STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST Adopted by the Political Committee, CPUSA April 9,1970.

The situation in the Middle East is a grave one. A state of virtual warfare bet ween Israel and the UAR already exists. The danger of a flareup into full-scale warfare grows daily with the attendant peril of escalation into world nuclear war.

The primary source of the growing war danger is the continuing aggressive, expansionist policies of the Israeli ruling circles in collusion with U.S.imperialism --the same policies which led to the Israeli aggression in 1967. Today these are expressed in the deliberate escalation of military actions against the UAR, Syria and Lebanon, with increasing raids on civilian targets and the widespread use of napalm and delayed-action bombs. And as the raids penetrate deeper and deeper into Egyptian territory, they are increasingly accompanied by renewed talk of overthrowing the Nasser government.

The clique which rules Israel r ejects the path to peaceful solution of the conflict offered by the U.N. Security Council Resolution of November 1967. This resolution, based on both withdrawal from the occupied territories and recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace and security, and calling for implementation through the offices of UN Representative Gunnar Jarring, has been accepted in its entirety by the UAR, Jordan and Lebanon. But there has been no such acceptance on the part of Israel, which insists adamantly on only direct negotiations with individual Arab states and refuses to state any terms whatever in advance.

Jewion Alfairs

Such insistence only guarantees that there will be no negotiations of any kind, for it is crystal-clear that no Arab state will consent to negotiations in which conquered territories are used as a club to wrest concessions from it. Indeed, the demand for direct negotiations is but a cloak for a process of annexing the occupied territories through a series of accomplished facts. Israeli settlements in these territories are multiplying, with Arabs being removed to make way for them. The economy of these areas is being integrated into that of Israel. It is by now only too evident that the aim is through such actions to incorporate the occupied territories fully into the state of Israel.

At the same time, however, there is mounting mass opposition to the occupation which is being met by growing repression and brutality, by ever wider resort to collective punishment, to imprisonment and torture, to deportations, etc. Accompanying this is growing repression against Arabs in Israel, especially against Arab Communists who are subjected to virtual house arrest and to other restrictions. Israel's rulers are binding that country ever more closely to the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. Today, U.S. imperialism, seeking to offset the defeat of its efforts to overthrow the anti-imperialist governments of the UAR and Syria and to counteract the growing strength of the Left and anti-imperialist forces throughout the Arab world, is using Israeli military power as its instrument. For this purpose it is supplying Israel with offensive military aircraft despite her already overwhelming air superiority. Israel is also being tied by its present leaders to support of the criminal U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

In their ever closer association with imperialist reaction, Israeli ruling circles have joined with it in an increasingly vicious campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and certain other socialist countries. The most horrendous pictures of alleged "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union are painted and no effort is spared to portray socialism as inseparable from anti-Semitism, and to make it appear that lews can find no secure existence except in Israel. No calumny is too monstrous. The Soviet Union is depicted as seeking nothing less than the physical destruction of Israel. And anyone who so much as questions the warlike, anti-Soviet policies of the Israeli ruling class is branded an "anti-Semite." Small wonder that the Soviet Jews have risen up as one in righteous anger and indignation at the slanderous attacks on their socialist homeland. At the root of these policies of the Israeli government is the reactionary, racist, expansionist ideology of political Zionism. This poisonous ideology seeks to create a gulf between Jew and non-Jew. It looks upon Tews as aliens in their own countries. It seeks to establish Israel as an exclusively Jewish state in which Arabs are regarded as second-class citizens and "fifth columnists," and it gives rise to vicious anti-Arab chauvinism. It attempts to tie Tewish working people everywhere to the coat tails of imperialism, to make them hostages of the pro-imperialist policies of Israel's rulers. It makes use of the feelings of religious identity, of anti-fascist tradition, of national pride among the Tewish people, perverting these for its own reactionary ends.

Spearheading the forces of Zionism are key sections of the Jewish bourgeotiste. It is their money which helps to finance Israeli aggression. It is they who ally themselves with the main sections of finance capital in pursuit of U.S. imperialist aims in the Middle East. It is their permicious influence which has spread among the Jewish masses. Zionism is the enemy of the Jewish people everywhere, the enemy of all the forces of peace, progress and socialism. It must be relentlessly fought.

Jewish Affairs

The policies pursued by the Israeli government can only lead Israel to disaster. The barbarities committed by the Israeli military and occupation forces are already creating widespread revulsion and isolating Israel in the eyes of all decent mankind. Efforts to secure Israel's existence through expansionist aggression can lead only to piling one aggression on another, to endless war in which Israel's present military superiority must sooner or later vanish and Israel must in the end inevitably be destroyed. More, these efforts are making of the Middle East a constant focus of danger to world peace. Clearly, this is the path to suicide. Within Israel, opposition to these barbaric and ruinous policies is now rapidly growing. Spearheading this opposition is the heroic Communist Party of Israel, headed by Vilner and Toubi, which is at the same time the chief target of government repression. But opposition to the policy of "accomplished facts", to collective punishment, to insistence on direction negotiations and refusal to accept the U.N. resolution in toto, is developing in sections of Mapam and in other circles. Particularly noteworthy is the stand of so prominent a figure as Nahum Goldmann. This opposition will undoubtedly continue to grow and will spread to Jewish communities elsewhere.

In this country, heartland of U.S. imperialism and home of the largest and most influential Jewish community in the world, the struggles on this front assume exceptional importance. It is here especially that the battle must be waged against the machinations of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and for the liberation of the Arab peoples. It is here that powerful pressures can and must be generated to compel the Israeli government to change its course.

Communists must be in the forefront of all these struggles. Jewish Communists in particular are called on to lead the fight against the policy of making Israel a tool of imperialism, against the aggressive actions of Israel's rulers. It is necessary to work among the Jewish people in this country and among the people of the U.S. generally, to achieve the following ends:

1. Reversal of present Israeli foreign policy; abandonment of annexationism; acceptance of the U.N. resolution in its entirety (which means agreement to withdraw from the occupied territories), thereby opening the doors to implementing the resolution.

2. Exposure of the poisonous ideology of Zionism in the eyes of the Jewish masses and destruction of its influence among them. An end to equation of the concept of the State of Israel with the racist Zionist concept of a Jewish state.

3. Development of an all-out fight against the slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

4. A struggle against the Zionist-rooted policy of soft-pedalling the fight against anti-Semitism in the United States and the launching of an all-out military campaign against anti-Semitism. Condemnation of the so-called Jewish Defense League and a fight to end its fascist-like hoodlum activities.

5. A campaign against the rise of racism and chauvinism among sections of the Jewish people.

Our Party approaches the conflict in the Middle East from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint of proletarian internationalism. We stand for the rights of ALL states in the Middle East, including Israel, to exist in peace, security and freedom. This has always been our position. By the same token, we stand for the right of selfdetermination of the Palestinian Arab people, whose exercise demands in the first place, a just solution of the refugee question. We stand with the forces of national liberation against those of imperialism, and we most strongly oppose the pro-imperialist acts of aggression against Arab countries by Israeli ruling circles.

Jewish Affairs

In recent years we have had to fight for our position against powerful pressures of bourgeois nationalism. Some in our ranks, however, have been guilty of opportunist capitulation to such pressures, and have taken a line in direct opposition to that of the Party. The National Committee took note of this in its letter to the Party clubs of a year ago. It is now necessary to place the matter much more sharply. The escalation of military action by the Israeli government with the encouragement of U.S. imperialism has brought matters to a critical stage. It becomes increasingly urgent that the Party enter fully into the struggle, particularly in the ideological sphere. Under these circumstances, looseness with regard to following Party policy can no longer be permitted. It is incumbent on every Party member to fight for the Party's policy in this area and to work to carry it out to the best of his or her ability. The Party can demand nothing less.

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