WAR AND PEACE
in
THE MIDDLE EAST

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FOREWORD

It is the purpose of this booklet to clarify an important and complex problem, specifically from the viewpoint of those progressives who maintain that the State of Israel conducted a defensive war during the six days between the 6th and 11th of June, 1967. We aim to do this through a series of selected articles originally published in the English section of the Weekend Edition of the Morning Freiheit.

The war erupted during a period of marked resistance to American imperialism, a period of struggle for national liberation on the part of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America. Progressive people must, without doubt, fully support the struggles of these peoples. At the same time, they must not lose sight of other pertinent factors which are inherent in the over-all fight for freedom; problems which began even before Israel existed. Progressive people must not overlook the generally known fact that the Jewish and Arab masses in Palestine, in the period preceding 1947, were waging a continuous struggle against imperialism, specifically British imperialism. In 1947 the U.N. proclaimed that Palestine be established as a Jewish and Arab state. That decision foretold the bitter destiny of hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees — refugees from the ghettos and from Nazi concentration camps. In 1948 when the Jewish state was proclaimed in that part of Palestine designated by the U.N., British imperialists mobilized Arab leaders against the U.N. decision and declared war against the newly-created state. The young Jewish state received asisstance from a number of Socialist countries in their anti-imperialist war. The Arab rulers, and chauvinists in general, were defeated, but they did not give up their belligerent attitude toward the state of Israel.

It proceeded in this manner for nineteen years, years of incessant terrorist attacks on the borders of Israel. However, we must point out that the leaders of the newly-created state of Israel did not have an entirely clean record. Ben Gurion and his followers, after three years of neutrality, aligned themselves with Washington and Bonn in 1951. They initiated a policy inimical to the best interests of the Israeli masses, where there existed a relatively strong progressive and socialist segment, very active in the peace movement, and rooted in the communal settlements (Kibbutzim). This segment has the only Communist movement in the Middle East, with an extensive Communist press and deputies in the Parliament (Knesseth).

In a number of Arab lands, particularly in Egypt and Syria, the former reactionary rulers were overthrown and great masses of people were drawn into anti-imperialist activities. This action achieved great

success in Algeria, and noted gains were made in Egypt and Syria. But the former hostility toward Israel still prevailed in the Arab countries. Side by side with anti-imperialist features, there remained even in Algeria, Egypt and Syria noticeable manifestations of Arab chauvinism. (See article by Gideon Hausner) The belligerency towards Israel was never relinquished. During the last few years, this attitude remained in evidence through the widespread use of solgans calling for the annihilation fo the state of Israel — "to drive its people into the sea". Some of the slogans appear in the following pages.

We believe that every country and its people have a right to their existence, whatever form of government that country may have. Where a country is threatened with "destruction", it has every right to defend itself.

We have already mentioned the fact that the Israeli government, especially under Ben Gurion, is much at fault for this critical situation. The refugee problem remained unsolved; the Arabs in Israel did not receive their full citizenship. But the Arabs' refusal to recognize the state of Israel, their refusal to sit down and negotiate peace, was an enormous obstacle. The extremists and chauvinists on one side played into the hands of the extremists and chauvinists on the other side. Imperialist conspirators were active on both sides of the border. In the Arab countries, there are such servants of imperialism as King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and King Hussein of Jordan. The princes of Kuwait and other oil-rich areas were in coalition against Israel, as was the dictator Aref of Iraq (who in 1948 refused to sign even an armistice with Israel), abetted by the adventurist and anti-Semite, Achmed Shukairy. The encirclement of Israel was **not anti-imperialist,** but a pan-Arabic bloc as is shown in the articles of this booklet.

It is extremely important to understand what actually happened, not in an over-simplified (all black or all white) manner, but to regard the events in all their aspects and nuances, giving them full consideration. Of primary importance is the question, "What happens next?" In these articles, emphasis is placed on the fact that the Israeli army **must withdraw from the occupied areas, negotiate for full recognition of its statehood and through negotiation, establish a permanent peace.** Simultaneously, an attempt must be made to solve the important problems, pending since 1948, such as the question of **Arab refugees,** old and new; the problem of those areas in Palestine designated by the U.N. as Arab territory, which was then seized and occupied by Jordan (the western sector) and by Egypt (Gaza Strip). Arabs in Israel must get full citizenship rights. The masses of people in Israel must conduct a sharp struggle against the expansionists and militarists of the Moshe Dayan and the Ben Gurion type, and against such reactionaries as Menachem Beigin. Israel is the only country in the Middle East with a strong Socialist-Communist movement, possessing the forces to conduct this struggle.

Two Communist parties exist in Israel — one under the leadership of S. Mikunis and Moshe Sneh. (S. Mikunis was the general-secretary of the United Party since 1948, and Moshe Sneh is the editor of the only Communist daily paper, called "Kol Hoam".) The other is under the leadership of Maier Vilner and Toufik Toubi.

We have a positive approach to the Mikunis-Sneh Party, because in our opinion, it is correct in its stand that Israel conducted a defensive war, and that it has, since 1954, consistently opposed the slogan of "destroying Israel".

As is pointed out in the article by P. Novick ("A Major Issue in Israel-Arab Developments"), this is precisely the factor which led to a split in the Communist Party in 1965 — the Vilner-Toubi faction did not want the struggle against this harmful slogan. The statements that Vilner and Toubi make **now** are unfortunately being made too late. . . They cannot have any sympathizers among the Jewish masses in Israel (which constitute 90% of the population). They cannot create any unity.

If the Communist movement of Israel were unified, it would be much better for the forces of progress and friendship with the Soviet Union. However, it must be stated that even before 1948, there were periods when two Communist Parties existed in Palestine — one Jewish and one Arab. This is another vestige of the past which requires a change. Here in the United States masses of people — Jews and non-Jews, particularly the progressive elements, must support not only the Israeli Communists, but also all the democratic elements in that country who want peace, Jewish-Arab friendship, neighborly relations between Israel and the Arab countries, neutrality, and a strong anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East.

Because of its rich oil reserves and because of its strategic position in the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the Middle East is now the focal point of Washington's interest.

It is therefore extremely important to guard against the possibility of another Vietnam war in the Middle East and against the imperialist influence in that part of the world; in that way to avoid a third World War. It is a struggle for the lives, for the security and for the happiness of **all** peoples in the Middle East, Jews and non-Jews alike.

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Editor's note: The following is a major fragment of a lengthy analysis by Dr. Moshe Sneh of the current crisis in the Middle East.

Dr. Sneh is editor-in-chief of the only Communist daily in Israel, "Kol Ha'am" (the people's voice) and one of the top leaders of the Israeli Communist Party, headed by Shmuel Mikunis, for over ten years general secretary of the party and member of the Israeli parliament. The part of the Israeli Communist movement headed by Meir Vilner and Tawfic Toubi, has been accused by Mikunis-Sneh of being soft on the slogan to eliminate the state of Israel and on Arab chauvinism. The split had its origin in a letter S. Mikunis, as general secretary of the party, addressed, in August 1964, to Ben Bella, taking issue with the slogan of eliminating Israel.

By DR. MOSHE SNEH, (Tel Aviv).

Secretary general of the UN, U Thant, reported to the Security Council that it is impossible to determine which side had started the attack. The Commander of the U.N. Emergency Force on the Egyptian border with Israel, General Rikie of India, stated in his farewell speech, that "both sides started simultaneously to attack each other." The operative orders which the Israel Army found in the staff headquarters of the Egyptian and Syrian brigades, are conclusive proof of the prepared attack on Israel and of the timing of the attack on the 5th of June, 1967.

However, the decisive factor is not who fired the first shot — as we were taught by Lenin — but the political aim of the shooting. And the declared political aim of the Arab governments who banded together for war against Israel, was the liquidation of Israel.

It is possible, of course, to gloss over in silence this evil and malicious plot. But keeping silent does not change the reality. The prolonged acts of sabotage and murder by infiltrators belonging to Arab terrorist organizations into Israeli territory — may remain untold, but this does not undo the facts. The Egyptian blockade in the Straits of Tiran may not be mentioned, but not to mention it does not annul this aggressive step.

STUBBORN FACTS

It is possible to bypass such an important fact as the position adopted by Egypt and other Arab countries, that the state of belligerancy between them and Israel continues and remains in force all these years, but this weighty fact does not disappear because somebody wants it to be forgotten. In short — the truth is that Israel has repelled and foiled an aggression that has threatened her very existence, and has not started an aggression against her neighbors.

We have proved more than once, that the alliance of the Arab states or the war against Israel, was not set up on the basis of anti-imperialism and progress for the benefit of the workers. What kind of anti-imperialism is it, whose representatives are the Kings Hussein and Feisal? And what kind of progress is it whose standard-bearer is Colonel Aref?

This is how the regime in Iraq was described by the representative of the Iraqi Communist Party (at the 7th Congress of the Socialist

Unity Party of Germany, Berlin, April 1967): "The government continues to fight Communism vigorously. Thousands of Communists and progressives are still held in prison and are suffering tortures of body and soul. Others are deprived of employment for political reasons. The present rulers of Iraq deprive the national forces of their freedom. . . Several months ago, a strike of workers was suppressed by force of arms. The chauvinistic rulers have done nothing to solve the problem of the Kurds. There is no sign of good will. They open the gates of foreign capital, and enable the supporters of the monarchy and its agents to seize important positions in the administration. The rulers of Iraq circulated demagogical slogans about Arab solidarity, positive neutrality and struggle against imperialism. But in their policy they try to compromise with imperialism and reaction."

This Communist attestation to the character of the regime in one of the countries that opened the war against Israel, together with the established fact that the Army of Israel fought alone, without the support of the United States or another imperialistic power, is sufficient to destroy the completely unfounded premise identifying Israel with imperialism and the Arab countries with anti-imperialism. The common denominator, the basic element in the war-front against Israel is not anti-imperialism but pan-Arabism. And if we compare the various kinds of regimes in the countries of our region, their standards of economic, social, scientific and technical development, their standard of democracy and the stages of organization achieved by their working class, — then such a comparison will most certainly not show Israel lagging. . .

The Arab national movement which is generally anti-imperialistic, is — like similar movements — infected with streaks and remnants of backwardness from the past, and, among others, it is still suffering from extremist anti-Israel chauvinism fostered by imperialistic intrigues over many years. The whole world knows of no example like this attitude on the part of the most advanced Arab governments refusing to accept the very existence of the state of Israel and the necessity of co-existence with this state. How is it possible to disregard this root of the evil? This anti-Israeli Arab chauvinism objectively serves imperialism and invites its intervention, no less than Israeli anti-Arab chauvinism. Therefore, a genuine, correct and logical anti-imperialist policy in the Middle East calls for the annulment of the Israel-Arab conflict, it requires that the two parties recognize mutually each other's rights, and that both be directed towards peace, progress and liberation from dependence on imperialistic powers.

We — our people, our Party — will not listen to the advice of various counselors who tell us not to believe that the threat to wipe out Israel is serious, because this is allegedly only a "verbal", a "propagandistic" threat. Nobody will succeed in lulling the vigilance of the Jewish people, that sacrificed in this generation 6 millions out of 10 millions of its brethren in Europe. Nobody will lull the vigilance of the remnants of our people who have gathered here, in this region, where other peoples in this generation have been slaughtered — Armenians, Assyrians, Kurds. Nobody will lull our vigilance in view of the major preparations for war staged in the last years with the intention of implementing this "verbal" and "propagandistic" slogan of wiping out Israel — such as the mobilization and training of the Palestinians as an "Army of Liberation" that has been given the official

recognition of 13 Arab states and the openly proclaimed and practical support by mighty People's China and not only by her; the establishment of the "United Arab Command", exclusively for war against Israel, because it had not and could not have another common aim (at the same time Egypt and Saudi Arabia fought against each other in the Yemen); the network of military alliances of Egypt with Syria, with Jordan, with Iraq, with distant Arab states. . .

We did not and will not accept the advice to underestimate the threats to wipe out Israel. But neither has been accepted our own advice to competent bodies, institutions, conferences in the camp of peace and socialism, that they publicly, courageously and energetically condemn the slogan of "liquidating Israel" and the international economic, political and social boycott against Israel, the threats of a "war for the liberation of Palestine" and the whole stupid and evil conception of the Israel-Arab conflict as a conflict between colonialism and its victim. Over a period of many years we have warned that all this leads to a war fraught with grave dangers not only to the security of all the peoples of our region, but also to the development of political and social progress in this region.

Neither was accepted our demand that the world communist movement, the socialist states, the whole anti-imperialistic camp, adopt an attitude towards the Israel-Arab conflict similar to that they adopted towards like conflicts, such as between China and India, between India and Pakistan, between Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and Somali, etc. — namely to support a peaceful solution agreed to between the parties to the dispute.

SMUGGLING OF NAZI CRIMINALS INTO EGYPT

We were informed that Nazis are being smuggled from Spain. The man who first began the smuggling was former S.S. Col. Otto Skorzeny. Some of the clients are top Nazi war criminals, particularly those who think they are being tracked.

It is charged that President Nasser's government is giving full assistance in this smuggling, including visas and "good employment opportunities."

The smuggling operation is heavily financed by Nazi sympathizers including "some of West Germany's biggest industrialists."

The smuggling ring is composed of former S.S. officers who were successful in smuggling over five hundred former Nazi war criminals into Egypt.

Among top Nazis smuggled into Egypt:

BERNARD G. BENDER, the war-time chief of the Gestapo's Warsaw Jewish Department.

DR. HEINRICH WILLERMAN, specialist in sterilization.

WILHELM BOECHER, one of the Gestapo commanders of the Warsaw Ghetto liquidation.

LEOPOLD GLEIM, former S.S. Chief of Poland who was sentenced to death in absentia by the Polish court.

JOACHIM DOEMLING, former chief of Dusseldorf.

July issue of "COMBAT", official publication of National Committee to Combat Nazism with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

EICHMANN PROSECUTOR SPEAKS AT UNITED NATIONS ON NAZISM

The following speech by Gideon Hausner — slightly abbreviated — was delivered June 27, 1967 during the Fifth Emergency Special Session of the UN General Assembly. Mr. Hausner, former Attorney General of Israel who distinguished himself as prosecutor of Eichmann, is a member of Israel's delegation to the UN.

By GIDEON HAUSNER

We have been repeatedly exposed here to a vicious word used by the spokesmen of some Arab countries — by one of them as recently as yesterday. This word is "Nazism".

It is well known that the Jews were the first and foremost foes and victims of Nazism. As a matter of fact we were the only people in the world which the Nazis declared should not exist at all. We suffered at their hands a crippling blow, almost a complete national annihilation, and we lost more than one-third of our people, together with many of the centers of our national inspiration and creation in Europe. It is only natural, therefore, that in Israel we continue to pay great attention to the origins and to the methods of this movement, which represents the eruption of bestiality in this age.

Moreover, in the course of the trial of Adolf Eichmann, which was held some time ago in Jerusalem, we had a renewed opportunity to unfold this evil doctrine and its hideous methods before the whole world. Being called a Nazi is a burning offense for anybody.

It was one of the characteristics of Hitler's tactics to attribute to others the dark deeds which he himself was plotting and to accuse his opponents of the sinister intentions which he himself had been nurturing.

While preparing the conquest of the world, Hitler pretended that it was Germany which was the victim of aggression. And while planning and putting into effect the horrible act of genocide against my people, he was accusing us, the Jews, of an intention to bring down Germany, as well as the whole Gentile world. So now the Arabs call us Nazis.

OBSESSED WITH HATE

One of the basest documents used by the Nazis in spreading their allegations against the Jews was a booklet called The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This booklet has long ago been proved to be a forged document, produced under the supervision of one Pyotr Tiranovich Radkovsky of the Czarist Secret Police, the Okhrana, and by another functionary of this infamous body, a man by the name of Serge Milus. It is a concoction of fantasies about a secret Jewish international plot to overrun the world by dominating its press, by controlling both finance and the trade unions, by corrupting literature and the arts. The Jewish aim, according to the Protocols, is nothing less than the governing of the whole world.

The Nazis realized what a golden opportunity these Protocols afforded for the spreading of their propaganda. Their leaders in fact drugged themselves with this stuff for so long that, in the end, they

got into a state of being completely obsessed by it. Hitler himself was such a firm believer in the Protocols that, once he had read them — and I use his own words — he "declared war against the Jew, promising to use every weapon that the human will and spirit could furnish."

NAZIS IN THE UAR

After Hitler's defeat, this filthy material re-emerged in certain Arab countries. The United Arab Republic and Nazi Germany share between them the infamy of being the only two countries in the world in which this fantastic concoction was published under official state sponsorship. And in both, it was recommended for use in schools. What Hitler's Minister of Information, the late Dr. Josef Goebbels, left undone in Berlin, was taken up by the Minister of Information of the United Arab Republic, Dr. Abdel Kader Haten, in Cairo. It was he who gave his Government's blessing to the publication of these Protocols, with a summary produced by the Egyptian writer, Abbas Mahmud Alaakadi.

Moreover, the Egyptian Ministry of Information has taken on the job of spreading this invective to other countries. English and French editions of the Protocols for use in Africa were prepared, published and distributed. Nor were these the only publications of their kind. We have again found Hitler's Mein Kampf in obandoned officers' bags in Sinai.

When I was prosecuting in Jerusalem the arch-criminal Adolph Eichmann, I followed the reactions of the world Press to the trial. The Arab Press was the only one in the world to express to Eichmann messages of encouragement and to give him a blessing. The Times of Jordan, in the edition of April 24, 1961, addressed Eichmann in the following words: "Find consolation in the fact that your trial will one day lead to the liquidation of the remaining 6 million Jews." After his execution, Eichmann was awarded by the Arab Press the halo of a martyr-saint "Shahid" and presented as a guide whose footsteps will be followed by succeeding Arab generations.

The Arab Press and the Arab Information Offices have been publishing for years material directly imitating, if not surpassing, the infamous Jew-baiter, Julius Streicher, who, may I recall, was found guilty by the International Tribunal of a crime against humanity. It was his incitement against the Jews which was the crime that led him to the prisoners' dock in Nuremberg, and subsequently, by a unanimous vote of American, British, Soviet and French judges, to the gallows, which he well deserved.

It is sufficient even cursorily to peruse similar official publications in Syria and Egypt to realize immediately that, as far as vile incitement, hatred and bigotry are concerned, they give no way to Streicher's despised vituperations.

CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

Perhaps we should not really be surprised that these shocking outbursts of hate closely following the lines of Nazi Germany now appear in the United Arab Republic, for it is that country which has been continually offering refuge and shelter to some of the top Nazis on the run. The list of persons is long and varied. Among them was Johann von Leers, better known in Cairo as Omar Amin, one of Goebbels' principal propaganda assistants, who found conditions, until his

recent death in Cairo, conducive to the continuation of the spread of his anti-Jewish material.

Then there is S.S. Gruppenfuehrer Alois Mosler, alias Hassan Suleiman, in the capacity of an adviser on organizing Egyptian youth on the pattern of the Hitler Jugend. In earlier, probably even more glamorous, years, General Mosler had been the commander of an operational unit which was responsible for the extermination of over 96,000 Jews — men, women and children. I hope that the Ukrainian representative will be interested to learn that most of Mosler's crimes were committed on Ukrainian soil, and that his duties also included the combating of Partisans and of Soviet patriots.

NASSER'S TOP NAZIS

I am sure that the Polish representative will be interested to know that Joachim Gleim, alias Ali Al-Nachan, committed unspeakable atrocities as a Gestapo chief in Poland; that there is an arrest warrant out for him in Poland; and that he holds a high position today in the Egyptian secret police. Since the Government of Poland has shown great genuine interest in the extradition of a Nazi criminal from Brazil, I hope that the information disclosed here may perhaps serve a usefull purpose.

Another of these gentlemen, Dr. Hans Eisele, formerly of the Buchenwald concentration camp, is being employed in Cairo as an exclusive physician for very important persons. Among many other victims of Dr. Eisele in his Nazi days there are numerous Czechoslovak patriots and fighters.

Foreign dignitaries calling on President Nasser may not have recognized in the efficient officer responsible for the President's safety the Nazi General, Oscar Dirlewanger, the ex-commander of the Dirlewanger Brigade which won its fame for cruelty against Polish and Soviet Partisans.

I could go on and on, but let those few names suffice as representative examples. I wish to note also that Egypt has so far never extradited to any country any of these escaped Nazi criminals to stand trial.

When all this is taken into consideration, it is perhaps not surprising that in an interview with the extreme right-wing paper Deutsche Nationalzeitung President Nasser is reported to have said: "During the Second World War our sympathies were with the Germans."

MOBS ATTACK JEWS

Most Arab spokesmen — and only yesterday the representative of Yemen — have painted before the Assembly an idyllic picture of Jews and Arabs living together in harmony for centuries in Arab countries under the banner of the brotherhood of man. I am afraid that this must sound like hollow mockery in the ears of the Yemenite Jews who for centuries have been deprived of civil rights and who in Yemen have been considered as second-rate citizens. But much more alarming and immediate are the recent reports of mob attacks on Jews in various Arab countries where the mob takes out on the Jews its wrath against Israel. According to the Italian newspaper Corriere della Sera of June 14, 1967, sixteen Jews were thrown from rooftops and balconies; a Jewish bus-driver was burned to death in his bus, in Tripoli, Libya.

According to earlier reports from that city, six Jews were stoned, burned, or otherwise killed on June 9. Jewish shops were broken into and property was looted. The Italian journalist Giorgio Fattori, writing in La Stampa on June 21, 1967, reported that the Jews of Tripoli had barricaded themselves in their homes and that those who risked leaving their abodes in search of food or medicine did so at the risk of death.

According to the New York Times of June 14 and 15, 1967, about 600 Jews, including the Chief Rabbi and the president of the Cairo community were arrested in the United Arab Republic, Jews are now escaping from Egypt in fear of their lives. Refugees arriving in Italy reported that they were arrested, not allowed to communicate with their families, were made to sign expulsion papers, and were taken handcuffed directly from gaol to ship, their families remaining behind.

In Tunisia riots broke out on June 5 and the great Synagogue of Tunis was set afire. Jewish shops were sacked and one Jew was reported to have died of a skull fracture received during the rioting.

According to reports from Turkey, fifty-seven Jews were killed by a Syrian mob in Kaweshli, Syria, which, according to the newspaper, is near the Turkish border. Jews in Damascus and Aleppo were attacked in a manner reminiscent of European pogroms. In Iraq brutal administrative restrictions have been applied to Jews, even before the outbreak of hostilities. There were mass arrests of Jews there and, from May 1967, the Iraqui Jews have been subjected to discriminatory and humiliating legislation.

According to The New York Times of June 15, the Jews of Morocco live in constant fear following the murder of a Jew in Meknes and the stabbing of another in Rabbat.

EXCESSES IN ADEN

Some of the worst excesses occurred in Aden, where terrorists attacked Jewish places of worship, Jewish homes and Jewish shops. The British government has facilitated the evacuation of the remaining Jewish community. They were flown out by chartered plane from the British military airport. Only two Jews, both in hospitals, remain in Aden.

Mr. Philip Jacob Samuel, Chairman of the Aden Jewish community and one of the refugees airlifted to London, is reported to have said:

"I have never seen such hatred and deliberate destruction. Even the young Arabs were screaming out that they wanted to kill us. It was terrible. Had it not been for the troops, they probably would have. Three Jews trapped in the Crater district were attacked by an armed mob. Two of them were beaten to death and cut into pieces."

This marks the end of the ancient Jewish community of Aden which had existed in the area probably for nineteen centuries, since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

These cowardly acts should receive the immediate attention of the General Assembly.

In conclusion, I would say this: In view of all these facts, let candid world opinion judge who deserves to be branded as a Nazi: Hitler's faithful disciples in the Arab countries, or those who fight back the strongest remaining Nazi element in existence today, by whatever progressive names they may call themselves.

FOR THE LIFE OF ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS

By S. MIKUNIS

Deputy, Israeli Parliament

AGAINST ARAB CHAUVINISM

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

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

FALSIFICATIONS REGARDING ISRAEL'S BIRTH

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

This writer, deeply concerned over this development, initiated an open discussion as far back as August 1964. It began with an open letter to Ben-Bella (President of Algeria at the time) against his hostile and adventurist anti-Israeli declarations. From that time onward our Communist Party has been waging an open struggle against Arab chauvinism and its progressive helpers, a struggle to prevent the world anti-imperialist movement from being contaminated by its bacteria. This struggle of ours has been an absolute necessity for the security of Israel as well as for its Arab neighbors. It had to be waged, and has been waged also in order to successfully fight Israeli anti-Arab chauvinism and extreme militarism. This was done in order to consolidate a workers' and national-democratic front. It was done with the aim of changing the official policy of the Israeli movement, and in order to settle the Israeli-Arab conflict by peaceful means, taking into consideration the legitimate rights of both sides and for the good of both sides.

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

LENIN ON NATIONAL WARS

This is not the time to list the names of the fraternal parties and progressive forces which heeded our warnings and arrived at the proper conclusions. The five days of war between the pan-Arabic front — Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq on the one hand and Israel on the other, proved with blood and fire, that our profound anxiety as to the "new" attitude of the Arab ruling circles towards Israel, was not without foundation.

We have been repeatedly told not to pay heed to the threats against Israel, it was explained to us over and over again that these were mere words, which would disappear "with time" . . . We had been preached at to be lenient with the Arabs anti-imperialists, at least, notwithstanding their war mongering, because they were not only progressive but also on friendly terms with the Soviet Union. . . And even more: because of — what is called "the general interests" of peace and socialism. Only such a "trifle" as the determination and the right of the little people of Israel and of the little State of Israel to exist, to live — this trifle was not taken into consideration. The strong desire of the working class and the masses of the people of Israel, to live in peace with the Arabs for their common good and happiness, was not taken into consideration either.

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

Also forgotten or not properly understood was the lesson to be learned from the failure of policy in Indonesia, Ghana, etc. Thus, the flattering of Arab chauvinism continues to this moment by those who see the "general interests" and base themselves on quicksand. . .

ISRAEL AND IMPERIALISM NOT IDENTICAL

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

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

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

It was Egypt which began a mass-mobilization and not Israel. The fabricated "information" served as a pretext in order to concentrate on the Egyptian-Israeli border an army of about 100,000 Egyptian

soldiers, 1,300 tanks, a substantial air force and a colossal amount of military equipment for aggressive purposes. It served for the conclusion of the Egyptian-Jordanian and Egyptian-Iraqi aggressive pacts; it served as a pretext for the blockade of the Red Sea to Israeli navigation, and was used in order to foment the campaign for the annihilation of Israel.

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

Lenin taught us to define our attitude towards a war according to the political aims of the belligerent parties. The political aims in the case of this war between the pan-Arabic front and Israel were and remained very clear: on the part of the people of Israel it was and remained a war for its very existence, for its life.

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

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

AGAINST ISRAELI CHAUVINISM AND MILITARISM

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

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

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

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

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

THE SECURITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

By PAUL NOVICK

"The basic question is that all states in the Middle East have a right to exist," the Morning Freiheit stated editorially on June 6, immediately after the outbreak of hostilities between Israel and its neighbors. And we have continuously emphasized: ALL states!

We have continuously linked the struggle for the life of Israel with that of the neighboring states. This is an important addition! Just as we hold, for instance, that the rights of the Jews in the USA can be safeguarded only in the struggle for the rights of all people, and particularly the rights of the most oppressed, the Negro people, so we hold that Israel will truly be secured—alongside secured neighboring states, in friendly economical and cultural relations with them.

NEW, POSTWAR ALIGNMENTS

In the struggle for the LIFE of Israel people of various shades of opinion went together. Each sector, however, retained its own program. When the danger was eliminated—which justifiably called forth joy among the broad masses of the Jewish people—there immediately began the political struggle.

The people of Israel had a few years back rejected the Ben Gurions and the Dayans. Were it not for the charged atmosphere prior to the hostilities when the masses became desperate, the extremists would have been unable to enter the government. Now the masses of Israel are being mobilized by the various parties of the left and the center against the extremists.

One may say that a similar differentiation is taking place among the Jews in the USA as well as in other countries. The people must be warned against the detrimental and dangerous influences of the Ben Gurion — Begin elements. Under the pretext of defending Israel certain reactionary elements in this country are attempting to settle old scores, to force their opinions upon all Jews. Responsible elements in Jewish life, particularly the adherents of the Mapam, the Bund, the progressive sector generally will not permit it. The reactionaries, the McCarthyites will not succeed in getting into the saddle by posing as the "true" friends of Israel.

THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR

A word about General Moshe Dayan. A dispute is now taking place in Israel as to who played the main role in the victory of the Israeli army, General Dayan or the chief of staff, General Itzhak Rabin. This is a political struggle, for those who minimize Dayan's role aim at preventing him from becoming Prime Minister, replacing Levi Eshkol. There is no question that the left-progressive elements who originally were against including Dayan in the government (the Mapam leadership, and even Mapai leaders were against him) are now sounding the alarm against him.

Some people, in order to support their contention that Israel was not engaged in a defensive war, point their finger at Dayan, the Israeli minister of defense. But it must be clear that in a capitalist country all kinds of elements are to be found in a just struggle. During the war against Hitler, General George Marshall was chief of staff of the

American armed forces. There were the generals MacArthur, Patton. Surely, this was nothing to be happy about. Later on their detrimental role was felt, as was felt the similar role of various politicians around Roosevelt, the role of Truman. But this did not change the character of the war.

Not all analogies tally completely, but one can safely say that neither the Dayans nor certain of their military methods determined the character of the defensive struggle Israel was involved in. But the Dayans must be combatted now. That is the task of progressive people — in the interest of Israel.

FRIENDSHIP WITH ISRAEL AND ROLE OF ZIONISM

The struggle for Israel is not identical with Zionism. Anybody has a perfect right, of course, to be a Zionist and one should not quarrel with him for that. Quite the contrary, one must aim at friendly relations with him, to try for an understanding, if possible, in the struggle for peace, against anti-Semitism. But it must be clearly understood that just as a Zionist has a right to his opinion so has a non-Zionist a right to what he stands for. The Jews of the USA are for the security of Israel but this does not turn them into Zionists. And anybody attempting to put a damper on the pro-Israel sentiments of American Jews, also of progressive Jews by branding them as "Zionists" is making a serious mistake.

Those who always adhered to the priciple that the problems of U.S. Jews will have to be solved in the United States are holding on to the same principle. And that means, again, to join hands with the broad American masses in the fight for democracy, civil rights, against war, against anti-Semitism and all racism. This is in no way a contradiction to friendship with the people of Israel, or to a positive approach towards the various activities to render assistance to the masses in Israel.

The struggle in Israel itself is a struggle for democracy, for working class rights, against exploitation, equality for the Israeli Arabs, for peace. It is certainly not for us here in the USA to map out a program how peace between Israel and its neighbors is to be attained. This will have to be clarified and fought for in Israel itself. But in a general way the Jewish masses in this country can exert their influence by expressing their support for the forward looking elements in Israel in their struggle against the extremists, to combat all forms of chauvinism, not only Arab chauvinism, to safeguard the security of Israel by striving for friendly relations with its neighbors.

Without a doubt, very much depends on the neighbors themselves. Here, a struggle must be waged against the Shukairys and other reactionaries, Jew-baiters; a struggle against any one who places the right of Israel to exist under a question mark, even if such people parade as "anti-imperialists." But it is up to the victor to take the first step.

(Abbreviated translation from the Yiddish, Morning Freiheit, June 30)

A MAJOR ISSUE IN ARAB-ISRAEL RELATIONS

by PAUL NOVICK, Editor "Morning Freiheit"

THE STATEMENT OF "PRAVDA" AND "L'HUMANITE"

On August 5 the "New York Times" carried a news report from Beirut, Lebanon which cited a statement by Khaled Bagdash, the general-secretary of the Syrian Communist Party. This statement urged Syria to conduct a wise and far-sighted policy and "avoid reckless and unrealistic slogans."

Incidentally, it might be interesting to know if Khaled Bagdash was permitted to return to his native Syria. That the Syrian Communist Party does not have the right to function as a legal party we learn from the above mentioned news report which says that the present regime "tolerates" Communist activity. The party itself is outlawed as is every other party except the ruling Baath Socialist Party.

But it is well that Mr. Bagdash gave this advice to the Syrian government leaders. Of greater importance still was the recent statement in "Pravda" which scored the use of the slogan of "liquidating Israel." In addition, the Kiev newspaper "Pravda Ukrainy" published an article on the Middle East in which it severely criticized this slogan which it attributed to Achmed Shukairy of the ill-famed Palestine Liberation Organization. The newspaper termed this slogan "ultra-nationalist hysteria."

The organ of the French Communist Party, "L'Humanite" carried an article which declared that the Arab calls to "destroy Israel" actually aid imperialism. This article severely condemned the Algerian Minister of Justice, Bodjaie who insisted at a recent symposium of Arab jurists that "Israel must be liquidated as a nation." "L'Humanite" writes:

"We have long known the harm which these slogans, which were previously made by Shukairy, inflicted on the Arab movement for national liberation. Shukairy's slogan which has now been adopted by Bodjaie runs counter to a solution which will take into account the existence of Israel and the national rights of the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian Arab people and can only make the situation more difficult."

We shall soon see that it was not only the fascist Shukairy, one of the most depraved adventurers among the Arab leaders, who promoted the catchword of "liquidating Israel." However, it is most significant that "L'Humanite" so sharply opposes this slogan, and not for the first time in the recent period. It is most important, too that "Pravda" also warns against the use of this slogan.

If only these warnings which are now being made had been made earlier the war might have been avoided. In this previous ommission on this score a serious error was committed.

The Communist Party of Israel headed by its general-secretary Shmuel Mikunis entered into a public debate against the slogans of "liquidating Israel" in August, 1964. Previously the struggle around this problem was carried on within the ranks of the party itself. Those Communists who agreed with Meir Vilner and Toufik Toubi maintained that the interests of the struggle against imperialism required that these Arab chauvinist slogans be ignored.

In August, 1964, Mikunis, while in Moscow, wrote an open letter to the then president of Algeria, Ben Bella, praising him as an anti-imperialist fighter, but also criticising his taking up the slogan of "liquidating Israel." This letter, which the Arab language newspaper of the then united Communist Party of Israel, "Al Ittihad" refused to publish at all, intensified the factional struggle and consequently led to a split.

These are the facts. This is the truth. Everything said belatedly by those who originally refused to publish Mikunis' letter of August, 1964 is of no value now in view of the actual facts.

NEGATIVE FEATURES OF ARAB MOVEMENT TOO LONG IGNORED

Ben Bella, as we know, has disappeared. That this "disappearance" can only aid imperialism is obvious. And now? "L'Humanite" informs us that at the present time many people in Algeria "are condemned to prison in a lawless manner." These words, too, must be welcomed and it is only to be regretted that they were not said earlier. Really, how was it possible to remain silent about all these arrests, the jailing of Communists and others, particularly in Egypt? Was this an anti-imperialist task? And what about the persecution of the remaining Jews in these Arab countries, or the refuge found in them by so many Nazi war criminals?

The Israel Communist leader Moshe Sneh was a thousand times right when he said that while it was necessary — and still is necessary — to stress the positive anti-imperialist features of the Egyptian and Syrian regimes there was no need to tolerate those negative features which harmed the struggle against imperialism. It was imperialism, including the reactionary element in Israel, as well as in the Arab countries, that profited from these liquidation slogans.

It is not at all correct that only the fascist Shukairy is the culprit. We have seen that such an important Arab leader at that time as Ben Bella resorted to these "destroy" and "liquidate" Israel slogans. Ben Bella, Nasser, the major leaders of Syria together with Shukairy, began to operate with these harmful slogans some seven years ago, in 1960.

Of course, the Ben Gurions in Israel helped worsen relations with the Arab countries. However, the struggle against a false and harmful official government policy of a country is one thing, and the "struggle" to destroy a country and a people is something quite different. In Washington, D.C. we "also" have something of an imperialist government, but no one urges that the United States therefore should be destroyed!

Even at the international anti-imperialist gatherings Arab delegates, along with their positive anti-imperialist contributions, introduced the poison of anti-Israel chauvinism. Let us recall the outrageous act of barring all the Israeli youth delegates, even Communists, from the scheduled International Youth Festival in Algeria in the summer of 1965. There was even the case of a conference in Sofia, Bulgaria where the Arab delegates walked out in a body when Meir Vilner rose to make his address. The poison of chauvinism was carried to such an important anti-imperialist gathering as the Tri-Continental Congress in Havana in January, 1966. The anti-Israel resolution adopted there (with the aid of the Chinese delegation while the Israeli delegation was excluded from attendance), tainted the results of that gathering not only because it was aimed at a sovereign state but it helped

undermine the struggle against imperialism, as "L'Humanite" now correctly notes.

Space does not allow us to bring even a small sampling of the declarations of the Arab government officials, particularly those of Syria and its president Al-Attasi, on the need to destroy Israel. With these slogans also came deeds in the form of the terrorist border incursions organized by the Al Fatah gangs. As regards Shukairy, no one ought to forget that this adventurer and fascist sat side by side with King Hussein and Nasser when the latter two signed their pact against Israel. The New York Times of May 31 carried on its front page a photograph of these men signing their pact.

Shukairy was and still is the driving force in the Pan-Arab, (not anti-imperialist, but Pan-Arab) combine which included King Hussein of Jordan, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and the anti-Communist distator of Iraq, Aref. Shukairy quite confidently declared that the Jews of Israel would be driven into the sea and the posters plastered all over Syria vividly illustrated this. How anyone can interpret all this to mean that the Jews of Israel were not faced with a "final solution" is difficult to understand. How was it possible, after six million Jews went through such a "solution" in the second world war, for anyone to remain indifferent to these "liquidation" slogans, the general mobilization of the Arab armies, the blockade and the open warlike incitements?

WHEN "THEORY" IS JOINED WITH "PRACTICE"

Nasser went so far with his liquidation slogans as to challenge the Jews to a war. In his speech of May 25 Nasser asserted that his order closing the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping meant "a practical confrontation with Israel." He did not do this until then, Nasser said, though he was taunted by other Arab circles to do so, because: "it was necessary to prepare for a full scale war against Israel." Nasser also assured his audience that the aim of the showdown "if war should break out will be the annihilation of Israel." He said further that "the Jews are threatening war" if the Gulf of Aqaba was to be blockaded and that "you are welcome. We are ready for war."

Thus we are not dealing with mere rhetoric. With the "theory" of the "liquidation of Israel" came its practice in the form of mounting terrorist border incursions and stepped up war preparations. Further, this talk in itself is a crime. This is incendiary war talk.

It is therefore gladdening that such talk is now no longer ignored and these "liquidation" slogans are subjected to criticism. Regardless of how one assesses the six-day war of June, if one really wishes now for peace in the Middle East he ought to join in the struggle against these destructive slogans and all that they imply. We must move unitedly into this struggle just as there is unity in the struggle against the war in Vietnam and on other questions. This is as "L'Humanite" so correctly points out, a struggle against imperialism itself. And may we add, this is also a struggle against the reactionaries in Israel as well as the reactionaries in the Arab countries.

These statements in "Pravda" and "L'Humanite" are most important. The reports that Soviet representatives had attempted and still attempt to influence the Arab representatives at the United Nations and elsewhere to move to some form of recognition of Israel, to

come to a negotiating table, is also a positive development. This ought to be taken into account by those who refuse to give up the slogan of withdrawing without any prior conditions.

I had occasion to point out earlier, on June 30, that a difficult political struggle is in the offing in Israel, particularly the struggle against the Moshe Dayans and the Menahem Beigins. The sooner the officials in Syria, for example, will cease resorting to "reckless and unrealistic slogans", the sooner that these slogans which aid the servants of imperialism both in Israel and the Arab states are completely abandoned, the better it will be.

That such servants of imperialism are also to be found in Israel there can be no doubt and we say "also" because in the Arab countries imperialism has more than one Shukairy, or King Hussein or King Faisal. The advanced forces in Israel have always conducted and still conduct a struggle against these agents of imperialism in their country. The Israel Communist Party has in all its past years stubbornly waged this courageous struggle and still continues it. That the advanced element in Israel command great strength is evident from the fact that the other Communist Party which is led by Vilner and Toubi publicly carries on its functions, publishes its press and has three deputies in the Israel parliament.

It is true that repressions were directed against certain leaders of the Vilner-Toubi led movement, but the progressives in Israel did not commit the error which progressives in the United States committed in the early 1940's when they turned their back on the Smith Act, because, after all, the Smith Act was directed supposedly against the Trotskyites. The Communists of the Mikunis-Sneh led Party publicly opposed the persecutions of the Vilner-Toubi followers. Mikunis never ceases to oppose these persecutions in his speeches and inquiries in the Knesseth (parliament).

The struggle for a neutralist Israel which will conduct an advanced foreign policy, in friendship with the Arab peoples, in friendship with the Socialist countries has been forcefully placed on the agenda. Peace must come all the more quickly. It has been said many times that Israel must take the first steps to peace, but as long as the slogans which call for Israel's "liquidation" are maintained, an impossible situation is created.

Let us hope that before long there will be an end to the use of "reckless and unrealistic slogans."

August 11, 1967

HOW TO ACHIEVE AN HONORABLE PEACE

By DR. MOSHE SNEH (Tel Aviv)

August 6, 1967

It seems that some competent factor has conceived the idea that pan-Arabic unity will give birth to the anti-imperialist front in the Middle East, and that the hatred of Israel is the only cement that is capable of holding Arab unity together.

Needless to say, we absolutely reject this idea. This thought belongs to the school of Mao Tse-Tung and is alien to the whole system of Marxist-Leninist thinking.

The trouble is that the same competent factor seems to believe that in the competition between Soviet influence and Chinese influence in the Arab region it is permissible, or perhaps even desirable, to adopt the Chinese line and to imitate it. We absolutely reject this idea, too. We regard this approach as emanating from the more general and erroneous conception that caused the downfall of the regimes of Kassem in Iraq, Ben Bella in Algeria, Nkruma in Ghana, Sukarno in Indonesia, and so on. This is the conception of identification with the anti-imperialist national movement as a whole instead of supporting only its progressive features and fighting against its regressive features, as Lenin taught us (Vol. 20, Page 18). This conception has suffered defeat at the very outbreak of the Six Days' War in June 1967, and, of course, also in its outcome.

And after the military campaign — what is to follow? Just as Israel, after the military treaty, so are Egypt and all the Arab states faced with the fateful dilemma after their military defeat — to achieve an honorable peace with Israel or to prepare a war of revenge. There is no third choice.

We expect, we request the Soviet Union, the whole world camp of peace and socialism, to exert their influence only in the direction of an Israel-Arab agreement for a stable and just peace. Any other policy on the part of our world camp will only lead to further defeats.

How A Durable Peace Can Be Achieved

For us, in Israel, it is not necessary at all that the countries of the world repeat and declare that we have a right to exist, but it is necessary that all the states of the world declare this clearly and loudly before Arab rulers, so that they may finally understand that they must sit down at the conference table with the representatives of the State of Israel. Unless this is done, how can peace be achieved?

We have listed the differences of the approach between us and many mighty factors in our international camp. But we, the Communist Party of Israel, are not isolated at all. We must emphasize in particular the attitude of the Rumanian Communist Party and of the government of R. S. R. (Rumanian Socialist Republic), who after the Moscow consultation of the 9th of June 1967 did not cut off its diplomatic relations with Israel and who pursues in the international arena not a unilateral policy, but one intended to bring the two parties to negotiations for a peace treaty.

In our view this is the principled policy led by our international camp in all similar conflicts, and there is no reason that an exception be made now. Therefore, we hope and recommend that other Socialist States and other Communist Parties, too, take the line adopted by the Rumanian comrades.

We receive declarations and communiques from parties, youth organizations, leading organs, personalities and groups belonging to the world camp of peace and socialism, including peace committees and associations for friendship with the Soviet Union from various countries, which conform in principle to our approach and our attitude.

The Truth Must Be Stated At All Costs

We are certain that we are right, we are convinced that the problems of our region are well known and well understood by us, that the solutions we formulate with regard to these problems are in accord with the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, along with our socialist internationalism and our socialist patriotism. We regret the difference in views between us and a number of important fraternal parties, but this is no reason for us to dispense with our truth. All Communist Parties are independent, have equal rights, and each party is certainly entitled to decide on matters of its people and its country.

It is even worthwhile to cite a certain example which, like every other one includes both differences and similarities. Upon the outbreak of the armed conflict between China and India, the Indian Communist Party (except for a faction which split away from it), sided with the Indian people against the Chinese Red Army — and up to this very day the Party (and not the splinter faction) is accepted and respected by the international movement. It is self-evident that the army of Jordan, Syria or Egypt, is no Red Army — while, on the other hand, the Chinese Army has not planned — as agreed by all — the destruction of India.

The definition of the character of a war (or of an armed conflict or of a military campaign) is one of the most complicated and hardest tasks. There were instances when a definition was given and changed.

The Precedents of Early Stages of World War Two

Even with regard to such a great war as the second world war in its first stage (1st of Sept. 1939—international Communist definition —June 22, 1941) an authoritative had been given, that this was an imperialist war on both sides and Communists have no part in it on either side. It is obvious that the Communist Parties in the countries under Nazi invasion and conquest could not accept this unfounded definition. It is perfectly clear why Thorez and Duclos (leaders of the French Communist Party — ed.) signed the call to the French working class and people of July 10, 1940 to fight against the Hitlerite conqueror until victory and they did not wait until an international authority changed the definition of the war.

Gomulka and his comrades, too, established the P.P.R. in the anti-Nazi underground notwithstanding the competent (i.e. official — ed.) but criminal resolution on the liquidation of the Polish Communist Party, and notwithstanding the competent position on the character of the war. Only with a certain belatedness there came the correction stating that the war had from its very outset democratic and anti-fascist character, and the entry of the Soviet Union into the war only deepened this character.

We are convinced that with regard to the Israel-Arab conflict, and mainly with regard to the last armed conflict, an injustice has been committed on the part of the government of the Soviet Union, followed by errors made by other socialist governments and Communist parties. We are convinced that this injustice will be remedied, just as were previous injustices in other nations. We are convinced that the com-

munique of the Soviet Foreign Ministry of April 17, 1956, expressing the readiness of the U.S.S.R. to achieve, together with other factors in the U.N., an Israel-Arab peace through mutual agreement, taking into account the legitimate rights of all peoples concerned, is valid up to this very day, and that this is the correct basis for a Soviet policy in our region.

We know very well how great are in these days the disappointment and the confusion in all leftwing groups, among the friends of the U.S.S.R., within all the Israeli public in general. In the name of the Communist Party of Israel we say to them: Do not identify an erroneous, invalid stand, which is of a temporary nature — with the Soviet Union as a factor of general historical value, and certainly not with the ideology of Communism, with the world-wide historic significance of the Great Socialist October Revolution. And to those men directing Israeli policy we say and reiterate: let all the efforts be directed to open the bridge to the Soviet Union that has been closed before us injustly, but beware of burning the bridge that we are so interested in renewing.

Our Israeli Communist Party finds itself presently in a doubly difficult situation: Inside Israel we are fighting against territorial annexations, and inside the international communist camp we are fighting against acceptance of the anti-Israel Arab chauvinism. On each of these two fronts we are fighting to achieve peace and justice for the two peoples, — our people and the neighboring people.

And where there is peace and justice, — there will be victory.

IS A 'TASHKENT' POSSIBLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

(Translation of Morning Freiheit Editorial of June 18, 1967)

The arrival of Soviet Premier Kosygin to the General Session of the United Nations Assembly, which opened last Saturday in New York, underscores the seriousness of the Middle East situation. The Soviet delegation, which could not carry in the Security Council its resolution to condemn Israel for aggression, and to order Israel to draw back to its borders of June 4th, will without a doubt, try to obtain a majority for its position at this session of the General Assembly.

At the same time, the arrival of Premier Kosygin must also call forth thoughts that are tied in with a solution of the Middle East problem. The name Kosygin is identified with one of the most important agreements for an understanding amongst nations that had an "insoluble" disagreement with each other, — India and Pakistan. Under the leadership of Premier Kosygin, a conference was held in Tashkent, which settled the disagreement between the two countries, or at least brought about a temporary cessation of hostilities. This conference was of such international significance that "Tashkent" became a byword for understanding between nations with the sharpest disagreements. Also, as regards the disagreement between Israel and the Arab nations, the wish has been expressed many times, that the "Spirit of Tashkent" be effective here, too. One must, however, ask

this question: is a "Tashkent" possible?

Certainly, the situation is quite different from one that existed during the disagreement between India and Pakistan. In that disagreement, the Soviet Union was impartial, while now the Soviet Union is on the side of the Arab nations, accusing Israel of aggression. But, inasmuch as a solution must come, and inasmuch as the Soviet Union is interested in peace generally, as well as in the Middle East, situated close to the Soviet borders; specifically, it is quite clear that such a solution can only be achieved in the "Tashkent" manner. Are we not entitled to express the hope, now that the Soviet Premier, whose name is symbolized by the "Spirit of Tashkent" has arrived, that a settlement be achieved as soon as possible?

In connection with this, one must bear in mind the most serious problems of the present moment — the situation of Israel and the Arab nations; their right to existence, the question of annexing foreign territory, the refugee question and — the pogroms against the Jews in the Arab countries.

1. THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL AND THE ARAB NATIONS TO EXIST IN PEACE.

The fundamental question here is — the recognition of the rights of Israel and the rights of the Arab nations. The Arab countries have grievances (which will be touched on later), but no one has ever questioned their right to exist. However, the right of Israel to exist has been questioned. It is from this that the slogan regarding "wiping out" Israel stems. It must therefore be clarified: Has Israel a right to exist? The Soviet Union, which represented one of the strongest forces in the establishment of Israel, has not questioned this right, and had maintained continuous diplomatic ties with the State of Israel. The same was true of all other Socialist countries, who have now, unfortunately, together with the Soviet Union, broken off relations with Israel (with the exception of Rumania and Cuba). If, therefore, Israel has a right to exist — and these rights can not be questioned — then how was it possible that no one would utter one single word against the war propaganda of "wiping out Israel?"

2. NO AGGRESSION ON THE PART OF ISRAEL, NO GRABBING OF FOREIGN TERRITORY!

When, together with the bellicose slogan of "wiping out Isreal" came a mobilization on all the borders of Israel, along with a blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, it had to lead to an outbreak of war. From the very beginning, however, we stressed, that Israel must not occupy foreign territory, and we constantly recalled the promise of Premier Eshkol along these lines. The demand of the Soviet Union that Israel withdraw from this territory is now also being supported by France. There must be no annexation! And it goes without saying, that together with this must come recognition of the rights of Israel, as expressed in the declaration made by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, a statement which was made after the truce was declared.

Another important question concerns the policies of the Israeli Government. There is much here to criticize. Israel must not be bound to the United States and the Bonn Government. It is essential that wariness be exercised as regards the role of the Ben Gurion Group, which includes General Moshe Dayan, and they must especially be on guard in connection with the role being played by the extremists such as Menachem Begin. These are very serious questions, — although this does not lessen for one moment the right of a country to exist, re-

gardless of what government it has. Unfortunately, there are many countries whose governments' policies are false, or who make serious errors — but it does not enter anyone's mind to question the right of these countries to exist!

3. THE REFUGEE QUESTION AND THE TREATMENT OF THE ARABS.

One of the most painful and touchy questions between Israel and the Arab nations is the question of the refugees and the treatment of the Arabs in Israel proper. In order to make a "Tashkent" possible, these questions will have to be solved.

In connection with the refugee question, we must bear in mind the strong involvement of British imperialism. It was the British military that had influenced the Arabs, together with the Mufti (Hitler's friend), to run away from the newly established State of Israel in 1948. Menachem Begin's extremists of the Irgun also had their hand in this (see A. B. Magil's book, "Israel in Crisis," p. 146, where this matter is dealt with at length). The refugees, however, are not responsible, and their problem must be solved. In order to achieve this, they will have to sit down at the conference table, which, again, means that they will have to recognize the State of Israel.

As regards the Arabs in Israel proper, they have partly better conditions than under the Ben Gurion government. But they are still to receive completely equal treatment. IT IS HERE THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE THE FIRST STEPS. And it must also take IMMEDIATE STEPS TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF THE NEW REFUGEES, by permitting every inhabitant of Jordan who ran away during the days of the war, to return home.

The VICTORS MUST MAKE THE FIRST OVERTURES! This will help solve the fundamental questions and this will help put an end to the propaganda, which bears an openly anti-Semitic stamp.

4. ANTI-SEMITIC INCITEMENTS AND POGROMS ON JEWS.

We have already, in our editorial recently, spoken about the anti-Semitic incitements of various Arab leaders in the U.N. as well as the position of the Soviet representative Nikolai Fedorenko. The anti-Semitic attacks have already had their effect. THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN AN OUTBREAK OF ATTACKS ON JEWS IN ARAB COUNTRIES, and in certain places there have already been pogroms. In a pogrom which took place in Libya, five Jews were killed and a number of others injured. The Jewish inhabitants have barricaded themselves in their homes. Hundreds of Jews in Egypt have been arrested and thrown into jail. THESE ANTI-SEMITIC ATTACKS MUST BE HALTED! The governments of the Arab nations also have responsibilities! They must see to it that the lives of the Jews — as well as others — are safeguarded!

Just as the Arabs in Israel must not suffer because of the belligerent slogans of the Arab leaders, so too must the Jews in the Arab countries (and everywhere) not be made to suffer for whatever policies of the Israel Government.

One hopes that this, too, will be dealt with at the U.N. Assembly. The lives of the Jews, just as the lives of the Arabs, must be safeguarded. And it is to be hoped — perhaps one may be sure — that with the arrival of such a state leader as Premier Kosygin, just as with the arrival of other heads of nations, the discussion at the U.N. will not be of an unhealthy and upsetting nature, as the recent discussions in the U.N. Security Council were. ABOVE ALL, the aim must be a solution, a — "Tashkent."

THE ROAD TO PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD

By ESTHER VILENSKA

(This article was written before the May-June crisis broke out. It sheds light on the refugee problem.)

May 15, 1967 marked the nineteenth anniversary of Israel. This date was noted in our country by huge mass celebrations in all strata of our society. This same date, the 15th of May, was recorded in the Arab countries as a day of national sorrow. Thus a tragic and complicated phenomenon was created whereby the same date was given a completely contradictory significance on both sides of the armistice-line.

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The labelling by Arab anti-imperialistic forces of Israel's Independence Day as a "day of national sorrow" for the Arab people has no relationship to the date, but is an expression of an incorrect political outlook which is dangerous to the cause of understanding among the nations of our region.

If, of all the 365 days in the year, just the 15th of May was chosen to point up the sufferings of the Arab refugees, then this choice is a political step, arising from the view that the realization of the national rights of Israel is in apparent contradiction to the national rights of the Arab people, and that it has brought about the tragedy of the Arab refugees.

The acts of sabotage by the organizations for the "liberation of Palestine" which are being carried out on Israeli territory base themselves upon this dangerous political interpretation. It is worth noticing that the Secretary General of the UN, U Thant, called the sabotage acts at the press conference of May 11, conflicting with the armistice agreements, and inimical to peace.

The Birth of the State of Israel and the Refugees

The historical truth is that the realization of the right of the Jewish people to independence did not create the tragedy of the Arab refugees. The establishment of the State of Israel is the Jewish people's expression of its right to independence. Israel was established in accordance with the UN decision of Nov. 29, 1947, and with the full support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The Arab refugee problem is not the result of the establishment of the State of Israel, but stems from the imperialist intrigues, and from the policies of the Jewish and Arab reactionary forces.

"The English imperialists, who did not favor the resolution annuling the English mandate and granting national independence to Jews and Arabs, organized the invasion of the land of Israel together with the Arab rulers, with the aim of destroying the national rights of the Israeli and the Arab peoples in the land of Israel.

Had the Arab ruling circles accepted in 1947 the UN decision, and had they in May 1948 set up a federal power in accordance with the UN decision to establish two independent states in Palestine, they would have helped the cause of the Arab people, and would have made the machinations of the imperialists and their lackeys difficult.

To consider the rights of the Arab refugees as conflicting with the establishment of Israel is not correct historically and is dangerous

politically. Promulgating the viewpoint that the suffering of the Arab refugees could be healed by eliminating the State of Israel will not help to remedy the historical evil which was imposed upon the refugees. And it is utterly dangerous to the cause of peace, which is in the interest of the Jewish people as well as the Arab people.

Our support for the State of Israel's right to exist is firm, indestructible, and does not depend upon the politics of the Israeli rulers. At the same time we respect the right of the Arab people, and fight for its recognition by Israel.

We demand that the Israel government renounce its incorrect policy in regard to the Arab refugees, and recognize the right of return, or receive reparation. Several circles in Israel have already admitted that the lack of a positive plan (on the part of the Israeli government) toward the question of the refugees, is a great obstacle to the establishment of peace. Recently Prof. Joshna Bar Hillel of the University of Jerusalem expressed a similar opinion in an interview with the correspondent of La Merhav (in a Passover-eve issue of the paper) stating that his position concerning the refugees is close to the position of the Communist Party (on that question).

The policy of the Israel government is based on the assumption that there is a contradiction between a positive approach to the State of Israel and a positive approach to the rights of the Arab refugees.

The basis of the 1947 UN decision is the understanding that the national rights of both peoples are inviolable: no side is permitted to wipe out the right of the other side, or to proclaim war in order to annul the right of the other side.

The political concept that sets up the sovereign right of one nation aids the imperialists in their exploitation of the Israel-Arab dispute for the purpose of strengthening their own positions in our area. The cause of peace and the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle make it imperative for the national Arab anti-imperialist forces to renounce their position of denying Israel's right to exist. We are convinced that a positive change in their attitude on this question would contribute to the cause of peace on our tense borders, would contribute to the struggle against the imperialist intrigues in our area.

Between the Israeli people and the Arab people there are no conflicting interests, their national interests coincide (one with the other). They both want the cause of independence, of good neighborliness, and of Jewish-Arab brotherhood, to triumph.

The future does not belong to the sabre-rattlers, not to the threats of force, and not to wars among nations. The road to peace implies respect for the national rights of both peoples.

The time will come when the National Day (of Independence) of the Israeli people will be marked not only on Israel territory, but will be noted with sympathy and understanding also by the neighboring Arab peoples. The time will come when there will be an end to the tragedy of the Arab refugees, and in its place there will be consideration for the right of the Arab people to a free and peaceful life. The time will come when both peoples, the Jewish and the Arab, will acknowledge their common historical interests which date back to past generations and which became strengthened in the Spanish period. The day will come when the holidays of the Jewish and Arab peoples will be holidays of brotherly nations (against their common enemies). They will be brothers in a future of peace and growth.

WAS ISRAEL IN DANGER OF BEING WIPED OUT IN A "HOLY WAR?"

By DR. A. BERMAN, Tel Aviv

Editor's note: Dr. A. Berman, a leading figure in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, is the chairman of the Anti-Nazi Alliance in Israel.

There is not the slightest doubt that the war which we lived through these past days was a defensive war, a war for the existence of the State of Israel and for the physical continuity of our people.

This war, which has shaken the entire Middle East and has historic significance for Israel, was systematically, and with apparent premeditation, provoked by the chauvinistic Arab leaders, for the purpose of smashing and liquidating the State of Israel. Under cover of anti-imperialist phrases, they decided to realize their old dream of vengence for the defeat they had suffered in 1949, and wipe the State of Israel off the map.

SYRIAN PREMIER CALLS FOR STRANGLING ISRAEL

As far back as May 26, just after Egypt had blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba against Israel's shipping, the editor of the Egyptian newspaper, "Al Ahram," Mohammed Hassanein Heykal, a close friend of Nasser's, wrote in his paper, that now Israel has no other alternative and the war must break out. It is clear that the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba was an aggressive and provocative act.

Before even the first shot was fired the Premier of Syria, Yousef Zayen openly stated: "The blockade is the first step to strangle Israel. Our goal is — to destroy Israel entirely. The hour for the war has arrived!"

NASSER'S THREE SPEECHES

Prior to the outbreak of the war, Nasser made three provocative speeches, following each other on three consecutive days. Before the central body of the controlled trade unions, Nasser openly stated: "We are now strong enough to conduct a war against Israel — and win. Our goal is to destroy Israel!" He called the Arab nations to this "fate determined struggle."

The next day, Nasser stated at a press conference in Cairo: "The very establishment of Israel is an aggressive act," and unequivocally called for a "war to free Palestine." In his timed speech, in the Egyptian Parliament, Nasser stated: "We must return to conditions as they existed before 1948," — that is, turn back the clock of history and liquidate the state of Israel!

At the same time, Nasser and the other chauvinistic Arab leaders called upon all Arab nations to declare a "Holy War" against Israel in the name of Islam — "Jihad" — just as in the Middle Ages, against the "infidels"!

CALL TO A "HOLY WAR"

This call to a "Holy War" against Israel had the desired effect, and just a few days before the outbreak of the hostilities, a war-pact was concluded between Nasser and the outspoken pro-imperialist King

Hussein of Jordan. A broad, united Arab front was created with the participation of such "anti-imperialists" as King Faisel of Saudi Arabia; King Hassan of Morocco; Bourguiba and other pro-imperialist leaders. This was not an anti-imperialist front, but a pan-Arabic chauvinist front, whose only aim was to destroy Israel!

Even the ultra-reactionary ruler of Indonesia, who murdered a half million Communists, openly called for a "Holy War against Israel!"

King Faisel, who is tied up hand and foot with imperialism, also joined in this "Holy War" and stated: "The creation of the State of Israel was contrary to nature and she must be liquidated."

The chauvinist leader of Algeria, Boumedienne has again expressed his readiness to send Algerian military divisions, in order to "put an end to Israel."

WITH GOD'S HELP . . .

A separate but strong statement was made by the President of Iraq, Aref, on June 2, just a few days before the outbreak of the war, when he delivered a stirring speech to the Iraqi soldiers who were sent to the assistance of King Hussein. Aref called upon them "to reestablish Palestine" as it was before, and stated: "The creation of Israel is a fatal error. Now this error must be rectified. The Arabs and all the Muslems must, in the name of God, protect the holiness of Islam and correct this error."

"We now have a glorious opportunity to wipe out our disgrace of 1948. We have suffered from this disgrace for 20 years. Now the moment has arrived to wipe out our shame. With God's help we will meet shortly in Tel Aviv and in Haifa!"

This is the true face of the so-called Arab "anti-imperialism," a blind, zoological hatred of the people of Israel. A "holy war" — "Jihad" — against Israel, is their goal.

"NOT A JEW WILL REMAIN ALIVE"

On June 4, a day before the outbreak of the war, Ahmed Shukairy, the ultra-chauvinistic leader of the "Army to Free Palestine," declared: "It is quite possible that we will be the first to open fire, which will lead to war. Then not a single Jew will remain alive!"

This hooligan and adventurer, who is actively and open-handedly supported by Nasser and by the ultra-chauvinist leader of Syria, has openly threatened the people of Israel with a new Auschwitz, a new Maidanek, a new Treblinka!

His plans and the plans of his guardian were not reailzed! The people of Israel have heroically defended the liberty and independence of the State of Israel and the life, physical existence of its people! The aggressive, chauvinist Arab forces have been defeated!

We must not forget, however, even now, after their shameful defeat, the President of the chauvinist government of Syria Al-Atassi stated, that notwithstanding the smashing defeat, Syria will continue to strive with all the forces at its command to destroy Israel.

This is not the path to peace in the Near-East! This is not the path that can lead to the relaxation of tensions and to peaceful coexistence between Israel and the Arab nations.

The forces of peace and progress in Israel will do all in their power in order to bring about peace and to secure the independence and sovereignty of the State of Israel and of all countries in the Near-East.

ISRAEL MUST SAFEGUARD THE RIGHTS OF ARAB PEOPLE

An editorial, "The Rights of the Arab Population Must Be Safeguarded," appeared in the Communist daily, "Kol Ha'am" on June 12. The editorial follows:

The stormy events of the past week and the changes that occurred in their wake, raised to a rank of foremost importance — politically as well as socially and morally — the problem of the treatment of the Arab population that has lived within Israeli territory since 1948 and also the Arab population living in the areas conquered by the Israel Defense Army during the last military campaign.

During the state of war — and a state of war is always a trial for every individual and for every community — the Arab national minority in Israel — as a community displayed a high degree of civic loyalty and even of patriotic faithfulness.

This is further proof that there is no reason for the attitude of suspicion towards the Arab population and for discrimination based on this suspicion.

The fact that the Arab population did not disappoint, despite the discrimination from which they had been suffering for years and which did not cease up to this day in many spheres of life, is imperative to abolish completely any kind of discrimination towards the Arab inhabitants as individual citizens and as a national minority, and that full, equal rights must be granted then in practice as well as in theory.

However, this time we are referring mainly to the Arab inhabitants of the conquered territories. We have been told that only a small part of them have abandoned their places of residence and moved eastward, and some of those who had departed are coming back.

In any case, the overwhelming majority of the Arabs of the Western Bank and the Gaza Strip have not left their domiciles. This means that hundreds of thousands more Arabs are under Israeli rule.

Therefore, it is the political and moral duty of the Israeli authorities to treat this Arab population not as conquerors and oppressors, but as representatives of a people who want to reach a mutual peaceful agreement and good neighbor relations with the neighboring peoples, relations of cooperation and friendship. Such a policy, such an approach, will be tested not by the declarations of the authorities, but by the feelings of the Arab population: Is this an enemy bringing them oppression or a neighbor bringing them a desire for peace?

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

ISRAEL NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE MANIFESTO

In Israel there is an active peace committee. When Egypt blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba and mobilized its army against Israel, when Syrian generals and statesmen were saying that the war for the annihilation of the Jews is at hand, one would have expected the international peace movement to issue some sort of a statement denouncing these war-like steps by the militaristic Arab governments. However, no such help — not even verbal — was forthcoming. As stated by Naomi Shepherd in the New Statesman of June 2, 1967, "Israel stood alone". Instead on May 31st, 1967 the World Secretariat of the Peace Movement (at its Brussels meeting) laid the blame on Israel for the middle East crisis.

The Israeli National Peace Committee issued on June 26, 1967 in Tel Aviv the following Manifesto on the Israeli-Arab conflict of June 5-11.

"The Israel Peace Committee expresses its disappointment and its resentment at the announcement of the World Secretariat of the Peace Movement of May 31st, 1967 (at its Brussels meeting), about the situation in the Middle East and also at the cable to the Secretary General of the UN, U Thant, after the outbreak of hostilities.

The Israel Peace Committee declares that on the part of Israel it was a defensive campaign for the very existence of the State of Israel and its independence.

"In contradition to the actual situation," continues the Manifesto, "these statements ignore he acts of sabotage and murder of the Arab terrorist organizations of 'Al Fatah' and others; the avowed policy of the rulers of the Arab countries with regard to the annihilation of the State of Israel, the aggressive military deployments of the Arab countries on Israel's borders; and the adventurous and illegal step of closing the Straits of Tiran on May 22nd last by the Egyptian Government, and by doing so they are acting contrary to the declared and agreed-upon aims and purposes of the World Peace Movement.

"The World Secretariat, by laying the blame on Israel for the present crisis in the Middle East, therefore ignores the aggressive actions against Israel and the avowed policy of the rulers of the Arab countries to liquidate the State of Israel and to do away with the people of Israel's right to independence and national sovereignty, which is an inalienable right and does not conflict with the Arab peoples right to independence and sovereignty. The objective significance of this attitude of the Secretariat of the World Peace Movement is in effect the giving of encouragement to the extremist and war-like trends of Arab chauvinism, which is in contradiction to the basic object of the Movement, which is the solution of international disputes by means of negotiations, agreement and peace.

"The Israel Peace Movement," continues the Manifesto — "which expresses the profound desires of the people of Israel for peace, forcefully and categorically rejects these statements. It proclaims that it will continue to work in the future also for a stable peace for Israel and for the Arab countries and for the security and independence of the countries jn the region.

"This is an historic hour for the future of the region and for the fate of the peoples within it; for a continuation of the miserable rivalry, fraught with dangers and retribution — or for co-existence and good neighbourliness; for a continuation of the mutual destruction — or for the speedy approach to a settlement, agreement and peace.

"The Israel Peace Committee again calls on the World Peace Movement to work for a settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict by way of negotiations between the parties concerned, so as to arrive at a stable peace on the basis of guaranteeing the rights of the peoples, their security and their peaceful development, through reciprocity, without pressure of foreign intervention in the region; for a change in relations in the region and towards good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence," concludes the Manifesto.

PROGRESSIVE ARABS SILENCED

Progressive people everywhere were wondering during the summer of 1967 about the position taken by the Communists in Arab countries. Were they supporting their Arab governments in their effort to annihilate the people of Israel or were they opposed to such a war? The truth is that the Communists in the Arab countries were in no position to speak at all. In Iraq the Communists were either murdered or imprisoned by the government of the present ruler Col. Arif whom the world press described as "leftist" but who in reality is as fascist as Mussolini ever was. In Egypt the Communist Party was banned and its leaders imprisoned. Nasser declared in 1966 that "the Communist Party will never be allowed to function in Egypt." In Algeria the Communist Party was banned, so was it in Jordan and Syria. In Saudi Arabia, the homeland of the fascist loudmouth Achmed Shoukari, the head of the "Palestine Liberation Army", feudal conditions still prevail and neither Communist nor any other secular movement is permitted to exist. The only Arab Communists that are free to function and to express their opinions are Arab Communists who live in Israel.

We may only surmise what the position of the majority of Arab Communists would be at the present time — if they had the freedom to speak — from statements that were made in previous years. A meeting of representatives of the Communist parties of the Arab countries rejected in 1964 any ideas of the destruction of the state of Israel urged by China and embraced with such glee by the militarists in Arab countries. The Arab Communist conference stated:

"The Chinese leaders are trying to use the Palestine problem to further their own ends and are impelling some adventurist elements to commit provocative aggressive acts. They pretend to sympathize with the Arabs and at the same time to convince them that the Palestine problem can be solved only by means of war, by driving Israel into the sea. Clearly, this is an unprincipled position. In effect it is the position of the Arab bourgeoisie and the Arab nationalists. They suggest no concrete solution that would satisfy either the Arab peoples or the people of Israel, who are faced with the same enemy — the Arab and Israeli reactionaries in the service of imperialism. Any armed conflict in this area can only threaten the gains of the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples, who want the problem settled peacefully in conformity with N. S. Khrushchev's proposal concerning the peaceful settlement of territorial disputes." *

* It seems that the Syrian Communists held an unpublicized meeting last August in Damascus where they similarly denounced Syrian bourgeois nationalist extremism.

WARLIKE STATEMENTS BY SUPPOSEDLY PEACEFUL PEOPLE

The following are quotations from various announcements made by Arab militaristic circles during the few past years. Only people who have willingly closed their eyes and stuffed their ears persist in calling the present rulers in most Arab countries "progressive" and "anti-imperialist".

13 October 1960 — Radio Cairo

"We do not deny that we want war. We want war; this is our right. The return of Palestine is impossible without war."

21 March 1963 — Hassan Ibrahim, Member of the Egyptian Presidential Council

"Egypt has rocket bases capable of destroying Israel within a short time, and panic reigns in that country. Ben-Gurion has confirmed that he knows Egypt possesses rockets capable of destroying Israel."

4 April 1963 — The Egyptian Daily, "Al Akhbar"

"The liquidation of Israel will not be realized merely through a declaration of war against Israel by Arab States, but Arab unity and inter-Arab understanding will serve as hangman's rope for Israel."

12 April 1964 — King Hussein of Jordan

"Jordan, with its Left and Right Bank, is the ideal jumping ground to liberate the usurped homeland."

27 July 1964 — President Aref of Iraq

"A war with Israel is inevitable. There is no escaping that war."

25 May 1965 — Joint Declaration of President Nasser of Egypt and President Aref of Iraq

"The political leadership emphasizes its commitment to the decision of the Summit Conference regarding the plan of collective Arab action. . . In accordance with that plan the Arab national aim is the elimination of Israel."

28 May 1967 — President Nasser of Egypt

"We will not accept any possibility of co-existence with Israel . . . today the issue is not the establishment of peace between the Arab States and Israel. . . The war with Israel is in effect since 1948."

25 May 1967 — Radio Cairo

"The firm resolve of the Arab people is to wipe Israel off the map and restore the Arab honor to Palestine."

28 May 1967 — Ahmed Shukairy, Head of the Palestine Liberation Organization

"China supplies us with weapons so that they be used for the liberation. The weapons of China which we have received free of charge will be put into action in order to destroy Tel-Aviv."

30 May 1967 Radio Cairo

"In the light of the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, two possibilities are open to Israel, each one of them soaked in blood: either she will die from strangulation of the Arab military and economic blockade, or she will die in the hail of bullets of the Arab forces surrounding her in the south, the north and the east."

30 May 1967 — President Nasser of Egypt

"The armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon are poised on the borders of Israel in order to face the challenge, while standing behind us are the armies of Iraq, Algeria, Kuwait, Sudan and the whole Arab nation.

"This act will astound the world. Today they will know that the Arabs are arraigned for battle, the critical hour has arrived. We have reached the stage of serious action and not of mere declarations."