

CHAPTER THREE

PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS

1. MAPAM'S MODEST CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE

The two previous sections dealt with the establishment of a chalutz regime and the class struggle. These are the two chief factors determining the rate of immigration, the way in which it will be absorbed and the social-political character of our people renewing its life in its homeland. Our country is small and the gathering of our people from all four corners of the earth is not dependent only upon us. Apart from those factors under our control, there are others which have the power to help or hinder us in our fight for liberation. Our own ability, for example, to help in the maintenance of world peace, is very limited. Yet, notwithstanding, it is our duty to contribute to the maximum of our ability. As members of the World Peace Movement we demonstrate our solidarity with all those struggling against the dangers of war and for a world of peace. In doing so, however, we do **not** exaggerate our own importance in comparison with the decisive forces engaged in the international struggle.

The situation is different in the question of war and peace between ourselves and our neighbours. In this sphere, too, decisive influence sometimes lies with the Big Powers

who are to-day deciding the future of the world. In the Middle-East in which we live, however, our activities are not without importance and have considerable influence in determining the relations between ourselves and our neighbours.

2. THE ROLE OF ARAB NATIONALISM AND THE ZIGZAGS OF THE COMINFORM IN HEIGHTENING TENSION

The Arab reactionaries in the neighbouring countries have never reconciled themselves to the existence of the State of Israel or to the immigration of Jews. Despite their furious opposition, Jewish people reached the shores of our land before the foundation of the State; and now, within its framework, we continue to absorb immigrants and strive to attain economic and political independence. The official view unjustly considers the Arab reactionaries as being the sole representatives of the neighbouring Arab peoples. We have seen that from time to time, both among the Arab minority in Israel and among the Arab masses in the neighbouring states, there have appeared signs of preparedness for reconciliation with immigration to Israel and even with our political consolidation. In the course of this chapter, I will return to this side of the problem.

There was a time when we regarded the imperialists as being interested in maintaining a state of tension between ourselves and the Arab countries in order to further their own needs and in accordance with the old adage of "divide and conquer". In the course of time, however, it became clear that the matter is very much more complicated. We came face to face with Comintern representatives, and they, together with the machinations of MAKI, taught us that in their dealings with our country and our people, the

representatives of the Soviet-Union have more than once exacerbated the situation. More than once they sharpened the antagonisms between ourselves and our neighbours: I have dealt with this problem in greater detail in the first part of these theses, especially in the chapter dealing with the liberation of the colonial peoples. I pointed out that no change whatsoever in regard to our people and our country had taken place as a result of the 20th Congress. To the extent that there were changes in the relations between the Soviet-Union and the State of Israel, they were also reflected in the attitude of the Arab Communist parties to us. In the wake of the Soviet Union's growing antagonism toward us, the Communist parties of the Arab world have come to take the lead in incitement. Even at the Peace Movement Council they gave vent to chauvinistic incitement.

The new proposal of MAKI to grant the Israeli Arabs the right of secession, and the attitude of the Arab members of MAKI, who behave as though they were in "Conquered Palestine", are particularly alarming. We are aware of the insignificance of MAKI among the Jewish population but we cannot ignore its influence among the Arab minority. There are Arabs who are willing to listen and be influenced, but it was proved even in the days of the Sinai Campaign that MAKI has not the strength to inflame the major part of the Arab minority against the State. MAKI's incitement in favour of secession and irridentism does not worry us because of the weight behind these demands, but because it shows the way the wind is blowing among those whom MAKI serves as a willing tool.

3. ACTIVISM AND ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PRESENT TENSION

We cannot absolve the Israeli government and leading circles in our country from part of the responsibility for

our isolation in the Middle-East and for the deep abyss between ourselves and the Asiatic peoples struggling for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. The guiding line for the makers of Israeli policy and the activist parties which support it, is that force is the answer to everything. This is the panacea with which they believe they can overcome any difficulty. They imagine that force will not only make our enemies more cautious but will even subdue them. In their view only the argument of force is capable eventually of convincing the neighbouring Arab states that they must be reconciled to our existence, make peace with us and even benefit from being our neighbours. For them it is understood that we must live by the sword until we are strong enough to force our enemies into a stable peace. While the leaders of our country are usually sincere in expressing their desire to conduct peace negotiations, the general feeling is that in their innermost hearts they do not really believe in a policy of appeasement with our neighbours. Consequently they do not take seriously the efforts made for peace and mediation by individual Israelis and personalities from other countries. There is no reason to doubt that they would be prepared to sit at any time at the round table and conduct peace negotiations. Their fundamental approach, however, sways them in other directions. Not believing in the possibility of appeasement between ourselves and our neighbours in the near future, the activists are prepared to accept for the time being the present state of neither peace nor war. They try to maintain relative security on the borders by a policy of using force to frighten the Arabs.

4. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PATRIOTISM AND CHAUVINISM

We are all sensitive to border problems and we will spare no efforts to guarantee our security. We are prepared

for any sacrifice in life and property in order to thwart our enemies if they will attempt to endanger our security. The trouble is that when we review the events of recent years, we cannot ignore the fact that there are amongst us groups with strange ideas, which have tried to turn justifiable security measures into sheer opportunism. They dreamt that by exploiting security measures they would be able to alter the country's borders and even achieve the unification of the country by means of force. From the exploitation of security measures to preventive war and cooperation with the domineering imperialist powers is but a short step.

If we ask ourselves to-day whether all the military operations leading to the Sinai Campaign — resulting in our dangerous isolation among the Asiatic peoples — were without exception necessary, we would not be able to answer affirmatively with a clear conscience. If the activist circles will continue to exploit necessary security measures in order to strengthen the impression among the public that there is no way out other than by use of force and the deepening of the antagonism between ourselves and the surrounding Arab world, then indeed they will bring the State to the verge of catastrophe. If our policy is governed for any length of time by the assumption that every blow must be answered twofold, there is a danger that such a policy will become a habit which will free the country's leaders of the necessity for striving for a peaceful solution. If such be the case our future will be abandoned to the forces of blind fate. To our regret the public is led into a state of despair by being told that no one on the other side is prepared to listen to us and that in the neighbouring states the whole population is against us and desires our annihilation.

Do the relations between the two peoples in the past justify such despairing conclusions?

5. SIGNS OF GOODWILL AMONG OUR NEIGHBOURS

The history of relations between ourselves and the Arab minority in Israel and of those with our Arab neighbours, reveals a whole series of indications of good-will among the Arab masses and attempts to achieve understanding and peace.

Broad circles in Israel, supporters of the Peace Movement, are to-day in a mood of deep disappointment after the Colombo Conference. Opinions are heard demanding even our resignation from the World Peace Movement and urging us to slam the door behind us. These feelings of disappointment are strengthened by the provocative behaviour of the MAKI representatives. Have the council meetings of the World Peace Movement and the peace supporters in the Arab countries always turned a deaf ear to our pleas? Are we entitled to free ourselves of all responsibility for what has happened? Has not the growing activist tendency among the Israeli public also made its contribution in heightening the tension between ourselves and the Arab masses? Let us not forget that it was only a few years ago, that a representative from an outspokenly activist party, Achdut Avoda, sat in Rome at the same table with representatives of the Arab Peace Movement. The public still remembers the favourable — and I do not exaggerate if I say even enthusiastic — reports by Ch. Gorman of this meeting. Only a few years have passed since Arab communists in Jordan and Iraq fought, at great personal risk, for peace with Israel. The Turkish and Iranian delegates were even more active. The sincere friendship which developed between ourselves and the brave Turkish poet, Nazim Hikmet will never be forgotten.

6. IS THERE NO WAY OUT?

The Colombo Conference marked the high point of tension reached in relations between ourselves and the Arab masses. There was practically no foothold for us whatsoever among the Arab delegates. It was not unlike being in a wilderness. It was sufficient, however, for Dr. Goldmann, the President of the Zionist Organisation, to express his opinion against blind faith in a policy of force and in favour of Arab-Jewish agreement, the independence of the Middle-East and its neutralisation, for gates hitherto bolted and barred to be opened. We have no guarantee that the policy recommended by the President of the Zionist Organisation will meet with immediate success, but up to now such measures have not been taken and it is essential that they be taken as quickly as possible. We are ready to support every individual or body prepared to cooperate with us in an effort to reduce tension and to pave the way to peace.

Theoretically, we are not alone. Achdut Avoda also claims to be in favour of direct Arab-Jewish negotiations, of the neutrality and independence of the Middle-East and of agreement between the four Powers in putting a stop to the arms race. Between theory and practice, however, there is a wide gap.

7. THE CONTRADICTION IN ACHDUT AVODA BETWEEN NEUTRALITY AND ACTIVISM

We have already said in the previous chapter, that the Achdut Avoda leaders do not readily listen to advice offered by others and that considerations of prestige and competition have an exaggerated importance in their party. Fate would not be dealing with them unjustly if it suddenly opened their eyes to what really was going on. It would then become

clear to Achdut Avoda to what a pass their policy of activism has brought them. What do the facts prove? Even in operations in which Achdut Avoda felt most at home and believed themselves to be the bravest and most daring, such as in the Sinai Campaign, and dreams of further similar campaigns, their own decisions afterwards were perforce made in a different spirit. Once again reality proved that force is not the answer to everything. Achdut Avoda believed that activism was the key to new worlds. "Liberating operations" were regarded not merely as a means of safeguarding our security but also as the means of restoring the unity of the country. "Cherut" at least, drew all the necessary conclusions and declared publicly that the future unification of the country by way of the bayonet, is only possible through a treaty with the Imperialist Powers who suppress the colonial peoples.

Achdut Avoda, however, is not Cherut. The party knows full well that the Sinai adventure was only possible thanks to the British and French attack which was put into operation simultaneously with the Israeli offensive. The Sinai Campaign increased the gap between the two peoples enormously and yet that same party, Achdut Avoda, after the campaign, urges direct peace negotiations between the Jews and the Arab States, neutralisation of the Middle-East and a Four-Power agreement.

I am prepared to concede that the leaders of Achdut Avoda are cleverer and more farseeing than we are. I am even prepared to assume that MAPAM is caught up in the meshes of defeatist appeasement, as the Achdut Avoda newspaper so kindly writes. I am prepared to overlook their arrogance, if only they will cease to serve two masters at the same time: activism, which believes that force is the answer to everything and will even achieve the unification of the country, and, on the other hand, the direct opposite

of activism — namely, negotiations for peace, Israel's neutrality and the liberation of the Middle East from Big Power competition and imperialist machinations.

8. LET US BE HONEST WITH OURSELVES!

I repeat, no one denies that the State of Israel has been — in all the years of its existence — and still is, subject to provocation and aggressive conspiracy by the ruling circles in the neighbouring countries. In the light of this situation we will not accept one-sided condemnation of Israel as the aggressor, even after the Sinai Campaign. We were opposed to this operation, but when the decision was taken, we accepted responsibility for the campaigns of the Israeli Army. MAKI poured scorn on our decision, taken after the die was cast. They do not cease amusing themselves with our use of the expression, "the die is cast;" this from a party which changes its policy every second day, after the "die is cast" in Moscow! Beforehand they were revolutionary defeatists and afterwards, when the Soviet Union entered the war against Nazism, their patriotism towards the British and American Allies and even towards the "White Paper" Government at the time of the sinking of the immigrant ship "Struma", knew no bounds. They were in favour of the internationalisation of Jerusalem until the "die was cast" and the Soviet Union decided to oppose internationalisation. Until the 20th Congress they were the most orthodox of Stalinists. They condemned Stalin after the 20th Congress and now they are once again waiting for the "die to be cast". In one word — what for them is calumny is for us a source of pride. We are proud that we are true to our principles and fight for them, with and for the people. When a decision fell and the fate of the people was on the balance, we knew that there was no choice but victory. We have

not forgotten the provocations of the reactionary rulers surrounding us; and at the time of stress, we were with the people.

We firmly reject the prejudiced accusations made against us by representatives of the Communist world, although if we reject the one-sided condemnation of Israel after the Sinai campaign, we cannot on the other hand, overlook the responsibility which Israel's policy bears in the deepening of the gap between ourselves and our neighbours. *At any rate, it is beyond all doubt, that a policy of force is likely, sooner or later, to bring in its wake a counterpolicy of force.* Such a policy will pointlessly increase the preparations for further contests, with warmongering powers adding fuel to the fires for the sake of their own selfish interests.

The outcome of the Sinai Campaign must serve as a warning against a policy of force. We do not ignore the fact that after our retreat from the Gaza Strip, quietness was restored to the borders, and the Straits of Eilat are open to shipping, as long as United Nations Forces are stationed in the Gaza Strip and at Sharm-el-Sheikh.

The enthusiasts of the Sinai Campaign consider this relative tranquility as an achievement of the campaign itself, although from time to time tension breaks out on the Jordan and Syrian borders. Those responsible for the Sinai Campaign never tire of acclaiming these achievements. The truth of the matter is that we are more than ever dependent on the mercy of the State Department. We are more suspected and condemned by the socialist and neutralist countries and by the peoples of Asia as a whole, than ever before. The character of the State Department's mercy can be judged in the light of the growing arms race in the Middle East between America and the Soviet Union. Like its competitor, America does not demand any promises that the arms sent to Jordan via the airline will not be used against us. One

side sends large shipments of arms to Syria and Egypt and the other to Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon.

9. AFTER THE GOVERNMENT'S PARTIAL AFFILIATION TO THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

In order to add fuel to the fires, our leaders declared their adherence to the Eisenhower Doctrine. This perfectly futile act of ours brought the Soviet Union's wrath to boiling point. Soviet propaganda raised us to the rank of instrument No. 1 of American imperialism. There was no limit to its threats and slander. In their eyes we appeared as Enemy No. 1 of the Soviet State. The Zionist danger now serves them as a pretext for a sort of new doctrine. It is almost possible to say that in opposition to the Eisenhower Doctrine, there was put into operation in Syria, a Soviet Doctrine. Pro-Soviet Syria is today no more neutral than Pro-American Jordan and their common feature is that they are all arming against us. *The time has come when, once and for all, we must understand that a policy based on Sinai, or similar campaigns, will not, in the long run, add to our security or future existence. The opposite is true. Such a policy can only increase the arms race and reduce the prospects of peace.*

MAPAM has never suggested peace at the price of foregoing part of our territory, but for us it is clear that no peace guaranteeing our present borders can be attained by means of campaigns such as the Sinai one. We do not live in a vacuum. One cannot gamble and always expect to win. If there will be a "third round", even ending in an Israeli victory, we will not have advanced an inch towards the hoped-for peace.

10. THE LESSONS OF THE RETREAT FROM THE GAZA STRIP

We too were opposed to the hasty retreat from the Gaza Strip. We advised the government to make the attempt to annex the Gaza Strip into Israeli territory, with the agreement of the inhabitants and with the aim of providing a just solution to the refugee problem. The reactions to these proposals were typical. MAPAI had, from the start, decided to forego the annexation of the Gaza Strip into the State of Israel. The Strip had hitherto been held by the Egyptians as conquered territory and is the continuation of Israel's natural border. MAPAI was prepared to occupy this Strip only as conquered territory and without assuming any obligations towards the local inhabitants or the refugees. The annexation of the Gaza Strip together with all its inhabitants and refugees, would have increased the Arab minority in Israel to something between 400—500 thousand and it was this prospect which the leaders of MAPAI so greatly feared.

Until this very day it is not clear to me how the leaders of Achdut Avoda intended to carry out the annexation of the Gaza Strip, or how they intended to deal with the local inhabitants and refugees, assuming their demand had been fulfilled and we would have succeeded in keeping the Gaza Strip. *The fate of the Gaza Strip proves conclusively that we will not be able to achieve the unification of the homeland without the agreement of the inhabitants and without guaranteeing them full civil and national rights.* The retreat from the Gaza Strip shows how empty and dangerous is the illusion, that we can achieve the unification of the country by means of "liberating operations" and a strong show of force. Slogans of this nature are only liable to deepen national antagonism and invite outside interference. They do not bring the unification of the country any nearer,

but on the contrary, reduce still further the prospects of reaching the first stage necessary for the future unification of the homeland, namely, the signing of a peace treaty which will guarantee Israel's present borders and solve, to mutual satisfaction, the painful problem of the Arab refugees. *We say forcibly and unhesitatingly, that there is no prospect, whatsoever, of restoring the unity of the country by means other than peace and agreement between the two peoples. So long as we do not fundamentally change our approach to the Arab minority in Israel and to the Arabs surrounding us, we will not come any closer to a state of peace but will continue to thread our way from one armed contest to another.*

11. THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE ARAB MINORITY

The reluctance to annex the Gaza Strip for fear of enlarging our Arab minority, is typical of the attitude of the ruling circles in our country to the Arab minority from the foundation of the State to this very day.

Since the foundation of the State we have had the chance of winning over the 200 thousand Arabs in Israel as loyal citizens and, we even dare to say, as patriots of our country. We had the chance of educating the Arab minority to fulfill the function of being a bridge between ourselves and the neighbouring Arab states. Had we pursued a correct and just policy, the Arab minority could have been the mediator between us and the Arabs in our endeavours to reach a peace settlement and establish normal relations with the Arab states. Let us hope that, in spite of the injustice meted out to the Arab minority, this prospect has not entirely been lost. It would be futile to deny the sad truth, that official policy seems to be doing everything in order to turn the Arab population from a loyal element into a fifth

column. The basic principles which were agreed upon by the three working class parties with the establishment of the present coalition include a series of clauses which bind the coalition to deal justly with the Arab minority. These clauses guaranteed first of all, to limit the power of the Military Administration to the very minimum. It likewise promised that everything possible would be done to restore freedom of movement to the Arab minority, at least in the Nazareth area which is far removed from the borders. Other clauses were designed to guarantee more economic, cultural, judicial and political equality for the Arab citizens. The fact remains that practically all these commitments have been put into cold storage. Finally, when matters had reached a climax, a committee of investigation was appointed, not, however, by the Knesset but directly by the Prime Minister. This committee with its far reaching conclusions outdid even the most obstinate supporters of the Military Administration in its defense of that institution. The Prime Minister hurriedly brought the committee's conclusions to the notice of the Knesset, even before the Cabinet had had a chance to discuss them. The tension which developed between the different parties of the coalition as a result of the committee's report and the Prime Minister's behaviour, has somewhat abated, but the question remains pending and urgently awaits answer.

12. ABOLISH COMPLETELY THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The seriousness of the problem does not allow of any half-measures. There was never any justification for the existence of the military rule and it has to be abolished completely. It does not add to our security but merely places the Arab minority in a state of permanent confinement and

national degradation. Vague promises have recently been given by the Prime Minister — once again on his own initiative and without consulting the Cabinet — to the Arab members of the Knesset who are connected with MAPAI. These are apparently MAPAI's first steps towards bribing the Arab inhabitants in preparation for the coming elections. A real change of policy is a matter, however, for the future. The fact is, that the Arab minority, apart from election time when MAPAI needs its votes, is kept in a state of physical confinement as though it were a potential fifth column which must be kept in check by means of terror and bribery. An attitude which regards the Arab minority as a necessary evil, which one has to accept but beware of, will not help in the struggle for Arab-Jewish peace. Such an attitude drives the Arab masses into the arms of nationalism and encourages them to believe that salvation is possible only from the other side of the border. Such an attitude fosters the bitter seed of Jewish chauvinism which has already found expression in the horrors committed at Dir Yassin and Kfar Kassem.

13. JUSTICE TO THE MINORITY — THE PATH TO THE ARAB-JEWISH PEACE

The experience of the nine years that the State of Israel has existed, shows that despite everything, the Arab has been a loyal citizen of the State, even at such times as the Sinai Campaign. The proud and dignified appearance at the Moscow Youth Festival of the Arab Chalutz Youth which had been educated by MAPAM and the educational movement of Hashomer Hatzair, aroused widespread admiration. We do not need further proof to be convinced that in the same way in which we captured the heart of the Arab Chalutz Youth, we could gain the faith of the Arab workers

and peasants — if they were only to feel that they enjoy full civil equality. The fate of the Arab minority in our country has contributed considerably to the growing enmity of our Arab neighbours and the increasing reluctance on the part of the progressive elements among them to consider the possibility of peace with Israel. This was so before the Sinai campaign and to even a greater extent after it.

We have proved that we are capable of surviving despite the enmity of our neighbours and the sacrifices which we are forced to make, such as the enormous burden of the security budget, necessary in view of the growing tension between ourselves and our neighbours. The economic boycott and warfare which the Arab League has waged against us, although causing great damage to our economy, have not succeeded in destroying the State. We have proved that we are capable of surviving under all circumstances, yet it would be futile and stupid to assert that the present conditions are conducive to a policy of mass immigration and progress towards economic and political independence. Neither a policy of force nor defense budgets will in themselves be sufficient to accelerate the process of the "Ingathering of the Exiles". A peace treaty is as necessary to the State as air itself. *Whoever claims that Zionist maximalism is not consistent with the striving for peace, is either a conscienceless demagogue or a bigoted and stubborn chauvinist.*

The struggle for justice and equal rights for the Arab minority in Israel is, in effect, the struggle for creating those conditions which will lead to an Arab-Jewish peace. Arab-Jewish peace is one of the main conditions for the acceleration of the process of the "Ingathering of the Exiles" and the securing of economic and political independence.

14. THE ARAB PEASANT AND WORKER

From its very earliest days, our movement has regarded the Arab worker and peasant and the Arab intelligentsia, to the extent that it is rooted in the masses, as the main bearers of social and national emancipation among the Arab masses and the natural ally of the Jewish working class. As a result of wild activist excesses a large section of Jewish youth has become infected with all sorts of prejudices and is easily subject to chauvinist demagoguery. However, all those who are close to Arab affairs and who seek to foster contact with the Arab villagers and workers, know that the Arab masses respond heartily to any expression of friendship and brotherhood. All those who are engaged in the task of fostering friendship between the two peoples feel immediately the readiness of the Arab masses to cooperate.

In the last few years, and particularly since we have been members of the present government, we have devoted much effort to the political side of the struggle for the Arab population's civil rights.

The Arab Chalutz Youth movement is the big achievement of our educational and organisational activities. From time to time our party organizes conferences of Arab workers and peasants, which deal with burning questions of the day. Since the establishment of the Jewish-Arab League, contact with the broad masses of the Arab population, and particularly with the intelligentsia, has been conducted by this League.

Unrest among the Arab intelligentsia has lately grown, owing to its inability to integrate itself in the country's economy and in the state apparatus. Although constituting more than 10% of the population, the Arabs have practically no access to government jobs. It is our duty to fight for the abolition of this discrimination.

High-school graduates cannot find employment and this leads them to a state of despair. We have to encourage the more active and conscious element, to take part in the cooperative movement among the Arabs in the Arab villages and stand at the head of the struggle of the Arab working masses. The Arab Chalutz Youth Movement, bound up with the struggle of the worker and the colonisation movement, serves as a fine example.

Arab student youth has the task of raising the Arab village from its present low economic, social and cultural level. No people can appreciate more than ours the blessings of chalutz initiative and the curse of detachment and loss of direction.

Among the most blatant infringements of working class solidarity and common humanity is the obstinate and infuriating refusal to permit the Arab workers to join the Histadrut. This is not only injurious to the interests of the Arab worker but, in fact, is also detrimental to the Jewish worker, and even to the State as a whole. Nothing arouses more confusion and even disgust among civilised public opinion, Jewish and non-Jewish, than condemning the Arab to a state of secondary citizenship. Jews and non-Jews ask us, quite justifiably, if we have already forgotten the fate of the Jewish worker as a minority outside Israel. The authorities attempt to justify military law on the grounds of security, even if imaginary, but the barring of the gates of the Histadrut before the Arab worker cannot even be justified on these doubtful grounds. It is nothing but an act of arbitrariness, and desertion of the principles of class solidarity and common humanity. The time has come for the party to redouble its efforts in acquainting public opinion with the hardships of the Arab working masses. With added strength, our party must struggle for social and human equality bet-

ween the working masses of both peoples and the complete freedom of the Arabs to join the Histadrut.

15. THE TWOFOLD MISSION OF MAPAM

On MAPAM rests the difficult task of removing the explosive material, social and political, which has accumulated between ourselves and our neighbors. *The historic mission of MAPAM is to pave the way to friendship between the peoples and to put an end to chauvinism and racial hatred.* This is the struggle for the removal of one of the most dangerous obstacles standing in the way of political and economic dependence, the acceleration of immigration and the restoration of the unity of the country through international agreement.

Apart from this struggle within the Jewish people, MAPAM has an additional task among the Arabs. This struggle is conducted mainly against MAKI, which lately has almost a monopoly in fulfilling the task, which in the past was fulfilled by the Arab reactionaries led by the Mufti and in collaboration with MAKI. From political anti-Zionism, MAKI is slipping into open enmity against the State of Israel. The propaganda of this party is gradually assuming an anti-Jewish character. MAKI is educating the Arab masses to feel that they are living in conquered territory in the State of Israel. The party tries to place the Arab population on the other side of the barricade. The demand for the right of secession of the Arab minority from the State of Israel, coupled with the demand that Israel give up part of its territory, leads them to the "patriotic" theory that Israel is not entitled to demand a peace treaty with the neighboring states so long as it does not reach a peace agreement with the Arabs of "conquered Palestine." These treacherous slogans are being openly paraded today by MAKI.

MAPAM must struggle to gain the goodwill of the Arab minority in Israel. The party must denounce the treacherous machinations of MAKI and fight for friendship between the two peoples, their national equality and working-class solidarity. If we will work with all the devotion and enthusiasm that such a task demands, we shall be equal to it.