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For the Prevention of a New War

Election News

Police Interference against Communist Party

War Economy in Israel

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FORMATION BULLETIN

UNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

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THE 7th PLENARY SESSION OF THE C.C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
ISRAEL
.....

On September 10-11, 1969, the 7th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel was held with the participation of members of the Central Control Commission.

The session was chaired by comrade Ruth Lubitz, member, Political Bureau.

At the beginning of the session, the Central Committee honoured the memory of comrade Ho Chi Minh, the outstanding leader of the Vietnamese communists, one of the heroic leaders of the workers' movement and of the international communist movement, a fearless fighter against imperialism, for national liberation and socialism. Comrade Meir Vilner spoke about his personality. The C.C. paid respect to Ho Chi Minh's memory by observing two=minutes' silence.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the Secretary General, then spoke about the theme: "The results of the elections to the 11th Histadrut Congress, the political situation and our position towards the elections to the seventh term of the Knesset and to the Municipal Councils".

Discussion followed which was summed up by the speaker. The session confirmed the report and the summary, adopted resolutions and confirmed the election platform and the list of candidates for the seventh term of the Knesset.

The C.C. pointed out that the results of the elections to the 11th Congress of the Histadrut were characterized by the abstention of more than a third of the voters and by the big decline in votes received by the "Alignment" (Mapai, Ahdut-Avoda and Rafi). These results prove that very wide strata of the workers opposed the policy of the Alignment leadership in the Histadrut, which ignores the interests and the rights of the toilers and sides with the employers and the Government. They also prove the existence of a growing dissatisfaction with the general policy of the Alignment in the country which has met with complete failure. The Histadrut elections prove that there is a growing disappointment in the working class because the official policy did not only fail to bring the people security, but it brought about the aggravation of the situation, a rising number of victims, a growing danger of war, the extreme militarization of the economy and of the state budget, and the danger of a new economic crisis. The policy of the Alignment leadership in the Histadrut enabled Gahal (a bloc of parties

transl.) and other rightist forces to lead astray additional toilers.

The C.C. pointed out the success of our list - the "New Communist List" - in the Histadrut elections, the substantial increase of the number of the Jewish toilers voting for it in the spite of the riotous chauvinism, and the great increase of the number of the Arab toilers voting for it in spite of terror and intimidations.

The Central Committee expresses its thanks and appreciation to the members and sympathizers of the Party, to the members of the Young Communist League of Israel, to all those who have worked for the success of the New Communist List in the Histadrut elections, and calls for increasing the efforts for the success of the New Communist List in the elections to the seventh term of the Knesset and to the Municipal Councils to be held on October 28, of this year.

The Central Committee calls upon all members and sympathizers of the Party and of the YCL of Israel to mobilize as one man for the great action under the slogan: From the success in the Histadrut elections forward to a success in the elections to the Knesset and the Municipal Councils!

FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE FORCES OF PEACE IN THE STRUGGLE TO
PREVENT A NEW WAR AND FOR IMPLEMENTING THE SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION

.....
Communique of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of
Israel (Adopted at the 7th plenary session, on Sept. 11, 1969.)

The Central Committee is much concerned about the increasingly
aggravating situation in our region, by the growing danger of war.
The cruel bloodshed is becoming intenser. The latest Israeli
military attacks beyond the Canal have brought about a dangerous,
significant escalation, and have placed the region on the
brink of a new general war.

Since the June 1967 war and the occupation of Arab territories
in Jordan, Egypt and Syria, our party, the Communist Party of
Israel, has warned against the delusion that military victory and
occupation of Arab territories will bring Israel security. We
warned against the integration into the global plan of American
imperialism for the overthrow of the progressive regimes in the
Arab countries. Since November 1967 we have incessantly demanded
of the Israeli Government to lend a hand to implementing the
Security Council resolution, which would bring about the cessa-
tion of bloodshed, and lead to a stable and just peace. We warned
that the obstinate insistence upon territorial annexations would
bring new and grave dangers.

However, the ruling circles refuse to lend a hand to implementing
the Security Council resolution, and thus they and the American
imperialist circles which stand behind them, are responsible for
the intensification of the hostility and the aggravation of the
war danger. The full implementation of the Security Council
resolution, which demands retreat from all the occupied areas,
a just solution of the question of the Arab refugees,
at the same time obliges the abolition of belligerency, the
recognition of the right within recognized and secure borders,
and free shipping for Israel, just as for other states, in the
Bay of Aqaba and in the Suez Canal.

The Central Committee calls upon all forces of peace, upon all
citizens of Israel to be vigilant, to prevent the disaster of
a new war. Security for Israel will not be achieved on the
wings of the Phantom, Mirages and Skyhawk planes.

The support given by American, West German and other imperialist
circles to the Israeli Government for a permanent confrontation
with the anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab countries, and for
a permanent assault on the Arab national movement - is to the

detriment of Israel, to the detriment of peace between it and the Arab countries, and it constitutes a most unreliable support.

As the situation is aggravating, there are again voices heard in Israel calling for the "overthrow of Nasser". These voices have become stronger after the American Phantoms were received and after the anti-imperialist republican revolution in Lybia. American imperialist circles are worried about the progressive developments in the Arab world, and strive, by means of a new war, to cause the downfall of the present regime in Egypt, in order to impose a pro-imperialist government. Certain circles in Israel hope in this way to realize their aspirations to territorial expansion and annexations.

The Central Committee warns against these dangerous imperialist plans, at the expense of the blood of young Israelis and Arabs. Those are the same inadmissible, erroneous calculations which lay at the foundation of the June 1967 war, and which have failed completely. These plans ignore the decisive fact - the balance of forces in the world, which is no longer in favour of imperialism, but in favour of the forces of peace, of the peoples fighting against imperialism, in favour of the forces of socialism.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries struggle in the international arena for the prevention of a new war in our region, for the establishment of a lasting and just peace for the benefit of Israel and the Arab peoples alike. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, together with all peace-loving peoples in the world, demand the full implementation of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. This realistic and just solution has received the consent of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and other Arab countries.

The Central Committee calls upon all the forces of peace in Israel, upon all those possessing a sense of national responsibility and political realism to close the ranks in the struggle against the war mania, for saving Israel from national disaster, for preventing its taking up again the way of blood and tears, the perilous way that leads to nowhere.

The cessation of the bloodshed is feasible. This depends upon us, upon Israel; upon our consenting to lend a hand to a stable, just peace, to a peace without annexations, to the implementation of the Security Council resolution.

FROM THE SUCCESS IN THE HISTADRUT ELECTIONS TO A SUCCESS
IN THE ELECTIONS TO THE KNESSET AND THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

(Abridged from the speech delivered by comrade
Meir Vilner at the 7th Plenary Session of
the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel)
.....

The campaign for the Histadrut elections

Under what conditions did we conduct the election campaign to the Histadrut Congress, the Congress of the Working Women, the Congress of Agricultural Labourers and the local Workers' Councils ?

This has been the first time in the history of Israel that elections were held in conditions of war. On the eve of the elections there had been intensified military activity and there was great political tension. In the election campaign a wild anti-Soviet and anti-communist incitement was carried out, and chauvinist instincts in the Jewish population were fanned. The government parties competed among themselves in nationalism. Among the Arab population the chief means used by the government parties against our Party was political terror, threats and limitations of movement.

As regards to the economic situation, employment was almost full and there was a state of war "prosperity", though on the post-election horizon there were visible new taxes, rises in prices and devaluation of the Israeli lira, all intended to lower the wages and living a standard of the workers and popular masses in order to finance the Moloch of war.

There is an essential difference of the political situation between the Jewish and the Arab population.

In the Jewish population chauvinism is still dominant. However, the prevalent policy of aggression and annexations is passing through a crisis. There is disappointment among the public regarding the promises given by the governing parties that the June War and the subsequent occupation would bring the people of Israel security and peace. The facts of reality show that Israel had had never so many victims as in the period following the military victory in the June War. Many there are in the population that are no longer sure, as they had been before, of the correctness of the prevailing policy, but they do not yet see any positive way-out and are

affected by the official propaganda which alleges that the people of Israel has no choice but this: to kill and be killed, to live under conditions of a permanent war. The central slogan of our Party in the elections was: There exists a choice, a stable peace is feasible ! This depends on the Israeli policy, on the abandonment of the line of war and annexations, on the consent to a peace without annexations, to full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

Within the Arab population there was a great progressive political awakening. The political terror acted as a boomerang against the rulers' list - the Alignment. The level of political consciousness of the Arab toilers had remarkably risen, and they rejected the chauvinist adventurist trends in the Arab population as well as the tendencies to frustration, calling for submission to the government of oppression and national discrimination.

Among the government parties no significant political struggle was waged during the election campaign. The altercation between them revolved around secondary political issues and on subjects which are not decisive. Since the written and verbal platform of the Alignment dictated by the war minister Moshe Dayan, included demands for extensive territorial annexations, neither Gahal nor the other rightist parties had anything to compete about with the Alignment in decisive political questions. Also from the point of view of prostrating themselves before imperialism, particularly American imperialism, there was no difference between the ruling parties.

The Results of the Histadrut elections

The results of the Histadrut elections show that there was an unprecedentedly high abstention from voting. Only 65% voted. This proves the lack of confidence on part of a great portion of Histadrut members in the anti-worker Alignment leadership, the dissatisfaction with the economic situation, and with the incessant bloodshed. The mass abstention has a positive significance, inasmuch as it testifies to the shaking of the confidence in the present policy. But it has also a negative aspect inasmuch as it shows that hundreds of thousands of abstainers have not yet come to see the alternative road of peace and defense of the rights of the workers. In contradiction to those who loudly proclaim that there has been "a shift to the right" in the elections, it appears that despite their disillusion with the Alignment, Histadrut members have not substantially increased their support to Gahal and the other rightist parties.

The most prominent result of the Histadrut elections is the big

decline of the Alignment. If in the elections to the 10th Congress of the Histadrut in 1965 the parties now forming the Alignment (The Mapai-Ahdut-Avoda Alignment together with Rafi and Mapam) received 77.52% of all votes, now the Alignment only got 62,23%, a decline by more than 15%.

After the elections the Alignment leaders, shocked by the results, were forced to admit some of their guilt, at least as regards their trade-union policy.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir was compelled to admit: "We have extraordinarily succeeded in making ourselves loathsome in the eyes of the public. This has been done by none but ourselves".

The Histadrut elections have proved that there is no truth in the defeatist opinions as if the working class and the people of Israel will always move in the old groove. They have proved that the people is beginning to rise, to think independently, to think anew, that there is much confusion and much looking for a new way.

The Alignment leaders have not learned their lesson, They will try to alter some of their tactics, to moderate their relation of open contempt towards the workers, but fundamentally they will continue their anti-worker and anti-national policy. This has been heralded by the Prime Minister G. Meir, when she demanded of her fellow-party members to explain to the workers, more than before, the Zionist tasks of the Histadrut, the necessity of sacrifices for the alleged general interests.

"The working class in the country", said G. Meir, "is the force that cannot detach itself from the state and it is responsible for the state." (All quotations from "Yediot Ahronot" - 7.9.69.).

By this demagogical appeal to the sense of responsibility for statehood on part of the workers, the Prime Minister hopes to bring them to resign themselves to low wages, the deprivation of rights, and to fantastic profits for the millionaires and foreign capital. But there are more and more workers who understand that there is not only no contradiction between the good of the workers and the true interests of Israel, but that conversely, the good of the workers is also the good of Israel.

Though the Histadrut elections do not signify any shift to the right, one cannot ignore the fact that the right wing in the Histadrut, which has long-standing traditions of a struggle against the values of the workers' movement, and which had

already before been stronger than the left wing (following Mapam's joining the Alignment), has increased in these elections. Gahal, the Free Centre, the State List and the Independent Liberals will constitute 28% of the Histadrut institutions, while the left opposition will be relatively small in future too, though it will be bigger than till now.

The task of our Party in the Histadrut after these elections is double: On the one hand we have to concentrate the struggle against the Alignment leadership and the anti-worker policy serving the employers and the Government. On the other hand we have to concentrate the struggle against Gahal and the other rightist parties, which will bring pressure to bear upon the Alignment to wage a still more extreme anti-worker policy for the benefit of the employers and in the service of the aggressive and annexationist policy of the Government, a policy which costs immense amounts of money, a burden which is mainly borne by the workers and popular masses.

Our Communist group (in the Histadrut institutions) will work for the consolidation of all opposition forces in the Histadrut in the struggle for defending the daily interests of the workers and for the attainment of peace.

The Success of the New Communist List

Our list, the New Communist List, received 13,943 votes as compared with 8,369 votes received in the elections to the 10th Histadrut Congress in 1965. This is an increase of 5,574 votes, or 66%. From the point of view of percentage increase, our Party gained more than any other one. And if one takes into account the conditions under which we worked, one can really rejoice over the results.

It has to be pointed out that this increase took place among the Jewish as well as the Arab working people.

The increase of our force among the Jewish workers proves that by means of a correct policy and correct tactics our Party can increase its influence among the Jewish workers even under conditions of war and the frenzy of chauvinist instincts, when our Party swims against the current and constitutes the most consistent oppositional force, showing the alternative to the people.

The great increase of our votes among the Arab toilers proves that the level of political consciousness has risen among the workers, the youth and the intellectuals, who see in our Party the hope for a happy future, of a life of equality and brother-

hood between Jews and Arabs in Israel and of life of peace and progress in our entire region.

In general the election results prove that we have better succeeded in those places where we have worked better.

Our central slogan in these elections was: A stable peace is feasible and can be attained by the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution. We combined the campaign for the defense of the interests of the workers with the campaign for the cessation of the bloodshed, for peace without annexations.

The official press circulated a false version, the outcrop of their sickly imagination, as to the reasons for the great success of our list in the Histadrut elections among the Arab workers.

It is correct that among the Arab workers our Party has won an unprecedented success. 31% of all the Arab members of the Histadrut have given their vote to our Party. But what is there to wonder about? It is amazing that two thirds of the Arab workers have still voted for the Alignment, for the parties of the Government which oppresses them and discriminates against them. If our internationalist, Jewish-Arab Party, has gained an increase among the Jewish workers despite the high tide of chauvinism, what's the wonder that it has gained such a spectacular increase among the Arab workers, who rightly consider it the symbol of the struggle for equality of national rights and Jewish-Arab brotherhood, consider it the symbol of the struggle against the policy of occupation and annexation and for a just and stable peace without annexations, for ensuring the just rights of both peoples, the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arab people ?

The Zionist leaders and their propaganda mouthpieces, who are stuck deep in the swamp of nationalism, who trample on the elementary rights of the Palestinian Arab people and on the elementary human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied areas, have now brought up the ridiculous conjecture that the Arab toilers voted for our Party not because of progressive political considerations, but precisely because of anti-Israeli nationalistic extremism. This conjecture is as foolish as it is vicious and those who circulate it know this as well as we do.

For reality is completely different. The present elections to the Histadrut were profoundly political elections among the Arab toilers. Two factors stood up against our Party among the Arab population. One factor is constituted by the extreme nationalist

elements, which do not recognize the right to existence of the State of Israel, such as "Al-Fatah" - and these called for non-participation in the elections, because the mere participation in the elections means the recognition of Israel. And if there exist any anti-Israeli Arab nationalists who wish to camouflage their positions, it is exactly they who joined the Alignment as there they feel more secure.

In the election campaign among the Arab workers our Party held a profound and thorough discussion with the nationalist elements. Every voter knew, and it was emphasized to him, that our Party, together with its struggle against the aggressive and annexationist policy of the Government, resolutely stands upon the right of the State of Israel to an independent existence, to a life of peace and security. We called in the elections for the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, which guarantees the rights of Israel as well as those of the Arab countries, and which advances the realization of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

In the elections among the Arab population we stood, on the other hand, in a struggle against the circles which had sold their soul for a mess of lentils to the authorities which discriminate against the sons of their people and which deny the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and its very existence. These career-seeking, defeatist and hypocritical elements are ready to serve any government. It is they who are also dangerous to the people of Israel, as they may easily turn their coat.

As against this, our Communist Party educates in the spirit of the brotherhood of peoples, of the respect for the rights of all peoples, of a Jewish-Arab front against imperialism and its agents among Jews and Arabs alike.

Those who fanned nationalistic and religious instincts among the Arab masses were the leaders of the Alignment. Histadrut secretary Aron Becker, appeared on the eve of the elections in Nazareth and fanned religious instincts by inciting against the Communists, arguing that they do not believe in religion and alleging that in the Soviet Union, no freedom of religious worship exists. But the workers of Nazareth gave a fitting reply to the hypocritical words of the Histadrut secretary.

The Arab workers who voted for our Party, thereby expressed their wish for a different policy of the Histadrut, for a different policy of the State of Israel. They did not vote against the Histadrut, for then they would have boycotted the

elections, but just as the Jewish workers who supported our list, the Arab workers too voted for a Histadrut that would fight in defense of the workers interests, for a Histadrut in which equality of rights and Jewish-Arab worker brotherhood would prevail. The Arab workers, just as the Jewish workers who voted for our list, did not vote against the State of Israel, as alleged by the inciters, but for a change of the official Israeli policy, for an Israeli policy of peace, independence from imperialism, equality of national rights and social progress.

By their voting en masse for our Party, the Arab workers have contributed a great deal to the anti-imperialist struggle, to the struggle for peace without annexations, for the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. Thereby they have well served their interests as workers who suffer from a two-fold oppression: as workers in a capitalist regime and also as sons of the Arab people, upon which the authorities impose a policy of oppression and national discrimination.

The Histadrut elections have brought a still stronger proof that the Arab workers and the Arab population in Israel constitute a progressive force, possessing a high political consciousness, and contributing a big share to the general struggle for another Israel, one that cherishes peace, true independence, a democratic Israel, a home for its Jewish and Arab citizens on the basis of equality of rights.

Great importance attaches to the increase of our votes among the Jewish workers. This is very encouraging and proves the correctness of the path of our Party, which has never detached itself from the Jewish masses, not even when it underwent the hardest tests, and particularly since June 1967. Under the most difficult conditions we held meetings, distributed party literature and the party press. Our party members persistently explained the patriotic and internationalist position of our Party, which has now won the confidence of additional Jewish workers.

Encouraged by the results of the Histadrut elections we shall now mobilize our full force in order to bring about a success of the Party in the forthcoming elections to the seventh term of the Knesset and to the municipal councils.

The Mikunis-Sneh Group in its failure

The Mikunis-Sneh Group has received now, after four years of chauvinist, anti-Arab, anti-Soviet and anti-communist frenzy, a total of 11,100 votes, as compared with 10,335 votes (in 1965),

i.e. an addition of only 765 votes. In important centres, such as Tel Aviv, the number of votes received by the group decreased. As a matter of fact, the Mikunis-Sneh Group lost thousands of their supporters of 1965 and received "in exchange" an equal number of anti-communist votes.

The Group received a not inconsiderable number of votes from those who had left Mapam. If one takes into consideration that the votes lost by the Mikunis-Sneh Group constitute an absolute loss, while the additional votes are temporary which the group is liable to lose again, even at the forthcoming Knesset elections, the political failure of the Mikunis-Sneh Group in the Histadrut elections becomes quite clear.

This is especially so, if one remembers that one of the chief arguments brought up by the Mikunis-Sneh Group in order to cause the split in the Party and to abandon the internationalist, Marxist-Leninist general line, was the slogan: "We don't want to be any longer only 2% of the Jewish public. We want to be many and not only just." And this is how they abandoned justice, consciousness and conscience. However, as we had warned them, the treason against the ideals of communism, did not bring them any increase of their influence, but their disintegration.

In the campaign to the Histadrut elections the Mikunis-Sneh Group did not even attempt to measure its force on the basis of a platform of its own. It appealed mainly to the feelings of mercy of the Alignment, asking to take into account the services furnished by the group to the ruling circles, their subversive activities carried out abroad, their anti-Soviet services etc. Thus the Mikunis-Sneh Group published in the press an election advertisement, in which was said:

"The CPI (read: the Mikunis-Sneh Group) has called upon itself the danger of being defamed by those loyal to the Kremlin because of defending our right to existence". According to this provocative publication "those loyal to the Kremlin" are not in favour of the right of Israel's existence.

A front of all Israeli fighters for peace is the order of the day. Such a front can contribute very much to the prevention of a new war, to the cessation of the bloodshed, to the elimination of war - once for all - from the bounds of Israeli-Arab relations.

In the present elections there exists no possibility, because of various reasons, to establish one list of all fighters for peace. But also when the fighters for peace march under various lists, this ought not at all to prevent any co-operation among them

and any co-ordination of their struggle against the policy of occupation and annexation, liable to bring a national disaster upon Israel.

The sooner a peace front will be established in Israel by all fighters of peace, irrespective of their ideological and political views, the greater will be the contribution given to the cause of peace in our region, to the cause of security for the people of Israel. The establishment of a front of fighters for peace in our country will constitute a most important step, which will quantitatively and qualitatively increase the weight of the consolidated force of peace; this will enable it to influence in a greater measure the crucial developments in the near future and will perhaps be decisive in the history of Israel.

(Continued next page)

In what Political Conditions will the Elections to the Knesset be Held ?

The situation in our region has been aggravated. The U.S. government has stiffened its stand and has for a long time now sabotaged the talks of the 4 powers and the Soviet-American talks on the affairs of our region. One of the political facts is the supply of Phantom planes by the USA. Thereby a new and extremely perilous stage has been opened in the arms race in our region. The Phantom plane is not a defensive weapon, but an offensive one. Its supply while Israel has already a great superiority in respect of air-power, pursues distinct political objects. Such an offensive weapon has now for the first time been introduced into our region.

"Ha'aretz" writes on 7.9.69.: "The Phantom is an excellent offensive weapon. This is the most important plane in the Vietnam War... In order to attack objects on the ground, the Phantom can reach a range of 1600 kilometres. Hence, the Air Force can today cover any vital object". And the "Yediot Ahronot" of the same day explains what vital objects are meant: "This plane can reach any place in our war theatre - even farther than Cairo and Bagdad, and return. For the sake of comparison: the combative range of the Mig 21 is 600 km., and this only if relieved from its heavy armament. Therefore the Mig cannot, for example, reach Tel-Aviv from Cairo and return."

We are not military experts. But these publications do not leave any doubt as to the essential difference between the Soviet and the American policy in our region. While the Soviet Union works for a political settlement, for peace in our region, and for the prevention of the arms race and of the aggravation of the situation, the USA has made a further step in direction of the aggravation of the armament race in our region.

The Consequences Did not Fail to Appear

The consequences did not fail to appear. The extreme trends among the ruling circles in Israel have increased. This has found immediate expression in the escalation of air force activities against Egypt and Jordan. The attacks of the Israeli army in the Suez Bay and the military raid into Egypt carried out in these days, increase the danger of an extensive war.

One of the important objectives of these escalative attacks is to sabotage the implementation of the Security Council Resolution; to prevent the establishment of a just and stable peace on the basis of this resolution.

The Americans are to be convinced that Egypt is militarily unable to wage a war for the liberation of the occupied areas, and hence that the Americans need not have any apprehensions about getting too far involved in our region; hence that there is no reason for bringing pressure to bear upon Israel, and the status quo may be maintained.

And what is the foundation of the American imperialists' magnanimity towards Israel? This is answered by Abraham Schweizer in his article in "Ha'aretz" on 5.9.69.:

"The Soviets argue against us that Israel is part of the western-imperialist alignment headed by the USA... This is the objective foundation for Israel's appeal to the USA to receive any assistance - material and moral - and whoever does not believe in the existence of this foundation, will encounter difficulties in explaining why the USA is prepared to provide Israel with arms, including such a perfect weapon as the Phantom planes, and why it affords us diplomatic assistance in the UNO and other arenas. The USA considers itself involved in a global contest with the Soviet Union, and it evaluates the needs of its friends amply, against the background of the circumstances of the contest with the Soviets... There is a political rationale for USA support and within its bounds the USA will not act miserly".

The minister Joseph Sapir spoke in a Gahal election meeting on 22.8.69. very clear words: "The great service done by the State of Israel to the free world throughout the last two years and in the time of the six-day war, could not have been done by the world powers in a much longer period. Therefore it is our right to gratuitously receive arms and international political support from the free world."

The Service to the Free World

Since long the ruling circles and their mouthpieces have ceased concealing that "Israel has done a great service to the free world" the imperialist world, and especially to the USA, in the June War. However there is a fly in the ointment: The USA has invested vast amounts of capital and political prestige in the Middle East adventure and was sure of its success. In a certain respect her position here is more comfortable than in the Far East. Here she is not compelled to send her own soldiers. Here she relies upon the rulers of Israel that they will carry out the global imperialist mission and will bring about the overthrow of the anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab countries. In exchange for this the US government affords political backing, arms and a great deal of money for the

realization of the plans for territorial aggrandizement.

However, the total result of the Middle East adventure is not what had been intended by the US rulers, when they requested the rulers of Israel to do "the great service to the free world". About this writes Philip Benn in the "Ma'ariv" of 5.9.69.:

The position of the Americans is not easy. If they consent now to a failure of Israel, it will constitute, in the consciousness of the Arabs, a Soviet victory. If they side with Israel, they will certainly bring the Arabs nearer to the Soviet Union".

The rushing to and fro in the official American policy has increased after the anti-imperialist coup carried out in Libya. Instead of a downfall of anti-imperialist regimes in the wake of the June War, pro-imperialist regimes are falling. True, the fundamental causes for the revolutions in Sudan and in Libya are internal political and social ones, but the policy of imperialism in the Middle East has a share in these processes.

The Israeli Government builds its policy - also according to its own spokesmen by putting all its eggs into one basket: the support given by American imperialism. But the support is given by American, West German and other imperialist circles to the Israeli Government in order to perpetuate the confrontation with the anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab countries. This support does not stem from any love of Israel, but from the hatred against the anti-imperialist Arab national movement. The all-round American assistance is, in the last account, to the detriment of Israel, to the detriment of peace with the Arab countries and constitutes a most unreliable support, just as every imperialist support.

A Government of National Disaster

It was not for nothing that we defined the "government of national rally" as a government of national disaster. We considered and we continue to consider the policy of the Government a danger, first of all for Israel herself. The June War has not only failed to bring Israel peace and security, but has brought a most difficult security situation; the number of killed and wounded is rising from month to month and the danger of a new war looms on the horizon.

Ofcourse, the ruling circles of Israel do not act only out of global considerations of service to the "free world" of imperialism against the anti-imperialist national movement in our region, against the socialist world, in particular against the Soviet

Union. This we have said all the time. The ruling circles of Israel have also war aims of their own: territorial expansion.

The experience of the past two years has proved that the official Israeli policy is built on sand and is extraordinarily short-sighted. It does not at all take into consideration the balance of forces in the world, the lesson of the Vietnam War. The attempt now to build an empire might look rather grotesque, were it not for the blood shed by the great number of young people, were it not for the increasing number of widows of orphans and bereaved parents, and were it not for the dangers put before Israel by the official policy.

In order to lead the public astray, the Government continues its misleading line of propaganda as if there were no choice to bring about a change in the situation and to establish peace in our region. But the facts daily give this official propaganda the lie and prove that if the Israeli Government consents to a peace without annexations, peace will be established !

The Truth about the Position of the Soviet Union

In order to mislead the public, the ruling circles try in their propaganda to act according to the tactics of "catch the thief!" They try to put the blame for the deterioration of the situation, for which they, together with the American imperialists, are responsible, on the Soviet Union, which conducts, according to their libel, an anti-Israeli policy.

But here too the facts daily give the lie to the official misstatements. These days the Soviet position vis-a-vis Israel and the crisis in our region has been made public again, and it gives again the lie to the anti-Soviet libels.

At the end of his visit in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrey Gromyko, convened a press conference in Belgrade. Replying to the question of an Egyptian reporter, A. Gromyko said:

"Israel has the right to independent existence safeguarded by suitable guarantees. Israel alleges it cannot evacuate its forces in the absence of guarantee for her independent existence. However, this is an erroneous opinion. There exists a clear opportunity - and the Soviet Union supports it - that Israel and the other countries of the region will have an independent existence safeguarded by suitable guarantees". ("Ha'aretz" - 7.9.69.).

The Soviet Foreign Minister pointed out that the obstacle to the solution of the crisis lies in the Israeli demand for territorial

annexations subsequent to the June War. The Soviet Union rejects this demand.

Anyone capable of profound and far-sighted thinking will understand that the demand for territorial annexations based on military victory is liable to be, in the course of time, with the change of the balance of forces, to the detriment of Israel. This is a two-edged sword.

The Soviet policy in our region was, and is, a policy of peace, of concern for the security of all the peoples of the region and for international security. The Soviet Union is not anti-Israeli just as it was not anti-Arab in 1948. In accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the national question, the Soviet Union supports the right of every nation to national independence, but rejects every chauvinist demand to impose domination of one people over another.

We have strongly to stress before the public that now there exists a historic possibility to establish peace between Israel and the Arab states, that Arab states, such as Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and others support the implementation of the Security Council Resolution in its entirety and are prepared to establish permanent peace with Israel, based upon justice.

We do not ignore the existence of chauvinist, extreme factors in the Arab world. These factors are nourished in a large measure by the aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel's rulers, who reject every peace initiative, and in their nationalist haughtiness, create in the occupied areas an ever-increasing number of accomplished facts.

These days a session of the Palestinian National Council convened. In the statement that was published it is said that "the aims of the Palestinian revolution is to liberate the soil of the whole of Palestine from the Zionist occupation". Such a position must be absolutely rejected.

Such a programme does not serve the just cause of the abolition of the occupation, of the evacuation of the Israeli army from all territories occupied in the June War. It raises additional obstacles on the way of the efforts to establish a stable and just peace in our region. We are against any chauvinism, whether Jewish or Arab. It is impossible to ensure the rights of one people by depriving another people of its rights.

A change of the official Israeli policy, the consent of Israel to a peace without annexations, will increase the healthy and

realistic trends in the Arab world, which already now are dominant, and will cut the ground from under the chauvinist trends.

In view of the aggravation of the situation in our region and the growing war danger, on the one hand, and in view of the prospects for a political solution of the crisis and for the establishment of peace, which still subsist despite all the difficulties, on the other hand - we have to concentrate our explanation in the election campaign to the Knesset in direction of the prevention of a further deterioration of the situation, in direction of the prevention of a new war, in direction of the struggle for peace without annexations.

We have to connect the urgent political problems with economic and social-class problem; we have to combine the struggle for peace with the struggle for democracy, for equality of national rights and for the defense of the rights of the toilers.

* * * * *

The opponents of a peace without annexations, the leaders of the Alignment, Gahal and all the others, will concentrate the fire in the election campaign to the 7th term of the Knesset, against our Party, will try to falsify our positions, will bring into play the whole weight of pressure of the police-military apparatus against all forces of peace, and against the Arab population. We have to be vigilant, to repel the attack and, from our side to attack the enemies of peace and of equality between the peoples, the stooges of imperialism in our region, all those who put Israel on the brink of disaster.

After the success in the elections to the Histadrut we will concentrate all our forces for the success of our Party in the elections to the Knesset and the municipal councils. This will be a great service for the working class, for all Jewish and Arab toilers, for the national interests of our people, for the general cause of peace and progress in the world.

The members and sympathizers of the Party, the members of the Young Communist League of Israel, the party press and the propaganda department, all comrades, women and men, have made great efforts for the success of our Party in the election campaign to the Histadrut. Let us raise our work and explanation to a still higher level, let us work with all our force - and we shall succeed.

Forward to the success of our Party in the election campaign to the 7th term of the Knesset and the municipal councils!

ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND REAL ISSUES

By E. Touma

The Israeli press gives the impression that the "Election campaign is in full swing", and the sixteen lists contesting the 120 parliamentary (Knesset) seats are in an "earnest fight".

True there are differences between the parties belonging to the national government coalition and supporting the general official line. Thus for example Poale Agudat Yisrael, the ultra-orthodox party urges adopting the law of Mozes as Israel's legal code. While Mapam, the Zionist Social Democratic party, in alignment with the labour party, toys publically, from time to time with socialism and fights for a secular state.

There are also differences in annexationist appetites. On the one hand there is the list of Greater Israel led by Dr. Eldad which calls for the historical Israel and considers the present cease-fire lines temporary borders to be pushed to the East and North until Israel is established in its national-historical boundaries, and on the other there are all shades of annexationists who would settle like Mapam for the annexation of "Arab Jerusalem", the Syrian heights and the Gaza strip.

On the issue of the Arabs in the occupied areas there are more radical differences, but then these are more so between the extremists among the annexationists.

Thus for example the greater Israel list calls for the emigration of these Arabs to the Arab countries (Hatzofe, 30.9.69), while Gahal, the bloc of parties of the big bourgeoisie, which considers the present cease-fire lines as borders of the new Israel calls for granting full civil right to the Arabs within greater Israel (Their programme in Ma'ariv supplement 10.10.69).

Dayan the war minister, who represents certain substantial forces in the Labour Party while calling for increasing the tempo of "Israelising" the occupied areas wants the Arabs to remain out of the civil-political life of Israel (Television programme on 2.10.69).

Y. Allon deputy premier has gone further, he has called for self rule for the Arabs in the occupied areas which would not commit them to recognise the unity of Jerusalem under Israeli rule or Israel's policies in the territories. This to his mind constitutes the basis of a dialogue between Israel and the Arabs (Lamerhav 1.10.69).

An accompanying difference has developed over the "bridges". The Free Center, a splinter group which tore away from Herut,

is challenging the "open bridges"* policy instituted by the government and initiated by M. Dayan.

The Free Center leader S. Tamir declared that the "open bridges" policy encouraged terrorist activities and allowed terrorists to infiltrate to the "Israeli held territories" (Jerusalem Post 29.9.69). Dayan refutes this contention and claims that "the open bridges proves to the Arabs that living under Israel's rule does not mean that they are being cut off from the rest of the Arab world" (Television broadcast 2.10.69).

But all this emphasises that the real basic issues facing the country - the way out of the Middle East crisis, Israel's foreign relations and specifically Israeli-Arab relations - are not being debated by the national coalition parties and lists supporting the official line.

Collusion with U.S. imperialism (officially called Israeli-U.S. friendship), dictating "peace" terms to the Arab peoples and the strategy of war as an arbiter of conflicts seem to be the sphere of agreement between the official line lists in this election.

THE REAL ISSUE

It is pertinent therefore to remark that the real issue in these elections is between the coalition parties (lists) and the Israeli Communist Party known for the purposes of the elections as the New Communist List (N.C.L.; called Rakah in Hebrew). It is the N.C.L. which is putting on the election map the issue of war and peace; of the Middle East crisis and of Israel's foreign relations.

Thus the N.C.L. offers the real political alternative to the official line. The N.C.L. calls for the break with U.S. imperialism which wants Israel to perform the duties of gendarme in the Arab world against the Arab national liberation revolutionary process sweeping the imperialist positions. It calls for Israel's acceptance of the security council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, which has all the elements capable of solving the Arab-Israeli conflict and for Israel being ready to implement its part of

* This means allowing Arabs of the occupied areas to visit the Arab countries and to send their young people to universities in those countries. It allows them to trade (export their produce) with Jordan.

the Resolution*. It calls for a policy of understanding with the Arab countries and for Jewish-Arab brotherhood.

The N.C.L. considers the official policy calling for Israeli-Arab direct negotiation at this stage a smoke screen to cover up its annexationist ambitions, and a means to scuttle attempts and international initiatives to solve the conflict politically and peacefully. Israel's official rebuff to the latest U.A.R. agreement to indirect negotiations on the 1948 Rhodes pattern** and its continued refusal to indirect agreement to implement the security council resolution shows that the Israeli ruling circles, gaining confidence from U.S. support and encouragement as expressed in Premier G. Meir's latest talk with U.S. president Nixon, are still far from the path of peace.

ANTI-COMMUNIST INCITEMENT

The political constellation explains why the whole wrath of the ruling circles is directed against N.C.L. . this was brutally expressed in the threat of Y. Allon deputy premier, levelled at the N.C.L. Arab supporters.

Speaking in Acre Allon addressed his "supporters" among the Arabs in these words:

"For the sake of continued good relations, you must dissociate yourself from the N.C.L.. If the New Communist List gains in strength, it will be a terrible disappointment for the Jews who for 21 years have been trying to nurture the idea of fraternity and normal relations between the two communities ...". Allon added if the N.C.L. won another seat in the Knesset it would not affect its composition or the future government's policy, "But it will ruin the mind of Arab youth and it will limit the possibility of Jewish-Arab dialogue. It will greatly damage the interests of the Arab population..." (Jerusalem Post 9.10.69). Leaving out the false claim that the ruling circles contributed to developing fraternity between the Jewish and Arab communities in Israel, and leaving out the open threat that the interests of the Arabs are liable to suffer if they vote in larger numbers

* It demands withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories, the end of belligerency and the recognition of the right of all states in the area to exist with full sovereignty, free shipping for Israel in Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba and solution of the Arab refugees problem.

** There the Israeli-Arab sides negotiated indirectly with the assistance of U.N. general secretary R. Bunch and concluded the armistice agreements after the Palestine War.

for the N.C.L. * , objective observers saw in Allon's statement on the question of dialogue a very dangerous symptom.

First, the N.C.L. is a Jewish-Arab Communist Party, and if a larger portion of Arabs support it, the fact remains that it represents a definite political line, which is in the interest of both peoples of the country. If its success limits any dialogue, it is not the Jewish-Arab dialogue but the Israeli dialogue between the ruling circles and the real opposition.

Second, if the Israeli ruling circles cannot bear a dialogue with its opposition, it means it also refuses any international or regional dialogue with the forces which contest its premises of expansionism and dictation.

Third, if in increased Arab support to the N.C.L., because the N.C.L. supports the legitimate rights of both the Israeli and Arab peoples, the ruling circles see a limitation of the Jewish-Arab dialogue in Israel, it means they close the door hermetically to an Israeli-Arab dialogue in the region.

It seemed to observers that under the conditions of increased Israeli isolation internationally the only Jewish-Arab dialogue which the Israeli ruling circles are willing to tolerate is their monologue of dictation with their Arab lackeys who support the policy of national discrimination.

*

Though the real issues are not on the map of the coalition parties, they are there; though the contest here is unequal, the coalition parties and supporters of the official line have the huge information media at their disposal while the N.C.L. has very limited means and is being hampered on every side. For not only the N.C.L. Arab supporters are being cudgeled, the Jewish supporters are being victimised as well. The press is full of tendentious news items liable to frighten the people. Thus on 9.10.69 the press (Yediot Ahronot) carried a so-called public opinion poll claiming that 42% agreed to outlaw the N.C.L. However it is growing clear that threats would not save the ruling circles who have reached a dead end in their adventurous annexationist policy.

*In the Histadrut elections over 30% voted for the N.C.L. while 62% voted for the alignment.

ISOLATION AND REPRESSION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

This dead end state has become more bluntly clear in the occupied territories lately. Gone are the illusions about rapprochement between the Arab people and the occupying authorities, and the elements who raised the banner of a "Palestine entity" as a means to give the occupation a show of legality have practically disappeared. What remains is the manysided resistance and the stark repression.

Deportations of patriots is increasing and two groups have been deported to the East bank of the Jordan from occupied Nablus, Jenin, Hebron and other places.

The last group deported on 6.10.69 included Ramallah's mayor and nine other public figures. At the same time demolition of houses is gaining .

The Jerusalem Post of 6.10.69 reporting the demolition of a house in Kalkilya added: "This was the tenth house demolished in the past fortnight. The first nine belonged to members of various terrorist organisations who were rounded up in last months wide scale comb out."

The demolitions are not confined to this townlet but are being intensified in Nablus, Hebron, Gaza and other places.

It is not necessary any longer to take part in armed action to lose one's house, alleged membership in an organisation is enough, even before it is proved in a law court. At the same time large scale round-ups were carried in Gaza netting dozens - according to the Jerusalem Post of 9.10.69 - and in other towns in the occupied west bank.

Further the area of Beit Sahout (Bethlehem area) was put under a 22 hour curfew for weeks and Hebron was blockaded from the middle of September up to 2.10.69 in an attempt to choke it economically and thus weaken the growing resistance.

Moreover, the pupils of a number of schools in Nablus and Jenin struck late in September, and this accentuated the tense situation in the occupied areas.

It has become clear that the Israeli occupation does not differ from other occupation and breeds increased resistance.

S T A T E M E N T
by the EDITORIAL BOARD of the AL-ITTIHAD
at the Press-Conference held in Haifa on 23.9.69
.....

1. The Press lately spread the rumour that the Government is considering re-imposing the military regime upon the predominantly Arab populated areas in Israel.
2. The justification - as rumoured in MA'ARIV, HA'ARETZ and AL-ANBA was simple: "about half" of the Arabs voted, in the Histadrut election, in favour of the NEW COMMUNIST LIST (RAKAKH) and thus expressed their "enmity to Israel"!
3. The concept of re-imposing the military regime, means that the Government plans to penalise the whole Arab population for an "act" "committed" by part of them.
4. Since this "act" was simply voting in a certain manner in the Histadrut elections, the Government threatens to victimise the whole Arab population because of the active political opposition of part of them to its policy.
5. The New Communist List represents not simply a political line, but the only alternative political path. The policy has found expression on the Knesset platform, in public meetings and the press. Its success in drawing more support among Jews and Arabs does not change its legitimate character. It expresses the lack of confidence in the ruling circles which is increasing in face of the rulers' adventurist policy.
6. Neither the New Communist List, nor its Jewish and Arab supporters, nor the large percentage of Arabs who voted for it feel embarrassed at the hysterical anti-Communist, anti-Arab campaign of the ruling circles. On the contrary, all feel more optimistic at the growing consciousness of the people and their disappointment at the Government policy based on perpetuating the Israeli-Arab conflict with its heavy blood-letting.
7. We believe that the progressive, democratic, and liberal forces among the Israeli people will rally and foil the reactionary undemocratic measure, which threatens all the people of the state, not only the Arabs.
8. However, it should be clear - and this is the purpose of our desire to meet with the Press - that the British Mandatory Emergency (Defence) Regulations, on which the Military Government was based, have never been shelved in practice.
9. Not only were they used to issue mobilization orders in order to break legitimate strikes - the Postmen, for example - but

they are being used oppressively against hundreds of political activists opposed to the Israeli official policy.

10. Those hit are mainly Arab communists and progressives, who had opposed the aggressive June 1967 war, and the official Israeli policy of established facts and expansionism. This policy is expressed by the Government's refusal to withdraw from the Arab occupied areas, on the one hand, and by a large-scale settlement in these areas, on the other.
11. The oppressive measures we have in mind assume different forms. Some of the most conspicuous forms :
 - a) Administrative arrest and detention without judicial remedy.
 - b) Confinement within a certain municipal area.
 - c) House arrests which compel victims to stay at home from sunset to sunrise.
 - d) Deportations.
12. Specifically speaking, besides all Arab members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel (New Communist List), and other progressive elements, all the members of the Editorial Board of the newspaper AL-ITTIHAD, the monthly review AL-JADEED and the organ of youth, AL-GHAD - Emile Touma, Ali Ashour, Muhammad Khass, Mahmoud Darwish, Samih el-Kassem, Issam Abbassi, Salem Jubran and Nabi A'weidah - are victims of the restriction orders. On Mahmoud Darwish and Salem Jubran house-arrests have been imposed, confining them in their homes from sunset to sunrise and also daily presentation at a police station. The others are not allowed to leave their place of residence - Haifa.

Recently the Police authorities, acting on instruction "from above", have refused to issue movement permits to any of the editors, whatever the purpose of their trips:

- Whether to lecture in Tel-Aviv or Jerusalem or Ramat Gan or Nazareth (Emile Touma and others);
- Whether to visit their families in the villages of Makar or Rama (Mahmoud Darwish and Samih el-Kassem);
- Or to attend internal Party meetings: Political Bureau (Emile Touma) Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel (Rakakh) (Emile Touma, Ali Ashour), joint editorial board with ZO HADEREKH (all editors of AL ITTIHAD).

13. All this means that Press freedom is restricted and torn to bits. This aspect of the restriction constitutes a danger to the whole press.
14. We hold that these restrictions are not related to security needs. They are also imposed on lawyers, such as Hanna Naqqara, Ali Rafa, Muhammad Me'ari and Sabri Jerais of Haifa, Abdel Hafez Darawshe of Nazareth, Anis Shakour of Acre and others. Lawyers Abdel Hafez Darawshe and Ali Rafa are under house arrest from sunset to sunrise and have daily to present themselves at the police station of their respective towns. This too is not related to any security needs.

The authorities intend by means of these instructions to impair the rights of those opposed to the Government's policy - the rights of waging political struggle, and to raise obstacles before this legitimate struggle.
15. We hold that the defence of democracy is vital to Israel and its development.
16. We also insist that the alternative of the Communist Party of Israel (New Communist List) is not only legitimate but holds the only way for a political peaceful settlement to the Middle East crisis.
17. It is only those who call for expansionism and the positions of the "Movement for a Complete Land of Israel" who endanger the future and security of Israel.
18. We will not be deterred by these restrictions. We shall continue to call for a peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, a solution based on the legitimate rights of both peoples - the Israeli and the Arab - and will insist on the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of 22.11.1967.
19. We shall continue to propagate the idea of Jewish-Arab fraternity as a means to build a future of peace and co-operation in our region.
20. We do not ask the Israeli Press to identify itself with us, but we ask it to defend our elementary right to struggle freely for our political convictions. Such freedom of struggle is in the interest of democracy and national security.

Haifa, 23.9.1967

MASS ARBITRARY DETENTIONS

.....

On October 22, 1969, the communist parliamentary group arranged a press conference for the Israeli press and correspondents of the international press and agencies in order to give publicity to the wave of arbitrary arrests and detentions carried out against activists, sympathizers and election candidates of the Communist Party of Israel, in Nazareth and other Arab communities in Israel.

The press conference was opened by comrade David Khenin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. At this conference comrade Emile Habibi, M.P., member of the Party's Political Bureau read the following statement and answered questions.

S T A T E M E N T (slightly abridged)

The facts

1. On the morning of Monday, 6.10.69, a criminal bomb explosion occurred in the market of Afula, resulting in the death of an elderly citizen and injuries inflicted on nearly 30 persons, among them women and children, Jews and Arabs.

On the next day, in Nazareth and the villages of Galilee, our Party distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in which this shedding of innocent blood in the Afula market was sharply branded. The leaflet said:

"The criminal explosion which occurred yesterday in the Afula market has aroused feelings of condemnation and apprehension among all inhabitants, Jews and Arabs in Afula, Nazareth and in the villages of Galilee. We sharply condemn this crazy, criminal deed against innocent women, children and men, and sympathize with them in their pain and grief. By this condemnation we express the opinion of the Arab masses in Israel, who have chosen the path of mass political struggle and who are fighting for Jewish-Arab solidarity in the common struggle for the just aims of a life of peace and brotherhood together with the Jewish people in the common homeland.

"These mad acts, such as that explosion in Afula, which have been condemned by our Party, do not serve the just cause of the Palestinian Arab people but assist those who try to falsify the aims of the just struggle.

"We do not accept the arguments of the organizations which have reported that they are responsible for the explosion, i.e. that

this was an act of revenge for the Israeli action against Lebanese villages in which civilians too had been hit. One cannot fight against criminal actions that are directed towards civilians by similar actions; this only hits at the real forces of peace - Jewish and Arab ones."

2. On the day of the explosion the police started an operation of mass detentions, in the main directed against members, activists, sympathizers, and election candidates of our Party. Tens of Arab citizens were detained, part of whom were subsequently released. In detention remained mainly members, sympathizers and election candidates of our Party.
3. On the 18.10.69, the police detained nine more citizens - all of them members of our Party. When he brought them before the judge in order to get orders for their arrest, the representative of the police reported that the police do not accuse them, but only interrogate them.
4. (The statement gives names and addresses of those remaining under detention).

At the same time, for the same reason, advocate Azat Darawshe of Aksal village, the chairman of the Arab Students' Committee in Jerusalem, was detained.

The statement gives the names and addresses of those detained on Oct. 18.)

All these are members or sympathizers of our Party and in their majority are active in the election campaign. Among them there are old members of our Party, branch secretaries and activists of the Young Communist League of Israel.

5. We know of cases of soliciting by village headmen and activists of the Alignment (of the Labour Party and Mapam - transl.). For example, there is one Abraham Dayan, an agent of the Zion Insurance Company who caused the Police to release some detainees by extracting from them the promise to support the Alignment or the two Arab lists connected with the Alignment.
6. The detainee Jaber Mahamid of Um Al-Fahem was brought before a judge in Hadera who is also the Chairman of the District Election Commission. When the judge heard that the police had not at all interrogated the detainee in connection with this alleged crime, but only had interrogated him concerning what newspaper he reads and which list he supports, he refused to prolong his detention, and then the police brought him before another judge who did the bidding of the police and prolonged the detention.

All the detainees expressed before court their condemnation of the explosion in Afula and said that they had no connection whatever with that crime and had not been in the vicinity. The fact that the police do not interrogate the detainees in connection with that act, but only concerning their political views, indicates the political vengefulness, their wish to harm our Party in the electoral struggle.

7. These detentions have aroused general anger in the public, as the political attitude of the communist detainees and those who are Party sympathizers is well-known; as the public knows that they resolutely oppose criminal and adventurist acts of encroachment upon innocent civilians, and as the public knows the scandal of the detentions on the very day of the elections to the Histadrut Congress in Arabeh village.

What happened in Arabeh? On the morning of the day of the Histadrut elections, Sept. 2, 1969, slogans were seen on the road leading to the village and on walls of houses in the village, such as: "Long live Al-Fatah", "Assifa", "Saika" and others. But this time there happened to be eye witnesses from among inhabitants of the village who saw who painted those slogans. The eye witnesses went to the Local Council who called the police. The eye witnesses reported to the police officers the names of the "painters" who are - the organizers of the Alignment activity in Arabah, one of them was the chairman of the ballot box commission on behalf of the Alignment. However, the police did not only fail to detain the wrong-doer, but detained the witnesses and some other 50 villagers, who were released after the elections. The Arabeh Local Council convened a press conference in Haifa and reported this scandal. The retort of the police was, as told in the press, that they had interrogated by means of the "truth machine" the three men charged, but could find nothing wrong in their evidence. That is to say the police did not even examine their handwriting.

There has also been the shocking case of the detentions in May of this year of the pupil Omar Biyadsi of Baka Al-Garbiyeh. He was released by the judge after he heard the evidence given by a police witness saying that the police had forced him to give false evidence against his colleague, so that the latter could be accused of painting extremist slogans in the school.

We wish to protest against the fallacious use of the police in the election campaign, which after all will pass, but the harm done by this behaviour will remain afterwards. We do not ignore the hostility of the authorities against us and our way. We will continue to struggle for a peaceful way-out from the present

circle of bloodshed.

But we are full of apprehension THAT THIS POLITICAL HOSTILITY PREVENTS THE POLICE FROM CARRYING OUT THEIR DECLARED TASK OF GUARDING HUMAN LIVES AGAINST SUCH CRIMINAL DEEDS, AS THE EXPLOSION IN AFULA. BY THEIR ENCROACHING UPON OUR COMRADES, IN SPITE OF THEIR KNOWING WELL THAT THESE COMRADES ARE NOT CONNECTED IN ANY WAY WITH ACTIONS OF THAT SORT AND OPPOSE SUCH ACTIONS, THE POLICE DO NOT LOOK FOR, AND THUS DO NOT FIND THOSE WHO ARE REALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THOSE CRIMES. Before our eyes a miserable spectacle of political hostility is being revealed, showing the helplessness of the police. By arranging spectacular detentions of innocent people, they try to mislead public opinion, as if they were successful in carrying out their tasks, and afterwards they are obliged to release the detainees. This time, the police attempt, guided by the Alignment leaders and by their local henchmen, at sabotaging the election campaign of the communist list. These detentions, the restriction orders imposed on the majority of the activists of our list among the Arab population, the campaign of libel and incitement against our Party, the threats against the Jewish and Arab members and supporters of our Party - all these also injure the democratic character of the elections.

We demand the release of all political detainees and the stopping of all pressures on part of the authorities on the voters.

* * *

On Oct. 22-23, 5 houses in Haifa were mined, resulting in the death of two persons and many injured. On the morning of Oct. 23, the Haifa Branch of the Communist Party of Israel issued a statement to the press which said in part:

"We condemn the criminal mining carried out in Haifa yesterday and today in dwelling houses against peaceful citizens.

"We always have expressed our opposition to all kinds of terroristic acts directed against peaceful citizens. These acts do not serve the cause of the struggle for the just rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

"Police carried out mass arrests among the Arab citizens of Haifa, and created an atmosphere of terror and awe. Among the detainees are well-known personalities, members of our Party, like the poets Mahmud Darwish, Samih El-Qasem and Salem Jubran, and YCL secretary Waji Seman. Police alleged that these detentions are for the purpose of investigation.

"We strongly protest against the detention of our members, in face of the well-known attitude of our Party towards acts of this kind.

"These detentions are arbitrary acts, coming a few days before the elections, in order to hinder our electoral struggle. These mass detentions sharpen the hostile atmosphere and the suspicion against the Arab population in Haifa and harm the good neighbourly relations between Jewish and Arab citizens in the city.

"We demand the immediate release of our detained members and of all innocent detainees.

"The sole way to end bloodshed and all hostile acts is the way proposed by our Party - full implementation of the November 1967 Security Council resolution."

WAR ECONOMY IN ISRAEL

.....

By Tamar Gozansky

We re-produce here the central portion of the article written by comrade Tamar Gozansky for No.2 of the theoretical organ of the Party "Arakhim" (Values). In the opening section of her article, comrade T. Gozansky gives some facts on the growing militarization of the Israeli economy.

War Economy and circulation

The meaning of militarization is the diverting of a substantial portion of the social product for military objects, and therefore it cannot but affect the social re-production and the cyclic development of capitalism in a given country. This influence is the more pronounced the longer the militarization is being continued.

The diversion of the economy to the preparation and conduct of war brings about the establishment of new enterprises, to wide-scope investments in transport (roads, harbours, vehicles), to the increase in the number of employed in branches directly or indirectly connected with the military production. This sort of expansion is even liable to achieve what is called a "military boom" - an economic boom expressed by the narrowing of the number of unemployed, the admission of new workers (women and youth), and the expansion of production.

But parallel with this process there occurs another process, which is also caused by the militarization of the economy and which carries within itself an internal contradiction: From the general production of the economy an ever-increasing part is diverted to military objects, and as a result of this the civilian production is narrowed, and there is a decrease in sources for new capital investments in non-military branches and for the satisfaction of social needs. The branches producing for the civilian market suffer from a lack of a skilled labour forces, of raw materials and credit, and are often forced to limit their production. On the other hand rises in prices and heavier taxes - which are an inevitable result of the militarization - bring about a decline in the buying power of the workers and the other wage earners and even of a part of the middle strata, and in the end lead to the creation of surplus goods and even to a crisis of surplus production.

These two processes develop parallel, and the concrete conditions of each country determine which of the processes will have

the upper hand at this or that stage of the development. An instructive example of the impact of the militarization process is afforded by the development of the American economy.

The aggravation of the Vietnam war caused at a certain stage a "military boom": 1.5 million of people passed over to working in enterprises of the military industry and in so-called strategical laboratories. The US Government substantially increased the military budget and its orders from the military industry. The result was the acceleration of the economic growth, a decline in the number of unemployed and... the declaration of President Johnson in January 1969, according to which the USA had got rid of cyclic depressions.

But the economic flourishing turned out to be corroded by contradictions. Already in October 1966 an official publication of the First National City Bank stated that "it seems we are having a flourishing military economy together with a narrowing civilian economy". (Re-translated from the Hebrew). Indeed, though since 1961 the American economy has not experienced any profound crisis, it has during this period passed a number of depressions (end of 1962, spring of 1965, end of 1967). The galloping inflation which accompanied the accelerated increase of the military production, forced Johnson before the termination of his office to proclaim a policy of economic recession - the narrowing of government expenditures for civilian objectives, a raise of the income tax by 10%, a limitation of credit for the public, a rise of the rate of interest, a limitation of private building.

Analyzing this development of the American economy, the U.S. economist, Hyman Lumer wrote "Economic Trends and Perspectives", Political Affairs, No. 5, 1969.):

"In an all-out war economy, the insatiable demand for war goods temporarily obliterates all else, but in a partial war economy such as the present one the production of civilian goods remains at a high level and symptoms of overproduction are not long in making their appearance."

Despite all the differences between the economy of the USA and that of Israel, this conclusion throws light on the prospects of the development of the Israeli economy, which finds itself already for the third year in conditions of a partial war and of a steady rise in military expenditures.

Here in Israel too we have witnessed an economic tide in the wake of the steep rise in military expenditures (though this does not mean that without the militarization of the economy there would

have come no boom period). The summaries for the year 1968 showed an increase by 45% in investments, of 14% in the national product and by 9% in employment. How far this boom was connected with the increase of military production can be learned from the example of the metal industry. In 1968 the metal industry raised its production by 50%, but 90% of this increase came from the increase of military orders and only 10% from the increasing demand for metal products in the civilian market.

Today there exist already signs for the slowing down of the tide, and this in spite of the continued growth of the military expenditures. Prof. M. Michaeli has not long ago predicted (Ma'ariv -23.7.69.) that "at the end of this year and at the beginning of 1970 one can expect a substantial limitation of the demand".

At the same time Prof. Michaeli points out that "the decrease in demand and the signs of retreat will chiefly characterize the civilian sectors, while the sectors working for the satisfaction of defense demands will continue flourishing".

In Israel too one may expect a situation of a "flourishing military economy side to side with a narrowing civilian economy", as the situation has been described in the USA. This development obliges the Government to decide about employing economic means. But among the economists there exists a divergence of opinions in this question.

One group of economic experts believes that it is possible to stem the sliding down of the economy into an economic depression by a "mini-recession", by deflationist steps similar to the steps taken in 1965. They suggest to limit the rise in private consumption, to prevent "over-employment" (this means - to increase unemployment) and to raise the taxes (chiefly the indirect taxes). These proposals are supported - among others - by Dr. Lehmann, the general manager of Bank Leumi, by Dr. Halperin, the general manager of Bank Hapoalim, Dr. Horovitz the president of the Bank of Israel, and by the well-known American economist, Robert Natan who participated in the last millionaires' conference. By the way, R. Natan substantiated his support for an increase in taxes on the ground that the Israeli economy is unable to provide at this moment "guns as well as butter" (Jerusalem Post - 15.7.69.).

Another group of economists, among them Prof. M. Michaeli and Dr. H. Barkai from the Hebrew University, consider the devaluation of the Israeli lira as the best way-out. Their chief argument is that "the economy will not politically be able in the next few years to bear a recession...to fight at the front and at the same time having recession at home - this is impo-

ssible" (H. Barkai -Maariv, 15.8.69.) and "the public will not be able to bear a heavy defense burden, with all its psychological significance, as well as a heavy recession which is expressed by unemployment" (M. Michaeli, Maariv - 23.7.69.). In their opinion the devaluation would cause an increase of exports and a decrease in imports, and thereby the dwindling of the foreign currency reserves would be prevented.

The members of the first group too believe export ought to be augmented, but they claim, and rightly, that a substantial devaluation of the Israeli lira would necessarily bring about a big rise in prices, would accelerate the inflational processes and thereby would shake economic stability.

As it turns out, according to the economists, the choice put before the Israeli economy is between recession and devaluation. But is it indeed possible to give the name of "choice" to a development which is dictated by the objective results of the economy's militarization? And if these alternatives are yet called a "choice" set before the Israeli economy - in result of the June War, of continuing occupation of territories and of the increase of military expenditures and war industries - is there any need for a further argument to prove the folly committed by relying upon the expansion of military production for the benefit of "economic development"?

Nevertheless, there does exist such a "choice", as reminds one of a frequently heard joke : One sentenced to death is asked, "What is your last wish?" He replies, "Make the gallows a bit shorter!"

The real choice is between the continuation of the partial war and the deepening of the economy's militarization on the one hand and the retreat from the occupied territories and the decrease of military expenditures on the other. The first way will lead to the shaking of the economic situation (devaluation, recession and similar "choices"), while the second - which can be attained by means of implementing the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 - will enable a relatively fast development of the economy without galloping inflation and without big unemployment (even though it would not entirely cancel the cyclic character of the capitalist economy in Israel).

Someone might ask: How can one be sure that after a retreat there will be no economic catastrophe? Well, after the retreat in 1957 from the territories occupied in the course of the Suez-Sinai War of 1956, there was not only no decline in industrial production, but it rose by 13%. And from 1958 on there began a lengthy boom period.

Hence it is clear that the only way to stop the decline in the buying power of the toilers, and thereby to prevent an economic depression, lies in the diminution of the military expenditures, in a policy that strives for a peace settlement. Such a policy will enable the diverting of material and human resources towards civilian production, will abolish the necessity for a deficit financing of the state budget, will prevent the drowning of the Israeli economy in debts and will save it from paying the interests on these debts.

Deficit and Inflation

The militarization of the Israeli economy aggravates negative phenomena, such as the expansion of the deficit financing, rise in prices and inflation, the increasing deficit in the foreign trade balance and in the balance of payments, depletion of the foreign exchange reserves, the increase of foreign exchange obligations etc.

In spite of the income from taxes and in spite of the capital import from abroad, Government does not succeed to cover its expenditures, and first of all the increasing military expenditures, with the real means in its hands. The government deficit foreseen for this year will be - as in 1967 and 1968 - about 1,600 million Israeli lira (for the benefit of comparison: in the early sixties the yearly government deficit amounted to about 300 million I.L.).

In order to cover the expanding government deficit, Government turns to deficit financing - to printing money over and above the needs of circulation. For the tendencies to an increment in deficit financing see Table 1, which outlines the changes occurring in the government debts to the Bank of Israel.

Table 1: Government Debts to the Bank of Israel

(In millions of I.L.)

	<u>31.12.67</u>	<u>31.12.68</u>	<u>30.6.69</u>
Treasury bills and other securities	184.6	140.0	166.2
Long-term advance payments	358.5	305.0	664.2
Temporary advance payments	369.6	690.1	838.7
Total government debts to the Bank of Israel	912.7	1,135.1	1,669.1

Source: Reports of the Bank of Israel for January and July 1969.

The increment in the government debts to the Bank of Israel is a very fast one. If at the end of 1967 the debts amounted to little more than 900 million I.L., at the end of 1968 they were higher than one thousand and a hundred million I.L. and at the end of June 1969 they already reached the vast sum of almost one thousand and 700 million I.L. In order to grasp the significance of debts of such scope, it will suffice to compare them to the government expenditures expected this year.

According to the estimation made by the Economic Planning Authority governmental consumption will amount in 1969 to 4.9 thousand million I.L. On the other hand, if the present trend continues, the increment in the government debts during 1969 will amount to one thousand million I.L. It follows that the Government will be forced this year to finance about 20 per cent of its expenditures by deficit financing through the Bank of Israel.

Deficit financing is also carried out by means of the increase in government debts to private banks, suppliers, to foreign countries etc. In mid-August reports were published in the press, according to which the arrear in the Government's payments to suppliers reached hundreds of millions of I.L. As the treasury coffers had been emptied, the Government was forced to stop these payments for two weeks. The emptying of the treasury coffers too is explained by "special defense expenditures, which had not been anticipated". (Davar - 20.8.69.)

Deficit financing has always been a hothouse of inflation, of rise in prices, the source of which is not economic prosperity, nor the fixation of monopolistic prices, but the printing of banknotes. The data quoted above clearly testify to the conditions having ripened for an inflation, the inevitable results of which is the shaking of economic stability and a new division of the national income to the detriment of the workers and for the benefit of the capitalists.

Have the extensive military expenditures already caused an inflation? The official data have stated that in 1968 the consumer prices rose by 2.1%, a rise which does not bear the stamp of real inflation. In 1969 the picture changed: During the months January - July the index of consumer prices rose by 2.5%; hence the yearly summary will show a rise of the price index by 5%, a rise which - mildly expressed - bears the character of a creeping inflation. (When in the USA a yearly rise in prices of 5-6% is discussed, it is there called a galloping inflation).

But even if the official data do not yet testify to a substantial inflation, it is also important to indicate the expectations among

the leadership and the public. "Al Hamishmar" (20.8.69.) reported that the Bank of Israel and a part of the government economists are convinced "that action must be taken now, since otherwise there exists a serious danger of an inflationist sliding down and the emptying of the remaining currency reserves", "Ha'aretz" reported on 13.8.69.: "the public has been seized by a profound nervousness" and said that in consequence savers are hurriedly acquiring dollar-linked foreign securities and durables, such as cars and television sets.

What possibly testifies more than everything else to the inflationist processes is the frequent talk about the possible devaluation of the Israeli lira. Government ministers declare categorically that there will be no devaluation. Minister of Finance Z. Sheref said in an interview given to "Ma'ariv" (22.7.69.): "I am against a devaluation, I don't think that this is needed in today's situation". But this sort of declaration is really within the bounds of duty of finance ministers. As against this, senior economists are speaking about the vital necessity of a devaluation, and even state the rate of 5 I.L. per dollar as the minimum exchange rate, needed after the devaluation.

It is again the increase in military expenditures which is the chief cause for the increase in the deficit of the balance of payments and for the decline in the foreign exchange reserves.

Table 2 : The Deficit in the Balance of Payments and Foreign Currency Reserves
(in millions of dollars)

	1967	1968	1969 (forecast)	1970 (forecast)
Deficit in the balance of payments	527	700	800	900
Freely usable assets	950	670	500	300

Source: Report of the Economic Planning Authority, June 1969, p. 26-27.

The picture emerging from table 2 is one of a steep rise in the deficit of the balance of payments and of a drastic decline in the foreign currency reserves. According to the official forecasts the deficit of the balance of payments will be in 1970 by

70% bigger than the parallel deficit in 1967, and the foreign currency reserves will then amount to only 300 million dollars - about a third of their level in 1967.

These tendencies cause much worry among the heads of the administration and economy in Israel. The president of the Bank of Israel said about the decline in the foreign currency reserves that it endangers "not only our economic situation, but also narrows the space for political and defense manoeuvring" ("Economic Quarterly" - April 1969.).

When speaking about the narrowing of the manoeuvring space, D. Horovitz probably means what is alluded to in the Israeli press as "the red line" or "the danger line", and this is to express the minimum amount of foreign currency reserves, needed by Israel "in a period of emergency, when the normal economic life will cease" ("Davar" - 20.7.69.) And since the official Israel policy relies upon the possibility of a further war - which seems to them most reasonable, one can also comprehend their anxiety to ensure such foreign currency reserves as will guarantee the import of products and services during three months.

The economic reporters do not conceal that the main reason for the increase in the foreign exchange deficit and for the decline in the foreign currency reserves is the import for military objectives. Thus, for example, the decline by 75 million dollars in the foreign currency reserves in the course of the month of June 1969 has been explained by the necessity to finance the acquisition of the Phantom planes. In the same breath the same reporters explain that insofar as the present trend will continue, one will have to decide upon far-reaching steps, such as devaluation or a rise in taxes. It is only necessary to make one rational step forward in order to conclude from this that the augmented expenditures for the acquisition of war-planes and other military equipment from abroad do indeed lead to a devaluation and to a rise in taxes (after the elections, of course...)

A considerable portion of the military expenditures of Israel is earmarked for the acquisition of military equipment abroad. Therefore the acceleration of the arms race causes the Government's need of ever-increasing amounts of dollars, marks and pounds sterling. A part of these sums is obtained by the Government from various money drives and from the "Independence and Development Loan", but the rest it has to obtain in the world money market.

During the last month the press reported about two such loans: One - a loan from the United States amounting to 85 million

dollars (for a term of 10 years and at an interest of 6 per cent), and the other - a loan from West Germany to the amount of 140 million mark. Welcoming the American loan, "Ha'aretz" explains (on 31.7.69.) that "a prolonged stand under the present conditions of war necessitates a great deal of money which Israel alone cannot raise". At the same time the "Ha'aretz" complains that "this sum, too, as well as the conditions of assistance are not the best ones. It seems that Israel is worthy of receiving assistance under conditions of a donation or of a loan for a longer term and with a lower interest".

Israel's foreign debt which amounted at the end of 1967 to one thousand five hundred million dollars, will (according to the forecast of the minister Z. Sheref, in "Davar" - 15.5.69.) reach at the end of 1969 the amount of two thousand million dollars. This fast increase of the state debt in foreign currency obliges yearly to increase the payments of principal and interest. These payments, which in 1969/70 will (according to the forecast) amount to 1.25 thousand million I.L., are liable to bring the Government to utter helplessness.

The joy with which the new loans from the USA and West Germany were welcomed, testifies to the intention of the circles ruling Israel, to continue their policy of drowning in debts, if only this will ensure (so they believe) the policy of force against the neighbouring countries.

The last section of cde. T. Gozansky's article provides data on the growing profits of the capitalists and on the growing impoverishment of the working people.

The article is summed up as follows:

Facing this sombre prognosis, one has to struggle even harder to uproot the evil - to bring about a change of the official Israeli policy. A retreat from the occupied territories in the framework of implementing the Security Council Resolution and the diminution of the military budget are not only a matter of justice for "the other side" and for the attainment of real peace and security for the people of Israel, but also a vital necessity for the Israeli economy and the only way to prevent the accelerated impoverishment of the Israeli working class.

STATEMENT OF "MATZPEN" AND COMMENTS OF "ZO HADEREKH"
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The organ of the Communist Party of Israel, "Zo Haderekh" was requested by the Israeli Socialist Organization ("Matzpen") to publish a statement. In accordance with this request, "Zo-Haderekh" published the full text of the statement, followed by comments of the Editorial Board of "Zo Haderekh".

Statement of "Matzpen"

All ask for your vote -
All the parties appeal to you -
All promise peace.

The parties of the right promise peace by means of additional conquests. They speak about the "Land of Israel in its historical boundaries", "from the Euphrates to the Nile". These parties completely ignore the existence of the Palestinian people.

The ruling party and Mapam, which is trailing after the former, promise peace by means of perpetualizing the latest conquests. They do not recognize the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people and claim that its problems will find their solution in the Arab states.

Maki (the Mikunis-Sneh Group -transl.) and "Haolam Haze" put out many plans of their own, all based upon the continuation of the occupation - until the arrival of peace. These parties condescend to admit the existence of the Palestinian people and preach the solution of its problem by Israel, without even asking that people.

Thus there is a broad coalition of peace seekers, in which there are represented all currents of Zionism: maximalists and minimalists, extremists and moderates, hawks and doves. And even shame-faced Zionists, such as Moshe Sneh and Uri Avneri.

If you support the present policy - the choice is easy. There is a great assortment. Many parties. Many platforms. Many promises. Many delusions.

If you oppose the present policy and wish to protest against it by means of the poll - you stand before a difficult problem: Whom should you support. To whom should you give your vote?

Do not give your vote to Sneh or Avneri, if you wish to protest. They pretend to constitute an opposition to the regime and its policy, but you have to remind them of their positions and their declarations in moments of the tests in May and June 1967.

Remember the total justification which Sneh gave and still gives to the Israeli policy, under the guise of revolutionism and communism. Remember the call of Avneri to "march on Damascus" and his voting for the annexation of Jerusalem.

This nice pair always applauds every Israeli demonstration of force, whether it is a war of a "limited action", supports the continuation of the occupation and justifies deportations, arrests and blowing-up of houses. At the same time they talk peace.

This nice pair has taken upon itself another task: to revile us, to falsify our positions and to incite against us - because of our demand for the immediate and unconditional evacuation of all the occupied areas. They call us "traitors", "enemy agents", "enemies of the people".

Well, who should be supported in the elections ?

There is only one party which stands outside the camp of the regime and its puppets, and which is worth to be supported. This is the New Communist List in Israel - the Communist Party of Israel.

Under the present conditions the voting for the CP of Israel does certainly not signify any vote of identification with this party and the complex of its opinions. This is a protest vote against the present policy.

This is the only possibility to vote against the occupation, even for this simple reason: all other parties do not even speak about and do not mention "occupation" and "occupied areas". Such words and expressions do not exist in their dictionary. For all these parties occupation does not exist.

However, the CP of Israel does not only oppose the occupation - it is also the only party out of all parliamentary parties which unites in its ranks Jews and Arabs; it is the only one among them that battles against the oppression of the Arabs of Israel; it is the only one among them that is persecuted by the regime; it is the only one among them that battles against the means of oppression in the occupied areas.

We have a sharp and extensive dispute with the CP of Israel, both on international and on local questions. This dispute relates to ideological as well as to daily problems. The CP of Israel itself from time to time calls us "adventurists" and "anti-Sovietists".

For example: The CP of Israel wholeheartedly supports the Soviet policy and lauds the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful co-existence with American imperialism. We oppose this policy as it is anti revolutionary.

The C.P. of Israel does indeed appreciate any regime that entertains friendly relation with the Soviet Union but we determine our own relation toward each regime in accordance with its class character and its part in the world anti-imperialist struggle, and not according to its relations with the Soviet Government.

The CP of Israel believes one may arrive at peace on the basis of the regimes which today exist in our region, and that it is possible to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict on the basis of continued existence of the Zionist regime as well as of the petty-bourgeois and reactionary regimes in the Arab world. We believe that this is a dangerous delusion, which harms the anti-imperialist struggle of all the peoples of the Middle East.

The CP of Israel believes that it is possible to arrive at a solution of the Israeli-Arab question by means of agreements among the big powers them selves - agreements which would afterwards be accepted by the governments existing in the region. We believe that this is an attitude that is opposed to the interests of the peoples of the region; it misleads the masses and harms their struggle against the pro-imperialist regimes - the Zionist regime as well as the reactionary regimes in the Arab world.

In our opinion it is possible to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict only by means of a victorious socialist revolution in the entire region - such a revolution is the only guarantee for the solution of the problem of the various nationalities which live in the Arab world, not only the Kurds and the South-Sudanese, but also the Jews of Israel.

The CP of Israel does not accept this position. But these questions cannot be solved by means of Knesset elections and they are not being decided right now. The question posed before you today is: how to protest, by means of the elections, against the present policy.

In our opinion there is only one way: to vote for the New Communist List in Israel - the Communist Party of Israel!

Comments of the Editorial Board of "Zo Haderekh"

We appreciate the decision of the Israeli Socialist Organization ("Matzpen") to support in the Knesset elections the list of our Communist Party, the New Communist List in Israel.

A strengthening of the CP of Israel in the Knesset elections will strengthen the struggle against the prevailing policy of occupation and annexations, the struggle for a just and stable peace between Israel and the Arab states.

At the same time, the statement of "Matzpen" argues against the positions of our Party, which causes us to make the following comments:

It is well-known that between the Communist Party and "Matzpen" there exist fundamental differences in many ideological and political questions, such as: the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, peace and socialism; relation to the Soviet Union; the struggle against imperialism in the Middle East, the Israeli-Arab conflict and the ways to its solution, in the questions of the struggle for peace between Israel and the Arab countries; in internal Israeli questions, concerning the character of the Israeli society, the class struggle within it, the relation to the Histadrut; in the question of rallying a peace front in Israel and the struggle for changing the regime.

The following comments will be only concerned with three subjects which are treated in the statement:

1) We are an inseparable part of the international communist movement, which heads the historical struggle against imperialism, for advancing the cause of national and social liberation, for the prevention of a world war, for the triumph of peace, liberty of the peoples and socialism in the whole world. The socialist countries - and first and foremost the Soviet Union - bear a special responsibility towards this historic struggle. Since the Socialist October Revolution the Soviet Union fulfills a decisive role in the global struggle waged against imperialism and for the victory of socialism. The tireless struggle of the Soviet Union against imperialism, its weighty support for the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, for the struggle for peace and the prevention of a world war - has won the solidarity of the international working class and the peoples which are battling against imperialism. In this historic struggle our Communist Party was and is in solidarity with the Soviet Union.

Our Communist Party fully supports the peace policy of the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Soviet Union and of our communist movement for the prevention of a world war and for peaceful co-existence between countries with different social regimes, is a correct struggle, which serves the anti-imperialist struggle and the interests of the working class, assists the victory of the cause of national liberation, peace and socialism.

The policy of peaceful co-existence between socialist and capitalist countries is no "new invention" of the Soviet Union and is not anti-revolutionary, but on the contrary revolutionary. This is a Leninist principle which remains in force as long as there exist two systems in the world: the capitalist one and the socialist one. It is precisely imperialism which has apprehensions about this Leninist policy, for it prevents the export of counter-revolution.

Our movement rejects any attempt to falsify the policy of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social regimes. The struggle of our movement, the struggle of the Soviet Union for the success of the policy of peaceful co-existence - i.e. for the prevention of a world war - fundamentally constitutes a struggle against imperialism, for tying the hands of imperialism, for curbing their designs to overcome their internal contradictions by means of sharpening international tension and set on fire foci of war.

Our communist movement rejects the attempt to present the policy of peaceful co-existence as "preservation of the social and political status=quo in the world" and as "an ideological truce with imperialism"... The opposite is true.

In the fundamental document of the world Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, which convened in Moscow in June 1969, it was stressed that the policy of peaceful co-existence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means, it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. Every people has the right to defend itself with weapons against the encroachments of the imperialist aggressors and to receive the support of the socialist countries and of all peoples in this just struggle. The decisive all-round assistance given by the Soviet Union to the Vietnamese people for waging its heroic fight against the aggression of American imperialism, proves that the Soviet Union pursues a consistent anti-imperialist policy. This immense internationalist assistance also proves that the policy of peaceful co-existence does not only not contradict the anti-imperialist struggle, but is linked by inseparable ties with a resolute struggle against imperialist

aggression and with all-round support of the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation.

The policy of peaceful co-existence does not only not mean cessation of the ideological struggle, but conversely, it demands the sharpening, broadening and deepening of the ideological struggle against imperialism, the intensification of the class struggle against imperialism on a national and international scale, for the liquidation of the rule of the monopolies in the capitalist countries and for the establishment of a socialist system. The communists in the entire world stand in the first ranks of this struggle.

The leaders of the Vietnamese people, who fight in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle of our days, have a correct Leninist appreciation of the policy of the Soviet Union. The greeting conveyed by Dr. Nguyen Huy Thou, Chairman of the Presidium of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, to the 23rd Congress of the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said:

"Guided by the Party of the great Lenin, the heroic Soviet people has attained immense achievements which are of utmost importance for the lofty revolutionary cause. The Soviet Union... fulfills an extraordinarily important role in the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, against imperialism and colonialism, headed by the USA, for independence, democracy, peace and social progress.

"The people of South Vietnam highly appreciate the great achievements of the fraternal Soviet people and considers them a victory of the entire progressive mankind. Our people expresses its profound thanks to the Communist Party, the Government and the people of the great Soviet Union and will never forget the weighty, ever-increasing aid, which they are extending to it in the patriotic struggle against American imperialist aggression".

We therefore consider that anti-Sovietism is anti-revolutionary, as the Soviet Union is the main revolutionary power in the world. Whoever appears against this power, does an anti-revolutionary action.

2) It is not correct that the CP of Israel "lauds any regime that maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union". A state with a reactionary regime too, may, out of its own calculations, maintain friendly foreign relations with the Soviet Union. But the CP of Israel does not laud the regime in that country. Afghanistan is a case in point. And so was Yemen when

it was still a kingdom.

At the same time, it would not be correct to draw a line of total separation between a friendly policy towards the Soviet Union and an objective share contributed by such a state to the general anti-imperialist struggle. Such a separation is not dialectical, not Marxist, but superficial.

3) It is correct that we strive and struggle for peace between Israel and the Arab countries. It is correct that we consider the feasibility, or at least do not deny the possibility, of the establishment of peace even before the triumph of socialism in our region. One ought not to make the attainment of peace conditional on the victory of the struggle for socialism, particularly in our epoch, with the present balance of forces in the world.

Of course, eternal peace and the full conclusive solution of all national questions will only be attained after the triumph of socialism in the whole world. But the present argument is not about this.

Our Communist Party has always emphasized that the struggle for peace, for the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict on the basis of ensuring the rights of the people of Israel and of the Palestinian Arab people, and the anti-imperialist struggle - that these struggles are interconnected and dialectically affect each other.

Our struggle in Israel against the alliance with imperialism of the Israeli rulers against the Arab anti-imperialist national movement, our struggle for an anti-imperialist, democratic national front in Israel - is an inseparable part of our struggle for peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

The continuation of the present conflict in the Middle East, which was created subsequent to the June War, bears within itself grave dangers to peace in our region and in the entire world. Under these conditions it is the urgent task of all anti-imperialist forces of progress in Israel, in the region and in the world, to struggle for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, which ensures the evacuation of all the areas occupied in the June War by Israel, a just solution of the question of the Arab refugees, and at the same time the abolition of the state of war, the recognition of the right to sovereign existence of every state in our region, including Israel, within secure and recognized borders, and also free navigation for all countries.

The anti-imperialist forces in Israel, in the region and in the world are struggling for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution. It is the rulers of Israel, supported by the American imperialists, who sabotages the implementation of this resolution.

To describe the efforts of the Soviet Union in the international arena which are intended to bring about the implementation of the Security Council Resolution, to curb the imperialist designs in our region, towards a just and stable peace settlement for the benefit of all the peoples of the region - and our Party's support to these efforts, as "an attitude that is contradictory to the interests of the peoples of the region" etc. - such a description is not only far from reality and from truth, but it expresses an attitude that means paralyzing any mass activity against the regime in Israel and pulling out the pro-imperialist regimes in our region, and first of all the regime in Israel, from their isolation in the international arena.

The position that only a victorious socialist revolution in the whole region can solve the Israeli-Arab conflict is fatalistic. In fact, this means reconciling oneself to the existing situation and enabling the ruling circles in Israel to continue occupation.

The establishment of an Israeli-Arab peace will serve the cause of the peoples and will deal a heavy blow to imperialism in the region and to the pro-imperialist policy of the ruling forces of Israel.

A peaceful settlement between Israel and the Arab countries will bring about the intensification of the class struggle and the anti-imperialist struggle in Israel and in the Arab countries alike. The conflict in the region curbs the struggle of the peoples for socialism. And the elimination of the conflict will hasten the revolutionary social processes.

We hope that the activity of the members of "Matzpen" for the success of the list of the CP of Israel in the elections will also afford a possibility for a businesslike clarification of the questions under discussion.

MATERIALS AND DOCUMENTS

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The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel sent, over the signature of its Secretary General, comrade Meir Vilner the following messages of greeting, respectively condolence, to Central Committees of fraternal Communist and Workers Parties.

The letter to the C.C. of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany read as follows:

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic, please accept our heartiest congratulations, the expression of the sincere appreciation and friendship of the Israeli communists, Jews and Arabs.

The twentieth anniversary of the G.D.R. is a great holiday not only for the citizens of your country and for your Party, but also for the international working class and communist movement, for all progressive mankind.

The establishment of the first workers' and peasants' peaceloving state on German soil has been of world-historic importance. It irreversibly cut off part of the German nation from imperialism and enabled them to direct their talent and enthusiasm towards building a new socialist society. Under most difficult conditions, as aftermath of 12 years of fascist terror and indoctrination, of the destructive aggressive war of the nazis, you had to build socialist society. And you have succeeded.

The G.D.R. has become a mighty bulwark of peace in Europe, against the revanchist West-German imperialists, an intergral and important part of the community of socialist states, of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and of the Warsaw pact.

The great success of the G.D.R. is due to the S.E.D. that realized the aspirations of the best sons of the German working class. Your principled Marxist-Leninist ideological stand, your unwavering adherence to proletarian internationalism, your clear proletarian class position has greatly furthered the education of your youth and people, as it has become a valuable asset of our international movement.

The great success of the G.D.R. is due to its alliance with the great Soviet Union, in face of continuous and increased imperialist intrigues and aggressiveness.

The colossal political, economic, moral and military power of the Soviet Union has made impossible imperialist intervention against the socialist German Democratic Republic. We much appreciate your

friendship with the Soviet Union as one of the most positive characteristics of the G.D.R. and its people.

For us, the people of Israel, hundreds of thousands of which have so bitterly suffered from the racist anti-Semitic and genocide policy of the Third Reich, the fact that there exists another Germany is of particular importance - another Germany that has eradicated racism and anti-Semitism, that is educating in the spirit of peace and peoples' brotherhood, and accordingly leading its internal and foreign policy.

The close all-sided connections of the Israeli ruling circles with the revanchist imperialist ruling circles of Western Germany, exemplify their general reactionary Zionist policy.

We Israeli communists who are fighting against the dependence of Israel on Washington and Bonn imperialists, against the official policy of aggression and annexation, for a just and lasting peace with the Arab states on the basis of fully implementing the November 1967 Security Council Resolution - are encouraged by the solidarity of the G.D.R. and S.E.D.

Dear Comrades,

We wish you new great successes in your struggle against imperialism and war, for peace and for building the advanced system of socialism in the G.D.R.

Long live the German Democratic Republic !

Long live the Socialist Unity Party of Germany!

Long live Marxism-Leninism !

Long live proletarian internationalism !

Long live peace and communism !

The telegramme of condolence sent to the C.C. of the Vietnamese Working Peoples Party said:

Together with you we Israeli communists mourn the death of the great Ho Chin-Minh. With his passing away, the Vietnamese people and mankind lose an eminent revolutionary leader and wise statesman, a veteran leader of the international communist and workers' movement, a remarkable anti-colonial fighter guiding the struggle for national liberation and for socialism, a friend of all peoples, a renowned Marxist-Leninist and staunch internationalist whose shining example educated generations of communists and will inspire revolutionaries all over the world.

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The letter to the C.C. of the Communist Party of Chile read:

We thank you for the warm words, stressing the traditional ties of friendship between our two parties, included in your invitation to send a message of greetings to your 14th Congress.

Your Congress meets at a time of deep-going changes in the whole continent and of important tasks facing the people of your country. We are sure that the deliberations and decisions of your Congress will be of great significance to your party and to the whole people.

With great interest we follow your successes in building the unity of the working class and all toilers of your country in the struggle for raising its living standard, in defence of its rights, for the revolutionary transformation of society, for socialism.

With great interest we follow your struggle for uniting growing parts of the people in the struggle against Yankee imperialism, for freeing the economy of Chile from the fetters imposed by foreign monopoly capital.

We are united with you in our common endeavour to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement, to intensify the world-wide struggle of all anti-imperialist forces, to stand up against nationalism and anti-Sovietism, harmful to the cause of peace and socialism and to the interests of the peoples.

We Israeli Communists, Jews and Arabs, are in the midst of a difficult election campaign and political struggle in which we

fight against imperialist machinations, for an alternative to continued bloodshed in our region, for a just and lasting peace arrangement through fully implementing the Security Council resolution of November 1967.

Dear Comrades,

We wish your 14th Congress fruitful work that will decisively contribute to strengthen the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary struggle of the Chilean people and advance the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

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The letter to the C.C. of the Communist Party of Denmark read :

In the name of all communists of our country, Jews and Arabs, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, sends you heartiest congratulations at the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of your Party.

Your Party has unswervingly served the working people of your country and guided its struggles for defending its standard of living and its democratic liberties; it has guided and educated the Danish working class towards the socialist future of your country.

Your Party has led the anti-imperialist struggle of the Danish people against the encroachment of foreign monopoly capital upon the economy of your country, against German fascist occupation, against the orientation of the ruling circles of your country on NATO and its aggressive policy.

Your Party has kept high its faithfulness to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, in face of the repeated ideological attacks of the class enemy, from outside and from within the party.

We Israeli communists are united with you in our common attachment to the general line of the international communist movement, as laid down by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow in June of this year.

We are united with you in our common struggle against US and West German imperialism, endangering European security as it is harming - with the help of the Israeli rulers - the security of the peoples of the Middle East, including the people of Israel.

We wish you, dear Comrades, many successes in your struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

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The C.C. of the Communist Party of Israel also sent a telegramme of greeting to the Chinese People's Republic, which said:

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese People's Republic we extend to the Chinese communists, the workers and all the Chinese people warm communist greetings. We wish the great Chinese people successes in the socialist up-building and in the struggle for the victory of the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

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