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Dear Reader,

In a few days time the election campaign ends, but the C.P.I.'s struggle for Israel's right to peace, for an Israeli peace initiative, for respect for the rights of the Palestinian Arabs in the administered territories and protection of the interests of Israeli workers against local and foreign capital - to mention only a few of the major themes - will of course be waged in the future too. Indeed, it is essential to intensify the Campaign.

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Our members who ran to election campaign over the past few months have scored great successes. Never before have we succeeded in disseminating our campaign among the public to such an extent; yet this cannot possibly yield immediate results. Naturally, our strained financial situation - when set against the amounts available to the other parties - considerably restricted our possibilities.

We welcome the efforts of our friends abroad, who showed their involvement in our campaign with their contributions: for us this was true support and significant encouragement. There may be more letters en route (it is not too late yet to join the list of contributors!) but we do not want to miss this opportunity to express our thanks to the Freinds of the C.P.I. in France who have, as on previous occasions, once again rallied to our cause, sending \$1,250 from Paris, Lyons and Nancy; to our friends in Belgium who this time contributed \$1,250; to the Jewish Progressive Group for Peace in the Middle East, Melbourne (Australia) which collected \$200 and to friends in California who (through Mrs. E. Hurwitz) sent \$1,000, and others who have asked to remain anonymous.

We thank these friends and hope for their acts of solidarity which will serve as an example to many others among our readers.

Yours sincerely,
THE EDITORS

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#### ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL

### NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF C.P.I. ACTIVISTS OPENED ELECTION CAMPAIGN TO THE KNESSET

A national conference of C.P I. activists from all over the country held on 27.9.69 in Bat-Yam, opened the C.P.I. election campaign to the Seventh Knesset and to the municipal councils.

"Reality is proving more and more, that unless the policy of preferring territories to peace is stopped, Israel may be pushed into a blind alley." - said Com. S. Mikunis in his lecture. The General Secretary of the C.P.I. stressed that "in the present situation, when no front of the forces of peace has been established, for which the C.P.I. has acted with all its energy and for which the Party was ready to make far-reaching concessions, and at the time when "Rakah" (N.C.L.) is maintaining an Arab nationalistic policy under the disguise of Communism - the C.P.I. bears the brunt of the struggle and of the rally of forces for a policy of defence of the rights of Israel, our security, our sovereignty, our existence and our national honour. We are waging this struggle without violatin the rights of our Arab neighbours, including the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people in the Israel-held territories."

After a second lecture, delivered by Com. A. Lanzmann, chairman of the Party's organisational committee for the election campaign, a debate took place in which 24 comrades participated.

Winding up the debate, Com. M. Sneh, chairman of the C.P.I. Central Committee said that "the C.P.I. will conduct the election campaign mainly against the sliding down of the Alignment (Labour-Mapam) to the right on the one hand, and against the disowning of Israel's basic rights by "Rakah" (N.C.L.) on the other hand. We shall also come out against the Alignment's straightening the line with "Gachal" (block of the right-wing parties, "Herut" and "Liberals") in economic-social matters and against the bureaucratic compressor crushing the little man, the simple citizen."

"The people of Israel cannot be indifferent to the alternative of who will represent it in the great camp of the International left - the prosecutors of "Rakah" or the attorneys of C.P.I. ("Maki").

The programme of the C.P.I. was brought before the electorate in public meetings, home groups, in radio and television broadcasts and in various printed publications.

The top five C.P.I. election candidates - <u>Comrades, Sneh,</u>
<u>Mikunis, Vilenska, Teitelbaum and Dr. Berman</u> - appeared jointly in a television broadcast on 30.9.69.

- \*\*\* The problems of national defence occupy the central place in the minds of the Israeli public. This appears from a review of public opinion in June-July 1969 made by the Institute of Social Research and the Institute of Communication of the Hebrew University. The second and most important third issues in the consciousness of the Israeli public, after the problems of defence, are those of foreign policy and economy.
- \*\*\* Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan revealed on 20.10.69, speaking in Kfar Warburg, that the Israeli Defence Forces spend IL.10 millions daily, and that the 1970-71 defence budget would account for 40 per cent of a total State Budget of IL.10,000 millions.

### IMPLICATIONS OF THE HISTADRUT ELECTIONS

### by Moshe Sneh

(From the closing address at the 6th Plenary Session of the C.P.I. Central Committee, 6.9.1969)

### The swing to the right

One of our unique characteristics is - to use the language of the Communist Manifesto - that we always represent the interests of the movement as a whole. Our evaluation of the results of the elections for the 11th Histadrut Congress has also been made from the standpoint of the workers' movement as a whole.

Therefore, the first thing that strikes us is the rightward swing characterizing the results of these elections. This is the first time in the history of the Histadrut that anti-Socialist and non-Socialist lists have won 30% of the total vote.

The Labour Party-Mapam Alignment is characterized by the submission of Labour to Rafi, and of Mapam to Labour. That is to say, the Alignment that controls the Histadrut and the State is estranging itself from the interests, the demands, the rights, the values and the symbols of the working class. It is this Alignment that has caused the decline in the combined strength of those parties now associated with the Alignment, from 77% in the previous elections to 65% in these elections. Just as the opportunistic policy of the Labour government in England is causing the Conservatives to grow stronger, so this very same type of policy on the part of the Alignment in Israel is strengthening Gachal (the block of the extreme right-wing parties of "Herut" and the "Liberals") and Co. It is this policy that is responsible both for the growth of the anti-Socialist wing of the Histadrut and for the increased number who abstained from voting at all. Therefore we are sounding the alarm to the entire Israel workers' movement, not to persist in this disastrous policy.

### C.P.I. considerations

It is only against the background of this general development that we may properly evaluate the results with regard to the C.P.I. Were there to be, for example, a general swing to the left in the Histadrut, and the C.P.I. were to gain, but to a lesser extent than the general leftward trend, we would consider that to be a failure for our party. And contrarily, were the C.P.I. for example to make no gain whatsoever and only maintain its strength, while at the same time there was a general shift to the right, we would consider that to be an achievement for our Party. Now the case is, that against a background of a considerable general swing to the right, not only did the C.P.I. fail to register a loss but even gained somewhat, both in the absolute number of votes and percentagewise. Since the increase is a modest one, we are being modest about it and not loudly proclaiming a "victory" or a "success" for propaganda purposes, but merely stating the facts in a deliberate, balanced and cautious manner.

We can not afford to forget the circumstances under which the Communist Party of Israel has conducted this campaign, and all of its campaigns. Our Party is a Communist Party which is ostracised and fought by the overwhelming majority of the world Communist movement. The C.P.I. is the only Israeli workers party that has taken a left-wing opposition stand against the Alignment of four workers' parties, and which the ruling Alignment has made up its mind to strangle. We have read a pre-election article in Davar, in which the journalist, a Rafi (Dayan-wing in the Labour Party) man, in his efforts to prevent C.P.I. votes, did not hesitate to exploit the fact that the international Communist movement does not recognize our Party, but in passing forgot to mention that the C.P.I. was denied such recognition because of anti-Israel considerations. We have, then, entered these elections smitten abroad and at home - abroad, for the "crime" of our national allegiance, and at home for the "crime" of our class allegiance. And we did, nevertheless,

get 11, 100 votes (1.79 percent of the total vote); more than we did four years ago (1.58 percent), not much more, but more.

In any case, the Histadrut elections have given us a firm base for embarking on our elections campaign for the Knesset and for the Local Authorities.

### Dropouts and joinups

The comparison between the number of votes our Party received in the 1965 elections and those received in 1969 is not a matter of simple arithmetic. The calculation is far more complex.

We should not forget that during the past four years there has been a certain dropout of the C.P.I. supporters. And no wonder. Those who have not been broken of the habit of automatically identifying Communis with the Soviet Union and with every distorted position adopted by any Soviet leadership, have dropped out of our ranks during the past two years, since the present Soviet leadership not only broke off diplomatic relations with the State of Israel but its movement relations with our Party as well. Part dropped out because of solidarity with the U.S.S.R. and part because they despaired both of the U.S.S.R. and of Communism as well. Those who have not been cured of the morbid identification of international Socialism with Pan-Arab nationalism have dropped out of our ranks as Pan-Arab hostility towards Israel has become exacerbated and as the C.P.I. has redoubled its struggle against this chauvinistic hostility.

If despite this dropout, the number of votes we received has increased, it means that new voters have also been joining our Party's ranks. These new voters have come to us thanks to the new political and ideology line our Party defined at its 15th and 16th Congresses, which has brought us new support in the public.

The process of dropping out on the one hand, and joining up on the other, has not yet ended. Which, then, is the predominant trend? Our growth proves that the joining up has already outstripped the dropping out. The logical and realistic chances are that the dropping out will soon come completely to an end, simply exhaust itself, while the process of joining up is only beginning, with every chance that it will continue and increase.

From this derive two important conclusions for our political activity. On the one hand, we must increase our organizational activity among our old members and supporters, most of whom are more or less well known to us. On the other hand we must do a great deal towards disseminating our political and ideological approach in the public at large, seeking contact with our new, anonymous supporters. These two tasks must be our constant concern.

We have no branches in the Arab settlements, and we have nonetheless increased the number of Arab votes for our Histadrut list from 122 to 227. From the standpoint of ratio, that is a considerable increase. We have been denied the opportunity for systematic action in the labour settlement movement, and we have still increased our vote there from 210 to 428, percentagewise - from 0.22% to 0.66%. In both of these sectors, and even more so in those places of work and urban settlements which have increased their vote for us, a great deal still remains to be done.

### Rakach's "Achilles' heel"

In these elections, Rakach (the N.C.L.) had great success in the Arab population: one third of the Arab vote in all settlements, and as many as half the votes in several Arab settlements. This is undoubtedly a great success, but at the same time these results highlight Rakach's organic weakness, I might say, its Achilles' heel: i.e. its insignificance in the Jewish population, in the Israeli working class.

It is completely understandable when a Communist party receives disproportionately great support from a national minority group. But in Rakach, this quantitative difference is so enormous that it has become a qualitative difference. The discrepancy has become an abyss. (Note: Rakach received approximately 33 percent of the Arab vote, while receiving 0.33 per cent of Jewish votes. The ratio is, then, 100:1.)

No reasonable person would claim that class consciousness or the Communist view is one hundred times as prevalent among Arab workers than among Jewish workers. It is clear to all that the massive influence of Rakach in the Arab population and its insignificance in the Jewish arises from an entirely different cause, which has nothing to do with a class approach or a Communist view. It is that Rakach is the single clarion sounding the note of anti-Israel, chauvinistic, Pan-Arab nationalis for the Arab population in the State of Israel. And since chauvinstic attitudes have been on the rise in this population since the Six Day War, Rakach's influence has increased accordingly. It is self-evident that it is this very reason that has led to the isolation of Rakach from the generality of the Jewish population, and from the Jewish workers.

This disproportion between one third of one hundred per cent among Arabs and one third of one per cent among Jews reveals Rakach's entire character, its entire image, its entire essence. This is the party of Pan-Arab nationalism within the State of Israel, and not one of the Israeli workers' movement.

I can not stress sufficiently that Arab votes are entirely of equal value to Jewish votes, and that there is nothing wrong with a party that receives most of its votes, or even all its votes, from Arab citizens. But a party like Rakach, which receives one out of every three Arab votes and one out of every three hundred Jewish votes, must be examined in terms of why it is so popular with one national group, and so unpopular with the other, and by virtue of what it acquired the support of that public which supported it. Such an examination, undertaken in all humility,

disqualifies Rakach not only as an Israeli party but also as a party that stands for proletarian internationalism. And if we further take into account the chauvinistic slogans Rakach propaganda has used, chiefly orally, then the mystery of the disproportion of 100:1 will make perfectly good sense. I reiterate emphatically, Arab nationalist votes are also legitimate, and a party that receives them is legitimate, too, as an Arab nationalist party. It is merely not legitimate as an Israeli Communist party, which is obliged to combine Israeli patriotism with Socialistic internationalism.

Before the split, too, the disparity we have been discussing was quite large. The C.P.I. used to receive about 2% of Jewish votes, and about 20% among the Arab voters. In the past we quite often considered this breakdown, and the need to draw conclusions from it. But from a disparity of 10:1 Rakach jumped to 100:1. This does not mean that there is a basis for us to be self-satisfied. This time, we received (in round numbers) about 2% of Jewish votes and about 1% among the Arabs. Our weakness is numerical, quantitative, while Rakach's weakness - with the same overall number of votes in the Histadrut - is a qualitative, essential weakness. To be sure, in the elections Rakach does benefit from Arab nationalism, but it is also held captive by that nationalism. This means that Rakach will never manage to fulfil the principal mission of any Communist party: to cause socialist change in its own people, in its own country. A party which is on the other side when its own people is in distress will not be able to lead that people to its Socialist future.

(Kol Ha'am, 12.9.1969)

### WHY WAS NO PEACE FRONT ESTABLISHED FOR THE ELECTIONS TO THE SEVENTH KNESSET?

Kol Ha'am of 10.10.69 published an article by Com. Eliezer Feiler, member of the C.P.I. Central Committee Bureau, explaining why, toward the elections to the Seventh Knesset, no joint front was established of all the Israeli groups of peace partisans who prefer peace with the Arab countries rather than the acquisition of Arab territories.

Com. Feiler was a member of the C.P.I. delegation that participated in the negotiations with "Ha'olam Hazeh", the "List for Peace", the New Israel Left and the Zionist-Socialist Left. (The two latter groups left Mapam after it formed the Alignment with the Labour Party.)

Com. Feiler writes:

"There has been a strong objective basis for the establishment of a peace front: Many thousands of citizens, soldiers and youth, have been asking themselves daily if the State of Israel does indeed everything to put an end to the conflict with the Arab countries. The many who ask so are connected with various parties – of the left, the center and the right – and they all want an Israeli initiative to break the deadlock in the Israel-Arab relations. Many thousands also feel the need for giving expression to their desire to build the life of the Israeli people at the side of the Palestinian Arab people, and not at its expense and upon its ruins – just as they are firm in their decision not to allow an Arab independence or unity to be established on the ruins of Israel.

"But not only the subjective will of many good people is apt to act in the direction of a daring Israeli peace initiative, but the objective necessity is acting in the same direction: the incapability to bring about a practical solution on the one hand, and on the other hand the constantly increasing burden of security, of the economic problems in Israel as well as in the Arab countries, and the international pressure to liquidate the Middle East crisis that endangers world peace and threatens to lead to a thermo-nuclear war – all these are important elements pushing towards a positive solution."

In the continuation of his article, Com. Feiler reviews the efforts of the C.P.I., in all the stages of the negotiations, to overcome various obstacles to the establishment of a joint front based on a minimum platform agreed upon by the potential partners to a peace front. However, one day before the official date, when the list of candidates had to be submitted to the Central Election Committee to the Seventh Knesset, the representatives of "Ha'olam Hazeh" announced their refusal to give a hand to the joint list, though the leader of this group, Knesset member Uri Avneri, was to head the proposed list. As a matter of fact, he shrunk from a joint move with the Communists for fear that it would impair the numerical status of his group in the Knesset. The "Peace List", too, rejected the idea of contesting the elections in a twin-Alignment with the C.P.I.

"It appears - writes Com. Feiler - that even at the end of 1969, the fear of a joint front with Communists, is apt to prevent a front for peace..."

In conclusion Com. Feiler writes:

"The peace front must be established; and if it was not established for the elections, it is possible to bring its creation nearer during the election campaign. How? By strengthening the element that gave priority to the cause of the peace front rather than to its own benefit. And is there any doubt that this element was the C.P.I.?"

## COM. S. MIKUNIS ON GOLDA MEIR'S TALKS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON

Addressing a group of university graduates in Tel Aviv in the beginning of October 1969, Com. S. Mikunis, the C.P.I. General Secretary, referred in his lecture to the Israeli Premier Golda Meir's visit to the United States, where she held talks with President Nixon.

Com. Mikunis said: "If, on the issue of the Israel-Arab conflict, the Premier G. Meir will continue in Israel the policy declared by her in the U.S.A. regarding Israel's readiness for free negotiations without preliminary conditions, without intentions of territorial expansion - it will be an achievement for Israel and the cause of peace. The big question is: Will the Premier be ready to fight for these views that contradict the security paragraph and the "verbal theory" of the election platform published by the Alignment (Labour-Mapam) for the elections to the Seventh Knesset?"

Continuing the analysis of G. Meir's U.S. visit, Com. Mikunis pointed out that even though the "public relations" of the visit were on a high level from the point of view of the main problem of the aggravating Israel-Arab crisis, nothing has moved from the deadlock. Obviously G. Meir's testimony of "President Nixon's sensitivity with regard to the balance of armament in the Middle East cannot be considered as sensitivit to the cause of bringing the parties nearer to negotiations and peace."

The lecturer warned of over-exaggerating the "American sympathy" It is not impossible," he said, "that a certain common American-Israel interest can appear temporarily, but the past have proved and the fore-seeable future will prove, that there is no identity between the basic interests of Israel and of the United States, in the Middle East, and that getting matters in the region moving toward peace and security, is the exclusive concern of the Israeli and Arab peoples. The hopeless war of

mutual attribution along the Suez Canal, the Jordan and the Golan Heights may lead to a gradual awakening and ripening of the readiness on both sides of the cease-fire lines to achieve peace and security for the benefit of the parties concerned."

Concluding his speech, Com. Mikunis said that "the C.P.I.'s conception of establishing a just and stable peace between Israel and the Arabs finds its conclusive expression in the C.P.I. platform toward the Knesset elections. At the same time we shall be prepared to support every international decision or initiative as far as it will contribute to the interest of negotiations, peace and security in our region. A demonstration of such an approach is our support of the Security Council resolution of 22.11.67 as a basis for establishing the Israel-Arab peace, as well as our support of "Rhodes-style" talks, while vehemently rejecting the arbitrary Arab-Soviet interpretation of the above resolution as well as of the "Rhodes-style" talks that are brought up on the agenda."

### (End from page 34)

to its views and requested to continue relations with the aim of strengthening the Israeli left and reaching a peacful solution of the Israel-Arab conflict.

Comrades Y. Silber and Dr. A. Berman, member of the C.P.I. Committee, had meetings with progressive Jewish circles in France and spoke at a meeting of supporters of progressive Israel in Paris.

In Brussels, Com. Silber met activists of the Jewish Communist organisation "Solidarité" and lectured to a group of Jewish students affiliated to the center of the Jewish non-religious community.

### by Esther Vilenska

The press, radio and television gave a wide coverage to the meeting of Golda Meir and U.S. President Nixon. No doubt, the people of Israel needs good relations with all countries of the world. But it is a mistake to think that the positions of the United States in the Middle East will be preserved forever. They are constantly weakened. The influence of American imperialism in the Middle East is a temporary phenomenon. On the other hand, the peoples of the region are a permanent element. Therefore it is a vital necessity to mould an independent national Israeli policy, that must find a common language with the peoples of the Middle East, based on the mutual recognition of the just national rights of the peoples.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry circles put forward the demand that Egypt declare her readiness for peace with Israel. This is certainly a legitimate demand, but it must not be ignored that the Israeli side, too, must make a move to bring nearer the hour of negotiations. Israel must declare that she does not desire territorial expansion and that all one-sided accomplished facts are invalid.

Shortly after the publication of the report that Golda Meir announced her consent to "Rhodes-style" talks with Egypt, the "Gachal" (block of right-wing parties) ministers in the government appealed against her consent to such talks. It appears that the "hawks" in Israel, too, cannot bear the situation when a first prospect of negotiations appears.

An interesting view is that of the Anglican Archbishop in the Middle East, Dr. George Appelton, based on talks he had recently with Arab inhabitants of Israel and of the neighbouring Arab countries. Being in charge of the Anglican churches, he recently visited Israel, Jordan,

Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan and Lybia. His view was published in a letter to the editor of the Jerusalem Post on 29.9.69. His optimism is based, i.a., on the announcement of the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Riad, on the possibility of a "package deal" regarding the withdrawal and other points. The Archbishop also praises the declaration of Golda Meir, the Israeli Premier, on her willingness to go anywhere to discuss conditions for peace. He pointed also to the remarks of Morocco's King Hassan against terrorist activities. The Anglican Archbishop put forward some ideas in a direction that may lead to peace. One of them is a desirable declaration on the part of Israel, that if she were given secure borders, she would not have any more expansionist aspirations. We understand, that secure borders will be only those that will be agreed upon between the parties involved.

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More than two years after the victory in the Six Day War, the "national unity" government has not fulfilled the main political task imposed on it. It has not moulded a long-range political programme. Because its partners have not positive common denominator, it is doomed to political paralysis.

(Kol Ha'am, 3.10.69)

### FOR A PEACE OF COMPROMISE

### by S. Zirulnikov

What is the crucial point of the struggles in the Middle East? The absence of political realism. Illusion, fancy and the escape from reality still prevail in this region. The arena is full of wishful thinking of dreams, fragments of hope and remnants of disappointment.

The situation that has developed after the Six Day War, not to speak of the war itself, disappointed the expectation of everybody involved in the conflict, directly and indirectly. The military victor, Israel, waited for "a telephone call" from the Arabs, but in vain. Now Israel is becoming aware that the victory was wonderful and impressive indeed, but not decisive. It lies in the nature of things emanating from reality, from the objective combination of forces, that Israel was deprived of a victory that would be powerful enough to dictate peace to the Arab states. On the other hand, the Arab side expects the "correction of the injustice", the restoration of the former status, ignoring the Israeli victory and the Israeli element as a whole, that "is out of place" as Nasser said in reference to the fire in the Al-Aksa Mosque of Jerusalem.

The prolonged deadlock in the post-war campaigns of the Middle East is nothing but a continuation of the indecisive war, because the Israeli victory is balanced by the regional, demographic potential of the Arab states. On the other hand, the Six Day War has proved - and this is its important historical lesson - that even if Israel is incapable of imposing peace on the Arab countries, she is still strong enough to destroy the day-dreams of Arab chauvinism about the uprooting and erasing of the Jewish state from the map of the region.

This is not a question of military superiority only. The balance of forces on the military level only reflects the overall social set-up.

of forces. The Jewish state, as an integral part of the political map in the Middle East, is not a fruit of arbitrary ill-will, but a fruit of historical reality and of vital factors operating in it. The Arab refusal to recognise and to come to terms with this reality, the mobilisation of all the efforts and all means to uproot this reality, not only do not bring nearer, but impede Arab nationalism from the achievement of its aim.

The reason is simple: These developments have as their invitable result not the overcoming, but the perpetuation of the backwardness of the Arab struggles; they delay the national and social progress alike.

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The dialectics of the hatred of Israel is nothing but a revelation, one of the revelations of the historical idialectics; well known in the annals of mankind. Not once did the rivalling forces act in a way that strengthened the opposite forces.

Originally the State of Israel was established as one of the states in one part of the country, while the second part was destined to become an Arab state within the framework of close cooperation between both states. What happened? The Arab invasion turned the scheme upside down; instead of a development of closer mutual relations between the two national states, which was objectively intended to create a federative framework, the doors were opened to a detrimental development of relations of hostility and war.

In history, not the desires but the facts count, the same irrevocable facts of which Lenin repeatedly spoke as a basis on which Marxism as a historiosophical concept is founded. As a result of an abortive Arab invasion and the war of 1948 that was foced upon Israel, a new Jewish state had risen, different from the original one not only with respect to the map, but mainly as a besieged state that is bound, if it wants to survive, to safeguard its security and by developing an irrevocable steadfastness and defensive capacity.

The war of 1967, too, must be conceived as an historical event, the impression of which cannot be dispelled, nor can the former status quo be restored as if nothing has happened. In the firey furnace of the Six Day War, when Israel was facing the threat of annihilation, again a new Jewish State was born whose essence is – no more threats of annihilation. This means: settlements of peace and security that are to liberate Israel from the threat, in theory and in practice.

This implies: The dialectics in history had changed the forms and direction of its evolution. Instead of a State of Israel in very weak borders in a country divided into two states within a framework of peaceful relations and cooperation, a state has risen that was forced to stand the test as a state with capacity for existence and defence that must safeguard alone secure and agreed borders for a permanent peace.

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This is the decision made by history by virtue of the dialectics implied in the clash of the forces operating in the region. Today, too, history is facing a fateful decision in this part of the world. Will an interim status founded on the cease-fire agreements become a permanent condition by virtue of the continuous deadlock, with all the seeds of a future showdown inherent in this status?

By its very nature, history does not remain unchanged. Sometimes it hurries on, sometimes it marks time. But the flow of time does its own job; there is no vacuum in history. Nevertheless, it cannot be regarded as predestined, anything is possible. Before reality is formed as an historical fact, there is a chance to fight for an alternative development.

What is the alternative? An alternative prospect of a war of mutual destruction is the possibility of a peace settlement based on political realism, and such a peace settlement can only be a peace of compromise.

(Condensed from Kol Ha'am, 29.8.69)

### KOL HA'AM ON THE ISRAELI RAID ON THE WESTERN BANK OF THE SUEZ CANAL

Following the raid carried out on 9.9.69 by an Israeli force south of Suez, Kol Ha'am, the organ of the C.P.I. Central Committee, wrote:

"The cease-fire agreement that is no longer recognised by Nasser, as he announced as far back as in March 1969, is being violated day by day. Day after day we were told of new losses, of soldiers and civilians killed by Egyptian gun-fire or in the wake of acts of sabotage and mines laid by Egyptian soldiers. The Egyptian press boasted that the Egyptian army was ready to cross the Suez Canal and to launch an all-out offensive. Indeed, there were signs of Egyptian preparedeness for crossing the Canal to the east, as was reported in the British press.

"The raid by the Israel Defence Army has proved that the Egyptian army is unable to dislodge Israel by force from the cease-fire lines.

"There cannot be a one-sided cease-fire. If the government of Egypt has ordered to violate this agreement systematically, it must be prepared that the other side - Israel - take defensive measures.

"The people of Israel is not eager to go into battle; its deep desire is a just and stable peace. The way to peace traverses the observation and safeguarding of the cease-fire agreement by both parties and its substitution by a peace agreement. This is in the people's interest." - concludes Kol Ha'am.

#### ARAB TERRORISM. AN INTERNATIONAL DANGER

The hijacking of the American T.W.A. plane clarifies once more the character of the Arab terrorist organisations. The same organisation calling itself "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" that hijacked the plane, committed acts of arson against Jewish shops in London and the attack on its ZIM offices. The outrage against the Israel pavillon at the Izmir International Fair is also the act of a Arab terrorist organisation. "Al Fatah" and other terrorist organisations—after having failed in their acts of sabotage in the Middle East—have started a world—wide campaign against Israel and the Jewish people. These organisations have become the perpetrators of provocative operations in the world endangering the peace between peoples and international relations.

In England, the activities of the terrorist organisations are in accordance with the campaign of the British anti-Semites and fascists.

In Turkey, they help the pan-Turkish front that is founded on preaching hatred against other peoples. The same situation exists in other countries.

With the hijacking of the T.W.A. plane it has become evident that the terrorist organisations are endangering the international lines of communication. In their acts of hostility against the Jewish people, they do not shrink from the use of any means.

And in view of this task of the new warmongers and international provocateurs who are harmful to peace, we believe that it is the duty of all the supporters of peace and progress in the world to demand efficient steps to curb the criminal acts of these so-called "freedom fighters" who, in their racist folly, are threatening not only the security of the Jewish people, but the security of all peoples and the peace of the world alike.

(Kol Ha'am, editorial, 31.8.69)

The "Israel Company" is a capitalist company that was established following the conference of the millionnaires held in Jerusalem. At the time of the conference it was declared that the capitalists who met in Jerusalem would invest great funds in the development of the country. But now it appears that they have chosen another way – not the way of investments, the building of new enterprises, but a simpler one: The purchasing of enterprises that have existed for many years. In the beginning they tried to purchase 26 per cent of the shares of the oil refineries, and now we are told that the board of directors of the "Israel Company" decided to buy 50 per cent of the shares of the ZIM Navigation Company held by the government of Israel.

The negotiations on this transaction took place in Washington after the talks in Israel were unsuccessful.

This way of a total or partial transfer of enterprises from public ownership to private hands, contradicts the elementary interests of the people. It is the public that has invested huge funds in the ZIM company as well as in other companies (such as EL AL) and has made them profitable. So, what is the purpose of liquidating the private ownership of these enterprises once they have become profitable? In many states, such as England, Italy, Austria, and others, there is a wide state-owned and public-owned economic sector - about 20-30 per cent of the total national economy. In these countries, too, there is pressure to transfer the nationalized enterprises into private hands, but this pressure has been repelled so far.

It is just in Israel, where the Labour-Mapam Alignment is the main force in the government, that a clearance sale of public assets is taking place, apparently at the cheapest price. This is incompatible with the elementary foundations of the Israeli labour movement.

The time has come that the working class should demand to stop this shameful clearance sale.

With the renewal of talks on the Middle East by the Big Powers, Kol Ha'am wrote in its editorial of September 24, 1969:

"Is there a chance of success of the talks with their renewal? In our view, one should blissfully accept an international initiative designed to bring the Arab states and Israel nearer to negotiations, to agreement and to peace. It is unwise to reject such initiative in advance, as the members of the Israeli government are doing. But we have to remove misunderstandings. Support for international initiatives to bring Israel and the Arab countries closer to each other has nothing in common with the attempt to impose a settlement, against the will of the parties involved in the conflict. We denounce the enforcement of such a solution. (It is doubtful whether it is possible altogether.) Only on the basis of an agreement between the parties concerned can the tragic and bloody conflict be stopped.

The Powers can further negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries to fix secure and recognised boundaries, to further goodneighborhood.

Experience proves that the Four Powers possess no magic formula for the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. The tiresome, long drawn-out negotiations have had no positive results. But this does not mean that one should disregard the existence of the talks and should not raise the demand that the Powers exert all their influence to draw nearer Israel and the Arab countries (especially Egypt) to a peace settlement. This is the more possible since the fiasco of the Khartoum policy, of non-recognition of Israel and its rights" - ends the Kol Ha'am editorial.

### AGAINST ARBITRARY DEPORTATIONS

On 6.10.69, ten Arab personalities, inhabitants of the cities of Hebron and Ramallah in the Israel-administered territories, were deported to Jordan by virtue of an order issued by the Military Governor, Col. Raphael Vardi. The ten were accused of "inciting students to strike, encouraging hostile activities against the Israel authorities and supplying money to extremist groups in the places of residence."

Among the deported, against whom no trial was held, were teachers, doctors and also the Mayor of Ramallah, Nadim El-Zaro.

On this issue the C.P.I. organ Kol Ha'am wrote on 8.10.69 in an editorial

"This is not the first case in which inhabitants of the West Bank, who are accused of having connections with the terrorist organisations and of hostile activities against Israel, are deported to Jordan.

"We believe that if the Israeli authorities have accusations against these or other inhabitants, they must bring them to court and punish according to law. We do not think that administrative steps are correct and wise. We were against the deportation of Jews and Arabs of various political trends at the time of the Mandate and a return to this method is not apt to help in the campaign against Arab terror.

"The orders of deportations that were issued and carried out against the inhabitants of Hebron and Ramallah, as well as the previous orders, were directed against residents who were born in these cities, and the deportation will bring more hatred.

"And if they indeed acted against Israel's security, there are laws according to which they should be punished, but they must not be deported from their homeland.

Experience has proved that with such methods it is impossible to lead a successful campaign against the Arab terror. The terrorists must be uncovered and put on trial and the same should be done with those assisting them. The deportations as such do not help the campaign; on the contrary, they make it more difficult."

IN SHORT

- \*\*\* The Statistical Yearbook for 1969 reveals that there were 277,300 women in the national labour force last year, constituting 29 per cent of the force. Ninety two per cent of them were actively employed 55 per cent full time, 32 per cent part time, and the remaining five per cent of those listed as employed were temporarily absent from work. There are 8,800 non-Jewish women in the labour force. The Yearbook also shows that only 16 per cent of the women with three or more children go to work.
- \*\*\* The profit of ELCO electro-mechanical factory in Ramat Gan increased in 1968 to 1.7 million IL. compared with 35,000 IL. in the previous year the managers of the company announced at a press conference held in Tel Aviv on the 20th anniversary of the enterprise.
- \*\*\* 1600 tons of tomatoes were destroyed in August 1969 by the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture instead of distributing them free of charge to the poor. The spokesman of the Ministry of Agriculture claimed that the tomatoes were destroyed "because there was no possibility to market them or to transfer them to the food industries..."

In an editorial of 30.9.69 on the results of the general elections in Western Germany, the C.P.I. organ Kol Ha'am writes:

"It is true that the neo-Nazis did not obtain 5 per cent of the total vote and will not be represented in the West-German Bundestag, but it is a fact that they almost achieved this percentage and doubled their strength compared with the previous elections in 1965. If the neo-Nazis did not succeed in penetrating the parliament, it is thanks to the anti-Nazi demonstrations of the West-German youth and not a result of the government's action that allowed Adolf von Thadden who is continuing Adolf Hitler's way, full legal activity.

"The demand to ban the activities of the N.P.D. - the neo-Nazi Party of Western Germany - is still valid. Evidently, almost 5 per cent of the electorate voted for the Fuehrer's successors, - 25 years after the victory over Hitler who brought the German people millions of victims, destruction and national disaster.

"And this happened just at a time when the economic boom is continuing in Western Germany. The christian Democrats as well as the Social-Democrats bear the full responsibility for this development of the encouragement of neo-Nazism. The policy of revival of the spirit of militarism in Bonn, of resurrection of the Bundeswehr, of demanding atomic weapons, prepared the soil for the existence and development of Nazism in Western Germany.

"However, the supporters of peace are interested in stopping the militarisation of Western Germany, in withholding nuclear weapons from Hitler's generals and in turning Central Europe in a region of peace" - concludes Kol Ha'am.

### KOL HA'AM ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, Kol Ha'am, the organ of the C.P.I. Central Committee, dedicated an editorial to this event.

'Fifty million killed. This is the dreadful tribute paid by the peoples to the idol of war" - writes the newspaper, pointing out that "the Jewish people sacrificed in this war 6 millions of its sons and daughters; a third of our people were the greatest victim of the war, of racism and fascism". At the same time, Kol Ha'am emphasizes, that "two million Jewish soldiers in the allied armies, tens of thousands of soldiers from Palestine in the Jewish Brigade, made their important contribution to the defeat of the fascist German-Italian-Japanese axis."

Furthermore, the article says that "on September 1st, 1939, the Polish Communists and progressives stood up to defend their homeland, even though their top leaders were reactinaries of the Rydz-Smigly-Bek type and others. This was a correct move that was justified by history, whereas the evaluations that the Second World War was only a war between imperialists on both sides of the frontline, proved to be untrue and basically falsified. The anti-fascist American-Soviet-British coalition carried on a just war, in spite of the fact that the capitalist countries had separate interests of their own."

The C.P.I. organ warns of the danger of a new world war, this time a thermo-nuclear war, and urges to intensify the campaign for the prevention of a new war, to stop the war in Vietnam, the conflicts between the powers, to ban nuclear weapons, to solve the Israel-Arab conflict based on an agreement and recognition of the national rights of the Jewish and Arab peoples."

The article concludes: "The threat to world peace accruing from the situation in the Middle East is not an outcome of Israeli aggression, but of the Arab governments' refusal to negotiate a peaceful solution of the conflict with Israel."

PEOPLE'S CHINA AT TWENTY

Kol Ha'am, the organ of the Communist Party of Israel, published an article in its issue of 1.10.69, dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic.

The article stresses the importance of the Chinese people's revolution, and reviews the development of the socialist upbuilding, China's political way, that has been accompanied in recent years by distortions stemming from its economic and cultural backwardness.

The article concludes: "The great Chinese people will overcome Mao Tse Tung's theory of 'military Communism' and will find the way toward true socialism. In any case, the Chinese socialist revolution has not yet spoken its final word."

#### CLASS STRUGGLE

### C.P.I. DEMANDS A GENERAL 20% WAGE RAISE

The C.P.I. has raised the following demands in connection with the decision on the wages policy for the year 1970 that is to be adopted by the various branches of the Histadrut (General Federation of Labour):

- \* A general wage increase of 20 per cent.
- \* The minimum starting wage of IL. 13. per day.
- \* Equal conditions for workers in industry and construction and for those in government services and Histadrut employees.
- \* Longer annual leave. It is unreasonable that workers who do hard labour have shorter leave than office employees, as is customary at present.
- \* Shorter working days during the summer months.
- \* Cost-of-living allowance to be paid twice a year.
- \* Rights for compensation not only for workers dismissed by the employer but also for workers who resign from their jobs.
- \* Calculating compensation payments according to last wages.

The C.P.I. points out, that all these demands can be achieved at the expense of curbing the employers' profits.

In recent years, the Histadrut leadership has conducted a policy of freezing labour wages. Now, under the pressure of strikes, there is a trend to decide on certain selective wage raises.

#### WARNING STRIKES OF PORT MANAGEMENT PERSONNEL

Activity in Israel's ports came to a virtual standstill on 15.10.69, as Haifa's port management personnel held a 24-hour warning strike and Ashdod port administrative and warehouse workers extended their scheduled 24-hour strike to a second day. Only security cargoes moved freely in both ports.

The Haifa Labour Council approved the warning strike. Approval was granted because the port management had not accepted a Council-supported demand for the upgrading of 170 of the administrative workers. The Ashdod administrative and warehouse workers demands also involve regrading. The workers decided on the warning strike after a parity committee meeting between the workers, the management, and the Histadrut broke up without results.

The foremen in the Haifa port held a partial strike when their demand for a pay improvement was rejected by the port management.

On 17.10.69 the administrative and warehouse workers at the Haifa's and Ashdod's Ports have agreed to submit their dispute with the Ports Authority to a two-man committee. The Authority is represented on the committee by the chairman of its board, and the workers by a member of the Histadrut Executive.

The chairman of the administrative and warehouse workers at the Ashdod Port said that if there should be no settlement shortly, the workers would go out on a general strike.

The C.P.I. daily Kol Ha'am gave its full support to the demands of the workers.

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#### WAGE RISE FOR ASHDOD DOCKERS

The management of the Ashdod Port reached an agreement with the dockers giving them a wage rise of between seven to eight per cent retroactive to February 1968. In return it was agreed that the dockers would have their norms for orange crates raised by four per cent.

#### TEL AVIV FIREMEN'S STRIKE

The Tel Aviv firemen went on full strike on 21.10.69 and declared that they will deal only with cases in which lives are threatened. The strikers demand retroactive payment of special enrolments given to other municipal drivers. They went on a fortnight partial strike some weeks ago, and called it off when the Municipality promised to negotiate.

The firemen charged that there have been a deliberate delay in the handling of their demands

### RADIO, T.V. STAFF WON'T GET JOURNALISTS STATUS THIS YEAR

Radio and Television newsmen failed in their claim to obtain professional journalist status this year. The chief at the Trade Union Department of the Histadrut Yeruham Meshel, who acted as sole arbitrator in the dispute between the journalists and the Broadcasting Authority, announced on 8.10.69 that "giving in to the journalists would constitute an obvious move away from the general wage freeze, on which the Government and the Histadrut have agreed for the current year."

However, the Broadcasting Authority agreed to give some journalists "personal gradings"... Mr. Meshel said there must be a fixed professional pay scale for Broadcasting Authority journalists. The schedule will have to be established in negotiations between the sides on the 1970 contract.

On the issue of telephone bills, travel and professional expenses, the arbitrator took a view more close to the journalists demands.

The Radio and Television newsmen were on a 10-day partial strike, from 25.8. to 5.9.1969.

- \*\*\* According to the Statistical Yearbook for 1969, Tel Aviv is Israel's biggest city, with 385,000 inhabitants, followed by Jerusalem (275,000), and Haifa (212,000). Apart from Beer-sheba (72,000), all the other big cities are satelites of Tel Aviv: Ramat-Gan (109,000), Holon (80,000), Petah Tikva (77,000), Bat-Yam (69,000) and Bnei Brak (67,000).
- \*\*\* The big companies operating in Israel increased their profits in 1967 at rates between 38 per cent to 95 per cent compared with 1966. This appears from a special survey made by the State Income Administration.

## SWEDISH COMMUNISTS REJECT PRESSURE TO BOYCOTT THE C.P.I.

The Chairman of the Left Party - Communists of Sweden, C.H. Hermansson, declared in a conversation with Com. Ya'aquv Silber, member of the C.P I Central Committee Bureau (who represented the Party at the 22nd Congress of the fraternal Party in Stockholm):

"We are against the excommunication of any Communist Party and we have rejected pressure in this direction. Our party has welcomed the delegation of a C.P.I. representative to its 22nd Congress and it will continue developing solidarity with the Communists and left socialists in Israel."

Com. Silber stressed in the conversation the existing unanimity between the Swedish and Israel Communist parties regarding the need to safeguard Israel's right to exist and to strive for a peaceful solution of the conflict by negotiations between the parties. He also clarified the attitude of the C.P.I. toward the Arab terrorist organisations.

The conversation dealt also with the issue of strengthening the cooperation between the two parties.

At the end of the Congress, Com. Silber was invited by the Jewish students' association at the University of Lund to lecture on the policy and the struggle of the C.P I.

After concluding his mission in Sweden, Com. Silber visited France, Belgium and the Netherlands. There he met members of the Central Committees of the Communist parties, editors of Communist organs and left magazines, and top personalities of groups acting for peace talks in the Middle East. The participants in these conversations also opposed boycotting the C.P I., just as the representatives of various Communist parties did in Stockholm. They listened with great interest to explanations on the policy of the C.P.I., expressed to various extents their consent (Cont'd on page 15)

A description of the constantly deteriorating situation in the Middle East; an indictment against the Arab terrorist organisations; a refutation of the anti-Israeli slanderous accusations in connection with the fire in the Al Aksa Mosque, an outline of a solution of the Israel-Arab conflict; paths to peace and negotiations between the parties - were the main topics of a speech made by Dr. A. Berman, chairman of the Union of Anti-nazi Fighters in Israel, at the session of the Bureau of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters (F.I.R.) that met in Vienna from 30.9. to 2.10.69.

Dr. Berman, who is a member of the C.P.I. Central Committee, described at the beginning of his speech the concern felt among the Israeli public in view of the rising strength of the neo-Nazis in Western Germany, even though they did not succeed in passing the limit of votes needed to enter the Bundestag. The speaker dwelt upon the numerous, important activities carried out in Israel demanding the abrogation of the law limiting the punishment of Nazi crimes. He quoted the resolutions of the Yad Vashem Memorial Council and of the first world congress of Jewish lawyers in this respect. Dr. Berman also emphasized the vitality of the activities carried out by the organisations of partisans, ex-veterans and former Nazi prisoners in the struggle against the revival of Nazism.

The meeting of the F.I.R. Council ended without adopting any political resolutions, taking into account that a conference of resistance organisations from 21 European countries and Israel is due to take place in Venice in November 1969.

### THE ISRAELI PEACE COMMITTEE CALLS FOR EASING TENSION ALONG THE CEASE-FIRE LINES

On 17.9.1969 the Israeli Peace Committee published a communique following the extension of military operations along the cease-fire lines between Israel and her Arab neighbours, the hijacking of the T.W.A. airplane and the detention of some of its Israeli passangers by the Syrian authorities.

The Israeli Peace Committee condemned the "dangerous escalation of the terrorist acts of which the hijacking of the plane and the attacks on the Israeli missions and on the El Al offices in European capitals are one of the most extreme expressions." The Peace Committee firmly demanded the immediate release of the two Israeli passengers detained in Damascus contrary to international law.

Furthermore, the Israeli Peace Committee says in its communique that "urgent steps must be taken to ease the tension by respecting the cease-fire agreement and preventing developments carrying the danger of war. For this purpose it is necessary to resume Dr. Jarring's mission in the region so that he may fulfil the task entrusted to him in order to create an atmosphere for talks and to pave the way toward negotiations and an agreement between Israel and neighbouring states, based on the Security Council resolution of November 22nd 1967, in order to bring about an agreed political solution of the conflict in the region." - concludes the communique of the Peace Committee.

# MAIN POINTS OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE AND SECURITY FOR AN ISRAEL-ARAB PEACE SETTLEMENT

At the end of September 1969 the Movement for Peace and Security published a communique calling for an Israeli peace initiative to ease the tension in the relations between Israel and the Arab countries and to create a political basis for conversations and negotiations for peace.

"We do not propose that the Israel Defence Army should retreat from the cease-fire lines before a peace settlement is achieved, which will include practical guarantees for secure borders to be recognised jointly by both parties," - says the communique, pointing out that "This demand is supported by the Security Council in its resolution of November 22nd, 1967 and enjoys the sympathy of international public opinion. But it is obvious, that guarantees by means of territorial annexations changing territorial status, to the detriment of one of the parties, by the way of accomplished facts, are only possible as a dictate of a forcible treaty of capitulation. Such "guarantees" cannot serve as the basis for a peace settlement with the consent of both parties."

In the continuation of the communique it is said: "The time has come that instead a 'government of national unity', which is a government of national paralyzation, a government should be established that has, as the main basic line of its policy, the initiative for a decent, just peace settlement, that is the sole guarantee of security. Such a peace-programme must be based on the following principles:

- \* Giving up all plans of annexation;
- \* Consenting to negotiations in any form for a peace settlement that is to determine, for us and our neighbours, recognised and secure borders, according to the Security Council resolution of the 22.11.67;

- \* Willingness to include the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in discussions for a peace-settlement;
- \* Discontinuing all the Jewish civilian settlement, which are trying to create facts in the administered areas, and abstaining from land requisitions, under any pretext whatsoever, for this purpose;
- \* Proclaiming a programme to solve the refugee problem, including that of 1967, with extensive international aid, within the framework of a peace settlement and the immediate partial implementation of this programme in the administered territories, extending active help and procuring the funds for their reconstruction.

"An Israeli programme for peace, and a sincere, consistent drive for its implementation, adhering to this aim, will strengthen Israel's security" - concludes the communique.

### AMERICAN STUDENTS IN ISRAEL ON VIETNAM MORATORIUM DAY 1969

The following statement (published as advertisement by the Jerusalem Post, October 15, 1969) was signed and endorsed by 244 American students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and submitted to the American Consulate in Jerusalem:

"We, Americans in Israel wish to join thousands of our fellow citizens today in protesting continued American involvement in the Vietnamese war. We mourn the dead and the dying in Southeast Asia, and we are horrified by the unwillingness of the U.S. government to end the fighting."

Kol Ha'am devoted an editorial on 17.10.69 to "Moratorium Day" held in the United States demanding to stop the war in Vietnam. The newspaper wrote: "The masses in the U.S.A. regard the Vietnam war as an unjust war, hence their opposition to the military intervention of the U.S. Government in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. The progressive forces in Israel demonstrate their solidarity with the forces of progress in the United States that are demanding to put an end to the war in Vietnam."

VIETNAMESE WORKERS' PARTY THANKS C.P.I. FOR CONSOLATIONS ON HO CHI MIN'S DEATH

A cable received from Hanoi by the C.P.I. Central Committee says:

To the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel

Dear comrades,

We have been deeply moved by the comradely and hearfelt consolations dispatched by the Communist Party of Israel following the passing away of our beloved President Ho Chi Min.

In the name of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and of the Vietnamese working class and people, we thank you with all sincerity.

The solidarity and friendship between our two parties and our two peoples will continue to be strengthened day by day.

The Central Committee

Vietnamese Workers' Party

Hanoi, October 6th, 1969.

