel,

Dear comrade Vilner,

The Central Committee of the CPSU cordially congratulates you, the undaunted internationalist fighter, on the occasion of your fiftieth birthday, The Soviet communists appreciate highly your courage and your loyalty to principle, which were always characteristic of you throughout all the years of your conscious life and which were particularly forcefully expressed in the difficult days for your Party, in the days of aggression by the Israeli militarists.

We wish you, dear comrade Vilner, good health, long years of life and success in the struggle for the vital interests of the Israeli working people, for the victory of the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East.

With communist greetings

The Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

.....

From the Report of Comrade Meir Vilner at the 24th Plenary
Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel
13.10.1968. ("Zo Haderekh" - 23.10.68.)

The tension in our region has not abated; on the contrary, it is increasingly rising. The Government's calculations that world public opinion will, in the sixties of our century, reconcile itself to military conquests and territorial expansions, and that the conquered population will reconcile itself to occupation have proved completely wrong. In the population the feeling of insecurity about the morrow is mounting. There exists an anxiety including nearly everyone, lest a new war break out. The recognition is growing that the June war did not bring Israel any security, but increasing insecurity, that security does not depend on the number of square kilometres, but on the extent of coming nearer to Israeli-Arab peace.

If on the eve of the June 1967 war and immediately after it, the ruling circles tried to hide the fact that their military activity constitutes a part of the global strategic alignment of the USA and other NATO states, they do now speak quite openly about this and urge the US Government to assume a "tough" stand opposite the "Soviet penetration into the Mediterranean and the Middle East".

American imperialism, which was the chief supplier of arms and money and was the one to give the main political backing to the June war, has suffered a great political defeat. Its influence in our region has dropped tremendously. But the situation is such that it is not yet prepared to retreat from the adventure. Imperialist circles in Washington impel the Israeli Government to new adventures, in order to attempt the achievement of their global aims which were not attained in the June war: the overthrow of the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Syria. At the same time there are other tendencies struggling together within Washington: to improve relations with the Arab states, not to endanger the pro-western regimes in certain Arab countries by too overt and extreme support rendered to the military measures taken against them by Israel's rulers.

The Aggravation of the International Situation

The Middle East crisis is not, in the main, a local crisis, but a link in the chain of imperialist aggression and subversion

extending from Vietnam via the Middle East to Czechoslovakia in Europe.

Imperialism employs new methods in its struggle against the world socialist system and against the national liberation movements. These are methods of subversion, overthrowing regimes and crushing democratic organizations from inside. But if the new methods bear no fruit, imperialism does not shy from using the "old" methods of military intervention, either directly (Vietnam) or by using a government which is prepared to render the global service and at the same time to derive some "national" benefit from territorial expansion (the Middle East).

American imperialism shrinks from direct confrontation with the Soviet Union because of appreciating her strength, because of the ever growing political isolation of American imperialism in world public opinion, and also because of the shaken socio-political situation in the USA itself.

The main ally of American imperialism to-day is German imperialism - Hitler's heirs in West Germany. The events in Czechoslovakia have thrown into particularly sharp relief the dangerous role of German imperialism and of the global policy of subversion directed by the USA and other NATO states against the socialist countries. The position of Bonn's rulers regarding the June war proves their role of warmongers in the Middle East.

Imperialism, which intensifies tension, subversion and also conducts 'local' wars, does not do so owing to growing strength. It is going mad because of its incapability to prevent the growing strength of socialism by opening a global war against the world socialist system and the national liberation movement, designs which it had in the fifties.

This does not mean that the danger of a third world war has passed. This danger still exists. The repulsion of American aggression in Vietnam, the blow received by the NATO alliance with the entry of the Warsaw Treaty forces into Czechoslovakia, and the certain defeat of the imperialist designs in the Middle East - all these are frustrating dangerous stages of preparation for a third world war made by the USA and the other imperialist powers. The strength of socialism, the strength of the forces of peace, the fact that the Vietnam war will end entirely differently from the manner in which the Spanish war of the thirties had ended, the fact that in the Czechoslovakia of 1968 the way was blocked to the Bundeswehr and never again will there be a repetition of Munich - all these express the essential change that has taken place in the relation of forces in the world, confirm the prospect, the

feasability of preventing a third world war.

But there is no place for complacency. Imperialism is not a "paper tiger". The armament race in the world has taken on threatening proportions.

According to UNESCO, in 1962 military expenditures in the world came to 120 thousand million dollars, about 10% of the national income of the world. These expenditures reached in 1965 - 180 thousand million, and in 1967 - 225 thousand million.

Direct military expenditures of the USA were in 1965/66 - 57.7 thousand million dollar, in 1967/68 - 76.2, and in 1969/70 the Pentagon has demanded 120 thousand million dollars.

In the years 1962-1966 West Germany has spent for military expenditures more than 200 thousand million marks. In 1957 she had 125 thousand soldiers, in 1967 about half a million.

All this carries great perils for the peace of the world.

The question of stopping the armament race and the question of disarmament has become a most vital problem.

The development of events in Czechoslovakia and their international repercussions prove that the entrance of the Warsaw Treaty forces into Czechoslovakia was not only a correct and right action in the circumstances, as they had developed, but also a life-saving act, in respect of the interest of socialism in Czechoslovakia as well as in respect of peace in Europe and in the world.

The NATO mouthpieces themselves are now admitting that by the action of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the GDR, a heavy blow was delivered to the designs of the NATO states against the socialist states in Europe, and that by this the relation of forces in Europe was changed to the detriment of NATO.

Then comrade M. Vilner analyzed the developments in Czechoslovakia, enlarging on them, their repercussions on the international communist movement, the process of ever-growing sobering up inside a number of communist parties. A characteristic example is the decision of the Central Committee of the CP of Canada, which fully supports the internationalist action of the Warsaw Treaty countries, while criticizing the previous decision taken by its Political Bureau,

In continuation, comrade M. Vilner analyzed the repercussions of the events in Czechoslovakia on the Middle East and said,

among others:

Certain circles in Israel deceived themselves for some time into believing that the events in Czechoslovakia would worry the Soviet Union to such an extent that they could act together with 'Uncle Sam', as if the Middle East were their private property. In no time they became disappointed and disillusioned, since we do, indeed, live in new times. In spite of internal difficulties, the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is mighty, and it's it that determines the main direction of historical development today.

The imperialist powers and their helpers became quickly aware that they had better draw a correcter lesson from the Czechoslovak events, which is the fact that the Soviet Union, together with its allies, will not permit imperialism under any circumstances to detach any socialist state from the world socialist system. And to this must be added: nor will they agree to the imposition of aggression in any part of the world.

In the daily "Davar" (6.10.68.) a typical appraisal was published:

"It is a fact from which one must learn, that precisely, when one supposes that the Soviet Union is in trouble because of her invasion of Czechoslovakia, Soviet diplomacy has not lost any of its élan."

Let us stress the golden words "When one supposes". Actually, as a result of the military assistance rendered to socialism in Czechoslovakia, it is not the SU and her allies who are in trouble, but it is her enemies, the enemies of socialism and peace who are in trouble. Designs of a quiet counter-revolution, which were being hatched for quite some years, fell down like a house of cards, when the Warsaw Treaty forces entered Czechoslovakia.

What Does the Debate in the UNO Prove ?

In the general debate in the present UNO Assembly, Middle East affairs are occupying an important place. The debate proves that now Israel is isolated more than ever since the June war. Other imperialist states, besides France, are now obliged to dissociate themselves from the obstinate policy of the Israeli Government, from acts of annexation and from the overt aspirations to territorial annexations. American imperialism is now the only one in UNO (as West German imperialism is not represented there), that supports the aggressive policy of the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin Government. Here too, and this has to be considered, first cracks have appeared which are apt to broaden

after the presidential elections in November. Finally American imperialism will turn out to be a support as weak as a broken reed, just as any other imperialism. There has never been and there never will be any imperialism which could be relied upon as support 'on a rainy day' for the people of Israel or any other people. At the same time, until now the fundamental line in American-Israeli relations has been close cooperation against the anti-imperialist Arab states and against the world socialist system.

What did the Israeli Government bring to the UNO Assembly? Did they really consider seriously any peace initiative, a solution of the crisis, a way to stop the bloodshed? Not at all.

The party concerned itself admits this in the article written by Eli Nissan, published on 6.10.68 in "Davar" (semi-official organ of the ruling Labour Party - transl.):

'From the strategical point of view, Israel has no positive objects in the UNO Assembly. Thus the strategical object is to prevent the attainment of the Arab-Soviet object which is clearly the imposition of Israel's withdrawal from the territories.' (The occupied territories-transl.).

Let us here emphasize the words "Israel has no positive objectives", but solely negative ones, the only intention of which is to preserve the conquests.

But whoever has no positive objects, has not only the Arabs and Soviets as enemies, but almost the entire world. Thus writes the official mouthpiece of the Labour Party, whose head is Levi Eshkol, in an article on the eve of the Assembly:

"In the UNO Assembly Jarring will also play an important role in the Soviet-Arab offensive, according to which the UNO emissary ought to be considered as the executor of the Resolution from November 22, corresponding to a time-table to be fixed by him or UNO." ("Hapoel Hatzair", Labour Party weekly, end of September 1968).

So, the UNO emissary, Dr. Gunnar Jarring, too is an enemy. But until recently, the official propaganda instruments spread rumours to the contrary, as if Dr. Gunnar Jarring were justifying Israel's official position. It is difficult to deceive public opinion for long and finally the truth must be admitted that it is the Israeli Government's position which is failing Dr. Gunnar Jarring's mission.

Thus, even that blackest of black newspapers, "Yediot Ahronot",

is compelled to admit on 1.10.68:

"It would be useless to conceal the facts. Our demand for direct negotiations and the refusal to conduct negotiations by intermediation of Jarring, are less and less understood as times passes. More and more this is looked upon as a pretext, so as not to abandon even one metre of the territories which we are holding. This is a grave failure of Israeli diplomacy."

If all this were not so tragic, it would be ridiculous. All the time the public is being crammed with "information" about the successes reaped by Israeli diplomacy in deceiving world public opinion and even... Gunnar Jarring. And then, in the end they admit themselves that they have not succeeded in deceiving world public opinion, but themselves and a considerable part of Israel public opinion.

There have indeed been circles in Israel, and precisely from among the supporters of the prevalent line, which had warned, even before the latest developments, against the campaign of selfdeception in official Israeli propaganda. For example, an article "Pax Israelica" by Shabbatai Tevet, which appeared in the daily "Ha'aretz" (21.6.68.), says:

"With increasing frequency, there are lately to be seen signs of Israeli hypocrisy regarding peace, which arouse concern... In official and semi-official articles and expressions, one has begun, inspired by certain sources, to define Israel's efforts to consolidate the achievements of the six-day war as efforts to bring about peace... The definition of our struggle... as a struggle for peace is nothing but coarse hypocrisy..." And further: "There is a suspicion that this propaganda will be successful mainly with ourselves. For it is very doubtful whether any common sense possessed by our neighbours and by others will look upon any Israeli design to hold on to the occupied territories as upon a plan for peace. --- If we are able to bring about such a peace as that outlined in the Allon-plan, it will mean a Pax Israelica, a peace by force. With this we shall not conquer the hearts of the world, not the hearts of the Arabs, and in the last account not our own heart... At the most, we shall succeed in deceiving part of the Israeli public and in strengthening a hypocrisy, the first buds of which are now seen in its resplendent blossoming."

Absolutely correct. The trouble is that the auther proposes to abandon hypocrisy and to say openly that we do not wish peace, but conquests...

These two currents are struggling together within the Government, between the extremists who demand annexation of all the

territories and the 'moderates' who are ready to content themselves with annexation of part of the territories; between the extremists who are afraid of mentioning the very word 'peace', as any peace settlement also includes a withdrawal, and those who are ready to use the slogan of peace as a tactical means.

In this situation of growing isolation, the Government decided upon changes in the tactics employed in UNO, without changing the fundamental policy, which includes a peace settlement. The tactical changes are expressed in two points:

1. If the Government has up to now employed the device of demanding direct negotiations as a condition for any discussion (and in reality in order to evade any discussion), it now declares its readiness to discuss the subject matter in initial stages with Dr. Jarring as intermediary, on condition that the matter under discussion will be not only the solution of the crisis caused by the June war, but also "the establishment of a just and stable peace, to be achieved by negotiation and expressed by a peace agreement between Israel and the Arab states." (A. Eban's speech). The Foreign Minister also hinted that it is the intention of the Israeli Government to annex part of the occupied territories, and not all of them, stating that the settlement regarding frontiers has to be one that "is in keeping with the security of Israel and the dignity of the Arab states."

We have here before us a diplomatic game which does not, it is true, assist the solution of the crisis, but is intended to assist the official policy to get out of the grave isolation. This is admitted by an informed source the assistant editor-in-chief of "Davar", Hanna Zemmer, in her article published in "Davar" on October 4:

"The difference between this formula and the present formula is not an essential one. It is a tactical one."

The renunciation of direct negotiation as a first step and of the demand that the Arab states consent to a peace agreement as a first step, before any discussion, with Jarring as intermediary, of the problems themselves - so explains H. Zemmer - "transfers the difficulties and the complaints to Arab diplomacy."

This borders on cynicism. For the people of Israel and the Arab peoples this is not a matter of diplomatic games, but a matter of daily bloodshed, blood of Jews and blood of Arabs, it is a matter of the dangerous armament race, and the danger of a new outbreak of war.

The nine-point plan of Aha Eban ignores the fact that there already exists an unanimous decision of the Security Council

from November 22, 1967, which states how one is to solve the crisis in our region by political means. The question now is not whether to start discussion from scratch, but the implementation of the Security Council Resolution in its entirety by Israel and the Arab states. The practical manner of approach to everything is the determination of a time-table for the carrying out of all parts of the Security Council Resolution.

But the Foreign Minister's plan ignores fundamental parts of the Security Council Resolution, such as the paragraph that states that none of the sides must have territorial advantages accruing from the war and that there must be withdrawal from the occupied territories.

Therefore we cannot consider the Aba Eban plan as a new plan or as a plan that advances peace.

The form of negotiations has never been the decisive matter. The main obstacle lies in the annexationist acts of the Government and in its general aspirations for territorial annexations, in its not being prepared to accept the Security Council Resolution as a whole, which has to be implemented.

The problem now on the agenda is the solution of the present crisis, the removal of the nightmare of war. The Arab states, in particular Egypt, have given their consent to the implementation of the Security Council Resolution in toto, inclusive of putting an end to belligerency with Israel. In respect of the Arab national movement, this is very important contribution to a political settlement which will put an end to the nightmare of the repeated wars, and which will pave the way to the solution of all problems under dispute between the Arab states and Israel, which have been pending for 20 years.

A political settlement which will put an end to occupation and to belligerency - comrade Vilner emphasized - will enable both sides to negotiate on the basis of equality and freedom. Such a political settlement, based on the Security Council Resolution, is a precondition for advancing toward the signing of a peace agreement. Whoever opposes a political settlement, whoever takes the stand of 'everything or nothing', is not interested in a peace agreement, but in the perpetuation of conquests, and in dictating of terms from positions of military occupation.

The opposition of the ruling circles to a political settlement with the assistance of UNO, according to a time-table for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution - prevents the advance toward a peace agreement, and leaves us with the danger of a new war.

Alas, in Israel the ruling circles are intensifying war

preparations. Already in May the Defence Minister declared before a Dutch newspaperman (viz. "Ha'aretz", 3.5.68.) that "we have to prepare for a renewal of war".

And in his interview with "Lamerchav", Dayan said (7.7.68):

"In the second century since the beginning of the new return to Zion, the renaissance of the people works in two ways: colonization and widening of frontiers... There should be no Jew who says "full-stop", or that we are near the end of the way. This is a process that will be continued."

But it is not only Dayan who makes such declarations. Eshkol, Eban and Allon, who are considered less extremist, are from time to time making efforts not to stay behing Dayan, in their deeds as well as in their words.

In his interview with "Al Hamishmar" (22.9.68) the Foreign Minister speaks boastfully and threatens that if the Arab states do not agree now to Israel's terms, a day will come when they will long for these terms. The Prime Minister competes with the others and proclaims that the concrete actions of annexation will be intensified: "More than 30 military colonies have been put up in the territories held and soon additional ones will be established" - (Eshkol in "Davar", 1.10.68). Deputy Prime Minister Allon had already before that declared: "We should really have annexed all the conquered territories to the State, immediately after the last victory, by this we should have terminated the discussion. If we had done so, we should now be free of worries, but then we erred in our judgment, and now we have to pay for it - and hence my new plan". ("Yediot Ahronot", 3.7.68.).

What is, then, the difference between such words and the Dayan formula of "one strong blow and we've finished"? Look at this nationalist-colonialist haughtiness: "we have to pay for it", because we have not annexed all the conquered territories...

Sometimes you are amazed how deeply immersed are the official leaders of Israel in living in an unreal world, detached from the real situation in the world and in the region, relying on the thin thread connecting them with American and West German imperialism, and on this ground playing unbelievably irresponsibly with the destinies of the State of Israel.

All this is done at a time when the Arab states, and first of all Egypt, are ready to implement the Security Council Resolution in its entirety. Here it must be reiterated and strongly emphasized that the implementation of the Security Council Resolution will give Israel security, will bring recognition of

Israel's right of sovereign existence within recognized and secure frontiers, as of all other states in our region, and will guarantee Israel free shipping in the Tiran Straits and the Suez Canal.

Official representatives of Egypt have declared that they are ready to abolish belligerency with Israel already at the first stage of implementation of the Security Council Resolution, parallel with the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, and even before the end of the evacuation, if Israel will commit itself to evacuate the occupied territories in accordance with a time-table.

At the next stage, in accordance with a time-table, the secure and recognized borders are to be fixed, the rights of the Arab refugees are to be guaranteed, in accordance with the UNO decisions, and Israel's free shipping will be guaranteed in the Suez Canal too.

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, demanded in the Assembly, together with the great majority of representatives, that the Security Council Resolution be implemented. Among others he said:

"There exist now opportunities to put an end to belligerency in the Middle East and to ensure sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence to all states in the region, and their right to live in security."

At the same time he warned the Israeli Government against the consequences of continued occupation.

What, then, is hindering a settlement? The aspiration for territorial annexations. And in a broader perspective: the fact that American imperialist circles and their toadies in Israel have not yet given up hope of overthrowing the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and in Syria. Continued occupation --so they think-- is one of the means to achieve this. On June 7, this year, one year after the war, the semi-official "Davar" wrote:

"Every day that passes while Israel sits on the Suez, on the Jordan and above Damascus, shortens by two days the length of life of these regimes. --- at least, concerning Nasser and the "Ba'ath", it is better for Israel if they go."

By continuing the occupation, these Israeli circles and their oversea advisers intend not only to "gain time", but also to arouse discontent among the Arab masses against their governments, because they do not liberate the occupied territories. Thereby

they wish to assist the reactionary, pro-western circles to take power.

The Phantom Mine

The direction given by President Johnson to Foreign Secretary Dean Rusk to conduct negotiations with the Israeli Government about the sale of the supersonic Phantom planes - was not incidental, neither in its grave political meaning, nor in its timing.

Precisely at the time when in the international arena great efforts are being made to find a political solution for the crisis in our region, to prevent a deterioration towards war, to save Jarring's mission - Johnson puts a mine under these efforts by opening a new stage in the armament race in our region.

The newspaper "Davar" admits that with this a new stage has been opened in the armament race:

"From the purely Israeli point of view, the President's decision creates an absolute turn-about in Washington's traditional policy of embargo. True, there have already been precedents of American arms supplies to Israel ("Hawk" rockets and Skyhawk" planes) - but against the background of the West-East situation and in view of the fact that here a "new generation" of planes is concerned, it is the opinion of qualified circles that we have here a breaking up of old frames and the crystallization of a policy, which demands a continuation in any situation in the future."

These are clear words that do not call for any interpretation. There is really no doubt that this step will not assist in a solution of the crisis, but sharpen it.

Official NATO circles too admit that the Phantom planes were not requested out of Israel's defence needs, nor did the American consent come because of those.

The "Yediot Ahronot" published on 8.10.68, a reportage from its Paris correspondent, Edwin Eitan:

"NATO experts believe that a war may break out in the Middle-East even before the end of the year. The experts are convinced that this time too the military collision will be extremely short and this time too Israel will emerge victorious."

"The report says: 'Israel's complaints about big armament shipping from the Soviet Union are greatly exaggerated. On one hand Israel gives publicity to such exaggerated reports about Arab armament, and on the other hand, despite all denials, she

has herself very much strengthened her military potential since the end of the June war.'"

The report then gives details of arms supply to Israel - arms of all kinds'. The report says that these arms have contributed very much to the strengthening of the military potential and have further consolidated Israeli superiority over the Arabs."

This was before the Phantoms.

The Soviet Union is against the armament race in our region, just as she is against the armament race in the whole world. At every stage it was imperialism which opened an escalation of the armament race in our region for aggressive purposes.

At a press conference in Stockholm on July 13, this year, the Soviet Prime Minister, A. Kosygin, was asked to state what his reaction was if the USA would supply supersonic planes to Israel, at the time when occupation of Arab territories is continued. The following is A. Kosygin's answer:

"Concerning the supply of new kinds of arms by the USA to Israel, this will still more complicate the situation in that region.

"We cannot look upon supply of arms to the Arab countries and upon supply of arms to Israel in the same manner. The supply of arms to the Arab states, which are defending themselves against aggression, is a just supply. As against this, the supply of arms to Israel, is a supply of arms for the aggressor."

Journalists and politicians, belonging to Israeli ruling circles, do not at all conceal the character of Israeli-American relations and their global meaning:

"The rulers of Israel want the USA to look upon the State of Israel as she is now, 16 months after the six-day war, as a vital link in the world alignment of the USA" (Natan Poles, in "Ha'arezt", 22.9.68.). The "Hatzofe", mouthpiece of the National-Religious Party, warns the USA against "the consolidation of Russia in the Middle East" and calls upon the USA to see that "Israel is an advanced position of the USA" (19.9.68.)

"Hayom", mouthpiece of "Gachal" (right-wing bourgeois party - trnsl.) says in its leading article:

"In our relationship with the USA, the captains of American politics had innumerable opportunities to learn that a strong and secure Israel ought to be an object of their policy.

"This is true without reference to Israel's interests --- We are talking about the pure American interest, and permit ourselves

to state that in every respect it is desirable for the USA that we shall be strong allies."

And these people attacked us when we accused the Government of turning Israel into an instrument of the global policy of American imperialism!

The late war hysteria in certain circles has also passed through an escalation. When once Moshe Dayan expressed himself that one has be ready "to fight the Russians" he was accused even in official circles of adventurism and prattling. Now one can read and hear every day such adventurist and crazy pronouncements. Thus, for instance, writes Itzhak Tabenkin, the leader of Ahdut-Ha'avoda, in "Davar" (6.10.68.):

"It is of the utmost importance that we prepare ourselves consciously, psychologically and militarily to fight also against the Russians in every case when they appear against us."

"We shall not shrink from employing our whole power, wls0 when Russian soldiers will join our attackers."

All these preparations and declarations ought to arouse the most serious concern in the public. One must not underrate the danger of escalation, of military adventurism on part of those who consider themselves "a link in the world alignment of the USA."

The Foreign Minister, Aba Eban, declared in UNO that he opposes any solution imposed from outside... But really it is no one but the Government itself who wishes to bring about a solution imposed on the Arab peoples, relying on military superiority, on military occupation and on American backing. The main duty of our Party today is to struggle for a political solution, for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution, for the prevention of a deterioration toward war.

Then comrade M. Vilner analyzed the situation in the occupied territories, the increasing oppression and the resistance in all its forms, which is growing in reaction to oppression. The speaker also mentioned the fact that the Israeli Government still refuses to sign the international agreement for non-proliferation of nuclear arms, and the political repercussions stemming from this refusal.

In the last parts of his lecture, comrade M. Vilner spoke about the changes in Israel's political map with the expected entry of MAPAM into the alignment with the Labour Party, about the growing dangers to the democratic freedoms, about the new voices sounded against the official policy, so dangerous for Israel, about the heavy burden of war expenditures and armament race and

about the threat against the workers' freedom to strike and the workers' struggle against this threat.

At the end comrade M. Vilner reported about the preparations for the 16th Congress of the Party, which will open on January 30, and called for intensification of party activity in preparation of Congress.

DELEGATION OF YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF ISRAEL
GUEST OF LENINIST KOMSOMOL

Upon invitation of Leninist Soviet Komsomol, a delegation of the YCL of Israel composed of Comrades Benjamin Gonen, General Secretary, and Nimer Morkus, Secretary, of C.C., Y.C.L, of Israel, visited the Soviet Union at end of October last, to take part in celebrations of 50th anniversary of foundation of Komsomol.

The delegation took part in the celebrations and festivities in Moscow and other Soviet cities in honour of this historic occasion.

The delegation upon its return appeared in public meetings before Israeli youth and spoke about the youth of the Soviet Union. The delegation reported also before a national Conference of the Y.C.L. of Israel held in Haifa on 22nd-23rd, November 1968.

T. TOUBI: THE INTEREST OF ISRAEL DEMANDS A POLICY OF
FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION

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(M.K. T. Toubi Replies in the Knesset to Deputy Prime Minister
Y. Allon's Anti-Soviet Speech)

On 30.10.1968, M.K. Uri Avneri proposed to the Knesset to discuss the "dangers arising out of Soviet presence in the Region"... Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon while asking not to debate such a subject for tactical purposes voiced a long speech which was a tirade of anti-Soviet propaganda going as far as alleging Soviet scheming for intervention against Israel and declaring that Israel is also ready to fight the Soviet Union and that Israel will not stand alone for the USA will come to its aid.

This speech of Allon raised strong criticism later even within the ranks of his own party.

Comrade T. Toubi, M.K., used the right of making a statement upon abstention, abstained from the note and made the following statement in the Knesset.

We abstained from voting because of our taking exception at the suspicions cast at Soviet policy by M.K. Uri Avneri and the whitewashing of the plots hatched by American imperialism in the region, which are the source of danger, and because of our strong opposition to and refutation of the wild anti-Soviet incitement, made in the notorious anti-communist vein by Deputy Prime Minister Allon.

Any talk about aggressive policies and intentions on part of the Soviet Union against Israel, are untrue and constitute a deception of the public. The policy of the Soviet Union in the Middle East region is based on a socialist foreign policy, a policy which supports the struggle of all peoples including those of the region for national and social liberation from imperialist rule and exploitation, a policy which supports the independence and sovereignty of all the states and peoples of the region, a policy which concerns itself with guaranteeing peace and security in the region and world.

The imperialist propaganda mouthpieces and also the initiators of last June's war-of-conquest and those supporting that war, as well as those striving for annexations and territorial

aggrandizement, incessantly stir up hostility and hatred against the Soviet Union because it stood up against the war, acted for its cessation, assisted the peoples of Egypt and Syria to withstand the attempts to impose on them regimes obedient to the American imperialists; because it demanded the abolition of conquests and annexations, and is putting all her weight behind the demand for implementation of the Security Council Resolution from last November, for the benefit of peace, for the benefit of the region's peoples, for the benefit of sovereignty and security of the people and state of Israel.

The Soviet Union Sides with the People of Israel - Against its Rulers.

In all her positions and deeds the S.U. has made it clear that her aspirations are towards bringing about a stable peace, a just peace, in the region, a peace that respects and guarantees the sovereignty, independence and security of the State of Israel and the other states of the region. The people of Israel has in the past come to know that the mighty socialist state gave its full support and assistance to guarantee Israel's sovereignty, and political independence, and the Soviet representatives reiterate this fact at every opportunity. We are convinced that the people of Israel will find out again that the opposition of the Soviet Union to the policy of the Israeli ruling circles and her struggle for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution is also in the true interest of the people of Israel and of peace in the region.

The Minister Allon, who talked much about the dangers coming from Soviet policy in the region, did not forget to praise imperialist presence in the region, and, in the first place, the sixth fleet. For a moment it seemed that General Allon is the commander of NATO forces.

The political, military and economic presence of imperialism in this region has been accompanied by trampling the freedoms of the region's peoples, by their cruel exploitation and by the plunder of their natural resources, by exposing them to poverty, ignorance and destitution. It is this imperialist presence that caused interminable bloodshed and it is continuing to act thus till this day. Imperialism stirred up intrigues between the region's peoples, between Jews and Arabs; it shed their blood, when there was not even one single Soviet legation in the region. The imperialist bases, the sixth American fleet - which has pretensions of being the region's gendarme, - those are the sources of dangers to the region. And in as much as the Soviet Union succeeds in saving the region from this imperialist nightmare, the peoples feel relieved and only peace will gain.

The Soviet Union has in this region no oil interests, no interests of exploitation of natural resources at the expense of the peoples. Her interest is in the upholding of peace, sovereignty and independence of the region's peoples. Because this is in the interest of world peace and of peace in the region, it is therefore also in the interest of the people of Israel and all other peoples of the region.

It was the interest of Israel and it is today to live in friendship with the Soviet Union, with those who defeated Hitler and fascism, with the state whose only interest in this region is the existence of peace and independence of the peoples. The renewal of diplomatic relations and maintenance of friendly relations with the Soviet Union can be attained by pursuing an independent policy, one that is detached from the interests of imperialism in the region, a policy of peace - which under the present conditions means the implementation of the Security Council Resolution.

Zo-Haderekh (27.11.68):

ABOUT A CONGRESS OF SPLITTERS
THE WAY OF ALL DESETERS

By Emile Habibi

The end-of October gathering of the Mikunis-Sneh deserter group, called by them "16th congress", might be registered as a mourners' meeting. The political-ideological liquidation has brought them, just as it has brought all deserters who appeared in our movement, to organizational liquidation.

One of the leaders of that group, E. Druckman, when reporting about the organizational situation of his group, pretended to be amazed: We are so loved by "the public", "one does so much slap our shoulders", and despite of it, not only nobody is coming to us, but members are also leaving us!

Here are his actual words: "In the last two years a sort of contradiction has been created in this development. At the time when we witness broad masses that were strangers to us, far from us, even opposed to us and hostile to our past party line, coming nearer us by one step or two and revealing some interest and understanding and partly even consent to our political way - and on the other hand there are members who were in the past full of ardent communist devotion, and they have become indifferent or disappointed, precisely now." ("Kol-Ha'am, 6.11.68.)

He also spoke about "indifference" of members of his group, about "inefficiency" and even about "a general withdrawal" of members. It is no secret that the gentlemen Mikunis and Sneh who split the Communist Party by misleading many comrades, by saying that their road would bring about the expanding of the Communist Party, have remained generals without an army and have fallen between two stools.

In the political sense this group has become very much "expanded". A member of the group's Central Committee, A. Lanzman affirmed that "in our present position there is almost no one, except extreme annexationists or enemies of the Israeli working class, that could not belong" to the Mikunis-Sneh group". He also added that "a certain part of party members could belong to other parties" (from the publications of the Mikunis-Sneh group congress). It is no coincidence that A. Lanzman spoke precisely about "extreme annexationists", who find it difficult to belong to this group, after his comrade, Dani Petter, (another member of their Central Committee) had defined his group as "the

moderate wing of the annexationists".

Moderation, as it is well-known, is relative, and there is no limit to the political "expanding" of those who are toeing the line of political liquidation. When a member of the leadership of that group, E. Vilenska, asked the congress to accept a resolution which condemns army raids beyond the cease-fire lines, M. Sneh got up and cut the air with his slogan "may the hands of the defenders be strong", a slogan which found its echo in the "Voice of Israel" radio (government-owned -- transl.) and shocked his comrades.

I don't say that M. Sneh is not "moderate". But there are in the Israeli Government circles some who are even more moderate than he. M. Sneh refused to dissociate himself from the Israeli army's attack on the Jordanian town of Karameh, from which ministers of the "national unity" government did dissociate themselves. We have read articles in "Ha'aretz" and other newspapers which expressed a dissociation from the Israeli army's action on 31.10.68 against civil installations in the Egyptian hinterland, but Sneh did accept it "wholeheartedly". The Mikunis-Sneh group accepted an explicit resolution which "considers as defensive necessity the actions of the Israeli army and security forces for elimination of nests of terror, for the silencing of centres of terror, for the frustration of terrorist plans" - all this, all of it, intended to justify army raids and additional expansion "for the elimination of nests of terror, for the frustration of terrorist plans" etc. etc.!

The implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, according to a time-table, was defined by this congress as "dubious substitutes for peace". Their general secretary, S. Mikunis, in his final speech, warned against any proposal for implementation of the Security Council Resolution according to stages: "One has to know that there also exists the plan of stages by Heikal, whose object is the liquidation of Israel" (from the publications of the Mikunis-Sneh congress). The Mikunis-Sneh congress does not, in its resolutions, speak about the Security Council Resolution at all. It speaks only about "a peace agreement with all neighbouring Arab states on the basis of all the paragraphs of the Security Council Resolution from November, 22, 1967, according to what will be agreed upon at the negotiations (Pay attention: "on the basis of the Resolution" - not implementation of the Resolution, and not just "implementation of the paragraphs of the Resolution", but only "according to what will be agreed upon at the negotiations". I believe even the Foreign Minister, Aba Eban, understands that it is impossible to formulate the official recalcitrant position in such a revealing form.

With all respect due to moderation and to the moderates, we find it difficult to see in the "Peace Plan" accepted by that congress any plan of moderates, unless we free our oriental imagination from any moderation. Not only does it fail to contain a single word about the necessity of withdrawal from the occupied territories - for peace, oh Almighty! - but there is not even any demand for a withdrawal from part of the territories. This plan deals with one thing, it pretends to settle the affairs of the inhabitants of the occupied territories according to the supposition that the occupation is there for all eternity!

Thus says the Congress of Mikunis and Sneh:

"The Palestinian people in the held territories has to be given the possibility to establish a national democratic and peace-loving representation (all this just in order to enable the classical petit-bourgeois, that coward and hypocrite, to swallow the right of the Palestinian people in the "held territories" to free themselves from the rule of "my" occupation - E.H.), with which the representation of the Israeli Government will enter negotiations on basis of peaceful co-existence between the peoples - for an agreed solution of the territorial problem, of the refugee problem, the economic problem, transport and development, the problem of self-government, the security problem"... I should not be amazed if those gentlemen had added to all the problems which the Palestinian Arab people has no right to solve without consent of the Israeli Government, the problem of matrimony and procreation!

Surely, these gentlemen, Sneh and Mikunis are generals. The former exclaims: "may the hands of the defenders be strong" and the latter shouts: "we say: not annexation but bargaining" (Lo sipouah ela mikuah - Hebrew text). However, they do not frighten even their own members. A member of the central committee of the group, R. Kaminer, found it necessary to warn his group: "We should be on our guard not to abandon the tool of criticism towards the Government's policy." Another member of the group's centre, Dani Petter, called on his group "to influence the policy of the Government and not to be influenced by it". He said: "To drag and not to be dragged". S. Litvak, a member of the group's leadership, defended himself against his comrades who asked him in amazement: "Where is the brotherhood of peoples? Have we turned zionist?" by claiming that these comrades "are ignoring our being a besieged people"!

"Our being a besieged people" does indeed free that group which pretends to be communist, even from the necessity of conducting a policy and education of brotherhood of the peoples! And thus,

the human conscience of a veteran ex member of the Communist Party of Israel, (now member of the group) H. Silber, could be darkened so much by these "commanders" that she appeared at their congress and said shamelessly: "It is not easy today to call for friendship with the Soviet Union... and thus it is with Jewish-Arab brotherhood. True, there is a place left for more activity in the matter of demolition of homes, for example, but will this bring peace nearer?"

By the way: The chauvinist, anti-Arab atmosphere prevailing in this group is one of the reasons for the absence of any Arab member in this group. The attempt of the group's leaders to lead astray progressive public opinion in the world, pretending there were Arab members in their group, has also failed. Interesting is the criticism of one of their own members, Bitansky, about the appearance of an Arab person, named Burshi, in their congress. Bitansky said: "This comrade is not active, and why should one make an impression abroad that we have Arab members. This is not true..."

The political liquidationism of those gentlemen has reached not only so far as to renounce communist principles, but even to renounce universal democratic principles, universal humanist principles, although they talk a great deal about "humanist socialism". They are not only prepared to renounce the struggle for brotherhood of peoples because "we are a besieged people" and the humanist struggle against demolition of homes in the occupied territories, because "this does not bring peace nearer", but they are also ready to renounce even the general struggle for preservation of democracy in the State of Israel. Can we forget the exclamation of S. Mikunis in the Knesset on November 5, when he appeared against our proposal to abolish the "Restriction of Movement Orders" and said: "If there is no peace - there shall be no democracy."

Perhaps one ought to define the gentlemen Mikunis and Sneh as the "moderate wing of the annexationists", but for their anti-soviet and anti-communist position it will be difficult to find any precedent. Their "expanding" in this question has encompassed the whole world.

That last congress of theirs passed in a solid anti-communist and anti-soviet atmosphere. On the second day of that congress, their paper "Kol-Ha'am" appeared with loud headlines concerning the opening speeches. The paper said: "S. Mikunis: We shall not forsake the defence of Israel in return for a slap on the shoulder by Moscow".

"M. Sneh calls on the Soviet Union not to hit Israel: do not

do not stretch out your hand against this people of mourners". And all this in spite of the fact that in the same week Western sources were forced to admit that there exists no danger of Soviet military intervention in the Middle East, and it was clear that all the spreading of those rumours was only intended to justify a military intervention of the aggressive NATO in the Middle East.

It was not by chance that Z. Breitstein (the Chairman of the group's Central Commission until their last congress, when he announced his relinquishing all posts - transl.) accused M. Sneh of haughtiness. M. Sneh shamelessly appointed himself supreme commander of the whole international communist movement: "The CP of Israel (his group -- transl.) fulfills a pioneering role in the renaissance of the communist movement for the return of the crown of democracy, and socialist humanism" ("Kol-Ha'am", 31.10.68.).

The socialist regime in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community he called "bureaucratic dictatorship - a cancer that is gnawing at the organism of the world socialist system and the world communist movement." (from the same source).

In the resolutions of their congress those anti-communist deserters proclaimed that they would conduct a divisionist, subversive activity among the world communist movement. Their group - so it says in a resolution of their congress - "supports with all its heart the struggle of forces of democracy and independence within every socialist country, within every communist party"! An Arab proverb says: "Woe is to Acre because of the sound of the surging sea"...

M. Sneh, in his theses "On the Problems of communism, democracy and the Jewish people", which were accepted by his congress, permitted himself to outline a separate general line for the whole world communist movement - for the communist parties in power, for the communist parties in developed capitalist countries and for the communist parties of the "third world" - the doctor has made out a detailed prescription for every situation, a classical reformist line in which nothing is new.

In the question of zionism, too, M. Sneh does not innovate anything. The only innovation is in this that he "orders" every communist party to accept the zionist doctrine. Thus it is said in the resolutions of his congress: "The congress draws the conclusion that in the programme of every communist party in a country in which there are Jews, the following four rights of Jewish citizens in a socialist state have to be incorporated" (the right to emigrate to Israel, the right to a national life, the right to maintain

connections with Jewish institutions in the world and the right to assimilation).

M. Sneh and his congress stand up to defend zionism, considering it as a "national movement" - they see in any anti-zionism a cover for antisemitism, and about the struggle against zionist ideology in the socialist countries they say: ". . . it helped the conservative, bureaucratic, tyrannical forces against the forces of democracy and socialist humanism"! Does M. Sneh after all this expect that our knees will knock together? Even a MAPAM-man, N. Kinnor, did not suffer from any knocking of the knees. He mocked at the haughtiness of M. Sneh and his pretense to have innovated something in zionist doctrine, and at his professing to give answers to the problems of our times that differ from those given by zionism. "Really" - writes N. Kinnor in "Al-Hamishmar" from the 4.11.68. - "very interesting! What is the answer to the questions of our times. The answer is, as well-known, that the Jewish people needs a homeland, that the Jewish people, too, has a national movement, that Israel is under siege, that the Jews have a right to immigrate to Israel, that the hands of those who carry out acts of retaliation may be strengthened" and he goes on to say that all these definitions are the age-old answers given by the zionist movement.

We knew from the beginning that M. Sneh's pretension "to purify the world communist movement from Arab chauvinist influence" is only a cover for zionist subversion within the movement. The ideological crisis of the zionist movement on the one hand, and the need of the imperialist knights of cold war to employ the zionist movement in their subversion against the socialist countries and the communist movement, on the other hand - here we have the midwife of this phenomenon, Sneh and his group.

It is the blind hatred for the Soviet Union and the entire world communist movement which has confused the minds of these people. They elected a person by name of Salvador Minerbo to the centre of their group due to his industrious anti-sovietism. About his speech we read thus in the publication of their congress: "He denounced the present Soviet leadership which wants to fulfil the role of a gendarme of the revolution parallel to the role of the gendarme of imperialism fulfilled by the USA."

Matters reached such a stage that one of the group's members, I. Wagenstein, announced at the congress that "there are comrades for whom the socialist countries are worse than imperialism."

In the days of stormy discussions with those deserters on the eve of the split, we told them explicitly that they strive to establish "the first anti-communist communist party in the world". Their

Congress has proved that we were right in our appraisal. Their political and ideological liquidationism, which, so they thought, would bring them to the expansion of their group, is bringing, as we had warned them from the beginning, to the dissolution of the group and to their disappearance from the political arena of our country. The hopes which the ruling circles had put in this group, in their activity within the socialist camp and the communist movement, have not realized. The political charlatanism of the group's leaders, which is so well-known to us, was shattered on the rock of our movement which possesses a rich experience and historic achievements. Their road was, nor could it be otherwise, the road of every deserter that appeared in the history of our movement: Complete bankruptcy and disappearance from the political scene, from history, from memory.

If there is today something in this passing phenomenon, it is the fact that their sad fate is strengthening the trust of the communists in the correctness of their Party's way, the way marxism-leninism and brotherhood of peoples. The Party, which is not just by any chance, has been successful, has remained alive, is continuing its way and is overcoming all difficulties, facing subversion, threats, persecutions, and the injuries of the split.

To those communists who were led astray by the deserters and who have had their eyes opened by the congress of the group, and see that Mikunis and Sneh have destroyed their life, we say: It is only the life of the deserters that has been destroyed. Our party has remained the fortress of all communists and is open to all communists.

By Joseph Galili

In the last few weeks we witnessed a new wave expressing the resistance to occupation on part of the inhabitants of the areas conquered by the Israeli army in the June 1967 war.

What has set apart this new wave of resistance, is its broad mass base and its great persistence. The occupation forces have intensified their terrorizing efforts, and among the inhabitants of the State of Israel apprehension is growing.

A Fist of Steel against Girl Pupils

The new wave of resistance to occupation was opened by pupils, both boys and girls, who struck and demonstrated en masse in Ramallah, El-Bireh, Toubas, Jenin, Jericho, Hebron, Anabta, Kabatiya, Tul-Karem, East Jerusalem, Nablus, Ghaza and other places. The central slogan of the demonstrations was: Occupants - Quit our country!

The pupils' demonstrations were defined by the semi-official organ of the rulers - "Davar" (28.10.68.) as "a new weapon" against the occupation. "Davar" admitted: "If from the view-point of current defence interests our position does not become shaken by school strikes, they certainly are no blessing for Israel."

Against the demonstrations of girl pupils the occupation authorities employed drastic means of suppression and violence. Schools were surrounded by security forces, as if they were strategical points; school walls were covered with posters issued by the military authorities, which said that the schools were out of bounds and entry was only on duty, as if they were army camps.

Against the girl pupils who assembled in the schoolyards of their schools, were going to manifest or were actually manifesting, forces of the army, police and frontier guards were employed, which showed their "strong hand". Girl pupils from Al-Bireh, whom I met on that Wednesday, 24.10.68., told me how they had been maltreated. The marks on their legs and their frightened faces were witnesses to the truth of their stories. Their eyes filled with anger, they told me that when attacked by policemen and soldiers with cudgels, they fled to their school, but there too the beaters reached them; they pursued the girls up to the second storey of the school; even

when the girls hid in their classrooms and barricaded the doors with desks, the doors were broken into and the girls were hit with clubs over their heads . The blows even reached girls who had found shelter in the lavatories.

"Ma'ariv" wrote on 25.10.68: "The velvet gloves with which the military government had handled the rioting and incited pupils till now, were taken off and instead a fist of steel was used. General and complete curfew was imposed on the town, tanks roared through the empty streets, tens of demonstrators and instigators were detained and some of the organizers of the rebellious campaign, who had headed the incitement were expelled (from their homeland - transl.)... at 9.30 tanks and half-trucks appeared. Lines of steel-armoured vehicles passed along the streets and ploughed with their chains the fields of asphalt."

"In Accordance with the American Method"

"Yediot Ahronot" boasted on 24.10.68: "You may or may not be amazed - but the method is wonderfully efficient. The first water jet traps a group of about 100 girls and boys, wets them from foot to head. But the water does not only wet them. It also soils them. This method was adopted from American experience..."

"In the square the pupils encountered a force of frontier-guards. When the pupils refused to disperse, the policemen were compelled to make use of force and threw smoke grenades."

The same paper wrote on 25.10.68: "Within 20 minutes - from 9 to 9.20 - the streets were emptied, and Nablus resembled again a ghost town. Quiet was soon disturbed by the tanks of the Israeli army which passed along the streets of Nablus. Every few minutes bursts of fire were heard, which came from machine-guns mounted on the frontier-guard vehicles." This description gives some picture of the kind of atmosphere of terror that was created by the occupation authorities in the days of the pupils' demonstrations. In Ramallah I was told that woe befell anybody that dared to take a glimpse from his window or balcony in the days of curfew.

Detentions and Expulsions

In less than ten days 14 public figures were driven over the Allenby Bridge to the East Bank of the Jordan River, in addition to those who had been driven off since the beginning of occupation. Among the expelled there are lawyers, statesmen and men of culture, one of them Rushdi Shahin, an outstanding

leader of the Jordanian Communist Party in the West Bank area.

It is still difficult to know the number of persons recently arrested. According to incomplete information, their number has reached some dozens. There is no indictment against the detainees; they were detained and are held in prison in accordance with an administrative order, one of the emergency regulations issued by the British authorities in Palestine, in 1945. Among the arrested there are the Jerusalemite communist leader Na'im al-Ashhab, the mayor of Ramalla, Nadeem Zarawi, who was later released, Sara Barkat, wife of a previous Jordanian district governor, and others. Pupils and teachers were released after being brought before military courts and having been fined heavily (up to 1,200 I.L.), having the choice to go to prison for 6 and even 12 months.

The wave of arrests was prepared by giant headlines, as the following one in the "Ma'ariv" - 25.10.68.: "Ba'athist and communist elements incite to unrest in the towns of the West Bank".

Paratroops, Threats and Dayan

The Defence Minister, Moshe Dayan, who is responsible for the entry of paratroops into East Jerusalem ("Yediot Ahronot" - 24.10.68.), was compelled to admit over the "Voice of Israel" radio on 26.10.68. that the motive of the students' demonstrations was the resistance to occupation. In Tul-Karem the Defence Minister declared: "Whoever is not content, can sell his property and move to Jordan or Egypt, or any any other country." ("Yediot Ahronot" - 27.10.68.).

Minister Dayan, according to "Ma'ariv", 1.11.68. told the notables of Tul-Karem where girl pupils had demonstrated, "And if your daughters went to Tel-Aviv to be there prostitutes, couldn't you do anything about it either?" This is the style of impudent conquerors.

Rebellious Arab Jerusalem

The authorities imposed on Arab Jerusalem several annexationist measures and alleged all the time that Arab Jerusalem was subordinating itself to Israeli power, was in love with it, but in reality it has never ceased causing worry to the conquerors. Many times Jerusalem has witnessed general trade strikes, that turned the city into a ghost town. The closed doors of the shops are for every Israeli visitor, for every tourist from abroad, a living evidence of the occupation's failure. The occupation authorities deluded themselves, and still more tried to lead

Israeli and world public opinion into the belief that the removal of barriers and the imposition of their rule would make the annexation into a matter of course, would turn it into a fait accompli. But every commercial strike in Jerusalem is a shock that shakes the conqueror out of his delusions. The coalition newspaper "Al Hamishmar" (4.11.68.) is compelled to acknowledge: "There is no doubt that the strike, which at this writing is still far from termination is harming the Israeli line of policy, which tries to convince the world that the city of Jerusalem has become one single city on the day when the protecting walls which had separated between the two parts, were removed."

Expropriation of Shops and Women Clad in Black

In reaction to the commercial strike proclaimed in Jerusalem and all occupied territories on 2.11.68., the occupation authorities took a drastic step which aroused anger even among papers that are close to the Government. On Saturday, 2.11.68. the commander of the Central Front, R. Ze'evi issued an order by which 15 shops from among the biggest and most luxurious ones in Jerusalem were closed down and expropriated. This order was issued in accordance with the mandatory regulation issued by the British occupant of Palestine, which enables the expropriation of shops in order to... house policemen. On Monday, 4.11.68. the shops were evacuated, in part by force. The authorities spread the rumour that shops, the owners of which did not come to empty them, were emptied by the police. They concealed the fact that the owner of such a shop could not come as he was still imprisoned. "Davar" (5.11.68.), describing the taking hold of the shops, reported: "In the streets there stood a big crowd of curious people and looked at what was happening. The sad spectacle aroused discussions among the onlookers. The carrying out of the goods from the shops aroused great excitement, especially among the families of the expropriated owners. Women clad in black burst into tears, curses were heard and the atmosphere was tense. East Jerusalem was yesterday filled with soldiers and policemen who patrolled ceaselessly, accompanied by armoured cars and armed jeeps." - Thus, Jerusalem looked in those days like a besieged town, groaning under the conqueror's yoke. This is how Jerusalem had looked in the black days of British occupation. The newspaperwoman Silvy Keshet wrote in "Ha'aretz" (4.11.68.): I only know that when the English acted like that in the "Generali Building", it was called Bevingrad."

Under pressure of public opinion, in the country and abroad, the shops had to be returned to their owners.

The Resistance - the Result of the Occupation

Whither will occupation lead Israel ? This question is asked by every Israeli citizen. We said from the first moment that there is no humane occupation, that there is no exceptional occupation. By its very nature, occupation is a disaster for the conquered and still more so for the people whose rulers are the conquerors. It is in the nature of occupation to arouse resistance. No means of suppression and no hypocrisy on part of the conqueror are capable of curbing, of preventing resistance to the occupant. Thus it was in the days of the Maccabees - who will be remembered shortly, when we celebrate Hanukka, the feast of remembrance of the Jewish national insurrection led by the Maccabees against the Hellenistic empire. And thus is it today, when the forces of the Israeli army are occupying the West Bank, Sinai, the Ghaza Strip and the Syrian Heights. There is no humane occupation and there is no preparedness to suffer the conqueror. "Ha'aretz" (31.10.68.) claims that "daring has become stronger", that the more occupation will be prolonged, the more will resistance be intensified.

The communist member of the Knesset, Tawfiq Toubi, was right when he said in parliament on 5.11.68: "Every day of continued occupation and continued brutal killing, intensifies the calamities and deepens the chasm. When occupation and oppression continue, resistance is growing. The occupation and the wish to impose the "very democratic regime" of Dayan on the Arab people in the occupied areas, the regime of expulsions, demolition of homes and expropriation of shops, in reaction to non-violent protest actions - as we are witnessing in Jerusalem, - it lies in the nature of things that such a regime encounter resistance."

The conclusion is: Liquidate occupation and there will no resistance!

The liquidation of occupation will benefit the people of Israel, the neighbouring peoples, the future relations between the people of Israel and the Arab peoples.

ALIGNMENT -- IN WHOSE FAVOUR ?
.....

By Yehuda Ungar
("Zo Haderekh"-30.10.68.)

The Labour Party Centre decided last week to establish an alignment between itself and MAPAM with a view to the forthcoming elections to the Histadrut (Trade Unions), the Knesset and local councils. The establishment of the alignment has still to be confirmed by the MAPAM congress, (its second session), which is to be held in November, but in fact confirmation is ensured in advance, despite the resistance to the alignment on part of considerable sections of the MAPAM membership.

The new alignment could be hailed as an act of consolidation of workers' parties, if this step really served the cause of the Israeli working class. But even at first sight, one becomes already aware of completely different factors guiding the architects of this association, and it becomes visible that, fundamentally, this new alignment is opposed to the interests of the working class.

This new alignment, the establishment of which has just been decided upon, is not based on principled or ideological foundations, common to both parties. The discussion in its preparation, held inside the two parties and in the public, did not, in the main, revolve about such subjects. In the measure in which it is possible to speak about common ideological elements, stemming from the fact that both parties are Zionist, these have existed throughout all these years, and the waving about of these principles at this moment by some of the supporters of the alignment within the leaderships, is nothing but eyewash.

Why, then, is this alignment set up precisely now ?

The Timing

Topical political necessities are guiding the steps of the leaderships of the two parties. At least in part, this is not even concealed, for example when they state as a direct aim of the alignment the approaching elections.

The two parties were and are partners in the Government, which has led the people to an aggressive war, to conquests and to stirring up a chauvinist atmosphere, which has become still denser in consequence. But the "fruits" of this atmosphere can be more easily reaped by the parties of the bourgeois right,

and therefore the leaderships of the Labour and MAPAM parties fear a reduction of their forces in the forthcoming elections. This fear is still more grounded when one takes into account the impasse of Israeli policy, which causes Israel's growing isolation in the international arena in whatever is connected with the continuation of occupation and the unwillingness to implement the Security Council Resolution from November 1967. Therefore they have found it necessary to fortify themselves toward the elections by the appearance of their parties on a common election list, and thereby to reduce the expected losses.

However, besides this there exist other aims, internal ones, but not less important for the "veteran" leaderships of the two parties. It is well known that there exists a sharp struggle inside the Labour Party, between the former RAFI people (the Ben-Gurion-Dayan party) and a part of the former MAPAI people (Aba Hushi and others) on the one hand, and the leadership (Eshkol, Sappir, Meir etc.) on the other hand. This opposition inside the Labour Party has abandoned even those moral values of the working class that have still remained in the Labour Party, and strives with all means, basing itself on the nationalist wave, to conquer power in the Labour Party. There even exists a possibility of a part leaving and founding a right-wing nationalist party. Against these forces the veteran leadership needed some reinforcement, and found it in MAPAM, which will, after its joining the alignment, "quite naturally" support that veteran leadership against its rivals.

But not less does the MAPAM leadership itself stand in need of support within its own party. The consequences of this party's participation in the Eshkol-Dayan-Begin government and its almost unqualified support for this government's aggressive policy, have begun to become perceptible in the ranks of MAPAM. In this party an opposition to the party leadership has sprung up and it has consolidated in particular in the discussion about the alignment. Many MAPAM members have understood that their leaders' measures are causing their party to be swallowed by the big reformist party and to lose the last remnants of MAPAM'S independence. This resistance has weakened the traditional MAPAM leadership and they are looking for support within the Labour Party leadership.

It was these common interests which guided the leaders of the parties in their steps toward the setting up of the alignment.

The "Freedoms" of MAPAM

But besides all this, there exists for the establishment of the alignment an additional object, one that is far-reaching and

very important: curbing the class struggle in Israel, in which the MAPAM members have taken part up to now.

In the negotiations which preceded the voting last week, MAPAM was promised freedom in some matters, where their members will be able to vote separately, also after the establishment of the alignment. In the Knesset this freedom of vote concerns the electoral system and the question of the fundamental laws (there exists no constitution in Israel, only a series of so-called fundamental laws- transl.), in particular in the question of laws of matrimony (which at present are entirely based on religious law-transl.).

Regarding Histadrut affairs, some subjects were defined, where the MAPAM representatives in the alignment will have the right of separate voting.

The following are these subjects: the decision about freezing the wages, the cost-of-living allowance and details of its implementation; the shortening of the work-week (entailing reduction of wages-transl.) and the question of shortening the work-day in summer; the stages of implementation of the equalization of basic social conditions of workers and the question of initial wages for industrial workers; motions for laws in the domain of labour relations, which entail restrictions on freedom of labour action; partnership with capital in Histadrut enterprises; the structure of the cooperative movement ; the demand of the educational movement "Hashomer Hatzair" (MAPAM youth) to form part of the "Working and Studying Youth" (Histadrut youth), while preserving their ideological and organisational independence. These are important problems for the protection of the working people's interests, and we are the last ones to make light of them.

It must be seen, however, what will be the character of these "freedoms" given to MAPAM. True, they will be able to vote inside the institutions against the official line of the Labour Party's leadership and even to write about this voting in the press. But about the actual value of this arrangement, two of the Labour Party leaders spoke in the Central Committee of their party.

A. Becker, the Secretary of the Histadrut, and one of the supporters of the alignment, replied to those who were against the giving of such freedoms to MAPAM : "After setting up the alignment there will be no more action committees and no organizing against the Histadrut and outside it, on initiative of MAPAM members." (Action committees elected at grass root level, where communists were very active, have played an important role in the class struggle - transl.)

P. Sappir, Secretary of the Labour Party, a former Finance Minister, replied to those who claimed that the alignment with MAPAM would repel investors from abroad: "Jewish investors of capital are interested in normal labour relations, and the alignment with MAPAM will be helpful in this matter."

It seems that Becker and Sappir know what they are talking about. And it is no coincidence that their speeches were not published in "Al Hamishmar" (the MAPAM organ-transl.), though this paper reported extensively about the meeting of the Labour Party's Centre.

From this it is clear that one of the objects of the alignment - and this is a long-range object - is the fettering of the hands of MAPAM and the removal of its members from class struggle in this country, the struggle for the interests of the toilers and against capital.

No wonder that the bourgeois parties did hardly raise any outcry against this alignment which, at first sight seems to be directed against them.

Towards Unification

Many are sure that the alignment is just a first step of the MAPAM leadership's way toward complete self-liquidation, and that it will bring about a full merger of the two parties after the elections, simily to the episode of the alignment between MAPAI and Ahdut Avoda.

M.K. R. Barkat, who headed one of the common commissions that conducted the negotiations preparing the new alignment, said at a meeting of the Labour Party's Centre:

"...Anyone comparing the paragraphs of the agreement (with MAPAM) to the Labour Party position will not find any essential differences between them. It can be stated with satisfaction that it is the fundamental object of the Labour Party's world outlook, striving for the attainment of unity of the workers' movement, which has won a dignified and considerable victory. Barkat added that "my hope, based on experience, is" that the present alignment is a corridor leading to full unity.

"Davar" wrote on the morrow of the confirmation of alignment (24.10):

"The results of the voting in yesterday evening's meeting of the Labour Party Centre have paved the way to the set-up of a political alignment which is an important step, the decisive

step, leading to the merger of the Labour Party and MAPAM - i.e. to the unification of all Zionist workers' parties within the frame of one party. True, merger is not yet the topic; but what is the topic, is a step which is of great value per se, and one that also constitutes a stage toward the merger."

"Al Hamishmar" wrote in a similar vein-on the same date:

"This decision is of great importance, as it removes all obstacles on the path to further consolidation and to ensuring the hegemony of the workers' movement in the state."

One can now expect a sharpening of struggle within MAPAM, since its left-wing members are certainly sensing the danger suspended above their party: to be swallowed up in a big party, inside which manifold interests are struggling together, and where socialism is just employed as an ornamental phrase. Great importance is attached to the struggle of the MAPAM members for the crystallization of a force resisting the process of liquidation.

DELEGATION OF ISRAELI COMMUNIST
VETERANS VISITED THE USSR AND
THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Upon invitation by the C.C., C.P. of Soviet Union a delegation of Israel Communist veterans, members of the C.P. of Israel, left Israel to the Soviet Union in the middle of October. The members of the delegation are:

Arie (Luki) Zebrak,
Henia Sproukh,
Najib El-Fahoum,
Israel Dissler,
and Leon Onjian

They stayed for two weeks in the Soviet Union. All of them were for the first time in the land of October .

Upon invitation by the C.C.of the Socialist Unity Party of the G.D.R., the delegation visited for a week the German Democratic Republic after having visited the Soviet Union.

THE KNESSET DEBATES THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC
"CONFINEMENT ORDERS" AGAINST COMMUNISTS

On 29.10.1968 the Knesset held a special debate initiated by the Communist Parliamentary faction on "Confinement Orders" issued by the military authorities against communist activists, particularly Arabs, and other citizens. In accordance with these orders the citizen involved is confined to his home town or his village unless he obtains a special permit from the Police. These confinement orders were issued to active members of the Communist Party particularly after last June war.

On 12.12.1967, member of Knesset Tawfiq Toubi raised this anti-democratic measure in the Knesset as a point to the agenda and called for a general debate on the issue. Defense Minister M. Dayan explaining these orders by "security" needs agreed that the Knesset will hold a debate.

It was after 10 months that the Knesset Presidium agreed to hold the debate in the Knesset.

On 29.10.1968 the debate was opened by Tawfiq Toubi M.K., who criticized these orders as anti-democratic measures, used particularly against the Communist Party activists for their opposition to the policy of war, aggression and annexation practiced by the ruling circles of Israel. M.K. T. Toubi pointed out that these orders involved all the Arab members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, all members of the editorial board of Al-Ittihad newspaper (no worker of the newspaper is allowed to move freely outside Haifa), Arab members of the C.C. of the Young Communist League of Israel, all communist members of the Nazareth Municipal Council, all other communist members of municipal and local councils, editors of the YCL journal in Arabic, Al-Ghad and others. M.K. T. Toubi said that these orders are issued on basis of the colonial legislation from the time of the British mandate, and called for the abolition of these repressive measures.

M. Dayan, the Defense Minister, took part in the debate that ensued and used the floor this time and the tense atmosphere of the week - following the new outburst of shelling at the Suez Canal - to incite and agitate against the Communist Party and its activists. In order to explain these anti-democratic measures Dayan said that the "Communists cannot by a speech about peace wash their hands from responsibility for the inimical tendencies amongst the Arab population in Israel" and "the Communist Party is a respectable part in the subversive activities and accordingly its share amongst those whose movement is restricted"... In order to substantiate his false accusations Dayan read some passages from speeches falsely related to Emile

Habibi M.K., allegedly made before party activists. The passages read by Dayan were a mixture of fabrication lies and provocations implying that Emile Habibi supported Arab steps for initiating war against Israel before June 1967, and that he called the Arab population of Israel for sabotage activities... Dayan mentioned neither source nor place making it clear that these fabricated passages were collected by his secret security service...

Dayan disclosed that there are 157 confinement orders in the country, 57 of them relating to communist activists. He also disclosed that the military authorities issued 875 orders to Israeli citizens forbidding them to enter the occupied territories, 653 of them are people related to the Communist Party of Israel.

M. Dayan threatened that these measures would even be tightened "for the cause of security".

Dayan's statement was part of a concerted anti-communist incitement campaign launched by over ten members of Knesset from various parties who came out in differing tones in support of the anti-democratic measures for purposes of security.

A rabid anti-communist right-wing deputy S. Cohen-Zidon went as far as to say that the place of Tawfiq Toubi is not in Parliament but as an accused in the court. He formally submitted an application to raise the parliamentary immunity of Emile Habibi.

S. Mikunis raised his anti-communist and anti-Soviet incitement to a new high pitch when he used the floor not to protest against anti-democratic measures towards communists and towards the Arab population but to pour his chauvinist poison against the communists and the Soviet Union.

S. Mikunis said: "The main part of the speech of Tawfiq Toubi is an attack on the State of Israel. More correctly all is translated to Hebrew from what is written in "Pravda" and "Al-Ahram" on the State of Israel. "Pravda" receives from "Al-Ahram" and "Al-Ahram" from "Pravda" and both of course are real "speakers of truth" concerning what takes place in Israel." S. Mikunis attacked "Trybuna Ludu" and other socialist press which he called "press of lies" and pathetically cried: "it is a shame that these papers spread lies in the world and that these lies are repeated here"... "Who is intensifying enmity? We propose to the Arabs peace: we tell them come round the table of negotiations... but they want to bring about the liquidation of the State of Israel in stages. The first stage according to a time-table which is called fulfilling the resolution of the Security Council Resolution. What does it mean fulfilling the Security Council Resolution? The fulfilment of the first paragraph, that Israel should withdraw to the lines of June 4th. Afterwards they will give us

the middle finger. What do we say? We say Israel does not know where to withdraw... Therefore it is necessary to define acknowledged and secure boundaries and then Israel will know where to withdraw - to acknowledged and secure boundaries"...

He goes on to say: "For Israel it is not a pleasure to be in those territories where demonstrations and strikes take place. Of all those who are holding demonstrations and strikes, not one raises the slogan of peace with Israel. He only wants that Israel will leave the territories. And what after? So that the situation will be as before?" Ending his speech he said: "Democracy is secondary. Peace is the main thing. If there will be peace there will be democracy; if there will be no peace there will be no democracy"...

Comrade Emile Habibi made a personal statement concerning the fabrications and incitement of M. Dayan. MK Emile Habibi took part in the debate. His speech, abridged, is given in this issue of the Bulletin.

The debate was concluded on 5.11.1968 by comrade Tawfiq Toubi MK, who submitted a resolution calling for abolishing the orders restricting free movements. The House by majority of coalition votes confirmed the policy and measures of the government and rejected a communist draft resolution calling for ending these repressive measures.

T. TOUBI REPLIES TO S. MIKUNIS

In his concluding speech to the debate comrade T. Toubi replied to the speech of S. Mikunis with the following words:

"To the words of S. Mikunis, the new 'man-of-security and defense', it is not worthy to reply seriously. No one takes seriously his political and ideological about-turns. His words full of hatred to communism, to the Soviet Union and to Arabs are those of a bankrupt who started his career in 'Ohel' and ended it in 'Ohel-Shem'." ("Ohel" is the theatrical group which Mikunis joined as an actor before joining the Communist Party. "Ohel-Shem" is the name of the hall in which the gathering of his group was held.)

CONCLUDING SPEECH OF TAWFIQ TOUBI IN THE KNESSET ON :
THE FIGHT FOR ABOLITION OF CONFINEMENT ORDERS

(From the speech delivered by MK T. Toubi in the Knesset, summing up the debate which had been initiated by the Communist Parliamentary Group /"Zo Haderekh" - 13.11.1968.)

Most of the members of the Knesset who took part in the debate, digressed very much in order to evade the issue of the confinement orders and the fundamental rights of citizens in Israel, because of their political positions, and in order to attack our Communist Party and to justify the anti-democratic measures against its members and to justify the acts of suppression against the Arab population.

M.K. Lorentz, who spoke last week even found it necessary to appear as one who does not know the ABC of the Knesset Statutes, just to arouse suspicions against MK T. Toubi, even in the timing of bringing up the subject. You know very well, MK Lorentz, that I raised the subject of confinement orders more than ten months ago, in a motion to the agenda which was accepted. More than once did we ask the Knesset Presidium to hold the debate. For some reason or other this subject was brought here precisely one week ago. Our suspicions regarding the timing were proved true in the debate and the inciting appearances of some members of Knesset and also in the distortions of our position and the launching of the unrestrained attack upon our Party by Minister Dayan. Matters went so far as to raising the ridiculous demand by MK Cohen-Zidon to annul the immunity of MK Emile Habibi.

Immoral Attitude

MK Lorentz and others appeared as enthusiastic defenders of the mandatory Emergency (Defense) Regulations (imposed on Palestine by the British colonial power - transl.), in accordance with which these confinement orders are issued. It is very sad that he has already forgotten that these dictatorial laws hit him and his friends at the beginning of statehood, in 1951. I believe he was among the detainees in Jelameh prison when the Knesset resolved on 22.5.1951 that the Emergency (Defense) Regulations ought to be abolished, and defined them as regulations that contradict the fundamentals of a democratic state. Isn't it immoral to oppose these regulations when they are employed against you and to support them when they are employed against communists and Arabs?

But your calculations, MK Lorentz from the Agudat Israel (Orthodox Religious party), in the matter of the mandatory Emergency (Defense) Regulations, these calculations which you wrap up

in pretensions of concern about "security", have been put to the test of security and morals, when you and your friends preferred money to morals, when you got a licence for a bank as payment for your renouncing the demand to abolish the military government some four years ago and you supported the continued existence of the Emergency Defence Regulations...

To our regret M.K. Uri Avneri has in his speech joined the chorus of inciters against our Communist Party, coarsely distorting its positions. Here he did not innovate anything. It was after the manner of best anti-communist tradition of long standing. Evidently this unrestrained attack on the Communist Party, because of our opposition to the war and occupation, is needed by him in order to cover up his own sharp turn-about executed by him last June, to cover up his supporting the Government's policy, his support of war and occupation. This is very sad, M.K. Avneri.

By the Right Given one by the Electors

Comrade T. Toubi called to order the hysteric speech of M.K. Cohen Zidon (extreme right wing) and said in reply that if the members of the Knesset respect this institution, they have to rise against these wild threats against a member of the Knesset. "Not by your grace or any other's grace am I standing here. I am standing here by the right given to me by my electors who sent me to the Knesset to express their cause, and neither your threats nor those of others will deter me and my comrades to say what we think, and to fight for the cause of peace. That there is a parliamentary regime in Israel belongs to a problem different from the one of giving a proof, so to speak, of equality of rights of the Arab of Israel."

M.K. David Hacohen was not even ashamed to compare the regime of the Soviet Union with that of Hitler. You, David Hacohen, owe very much to the Soviet Union. Every people that was saved from the claws of the nazis and which won its national independence after the second world war, owes very much to the Soviet Union.

Your emotional speech in defence of the confinement orders and the mandatory emergency laws, just as your emotional speeches in the past, in defence of the military government, will not beautify Israeli democracy.

M.K. M. Bibi went as far as to Iraq and called to his help the problem of Iraqi Jews, which is not related to what we are debating today.

M.K. I. Uziel went even farther and came to the killing of the

Assyrians in Iraq in order to justify the confinement order and the discrimination against the Arab population.

An attempt was made by most of the members of Knesset who took part in the debate, to excite the feelings, on the background of the last fortnight's events, in order to justify anti-democratic acts of the Government against Israeli citizens because of their political opinions. There were members of Knesset who, with the pathos and phrases of "security" mongering, justified the necessity of continuing the anti-democratic confinement orders on grounds of the alleged necessity to defend Israel, and even to prevent the danger of its annihilation, as some others claimed. This is a ridiculous exaggeration in order to justify this anti-democratic measure.

We are definitely for defending Israel's existence and rights. We stand not in need of documents to prove our position. This principled opinion of ours we have always expressed, before the foundation of the state and afterwards, when we have stood up for the just right of the two peoples in this country.

A Mark of Discredit for the Defence Minister

But there is no connection whatever between Israel's existence and rights and these anti-democratic steps of limitation of freedom of movement of Israeli citizens because of their political opinions.

Condemning M. Dayan's fabrications and incitement against M.K. Emile Habibi and the against positions of our Party, M.K. T. Toubi said: The members of our Party, Jews and Arabs, act and appear openly, in accordance with the position of their party. One thing is their ideal: to attain peace and justice in the relations of the two peoples. We fought and will continue to fight for a just peace between Israel and the Arab States, for a peace that will respect the right of the people of Israel and the just rights of the State of Israel, the right of the Palestinian Arab people and the just rights of the Arab states.

For a Future of Jewish-Arab Cooperation

We struggled and will continue to struggle for the recognition by Israel of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, as by ignoring these rights and by trampling them underfoot, Israel will not obtain peace, nor security. We struggle against any Arab chauvinist appearances among certain circles in Arab countries, which express themselves against the existence of the State of Israel. Our position is well known; it is the principled position of communists who stand up for respecting

the just rights of the two peoples. For these positions our comrades went to prison, a fact that is known to many members of the House.

For peace and brotherhood of peoples we have created the only Jewish-Arab force in the state that shows a perspective for a future of fruitful cooperation between Jews and Arabs. We have created a bridge, upon which this future will be built, and we will defend it with all our might, because this is the future of these two peoples - to live together, as our Party symbolizes in its brotherhood and in its Jewish-Arab frame.

It is the rulers of Israel who today trample on the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, it is they who started the war, in collusion with the imperialists, for the annulment of these rights. Therefore, for peace and for the real interests of the people of Israel, we, the communists, have stood up against the June war the real objects of which have been proved by all the development as being far removed from the real defence of Israel and its existence. For peace we have called, and are continuing to call for the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the occupied territories, for the acceptance and implementation of the Security Council Resolution from November last year, which guarantees to Israel the abolition of state of war and the recognition of Israel's right to live as a sovereign state within recognized and secure borders, if Israeli forces withdraw from the occupied territories.

We say openly that every day that the occupation continues and the cruel killing continues, intensifies the disaster and deepens the chasm. When occupation and oppression continue, resistance is growing. We have condemned the bombing acts in the Central Bus Station and the throwing of grenades in Jerusalem, and we condemn any harm to peaceful citizens. We look forward for the cessation of mutual bloodshed. We are the only ones who show the way. The only way to the cessation of bloodshed is: cessation of occupation and mutual respect for rights. Occupation and the wish to impose "the very democratic" regime of Mr. Dayan upon the Arab people in the occupied territories, a regime of expulsions, destruction of homes and expropriation of shops in reaction to a non-violent protest movement - as we see it today in Jerusalem - it is in the way of nature that such a regime meet with resistance. History teaches that no terror and no threats have ever imposed the order of a foreign occupation on a people which demands its rights. This is a dangerous illusion. This is the reaction of one whose policy has gone bankrupt. The voice of the fighters for peace and brotherhood of nations, the voice of Jews and Arabs, our voice, the voice of the communists will not weaken. We will, with all our force, continue to raise our voice: stop the war and end bloodshed - let Israel accept the Security Council Resolution and

and retreat from the occupied territories to a settlement and to peace.

Many will not, perhaps, agree with what we say, but we hope that their sense of democratic responsibility and their attachment to the principle of civil rights and freedom of the citizen will cause them to resist the anti-democratic means of oppression, the confinement orders and the Emergency Defence Regulations, and to demand their abolition.

EMILE HABIBI in the Knesset on :

CONFINEMENT ORDERS -- A VIOLATION OF
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS
.....

(From the speech delivered by M.K. Emile Habibi in the Knesset on 5.11.1968 , "Zo Haderekh - 13.11.68)

The debate held in the Knesset last week about the Confinement Orders, which limit the freedom of movement of hundreds of Arab citizens of the state and which threaten to deny this elementary right to the entire Arab population - was an instructive lesson about the quality of democracy implemented by the rulers of the state. In the name of "state security" they deny elementary rights to citizens who oppose war and occupation, boast of their spying against members of the Knesset elected by the people, and maintain an unholy alliance of incitement not only against the Arab population in Israel, but against Arabs in general - said M.K. Emile Habibi at the beginning of his speech.

M.K. E. Habibi continued : Once more is revealed the class character, the oppressive character, inherent in bourgeois democracy which is implemented in Israel by its rulers who have put their trust in the imperialist plots in the Middle East, in a policy of force, of dictating of terms and territorial annexations. This is a kind of democracy giving freedom to incite against strikes of workers who fight for higher wages and against dismissal from work. This is a democracy favouring the "Movement for the Entire Land of Israel", of freedom of action for everyone preaching expansion, oppression of the Arab population in Israel and in the occupied territories, intensification of bloodshed and continuation of the wretched situation, in which, to our sorrow, young Jews and Arabs are falling every day.

Their "Democracy"

When we hear speeches, such as we heard last week, we understand in the clearest form which kind of "democracy" for Czechoslovakia is defended by the mouthpieces of the rulers of our country, is defended by the "free press" of Israel, whose freedom excels in anti-communist and anti-Arab incitement and in preaching annexation of territories in the name of "secure frontiers".

We have come to the Knesset with a rather modest problem: with the demand to preserve elementary rights of equality for the Arab population of Israel and to abolish the confinement orders. The Government announced the abolition of the military government and the abolition of limitations on freedom of movement. What was the result? Against our elementary demand all the heavy guns were brought into action, starting with the "trustworthy" quotations of the Defence Minister, and ending with the exodus of the Iraqi Jews!

I am not sure that the one who planned this action of heavy retaliation against our proposal, has acted intelligently, even from his point of view. What will the people say? After 20 years, in which a small Arab population lived under Israeli rule, does it constitute a danger for the security of the State of Israel, a danger that obliges one to take emergency measures? Does this not mean the acknowledgement of the failure of twenty years of official policy concerning the Arab population?

The Arabs of Israel stand by the Forces of Peace

No, the Arab population of Israel does not threaten Israel's security. Since the foundation of the state, the Arab population of Israel strives with all its forces to ensure its own existence in its country, to maintain its lands in face of the expropriation orders, to ensure a life of security and calm in its country, to ensure equality of rights and fraternal relations with the majority people in the State of Israel.

This population is opposed to war between Israel and the Arab countries by nature of its own development, as a result of its bitter experience, and it therefore wishes for a just and peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. The Defence Minister mentioned the days preceding the June war, the 25th of May last year. Then the Arab public was seized by apprehension. To its mind came the fate of Kafr Qassem on the eve of the Sinai War. I should have thought the Defence Minister would not be interested in opening this painful wound. It was this apprehension that

was talked about, when the 25th of May was mentioned. I wish to emphasize now that the Arab population does feel apprehensive towards any further intensification of tension relating to bloodshed. It opposes war. It always was and it remains a weighty force at the side of the forces of peace and those striving for a peace settlement. We, the communists, are proud of our part in channelling the hard struggle of the Arab population of Israel to the routes of mass political struggle, a democratic struggle, a common Jewish-Arab struggle, which has achieved in the past and will achieve in the future positive results for the benefit of the Jews and the Arabs, for the benefit for peace.

We understand the nervousness which has seized certain ruling circles. Their promises to the people after the June war were not fulfilled; the policy of force and conquests has not brought peace, has not stopped the bloodshed and has not strengthened security. These circles are afraid for their political fate. The people of Israel has proved that it is courageous and intelligent and will not consent to the continuation of this deterioration. Therefore, the ruling circles take the age-old measure of looking for a scape-goat, and which scape-goat is more suitable, to their understanding, than communists and Arabs ? But let these circles ask themselves:

Has this method saved, at any time, a tottering policy ? All those who think they will succeed in using us as scape-goats, are wrong. The scape-goat does not agree to it, he does not consider himself to be a scape-goat and the world of today does not suffer such inadmissible methods.

When calling for a really democratic attitude toward the Arab population, we see before our eyes not only present life, but also life in the future. We look for an Israel that lives securely in this part of the Orient. There can be no stable and secure relations with the Arab peoples except relations of peace and of mutual respect of rights.

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