communist party of israel central committee tel aviv

March 1970 P.O. 8, 14-3

IN THIS ISEVE:

ON THE ANTI-IERAELI CAMPARON UN THE SOVIET UNION *** THE SWIERAR AND THE MUNICH CRIMES *** APARAT IN NUMBOR *** S. MIKUNIS. CHANCES NON FEATE *** M. SNEH- CAPITURATION TO THE RESULT - • AND THE CHANCE FOR THE MET *** SETHER VILENSKA: MAPAM'S PEACE BLAN *** GRET-INGS TO THE NETHERLANDS' C.P. CONGRESS

"pp]

HX 632 A1 W9 No.1110

1

20

MAIN

EVENTS OF THE MONTH

THE C.P.I. BUREAU ON THE ANTI-ISRAELI CAMPAIGN IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel (Maki) discussed in its last session the anti-Israeli campaign that has been conducted during the last weeks in the Soviet Union in an unprecedented volume and intensity.

1. The C.P.I. Bureau condemns the defamations and false accusations raised against Israel, by the Soviet propaganda machine that has debased itself by comparing with the Nazis the remnants of Nazi extermination, the ghetto fighters and the veterans of the anti-Hitlerite war who have found shelter in the State of Israel and have taken their stand in the front of defence of their renewed homeland. Directing this dreadful accusation to the address of "Zionism", of the "Israeli soldateska" or "the rulers of Tel Aviv" will not veil the truth, because this accusation is directed against the whole people of Israel, against the whole Jewish people.

The C.P.I. Bureau appeals to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to put an end in time to this shameful anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish campaign, in order not to allow a repetition of the tragical mistake from the days of the false accusation against the Jewish doctors, the days of Berya and Ryumin, who created an anti-Semitic atmosphere among the Soviet population.

2. The C.P.I. Bureau condemns in particular the harnessing of wellknown Soviet Jews to the bandwaggon of the campaign against Israel. The need to make use of these forced converts only proves how deep and extensive is the sympathy in the Jewish and general public of the Soviet Union with the just war of defence of Israel's people, and how widespread is the discontent with the alliance made by the present Soviet leadership with the pan-Arab front that is scheming to annihilate the State of Israel. The mobilisation of Jews for the purpose of anti-Israeli propaganda will not succeed in loosening the national link of millions of Jews in the Soviet Union with the Jewish people and withthe Jewish people's historical homeland, with the State of Israel.

3. The intensified anti-Israeli campaign expresses an additional support on the part of the Soviet authorities to the Arab states in their war against Israel.

The C.P.I. Bureau appeals to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to abandon the harmful line of identification with one belligerent side, the Arab side, in the Middle East conflict, and to adopt

(Continued on page 36)

CONTENTS

EVENTS OF THE MONTH

The C.P.I. Bureau on the anti-Israeli campaign in the	
Soviet Union	2
The crime of blowing up the Swiss-air plane	4
B. Balti: The murder in Munich	7
Arafat in Moscow	9
Official East German declaration supports scheme to annihilate	
Israel	12
Italian Communist politician criticizes "Al Fatah"	15

COMENTS

S. Mikunis: In spite of everything - there are chances for peace	16
M. Sneh: The capitulation to the Right - and the chance for the	
Left	23
E. Vilenska: Mapam's peace plan - its lights and its dark spot .	30
S. Tzirulnikov: The Soviet Union and the armed Palestinian	
organisations	34
Y. Silber: A summit meeting with the USA - or with China? .	37

SOLIDARITY

Greetings to the Netherlands' C.P.	Congress .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	41
Austrian Jewish Left solidary with	C.P.I			•	•	•		•		43

Please, dear readers, ensure our work to arouse world public opinion for a genuine peace in the Middle East, and ensure regular receipt of your copy -

BY FORWARDING TO US YOUR SUBSCRIPTION FEES FOR 1970.

Regular mail	\$4.	-
Air mail to Europe	\$ 6.	-
Air mail to U.S.A., Canada	\$ 8.	-
Air mail to Latin America, Australia	\$ 9.	-

Page

THE CRIME OF BLOWING UP THE SWISS-AIR PLANE

Before the members of the Knesset stood at silent attention in honour of the memory of the victims of the Swissair plane crash, in the session on 23.2.70, they were listening to the story about the boy of Maoz Hayim in the Beth-Shean Valley. MK <u>M. Sneh</u> told the story in reply to the suggestions voiced during the debate by a member of the "Free Center" who proposed to hit Arab airlines. The words of the C.P.I. representative came as a "contra-punct" and were a faithful expression of that spirit imbuing the people of Israel in the war for its survival that has been forced upon it.

Safeguarding the values of israeli education

Shortly after the plane disaster had become known, M. Sneh was told by a member of Kibbutz Maoz-Hayim:

"During one of the heaviest shellings, a five year old boy started weeping in the shelter. An adult tried to calm him down by saying: Don't be terrified, these are not their "booms", these are ours. The boy stopped crying, but, his voice still choked with tears, he asked: And have the Arab children there, too, shelters? The adult looked at him: Why do you ask this? And the boy answered: It is not the children's fault that their fathers are 'Fatah' ".

The great human spirit that is voiced by young children; the spirit of humanity that the parents and teachers have fostered among our youngsters - this is the spirit of Israel's people. S. Tamir ("Free Center"): This is not the subject of the discussion.

M. Sneh: It is.

Tearing off the disguise

The C.P.I. representative referred at this opportunity to the character of the Arab terrorist organisations.

The blowing up of the Swissair civilian plane, with its crew and passengers - an act committed by one of the Arab sabotage organisations tears from the faces of these organisations the disguise of revolutionaries, of so-called fighters for national liberation. Every man who has not lost his human image, every man with a conscience, will denounce not only this particular heinous crime, not only the particular organisation that committed the crime, but the whole network of anti-Israeli Arab terrorism.

In every armed struggle, the objective of the fighting and the method of the fighting both determine the character of the fighting, whether it is moral or not, whether it is just or not. The aim of the Arab sabotage organisations, all of them, is not to achieve the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people at the side of the Israeli people, but the annihilation of the State of Israel, i. e. of the right of Israel's people to:selfdetermination, to independent national statehood. This is an immoral aim. Therefore, no wonder that the means of fighting, too, are immoral. The coward laying of explosives in the cafeteria of the University, near the bedroom of a family in a workers' cooperative settlement, in a bus station, in an El-Al office, in a passenger plane - with the intention of murdering at random non-combattant men, women and children who are not involved in the fighting - this is an outrage from the viewpoint of everyone who has ever fought for a noble aim."

What did Lenin say?

Therefore, we feel still much more sorry when we are aware of the support and the sympathy for Arab terrorism displayed by left elements in the world. The circles of the left must be careful to recognise the wellknown distinction made by an authority who said: As long as a national movement is fighting for the rights of its own people - we resolutely support it; but when a national movement appears against the rights of another people, we are resolutely against it.

According to this definition by Lenin, no Communist is entitled to support the Palestinian sabotage organisations in Israel. And as far as the means of combat are concerned - Leninism has condemned individual terrorism even against cruel rulers and tyrants, oppressors and enslavers the more condemnable is terrorism against innocent people.

This is why the faction of the Israel Communist Party in the Knesset expressed its regret and displeasure at the invitation of the "Fatah" delegation to the French Communist Party Congress and at the invitation of the joint delegation of terrorist organisations under Yasser Arafat's leadership to Moscow. The objective significance of these invitations, of this hospitality, is - covering the hideous crimes, the bloodshed of innocent people, the warmongering and hostility between peoples, the disruption of international relations, the poisoning of the atmosphere throughout the world.

THE MURDER IN MUNICH

By Berl Balti

The terrorist attack on peaceful passengers, Israelis and others, that took place at the Munich airport in the middle of February, is the fourth in the series of criminal operations staged against El-Al Israel Airlines.

In the beginning, an Israeli plane was kidnapped in Rome and brought to Algiers, followed by the attack in Athens where an Israeli engineer was killed. Another murderous assault on the FI-Al plane in Zurich caused the death of an Israeli pilot, and further casualties were prevented only by the energetic action of Mordekhai Rahamim, who risked his own life to save the passengers. An additional attack was foiled in Athens and now it was the turn of Munich.

The murderous onslaught in Munich was directed against peaceful passengers, including women and children. An Israeli student was killed, the wounded included the great Israeli actress Hannah Maron, whose artistic work was in its very essence the fostering of love and the promotion of understanding between the peoples. The murderous hand of the Arab terrorists reached, on <u>German</u> soil the same Hannah Maron who has brought encouragement to the soldiers of the Jewish Brigade and to the remnants of Jewry during the Second World War, in the fateful struggle against the Nazi oppressor.

The crime in Munich uncovers again the true character of the Arab terror organisations, whose evil design is to sow murder and ruin in order to bring about the annihilation of the State of Israel. This aim and these methods of murder are clearly reactionary, and the fact that the organisation that carried out the crime in Munich calls itself "Marxist" and even "Leninist" does not make any difference.

The fraud of "Al Fatah" and other terror organisations that appear under the disguise of so called freedom fighters' movements must be vehemently condemned. The declared aim of these organisations to set up in the whole territory of Eretz-Israel a "democratic, secular Palestinian State" that is to form a "part of the Arab nation", is, in fact, nothing but the same ill-famed scheme to annihilate the State of Israel and to deprive the people of Israel of its right to self-determination under an apparently "democratic" cover... Therefore, these organisations are no national liberation movement, but an instrument of pan-Arab aggression for Israel's elimination.

We are sorry that certain left circles in the world are misguided by the fraudulent propaganda of "Al Fatah" and similar organisations. This is proved by the invitation of the "Fatah" delegations to Moscow and to the French Communist Party Congress. These acts of encouragement to the terrorists are in absolute contradiction to the task of the left forces, that is to exert their influence in the direction of negotiations, an agreement for the achievement of a just, stable Israel-Arab peace, to strengthen the cause of world peace.

If the murderers in Munich intend to frighten the people of Israel, this will obviously not be achieved. We are firmly resolved to defend our national existence and our rights.

ARAFAT IN MOSCOW

Seven representatives of the Palestinian sabotage organisations arrived in Moscow, headed by Yasser Arafat, the leader of "Al Fatah" and the "Palestine Liberation Organisation". This is the first time that the Soviet Union has invited and received a delegation of these organisations. And it is not by chance that the Soviet authorities had previously refused to have representatives of the armed Palestinian organisations as guests in their country:

a) The Soviet policy sides with the Security Council resolution of the 22nd of November 1967 - while the Palestinian sabotage organisations are absolutely opposed to it.

b) The Soviet policy makes efforts to reach an agreement with the United States within the framework of the talks between the two powers and the four powers - while the Palestinian sabotage organisations are vehemently opposed to these talks and to such an agreement.

c) The Soviet policy recognises the fact that the State of Israel exists and has a right to exist - while the Palestinian sabotage organisations found their operations and their platform on the desire to annihilate the State of Israel.

So what is the meaning of the invitation of Arafat and his companions to Moscow? Evidently it cannot be assumed that the Soviet Union will adopt the stand of her dear guests, just as it cannot be assumed that the missionaries of Arab terrorism will be persuaded that the steps taken by Soviet diplomacy are right. The meaning is entirely different.

The Soviet policy regarding the Middle East crisis has been pushed into an insoluble internal contradiction. On one hand, it seeks a consensus with the United States on the Middle East, out of very essential global considerations - and on the other hand it tries to prove its identification with the extremist Arab governments in their war against Israel. However, every attempt at a Soviet-American consensus causes at once a Soviet-Arab controversy. So it happened at the U.N.O. Assembly in the summer of 1967, immediately after the Six Day War, when Andrei Gromyko in the name of the Soviet Union and Arthur Goldberg in the name of the United States reached a consentenneous formula, but the Arab opposition foiled the agreement. And so it happened in 1969, too, when the conversations between the American Sisco and the Soviet representative Dobrynin brought about an agreement on a number of important issues, but Nasser's resistance discarded the agreement, and even Gromyko's visit in Cairo was of no avail. Towards the Rabat conference at the end of last year, William Rogers submitted an American plan for Jordanian-Israeli and Egyptian-Israeli settlements, while the Soviet government and its organs warned the participants of the Rabat summit not to turn this conference into a "war council" . . . The American inducement and the Soviet warning resulted in the divergence of most Arab govern ments from the Soviet Union's Middle East policy: the conservatives among the Arab rulers are looking for help from Washington - and the "revolutionaries" among them, who yearn for a war of revenge and annihilation against Israel, are bitterly disappointed and angry with Moscow.

In this situation, the visit of the delegation led by Arafat in Moscow, is apt to serve several aims of Soviet policy: First the support of Palestinian terrorism and guerrilla warfare is for the Soviet Union a lesser commitment and less dangerous than supporting the Arab armies in a full-fledged war, and it serves as a kind of substitute for such a war; second, the demonstration of friendship with the Palestinian sabotage organisations should make the "revolutionary" Arabs forget the sin of the Soviet flirt with the American imperialists and the manoeuvres of moderation of Soviet diplomacy; third, Moscow's demonstrative support of the armed Palestinian organisations against the background of the growing Soviet-Chinese tension - is destined to prevent the monopoly of Peking as the protective power of this "antiimperialistic liberation movement".

That is how the Soviet leadership is looking for an escape from the contradiction between its relations with the United States and its relations with the Arab countries, into the fraternisation with "Al Fatah" and their like. But the question is if this fraternisation will not still further intensify the contradiction from which it has run away...

*

(Kol Ha'am, 12.2.70)

IN SHORT

The salaries of wage earners rose by an average of 4.5 per cent in the first six months of the year over the same period last year, according to the report of the Central Bureau of Statistics. The largest increases were in building - 9 per cent, industry 7 per cent, and commerce - 5 per cent. The number of wage earners in the economy in the same period rose by seven per cent.

★ One-half of the 16,000 tons of olive oil being produced by the farmers of the Western Bank in 1970 has been sold across the Jordan. From there, some is sold further afield, in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries, the spokesman of the Israeli Agriculture Ministry told the press on December 29, 1969 in Haifa.

OFFICIAL EAST GERMAN DECLARATION SUPPORTS SCHEME TO ANNIHILATE ISRAEL

"Kol Ha'am" of 29.1.70 writes:

"Does East Germany support the scheme to establish a united Palestinian state for Moslems, Christians and Jews?" - was the question the correspondents of the Egyptian newspapers "Al-Akhbar" and "Al Gumhuriya" asked Prof. <u>Alber Norden</u>, member of the Politbureau of the German Socialist Unity Party. His reply was: "YES".

Interview Prof. Albert Nordens für Al Sumhuriya" und "Al Akhbar" wurde. Ich fragte Prof. Norden: "Unterstützen Sie den Kampf für die Errichtung eines palästinensischen Staates, in a dem Juden, Christen und Moslems in Frieden leben?" Prof. Norden antwortete: "Ja, wir unterstützen das.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27, 12.1969

Prof. Norden's affirmative answer has the only possible meaning of reaffirming the scheme to annihilate the State of Israel, because evidently the "Al Fatah" plan of "establishing a united Palestine, where Moslems, Christians and Jews will have equal rights", is explicitly intended to rescind the existence of the State of Israel. Even if we ignore the practical plan to leave in Palestine only the Jews who lived there in 1917 (or in the most favourable case those who arrived before 1948), this plan obviously disowns the Israeli people's right to self-determination and to the existence of a sovereign national state of its own. Moreover, the "Al Fatah" plan is not intended to grant <u>national equality</u> between the Arabs and the Jews who would remain in the united state, but only the <u>freedom of religious</u> worship in the state that would have an Arab national character. That is why the plan does not mention the term "Arabs and Jews", but - intentionally and consistently - the term "Moslems, Christians and Jews" - i. e. people of various religions. In this form, the question was also presented to Norden in Cairo.

It is known that Eastern Germany resists the unification of the two German states for a rather well-founded reason, that during the past 20 years, deep social and economic differences have been created between the two parts of Germany. These differences preclude a unification between the two sovereign states, even though the peoples of the two states speak German. It is astonishing, considering this approach, how the East German leader sides with the establishment of a united state in Palestine comprising peoples who do not speak one language, and in whose development, too, "some" differences have developed during the past 20 years ... But it is no use demanding logic from the persons who determine the East German policy, just as it would be unnecessary to demand that they behave according to Marxist principles. The scheme of a "united Palestine" with freedom of religious worship, which, if implemented, involves the annihilation of the State of Israel, has nothing in common with the Leninist principles of self-determination. Supporting it means also an outspoken dissociation from the Security Council resolution of November 1967 that speaks explicitly of safeguarding the sovereign existence of all states in the region, and it is nothing but hypocrisy and cynical absence of principles when East Germany speaks at the same time about its support of the Security Council resolution and of its stand siding with the "Al Fatah" scheme to annihilate the State of Israel. Moreover, Norden's "Yes" to the "Al Fatah" scheme is also a "yes" to war - unless the East-German leader thinks that Israel would agree to her peaceful annihilation...

So far we have heard official and semi-official Soviet declarations supporting "the just struggle of the Palestinian people", without explaining the reservations of this support. Whispers have been going round that the political schemescof "Al Fatah" are rejected by the Soviet Union. Voices have also been heard of individual publicists in East Germany, in Cuba and even in Yugoslavia, who declare themselves to be in favour of the "Fatah" scheme regarding a "United Palestine". But these utterances are considered personal views. The innovation in Albert Norden's declaration is, that this is the first time that an official personality in a socialist state has declared his support of a scheme that is intended to annihilate Israel. In order to give his words more authority, Norden told the Egyptian reporters that he was expressing Walter Ulbricht's view as well. To stamp an official seal on this approach, the interview was reprinted in the official East-German organ "Neues Deutschland".

Maybe Norden's declaration is an expression of divergent views in the camp that is docile to Soviet discipline on the issue of Israel's existence and rights - and that there are other elements that reject the "Fatah" plan and defend in principle Israel's right to exist. But it is also possible that the East German declaration is nothing but a kind of arrow pointing in the direction of a gradual trend. This second possibility is hinted at by the fact that various international organisations which act under Soviet influence, are gradually adopting the political stands of "Fatah". For example,

a pamphlet issued some time ago by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, dealing with the issue of the Middle East conflict, is written in this spirit of outspoken, consistent support of the "Fatah" schemes to annihilate Israel by establishing an Arab Palestine, a joint homeland for Christians, Jews and Moslems.

In any case, Albert Norden's declaration makes it necessary to draw the conclusion that East Germany - as the first socialist state - is <u>officially</u> taking a stand backing the schemes to annihilate the State of Israel. No Israeli political factor is entitled to ignore this alarming phenomenon, nor to blur it.

*

ITALIAN COMMUNIST POLITICAL CRITICIZES "AL FATAH"

In Paris, in Helsinki, in Warsaw, in Peking and in New York, there is a discussion going on to settle conflicts and to resolve controversial issues - writes Franco Bertone in an article in the Italian Communist weekly - "Rinascita" that favours the solution of problems through negotiations.

Referring to the Israel-Arab conflict, Bertone emphasises that the four power discussion is encountering difficulties, mainly because of the uncompromising attitude of the "Palestine National Liberation Movement" ("Al Fatah") that refuses to recognise the Security Council's resolution.

This is the first time in a long while, that an Italian Communist politician has criticised the official Arab strategy expressed by "Al Fatah" as contradicting the interest of peace in the Middle East - and this after a great many articles and declarations praising "Al Fatah" are being published almost daily in "Unita" and the other publications of the Italian Communist Party.

COMMENTS

IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING - THERE ARE CHANCES FOR PEACE by Shmuel Mikums

The further we get from the 6th of June 1967, the graver becomes the Israel-Arab conflict.

Recent months, and especially recent weeks, are marked by a vehement escalation in the military operations on the "cease-fire lines", in particular on the Egyptian front. The escalation is, as is well known, a result of the "war of attrition" that was openly declared by Nasser several months ago. The "war of attrition" is doing more harm to Egypt itself than to Israel, because it involves - not only as far as Israel is concerned casualties and material damage, it increasingly deepens the abyss between the peoples, and it is not leading to a positive solution of the problem. The sole consolation in this situation is the fact, as it has been proved once more, that the Israel Defence Army is capable of defending our security in every anti-Israeli confrontation with the Arab countries and the Palestinian terrorist organisations. Indeed, such an active, efficient defence of our security is most vital, but it does not bring us nearer to the peace we long for, that is our supreme national aim.

By raising a noisy diplomatic tumult, according to which Israel, they say, should be the one to implement the Security Council resolution of the 22nd of November 1967, Egypt and Jordan indulge in great hopes that the four powers would succeed in forcing Israel to satisfy the appetite of anti-Israeli chauvinism. The leaders of the above neighbouring states indulge in illusions that the big four or two powers, out of their special interests in the Arab world, would be capable of doing their job, to impose on Israel,

"peacefully", solutions that are not in conformity with our national interests, with our aspiration for an Israel-Arab peace.

The whole development in the talks between the four or the two powers has proved that they did not lead to a rapprochement between the Arab and the Israeli side, towards negotiations in this or another form for a just, stable peace, based on the principles of the Security Council resolution of 22. 11, 67.

Neither our people nor the Arab peoples can accept a dictate by the great powers (the United States and the Soviet Union) that is imposed on them from above and from outside. Neither we nor the Arab peoples can, nor want to be a victim of the competition between the big powers in the Middle East, of their basic policy that seeks to reach an agreement between themselves on the partition into zones of influence. Not an American-Soviet peace, but an Israeli-Arab peace is our interest. Only from this point of view we can determine our approach to this or another state.

*

At the same time, we must recognise two special phenomena. The first is an expansion of the ranks of the Palestinian movement that is growing beyond the framework of the Palestinian terrorist organisations and the growth of their propaganda almost in all countries. The second is the "emerging" of certain realistic circles in the Arab countries that are aware that the two peoples can and should resolve the conflict peacefully, and not with war.

The innovation in the situation is that the Palestinian terrorist organisations have succeeded in turning the Palestine issue from a political into

a moral-humane problem. With the help of the Arab states and of the extreme right-wing and "left" circles in the western countries, the terrorist organisations have secceeded in introducing into the consciousness of the above circles a reactionary, adventurist idea of "restoring" Palestine as a united democratic state for Christians, Moslems and Jews... The idea is reactionary because it is not a matter of religious groups, but of two national units: the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arab people; it is reactionary and adventurist because it must be done at the expense of annihilating the State of Israel, by "peaceful" or by militaristic means...

Of course, we would be talking in an entirely different language about the Palestinian national organisations, would they set for themselves the aim of a struggle for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, while recognising the legitimate rights of Israel and seeking to sign with us a just-stable peace. It seems that the more this develops into a popular movement, the greater the weight of the national-democratic, realistic elements in this Palestinian movement will become. However, in the meantime, one can state with much regret that the reactionary-adventurist propaganda of "Al Fatah" and of other Palestinian organisations rouses a very strong echo in various circles and in a great many countries.

Much more encouraging is, of course, the other above mentioned phenomena of moderate, realistic circles in various Arab countries who are seriously thinking of peace, of talks with Israel, of a need to draw conclusions from the unhappy development in Israel-Arab relations.

Such circles were mentioned once in the Knesset by the late Premier Levi Eshkol. We know about them, and recently they were "discovered" by diplomats, ministers and political leaders of various countries in Europe and

America, who visited Egypt and other Arab countries, in the world press as well as in our press; such revelations, appearing from time to time, indicate that even ruling circles in Cairo are prepared to try indirect talks with Israel. The failure of the Arab summit conference in Rabat has also revealed the contradictions inside the Arab camp, also as far as Israel is concerned, regarding the traditional methods of general Arab relation to the phenomen called Israel

For us it is clear that this is a great disappointment for the Israeli annexationists for whom it is convenient to throw all the Arabs into one bag and to dim the awareness of the popular masses by saying "there is nobody with whom you can talk", and therefore... we have, allegedly, but one choice remaining - to annex the administered territories to Israel, to abrogate by force the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

The forces of peace in Israel and the forces of peace in the Arab countries are, of course, a thorn in the side of the militaristic -annexationist circles in Israel and of the militaristic circles who "annihilate" Israel in the Arab countries.

*

Peace is the aspiration and the aim of both parties, of the people of Israel and of the Arab peoples. But the political aim of eliminating the Israel-Arab national conflict cannot be achieved by <u>military</u> means. This is an axiom, this is a scientific lesson of reality itself.

It is impossible to present endlessly the question only outside, to address it only to the Arab side. Where does it stand in the vital issue of peace? This question must be presented also to ourselves, to the Israeli

ruling circles. It is impossible to address endlessly all the complaints, however true they may be, only to the Arab side, but it is necessary and this, too, is for the benefit of peace - to look around us and to find out who and what is starting in Israel, too, piling up obstacles on the way to the much-desired peace. None of the sides in the Israel-Arab conflict must be relieved of its responsibility for the cause of peace.

We have to state with regret, that our official Israeli propaganda is lagging behind the growing false chauvinistic propaganda conducted throughout the world by "Al Fatah" and others, because the Israeli propaganda does not present a democratic solution of the Palestine problem. Non-recognition of the "Palestinian entity"; non-recognition of the very existence and of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people; non-recognition of the right to self-determination in general and in the Israel-held territories in particular; the lack of daring to declare openly that, when the conditions are created for peace talks with the Arab side, Israel will be prepared to withdraw from the cease-fire lines to recognised, secure borders, as agreed between the parties; the unwillingness to convince the peoples that Israel agrees to the Security Council resolution of the 22, 11, 67 in its entirety, while rejecting the false interpretations, and regards it as a proper basis for the solution of the elementary problems between us and them, for the establishment of a just, stable peace between us and them - all these negative attitudes paralyse the possibility of a political offensive on the part of Golda Meir's government.

The reinforced right-bourgeois, militaristic -annexationist wing in the cabinet that was set up after the elections to the 7th Knesset, has still more strengthened the above "no's" and the almost exclusive orientation on our security forces. The government is politically and diplomatically

tied down, which does not help our defence strategy and tactics, but this is how it pushes Israel into isolation and this is why it is incapable of influencing realistic forces in the Arab society in whose reinforcement lie better chances for peace between us and our neighbours. The big trouble is that the trends of territorial annexations, of giving preference to areas rather than to peace, have been substantially strengthened in this government; that the supporters of the "Undivided Land of Israel" in the government have been greatly reinforced.

×

If we want peace, we have to fight in every country, including Israel, against the forces that seek to secure for themselves privileges at their neighbours' expense, by means of blood and fire. The struggle is necessary in order to create proper conditions for talks and for peace. It is worthwhile to conduct intense internal "Jewish struggles" or internal "Arab struggles", in order to push ahead towards Israel-Arab understanding. The people must learn to know exactly those who faint every time they hear the word "peace" or "a compromise" for the sake of peace, those who "don't care for the whole world", who build their orientation on the most obscure forces in the world, who drag the country toward a deadlock, toward an endless war. Our people has proved its full preparedness for sacrifices, in the defence of our national existence. We are prepared to bear in the future also the greatest hardships for the noble aim of our national defence. But the people is not prepared to bear on its shoulders the heavy burden of sacrifices - in men and material damages - in order to annex the occupied territories, in order to dominate the Arab people in those territories, against its own will,

Everybody with open eyes and ears can easily recognise the concern prevailing among the masses of the people, the anxiety in view of the paralysis that has grasped the government's policy and diplomacy. A certain expression of the anxiety, of the mood prevailing among the people in view of our aggravating situation, are the declarations, the speeches of ex-ministers, political representatives and party spokesmen who play an important role inside the ruling circles, who are presenting proposals principled and practical alike - that are intended to bring nearer the day of peace. The more such voices are heard, the more the popular masses will intensify their opposition to the policy without prospects, that is pursued by a government in which the labour parties have a majority, but the bourgeois right-wing and the militaristic forces are gaining an evergrowing influence on Israel's foreign and domestic policy - the better it will be for us.

The process of disillusionment that is setting in among various circles of Arab public opinion, that is growing among various circles of Israel's society, raises prospects for an Israel-Arab settlement and for peace. The sufferings involved in the "war of attrition" which are imposed on the popular masses, here and over there; the growing conviction that the basic problems between them and us cannot be solved by way of war; we dangers of isolation, impoverishment and increasing dependence on unfriendly foreign forces - all these help to create the foundations for talks, for mutual understanding,

There are chances for peace, they will increase, if we - on our part - push uninterruptedly towards an Israeli policy of peace initiatives, that earnestly take into account the just national rights of Israel and of the Arab side alike. This is our great duty and our great responsibility for the fate of our people and our country.

("Kol Ha'am", 5.2.70)

THE CAPITULATION TO THE RIGHT - AND THE CHANCE FOR THE LEFT

by Moshe Sneh

1

There was a time in the State of Israel when the Minister of the Interior was the same member of the National Religious Party who holds this post today, and the instructions issued to the registration officer said that a Jew who has converted his faith, may register as a Jew according to his nationality, if he wishes so, but the fact of his conversion must be registered under the item: "Nationality - Jewish".

There was a time in the State of Israel when the ministers of the National Religious Party quit the government because of the instructions issued by the Minister of the Interior, the late Y. Bar-Yehuda, who was a member of "Ahdut Ha'avodah", that the Jewish nationality of a child from a mixed marriage shall be registered according to the joint declaration of the father and the mother, even if one of them belongs to a non-Jewish religion and was not converted. The coalition of Mapai, Ahdut Ha'avodah, Mapam (today's Alignment) and the progressives (today's Independent Liberals) did not give in to the pressure of the religious parties at that time, and there was a government crisis. D. Ben Gurion, then Premier, did not hesitate to take into his cabinet non-party Rabbi (the late Rabbi Toledano) as Minister of Religions, insteed M. H. Shapiro, despite the anger of the National Religious Party. There was a time when the proposal of Agudath Israel, that a Jew should be considered only as a person who is a Jew by the law of the Torah, was vehemently denied by the Premier of those days and by the majority of the Knesset in those days.

Today, the Alignment of the workers parties dominating the government has accepted the formula of the religious law that was rejected by the secular majority in the Knesset and in the government during the 22 years of existence of the State of Israel.

Truly, this is a capitulation of the Labour Alignment leadership in face of the religious reaction, the Chief Rabbinate, in the fateful alternative facing democracy: freedom of conscience or religious coercion.

2

In those days when the "package deal" was made on a spiritual issue of utmost importance, another "package deal" was made on a material issue that is also fateful: Wages - prices - taxes. From various sides, sharp criticism was voiced against this tripartite transaction between the Histadruth, the employers and the government, a deal that does not provide any solution for the grave problems tormenting Israel's economy. We wish to point only to one additional aspect of the "package deal", the social, class aspect of its foreseable results.

In the beginning of 1970, the workers' wages were lagging behind by 14% compared with the growth of output in recent years. The wage increase, that is paid at the rate of 4%, leaves the wages lagging behing by 10% after the growth of the output. If we take into account that the new price rises (after the 1st of January 1970) and the increased levies and taxes of all kinds, will practically outweigh the small wage increase; and if we also take into account, that in the coming year, too, the output of every worker will grow, without an adequate reward in wages, we find that the wages will again be lagging behind the output by 15% at least.

Consequently, in 1970 a further change in the partition of the national income must necessarily take place: a growth of the national income in general, while the share of the capital profits will keep on growing and that of the workers' wages will continue declining. This process, that is discernible in recent years, will acquire further impetus in the coming year. The wages lagging behind the prices will absolutely worsen the workers' conditions, while the wages lagging behing the output will relatively worsen the workers' conditions, from the point of view of the rate of exploitation.

The Alignment leadership has given in to the social reaction in the socio-economic field: the capitulation to the capitalists was carried out under the direction of the Minister of Finance, Pinhas Sapir, while Itzhak Ben Aharon, the Histadruth Secretary-General, gave in to Pinhas Sapir. The working class suffered a blow.

Of course, this is not everything. No few calamities may be expected in view of the dangerous economic and financial situation, and according to the trend of the evolution, it must be seen with open eyes, that the government intends to impose the heavy burden of security and the stand on the cease-fire lines, mainly on the shoulders of the working people. Moreover, the government is preparing the state-own ed, nationalised enterprises for a clearance sale to the private capitalists and banking concerns. It is obvious that this will be a clearance sale not only of enterprises, but also of values created by the Israeli labour movement.

3

During the Knesset debate, when the new "national unity" government was presented, we said that its composition and policy implies the capitulation by the Alignment leadership to the Jabotinsky movement that has always been a minority in the people. Today, we can reiterate these words with more emphasis.

Because of the successes achieved by the Israel Defence Forces that turned the war of attrition against Israel (declared by Nasser on the 1st of April 1969) into a war of Egypt's attrition, because of our military successes, we are committed to an Israeli political initiative to advance peace. In the name of the C.P.I. we proposed to the Knesset three steps to illustrate this trend: An initiative in the international arena for Rhodes-style talks between Israel and her four neighbours, to achieve a just, lasting peace agreement; an announcement, that when an agreement is achieved regarding "secure, recognised borders" (as on all the other provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 1967), Israel will be prepared to withdraw from the cease-fire lines to these agreed, permanent borders; willingness to come to an agreement with the democratic, peace-loving representative body of the Palestinian Arab people in the Israel-held areas, on home rule until peace comes, and on the implementation of the right to self-determination when peace comes. We have been prepared to support any other reasonable, sincere initiative. But the government has not taken any political step aimed at expressing the need and the desire of the people to promote peace.

This does not mean that there are no elements in the cabinet and in the government coalition that side with an Israeli peace initiative, But the leadership of the Alignment and the government under Golda Meir's Premiership have been giving in to Minister Menahem Begin's veto on every speech or act that is contrary to his slogan "not to budge an inch". Thus, the Alignment, the workers' parties has been giving in to those who prefer territorial annexations without peace rather than agreed borders and a peace agreement.

4

There is almost no need to stress the connection between the three issues: between the capitulation to the nationalist-chauvinistic reaction in the field of foreign policy, and the capitulation to the social reaction in the economic field, and the capitulation to the clerical reaction in the field of religion. This is one line of abandoning the values of the Israel labour movement and its guiding position in Israel's society in the state.

The excuse given for every step that is taken along the said nihilistic line is: the state of emergency demands that the national unity be preserved. And the truth must be said, that simple, good people are innocently accepting this excuse. But the excuse does not catch. In the long run, the concessions made to the reactionaries do not serve the trend of consolidating the national unity, but the opposite trend. It is evident that the overwhelming majority of the people not only yearn for peace, but want that everything be done on our part to express our desire for peace and our readiness for a territorial compromise for the sake of peace; the overwhelming majority of the people are working people in general and particularly wageearners, and they will not put up with their discrimination in the distribution of the burden of national expenditure; the overwhelming majority of the people have chosen a secular way of life and will not put up with the growing religious coercion. Consequently, the Alignment leadership has been leading not only to the rule of reaction but also to the sharpening of the contradictions and struggles within the people, at a time when justice at home is more than ever necessary to stand firm against the onslaught from without.

5

No doubt, the unification of almost the whole labour movement in the framework of the Alignment, whose way is to give in to the right, has put the left forces in a position of isolation and weakness. This situation is a cause of despair for many progressives, who cease to see the perspective for a changeover.

However, the perspective does exist. The capitulation to the reactionaries must rouse and has indeed been rousing opposition within the Alignment. This process is still in its beginning, but it is already visible. The public forces to the left side of the Alignment, - this means, first of all, that.we, the C.P.I. - have a most important task, to encourage this process, to serve as its catalyst, to serve it as a vanguard serves the army, as a scout serves the battalion.

Because every reasonable person understands that no Canaanites of various kinds will lead the struggle for a progressive solution to the problem of relationship between the conceptions of the Jewish nationality and the Jewish religion; that neither circles of national disavowal and nihilism, nor bearers of national defeatism will lead the campaign to link correctly our military arm with our political arm, an efficient preparedness for defence with a daring initiative for peace; and that not those who disown the national aspirations of the working class, nor those who exalt themselves in their prudential arrogance, will lead the toilers in their campaigns.

Therefore, we have said: first of all the C.P.I. But we have not said: the C.P.I. only. All those, even unaffiliated Jews, even limited circles who are ready to take a stand, together with the C.P.I., on the common general basis of national loyalty and socialist class loyalty, of responsibility for the Jewish people's war of survival and responsibility for the campaign for a just Israel-Arab peace, of combining the national revival with social progress - all these, and only those who are capable of assisting the left forces that are captives of the Alignment, to escape the drag-net of the forces that are steering the Israel labour movement to the right; all these and only these are capable of contributing to the future unification of the Israeli left that is loyal to the people and to the working class.

This is the alternative and this is the perspective.

("Kol Ha'am", 5.2.70)

by Esther Vilenska

On 23, 1, 70 "Al Hamishmar" published a proposal for a new peaceprogramme of Mapam. Its author is Meir Ya'ari. The lecture of the Mapam Secretary-General in the Political Committee of his Party was headlined "We are not a people that will live alone". This is not just a headline. It is an idea with much contents. The lecture displays a wide spectrum of problems. Let us examine a few of them.

One of them is the clarification of the close mutual relations between two terms: peace and security. "There are elements in the country," says Ya'ari, "who prefer the security of settling in the territories to peace". He is arguing with those public circles that are not tired of declaring that security is more important than peace, as if there could be a situation of real security without peace. "In order to guaranty peace, these circles demand for themselves many territories - either on this side of the Jordan, or in the spacious areas of Sinai, or south of Jerusalem. The equal side of all these is that they present an alternative between security and peace. For the sake of an imaginary security, they are liable to place obstacles in the way to a chance for peace" - rightly says Meir Ya'ari.

A second positive idea is expressed in his dissociation from the official line regarding the method of negotiations. Unlike these circles in the Alignment, that insist, like Gahal, on direct negotiations and nothing else, Meir Ya'ari favours Rhodes-style talks, and rightly so. This style, he says, leaves ample room for mediation that is to precede negotiations until the parties are finally brought under one roof to reach a concord and sign it. Another important approach is expressed in Meir Ya'ari's dissociation from "opinion of those military commentators who started blowing trumpets and did not shrink from explaining to us that we have no choice but to prepare for an additional round of war". He criticises voices calling for the creating of "facts" and furthering the urban and rural colonisation in the administered areas.

The fact that Meir Ya'ari found it vital to declare now, that "when peace comes, the Israel Defence Army will evacuate the administered areas and will withdraw to secure, a greed borders," is very positive. The lecturer argues with those who claim that the peace proposals will carry weight only if we ever arrive at a bridge and reach negotiations for peace. Rightly he says: "The question is nevertheless how to advance things so that we shall once reach this bridge."

A certain positive development can also be marked in the approach to the Palestinian Arab people, though Meir Ya'ari did not arrive at the full principled recognition of this people's right to self-determination.

The approach to the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people has become the peak of controversy inside the "Alignment". The Labour Party Secretary Arye Eliav said some words of great political and moral weight in an interview with "Time" on 19.1, 70:

"The Arabs of Palestine exist as a nation in its making and we have to recognise them. The silent majority in the state wants the establishment of a Palestinian state. There is enough space in Eretz-Israel for a Jewish state the size of Holland with 10 million inhabitants, and for an Arab state in the size of Belgium with 9 million inhabitants. I hold that we have to recognise a legitimate Arab national movement." Meir Ya'ari's conception of "security borders" is a striking contradiction to many positive points in the programme. He expresses his opinion, that the agreed security borders should include various territories that were conquered in the Six Day War, such as the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, the Golan and others. M. Ya'ari's idea that the government of Israel is authorised to unilaterally fix its borders, contradicts the Israeli declaration that everything is open for negotiations. This idea mainly contradicts the spirit of the people's struggle in the Six Day War, in which it defended the existence of the State of Israel and was not out to conquer additional territories.

A courageous, important view regarding the harm involved in territorial demands was voiced in the Knesset in November 1969 by Labout Party M.K. Ofer.

Meir Ya'ari said rightly in his lecture that various verbal theories "seek to create preliminary conditions that might bar the way to peace". Does not M. Ya'ari really feel that certain points in his own programme, too, create, in fact, preliminary conditions that might bar the way to peace? It will be useful if the Mapam leaders display readiness to reconsider this question.

The territorial demands are incompatible with the respect for the national sovereignty of the neighbouring states and with the recognition of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. It is surely possible that there will be certain light amendments, approved by both parties to the dispute. A border that is not approved by both parties, will not be secure. Mutual consent on borders can be a result of mutual recognition of the just national rights of the peoples concerned. The

"recognised, secure" borders, according to the definition of the Security Council resolution of November 1967, could be determined by negotiations and by agreement between the parties, through the Special United Nations Envoy, Dr. Gunnar Jarring.

A just, lasting peace, respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of every state in the region to live in peace in recognised, secure borders, as well as the unreasonableness of acquiring territory by means of war - are principles included in the above important resolution of the Security Council.

The absence of a clarification, on which principled basis Meir Ya'ari proposes to resolve the Arab refugees problem - is also a sore spot.

*

A change in the government s composition and policy in the direction of peace has become the most vital necessity for the people of Israel. Will Mapam be content with its criticism and with expressing concern only? Will it continue to participate in the "national unity" government and to put up with the growing pressure on the part of those seeking annexation like Begin and Dayan? Or will Mapam take a stand in the campaign for a political alternative of peace, cooperating at the same time with other left forces and various public groups that uphold an initiated policy of peace and oppose the line of annexation?

This is the problem confronting Mapam.

("Kol Ha'am", 5.2.1970)

by S. Tzirulnikov

"In view of the continuation of Israeli aggression, the Soviet people considers the struggle of the Palestinian organisations for the liquidation of the results of the aggression as a just national anti-imperialistic war of liberation and supports it." These words are included in the speech of Soviet Premier Kosygin at the reception given to the Egyptian delegation that has visited Moscow. (Pravda 11, 12, 69)

Kol Ha'am (25.12,69) published an article on this subject by S. Tzirulnikov, former Secretary General of the Israel-Soviet Friendship Movement. He writes, i.a.:

The 'Palestinian organisations' make no secret of their programme and of the objective of their struggle. The official document on the subject of 'The Palestinian existence', reaffirmed by the Council that was convened in July 1968 in Cairo on this subject, says: "The Council also reaffirms, that the aggression against the Palestinian nation and its land started with the Zionist invasion into Palestine in 1917. Consequently, the liquidation of all the traces of aggression must be to liquidate all the traces of aggression since the beginning of the Zionist invasion and not since the war of June 1967". And so, that nobody may doubt the character of this 'national war of liberation', that is a 'just' one in the words of the Soviet Premier, let us also cite the complete version of the basic Paragraph 6, stating clearly that only 'the Jews who were permanent residents of Palestine till the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered as Palestinians'.

And the others? That is to say the overwhelming majority of stael's Jewish citizens? On this point we do not find any direct answer in the document.

*

"The Soviet people extends its support to the Palestinian organisations" says the senior representative of the Soviet people, its Premier, for the "liquidation of the results of the aggression". But an undefined point remains to which 'aggression' he refers, to that of 1967, or also to that of 1948 in which, obviously, the Soviet Union, too, has a share as an active partner to 'the Zionist aggression'. The objective significance of the Soviet declaration of support is, however, perfectly clear, because this support is extended to the existing 'Palestinian organisations' and these are fighting to

liquidate the Zionist aggression, meaning the State of Israel. Is this what Kosygin meant?

The question is, therefore, referred back to its starting point, and we ask this question of the great Soviet people and the leaders of its government: Is the struggle of the Arab terror organisations that are named 'Palestinian organisations' for the annihilation of the State of Israel a 'just anti-imperialistic war of national liberation'?

And there is no escape from a further question. This support of the political struggle of the terrorist organisations on the part of a socialist power, the same power that was backing Israel's war of liberation in 1948 against the Arab terror gangs and against the invasion of the Arab countries - must it not be considered as a rude, cynical breach of confidence?

There is a very actual, political aspect in this context that cannot be overlooked on the agenda. It is: a political solution or a military solution. The Security Council resolution, the Jarring mission, have as their declared intention to bring about the settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict by political means in order to prevent the ruin and destruction involved in a new war:

The Soviet Union took a stand backing the political solution, and only now the contradiction has become prominent. The President of Egypt appears as a prophet of 'streams of blood and burning horizons', while the leaders of the Soviet Union continue preaching a political solution. Is this a contradiction, or not?

Only here does the great drama of mockery start. Israel, who has proclaimed, indeed, that she accepts the Security Council resolution and cooperates with the U.N.O. Emmissary, but hesitates to adopt this resolution with all its vehemency, to no small extent because of the one-sided Arab and Soviet interpretation, this Israel, is being denounced as ruining the chances of the political solution. But look, what a miracle! - simultaneously a backing is accorded to the 'Palestinian organisations' despite the fact that they basically deny the Security Council resolution and the political solution in general, because they deny the very fact of Israel's existence.

Do the Soviet leaders believe that by this policy of unjust measures they will succeed in strengthening the authority of the Security Council and the Israeli people's confidence in it? is it possible that by backing organisations that raise the banner of an 'armed struggle' as a matter of principle, the Soviet Union is strengthening the chance of a political solution?

If there is a question with regard to which there is no room for halfway attitudes, for evasive formulas - it is the question of the anti-Israeli Arab terror. In the turmoil of the Israel-Arab conflict there are complicated problems in which the Arab side is the claimant and not only the defendant. It is enough to mention the refugee problem. But the solution of the complicated problems and the terror organisations are separate issues. These organisations misuse the distress of the Palestinian Arab people to promote their chauvinistic struggle and to annihilate Israel. These are extremist organisations of nationalistic terror, casting their lot on national hatred and a war of one people against the other.

Therefore, shaking off the chains of the terror organisations is the internal compulsion of Arab communism, of the Arab Left itself. There can be no rise of the idea and the deed of progress among the Arab peoples, as long as national hatred continues poisoning their souls.

As long as the 'Palestinian organisations' maintain themselves as a nationalist, murderous terrorist movement, having as its objective Israel's annihilation, even when the title of a 'national liberation movement' is bestowed upon them - it will be Israel's right and duty, to herself and to all mankind, to pursue with all strength the struggle for her survival - a just struggle beyond all doubt,

(continued from page 2)

a line of peaceful coexistence that requires to bring both parties, the Arab and the Israeli, nearer to the conference table, to a mutual agreement on all the controversial issues, to a just, stable peace.

The C.P.I. Bureau repeats its demand that the authorities of the 4. Soviet Union grant those of her Jewish citizens who do not wish or are unable to assimilate, the following elementary rights:

- the right of every Jew who wishes to do so, to emigrate to Israel; *
- the right of those Jews who wish to do so, to foster their national * culture and language with the help of the state;
- the right of the Jewish public in the Soviet Union to maintain normal * relations with democratic Jewish institutions in other countries of the world. 36

Tel Aviv, 6.3.70

A SUMMIT MEETING WITH THE UNITED STATES - OR WITH CHINA?

by Ya'aqov Silber

The Sixties were a decade of Soviet efforts to reach a global agreement with the United States - and a decade of growing tension with People's China. One decade has passed and another decade has come: Will the seventies finally bring success for the renewed Soviet-American talks assuring World Peace - or will they rather prove that those in the Communist camp were right, who see in this conception of peaceful co-existence the other side of an anti-Chinese line that has only made it easier for imperialism and has weakened the revolutionary struggle all over the world? Let us not make the work of meditation easy for us: this is not only the opinion of "pro-Chinese" Communists, oppositionary groups in the parties and youth in all continents. This is, also the opinion of the Australian Communist Party that took part in the Moscow conference.

Y. Silber cites ample quotations from an article by John Sandy, Vice-chairman of the Australian Communist Party, published in the periodical "Australian Left Review" (No. 5/1969) on the annals of the Soviet-Chinese conflict and its sources.

The vice-chairman of the Australian Communist Party states in his summary:

"... In fact the whole sorry picture makes a mockery of socialist principles as they are practised in the two countries and seriously calls into question the protagonists degree of adherence to revolutionary socialism. It highlights the immense pressure of nationalism and self-interest which determines, in particular, external policy." "Shortly before his death Lenin strongly warned of the dangers of great nation chauvinism and its effects upon the peoples and revolutions of the East, and these are the problems which have emerged so clearly today. That they could emerge so strongly necessitates examination of the state of socialism in the world."

At the spot where John Sandy concludes, one may continue with Eric Aarons' words in the report to the Australian Communist Party's Central Committee in August 1969:

"While collective ownership is the necessary foundation, the actual nature and all round assessment of the social system cannot at all be adequately embraced in this. That is, "socialism" is an abstraction which has to be clothed in flesh and blood. And many of us, unfortunately, do not like the flesh and blood in which it has hitherto been clothed in most cases \neg and neither do many others. Especially do questions of the form of state, self-management, the role of the party, intellectual and other freedoms that is mainly questions of <u>socialist democracy</u> - arise, as neither adequately treated theoretically nor developed practically. As far as the Soviet Union and China are concerned, neither accords with what I would describe as "socialist democracy"; but I would also say that both could develop in that direction - that is, there is not <u>one only</u> possible starting point for this, "

In the light of Ho Chi Minh's testament

We have to examine the state of socialism in the world - demands John Sandy. This task, that is increasingly penetrating the consciousness of veteran and young Communists, is so immense that many shrink back from it - but they, too, know that finally it is necessary to face it and to stand up to this assignment.

We have before us the last copy of the theoretical organ of the (East)-German Socialist Unity Party ("Einheit" No. 12, 1969), in which Harold Neubert, in a programmatical article, vehemently denies the very idea of "autonomy" - not only of a socialist state, but even of a Communist Party in a capitalist state! "Lately, there is such a heresy among Communists in Western Europe," writes the organ of the East German party (that is known as the mouthpiece of the Soviet leadership) aiming its charges against the testament of Togliatti and the positive assessments of the C.P.S.U. 20th Congress. Absolute subordination to Soviet global policy that is the aim.

And what is the aim of this global policy? The answer is given in the sources quoted above: the isolation of People's China and the success of the talks for a global package deal with American imperialism. Is there indeed "in a certain sense a realistic approach" in this Soviet global policy?

The vice-chairman of the Australian Communist Party has himself formulated the clear, unequivocal answer:

"A conflict of such magnitude, complexity and fierceness between the Soviet Union and China relieves much of the pressure upon imperialism and weakens the revolutionary struggle around the world."

The first victim of this split was, no doubt, the people of Vietnam. Unless this unhappy split had occurred, maybe the U.S. aggression would not have started at all or it would have been defeated long ago. Surely, among those who feel this truth on their own flesh, we, the people of Israel - and all the peoples of the Middle East, are surely not the last ones... The supersession of the unity of the socialist states and the Communist movement by wooing the Arab rulers (as well of the rulers of India and other countries that are "rising on the way to socialism"), for the sake of a (very dubious) strengthening of bargaining positions in the hoped-for talks with imperialism - has brought disasters upon the peoples and has undermined the position of socialism all over the world.

The universally venerated revolutionary <u>Ho Chi Minh</u>, said in his last words:

"... Having devoted my whole life to the revolution, I am as proud of the growth of the international communist and workers' movement as grieved at the dissentions now dividing the fraternal parties. I hope that our Party will do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way which conforms to both reason and sentiment. I am sure that the fraternal parties and countries will have to unite again."

At the close of the decade of a mischievous policy (which, of course, has also its achievements, but how impressive could have been the achievements of the workers and of the peoples, were it not for this "general line"!) - the testament of the great Communist Ho Chi Minh must not be'like a cry in the desert!

(Kol Ha'am", 22.1.70, condensed)

SOLIDARITY

GREETINGS OF THE C.P.I. (MAKI) TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE DUCH COMMUNIST PARTY

To the Central Committee of the Dutch Communist Party To the 23rd Congress of the Dutch Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of your 23rd Congress accept the comradely greetings of the Communist Party of Israel. We greet you as a courageous, principled fraternal party, that is known for its active and organising part in the struggle of the Dutch toilers against the policy of wages and prices of the monopolies and the ruling administration, against the anti-democratic schemes to restrict the freedom to strike and to change the proportional electoral system, against the control of the state by the monopolies, and for a policy of democracy, peace and security.

The Israeli people will always hold in esteem the workers of the Netherlands, who, under the leadership of your Party, stood shoulder to shoulder against the nazi occupants, and protected the Jewish citizens from deportation and extermination - "the most hideous expression of the fascist crimes", as you have written in the material for this Congress. Today, too, your Party is vehemently on guard against the neo-nazi forces in West Germany, against fascism and anti-Semitism wherever it appears.

Despite the considerable difference in the situation of our two countries, there are many things in common between your platform for the forthcoming election and the struggle we are waging in Israel - starting with the demand for increased wages, for the protection of the people's democratic liberties

and their expansion, the demand for the cessation of the world armaments race and the liquidation of atomic wepons.

The Dutch Communist Party is our sister-party in the world campaign for peace, for national independence, for democracy, for social progress and for socialism. By its principled Marxist-Leninist policy it is especially close to us in the desire to restore the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of a relation of equality between all its parties, without hegemony and without excommunication, on the basis of the freedom of argument and elaboration of the issues of theory and practice.

We may point out with esteem and satisfaction, that your present attitude "for putting an end to the bloodshed in the Middle East by a balanced settlement that is to guarantee the existence and security of the State of Israel, as well as the interests of the Arab states, on the basis of the United Nations resolution" - definitely conforms to the stand of our Party. The Communist Party of Israel today regards the achievement of peace as its principal aim. It demands Rhodes-type negotiations, so that the parties concerned may discuss and attain an agreement on the implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council resolusion of November 22, 1967. This is how, by mutual consent - as the resolution says - Israel's secure, recognised borders will be fixed, and to these borders Israel will withdraw, and the Israel-Arab conflict will be eliminated.

We demand from the Israel government a just solution to the problem of the Palestinian Arab people in the Israel-held territories, on the basis of the right to self-determination and the principle of peaceful co-existence.

We sincerely wish you, dear comrades, fruitful work at your Congress - work that will prepare your Party for successes in the forthcoming elections as well as in the struggles of the workers, the working youth, the students, those employed in technology and science, in the rally of the left forces in your country.

Long live the 23rd Congress of the Dutch Communist Party!

Long live the unity between our peoples and between the Communist parties of the Netherlands and Israel!

Long live peace! Long live Communism!

The Communist Party of Israel Central Committee S. Mikunis, General Secretary M. Sneh, Chairman, Tel-Aviv, 1.2.70.

AUSTRIAN JEWISH LEFT SOLIDARY WITH C.P.I.

"Our solidarity with the people in Israel that fights for its existence gives us the right, and even obliges us, to stress that for the sake of a peaceful future for Israel it is necessary to strengthen its left forces. The Israel Communist Party (Maki) under the leadership of S. Mikunis and Dr. Moshe Sneh, has made unselfish efforts to set up a united left, in opposition to the united right. These efforts failed because of the short sightedness of a few politicians, and because anti-Communist prejudices are still at work. "

This worthy evaluation of the policy and activities of the C.P.I. is included in the article "Peace and Security for Israel" published in "Einigkeit", the periodical of the Communist-led progressive faction in Vienna's Jewish community council.

*

INFORMATION BULLETIN

issued by	the Centr	al Co	ommittee
COMMUNIST	PARTY	OF	ISRAEL
Tel Aviv	<i>*</i>	P.0.	.B. 1843

April 1970

Dear Reader,

For a long time now we have been sending you our Bulletin every month, but despite our repeated reminders, we have had no response from you.

Maybe the address we have is incorrect and the Bulletin never reaches you; maybe you are not interested in receiving it and we might as well save the high costs involved, particularly the high postage and packing costs - especially in view of our greatly curtailed budget for 1970.

We, therefore, appeal to you urgently to send us, by return post (if possible by air mail) your order for 1970 together with the annual subscription fee:

Isra	ael				IL	10
Abr	oad, :	regu	ılar mail		\$	4:-
Air	mail	tõ	Europe		\$	6
99	88	\$ \$	USA, Canada		. \$	8
11			Latín America.	Australia	\$	9

We understand that readers in <u>Socialist countries</u> may not have the possibility of remitting subscription fees - yet they are asked to confirm the regular receipt of our Fulletin.

If you are not a private reader but a representative of a political Party or organisation, or a journalist, you, too, need not pay the subscription fees - but we would like to receive, in exchange, your publications. They would be appreciated as a valuable source of information for our Party and its organ "Kol Ha'am".

Please, answer this <u>questionary</u> without delay and return it by air mail, so that we may know that you are interested in the continued mailing of the Bulletin to you.

Our address: Ya'aqov Silber, P.O.B. 1843, Tel Aviv (Israel).

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITORS.

P.T.O.

QUESTIONARY

My correct address:_____

I receive the Bulletin regularly: yes / not / remarks:
I would prefer to receive the French edition:
I propose to send copies also to the following addresses (if possible, please motivate):
Remarks:
I want to receive the Bulletin by regular mail / by air mail, and send you the sum of by
I am a representative of
Place and date:

Signature