

Notes of the Month

All for the Defence of Socialism in Czechoslovakia

s from the Occupied Territories

p the Bloodshed!

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UNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

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## The state of the state of

By Observer

### A) ANNEXATIONIST DESIGNS UPSET EFFORTS FOR PEACE

In its meeting on 15th September, 1968, the Israeli Government decided to form a special ministerial committee for the occupied territories headed by the Prime Minister Mr L. Eshkol. The secretary of the Government announcing this decision said that this special committee was formed "in order to place the civil life in the occupied territories on a more stable basis". Up till now a committee of the various ministries set—up in June 1967 to deal with the affairs of the occupied territories was responsible towards the military authorities. From now on this committee will be responsible towards the special ministerial committee headed by Eshkol.

Some commentators tried to interpret this move as a kick on behalf of Eshkol against Dayan in the inner Labour party struggle. But this was merely a diversionary interpretation since the real meaning of this step is to strengthen Israeli rule in the occupied territories with the aim of stabilizing it, making it permanent and serving the aims of annexing and integrating the occupied territories within the State of Israel.

Addressing a meeting of representatives on Northern Negev settlements at Sha'ar Hanegev (Al-Hamishmar, 27.9.68) the Defense Minister M. Dayan referring to the activity of the Military Administration in the occupied territories said inter alia that: "WE HAVE TO INTEGRATE THESE REGIONS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE AND TO BEHAVE TOWARDS THE STATE AS ONE UNIT, SO THAT IN TIME THE EX-PRESSION 'LINES OF THE 4TH OF JUNE' WILL BE TOTALLY ELIMINATED".

The erection of new settlements in the occupied territories, a large number of which are civilian settlements as confirmed recently by the Minister of Housing, Mr Bentov, is intended to serve the purpose of annexing and integrating.

The nailed-boot of occupation, the determination "to teach the Arabs to learn how to live with us as rulers" - as stated by M. Dayan, the deportation of public leaders, the demolishing of houses, all is intended not only to overcome resistance but also to encourage the population, particularly the refugee population in the Gaza strip, to leave the country.

With their efforts directed towards realising this aim - annexation and integration under the cover of achieving security and lasting peace - the Israeli ruling circles have in fact obstracted any progress towards the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution of 22nd of November and blocked the mission of the UN special envoy Dr Gunnar Jarring. The Secretary General of the UNO, U Thant found it necessary in his report to the General Assembly to criticize the Israeli position which through its formal demand for "direct negotiations" fails the Jarring mission and prevents any practical discussion of the problems.

The immediate and big NO announced by the Foreign Minister of Israel and other government spokesmen to the reported peace program proposed by the Soviet Government and brought to the attention of the USA Government is worthy of an adventurist policy rejecting peaceful settlement because it is not based on confirming territorial gains by means of war.

As reported by the USA press and State Department sources the USSR proposed a plan for joint USA and Soviet efforts to implement the UN Security Council Resolution of the 22nd November 1967. The plan calls for:

- a) Withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces from territo= ries occupied during the war of 1967.
- b) Arab declaration of elimination of state of war against Israel.
- c) Stationing of large UN forces on borders between Israel and Arab countries and big four powers undertaking to ensure security of the region.
- d) Efforts to solve the problem of Jerusalem, of the Arab refugees and to ensure freedom of navigation in international waters.

Outright rejection by the Israeli Government of such peace moves, the hard line adopted in respect of the Jarring mission, and the upholding of the traditional line of "creating facts" and talking from positions of strength are more and more isolating Israeli policy within the international family. Also in Israel more people are asking - what further? It is becoming more and more evident that Israel and the whole region is on a cross-roads either choosing a peaceful settlement which means accepting UN Security Council Resolution or avalanching to a new explosion disastrous to all.

#### B) MOVES WITHIN ISRAEL LABOUR PARTY

Labour Party and Mapam are heading towards an Alignment (Ma'arakh), namely a joint list of candidates for the coming elections next year - Histadrut (trade union), Municipal and Parliamentary.

Notwithstanding the opposition of over one third of Mapam's Council which discussed this issue, the leaders of Mapam and of Labour have been negotiating an agreement.

The traditional leadership of Labour (ex-Mapai) - Eshkol, Sapir, Golda Meir and Co. - having "bridled" Ahdut-Ha'avoda and Rafi (Dayan-Peres group) to the chariot of Mapai within the framework of the newly formed Israel Labour Party, aspire to complete the circle by "bridling" Mapam. Alignment for the coming elections is the first step.

Mapam's leadership facing strong opposition within their ranks put various "face-saving" demands mainly organisational and some economic. On the political plan there appeared no obstacles. The June war has brought Mapam to Mapai's political captivity more than ever. Mapam's main demands were:a)independent group within the Histadrut with an agreed-upon list of issues where joint voting is obligatory; b) payment of regular six months cost-of-living allowance if rise of prices justify pay=ment; c) freezing of procedure for promulgating anti-strike law, and d) placing of an Arab Mapan member in a secure place on the joint list of candidates in the parliamentary elections.

Out of all Mapam's demands its "internationalist" face-saving demand of placing a Mapam Arab candidate in the joint list for parliamentary elections will be apparently accepted (Mapai never agreed to have on its parliamentary election list an Arab candidate. Its Arab yes-men candidates were grouped in separate "Arab" lists backed by the machinary of the state and of Mapai.) Mapam's demand for an independent group in the Histadrut will apparently be dropped and instead Mapam's representatives will be allowed an independent vote on certain agreedupon issues. However no official public agreement has yet been announced. It was deferred for a later date upon the request of the new general secretary of Labour, the Minister Pinhas Sapir appointed to replace Golda Meir who resigned last August.

Within Labour itself an inner party struggle goes on. Rafi (Ben-Gurion's young men) having joined Labour are jockeying for occupying more leading positions within the Labour party and within the State apparatus. They play delaying tactics concerning Alignment with Mapam, realising that Eshkol & Co. are bring=

ing in Mapam as a counter-weight. The Dayan-Peres group demanded an immediate elected congress of the Labour party to be held before the coming elections, hoping that their ultra-militarist line and the popularity of Dayan would give them better positions within their party vis-a-vis Eshkol & Co. in an elected congress. Eshkol & Co., insisted that the coming congress will be an "agreedupon" congress to be constituted in the same manner and in the same proportion of representation (22.5% Abdut Ha'avoda, 22.5% Rafi and 50% Mapai) as the organs of the new Labour party were formed when "unity" was effected. In a secret ballot carried out in the Central Committee of the Israel Labour Party on this issue (in second part of September), Eshkol-Sapir leadership joined by Ahdut Ha'avoda leaders gained a majority vote on this issue although many amongst Mapai like Abba Hushi's group (Haifa Mayor), Netzer (Tel-Aviv organisation leader) and others supported Rafi's positions. This victory of Eshkol-Sapir & Co. was a major tac= tical victory in the inner Labour party struggle for leadership to which Dayan-Peres & Co. aspire. Dayan reacted by resigning from the leading organ of Labour. A crisis is in the offing.

This inner party struggle for leadership does reflect to a certain extent political divergencies between militarists and ultra-militarists, between "moderates" and extremists. But when such leaders of Ahdut-Ha'avoda, like extremists and ultra-militarists Allon and Carmel, line in opposition to Dayan and Peres, this inner-party struggle then reflects more personal jockeying for leadership within the Party and the state than more political divergencies. However development of events, failures and isolation of the official policy of force, annexation and aggression is bound to make itself more felt, deepening and intensifying differentiation within the ruling circles.

## THE SOVIET UNION WARNS AND SHOWS THE WAY

(Leading article - "Zo Haderekh" - 26.9.68.)

The situation in our region is deteriorating. The bloodshed continues incessantly and numerous victims fall on both sides. The mission of UNO representative Gunnar Jarring has not made any advance. The Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, has not been implemented.

In this state of affairs the serious warning of the Soviet Union to the Government of Israel has come. The spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry established in his statement at the special press conference and his replies to questions some facts and premises:

- 1) The Israeli Government is not only not prepared to implement the Security Council Resolution, but acts continously for tne absorption of the occupied territories and settlement therein, and thus causes the failure of Dr. Jarring's mission and endangers the peace in the region.
- 2) Arab states, Egypt at their head, have unequivocally announceed their readiness to implement the Security Council Resolution and their aspiration to a political settlement based on the Resolution.
- 3) There is no change in the Soviet attitude of recognition of the State of Israel's right to existence and sovereignty.
- 4) The Soviet Union supports the establishment of a binding time-table for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution.

The spokesman of the Israeli Foreign Ministry appeared with a demagogical and irrelevant attack upon the warning given by the Soviet Union. But just now, on the eve of the Jewish New Year, those standing at the helm of the Israeli Government made declarations, which confirm again the correctness of the facts and premises stated by the Soviet Government in its warning.

Just now the Foreign Minister, Mr. Aba Eban, has declared that the Israeli Government objects to a political settlement with Egypt and other Arab states and wants only a peace agreement. In other words: The Israeli Government does not consent to a peaceful political solution of the present crisis in our region, in accordance with the Security Council Resolution, but wishes under circumstances of military occupation, to dictate to the Arab States conditions of permanent peace. It is clear that under the circumstances of military occupation, in a situation of unequality, there is no

possibility whatsoever to solve the fundamental questions which have been pending for twenty years. It is feasible and essential, in accordance with the Security Council Resolution, to solve the crisis which broke out following the June war, and to guarantee the existence and security of the State of Israel and the Arab states alike, which will pave the way for permanent peace.

No other than the Chief-of-Staff, Haim Bar-Lev, has declared in his interview with the Israeli Army's organ "Bamachane", on the Jewish New Year's eve, that "Next year we will continue establishing settlements in all the territories". This policy was confirmed by the Prime Minister Levi Eshkol in an interview given on the eve of the New Year.

Every day acts are committed and official statements are made which prove what is known to all, namely that the Government does not think at all to implement the Security Council Resolution, but relying on US imperialist circles, it acts against the interest of Israel's real security and against the cause of peace in our region.

Indeed, the continued occupation only intensifies the resistance to occupation. The entire situation is pregnant with the danger of a renewed outbreak of hostilities.

But it is not only the Soviet Union which warns the Israeli Government against its dangerous and unrealistic policy.

Today, on 26.9., the semi-official "Davar" daily, published together with the Soviet warning the British Government's warning given to the Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon against the obstinate position of the Israeli Government. "Davar" sums up, saying: "In the capitals of the west, too, the annoyance with Israeli obstinacy is increasing.

Against this background it is only hypocrisy and pretense on the part of official circles if they attack the Soviet Union for its warning against a new aggression. This is a warning which has no other purpose save the ensuring of peace and security in our region for the benefit of the people of Israel and the Arab peoples alike.

There is no doubt that if the Israeli Government abandons the principle of annexations and accepts the principle of evacuation of the occupied territories within the framework of implementation of all parts of the Security Council Resolution - there will be a political solution and the way to peace will be paved.

## GOODY-GOODY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

(Zo-Haderekh 18.9.68.)

The President of the United States, L. Johnson, made last week a speech at the "Benei Brith" Congress. After shedding some crocodile tears about the failure of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia, he concentrated on questions of the Middle East, skipping this time the Vietnam war, where the US troops are immersed in blood and bog, as a result of the criminal aggression conducted by President Johnson.

His words about our region were hypocritical and pretending to be pious. On one hand, he repeated the US Government's overt support of the policy of occupation conducted by Israel's rulers, declaring that a return to the Armistice agreement and to the borders of June 4, 1967 "will not bring peace". On the other hand, he called upon Israel to convince the Arab states that "it has no intentions of expansion in their territories".

President Johnson declares point and counterpoint in his wish to lead astray the people of Israel as well as the Arab peoples. The greater part of the public in the Arab countries has learned from its experience that one should not trust the imperialist powers, that they have nothing but predatory intentions in our region and that they are ready at any time to abandon the peoples. Imperialism holds oil and the profits accruing from it much dearer than blood, than the life of human beings, Jews and Arabs alike.

In the Israeli public, too, certain circles begin to have misgivings in regard to exclusively leaning on American imperialism.

President Johnson's speech has aroused various apprehensions even within Israeli ruling circles. Despite the President's continued support of the policy of occupation conducted by Israel's rulers, they consider that his speech is insufficient identification with their views.

In particular they have expressed their disappointment with Johnson for not promising to supply Israel immediately with "Phantom" planes, although candidates for US presidency, Vice-President Humphrey and Senator Nixon are demanding this in their election campaigns.

Defence Minister Moshe Dayan, appearing on September 16 at the Tel-Aviv District Labour Party Conference, declared, according to the đaily "Davar" (17.9.) that "we have to accustom ourselves to the idea that there are differences of opinion between ourselves and the USA concerning the solution of the conflict existing between us and the Arabs. The solution proposed by Arthur Goldberg (US ex-representative at UNO) is not the peace formula we are looking for. In the same article Goldberg envisaged the possibility that all sides in the Middle East accept the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, as it stands. This formula, as substitute for a peace agreement, is far removed from our hope to reach a peace agreement with the Arabs".

Again the cat has been let out of the bag: The crisis in our region is continuing, because the Government of Israel, despite all the diplomatic manoeuvres and tricks of Aba Eban, is not prepared to agree, in word and deed, to the Security Council Resolution of November 27, 1967. The Government wishes to dictate a peace agreement from positions of strength, from positions of military occupation of Jordanian, Egyptian and Syrian territories.

This militaristic position is also assisted by extremist circles in the Arab countries.

The principle of territorial annexations, on which the Government stands, is also what causes the failure of Dr. Gunnar Jarring's mission.

Meantime, much blood is shed on both sides. Defence Minister Dayan called in the aforementioned speech to be prepared for a renewed war and victory. These are most grave and adventurous words.

The decisive political fact is that Egypt and Jordan, too, have expressed their official and unrestricted agreement with the Security Council Resolution. If the Government of Israel joined this position, an opening would be created for the peaceful political solution of the crisis, for stopping the bloodshed.

## ALL FOR THE DEFENCE OF SOCIALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Abridged Report of Comrade Tawfiq Toubi at the Extra-Ordinary Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel held on 25.8.68 to discuss the developments in Czechoslovakia. ("Zo Haderekh" - 18.9.68)

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The recent developments in Czechoslovakia have worried and alarmed us, just as many other friends of socialist Czechoslovakia.

With great concern and sadness have we heard about the regrettable development in Czechoslovakia, a development which was pregnant with grave dangers to the socialist achievements in Czechoslovakia itself as well as to the collective security of the socialist states of Europe. A situation had been created which did not allow anything but taking the step of entry of Soviet and other Warsaw Pact troops, in order to defend the socialist order in Czechoslovakia as well as the security of all socialist states in Europe. At the same time this also constituted an act of defence of peace in Europe and the whole world.

The entry of the Warsaw Pact troops into the territory of Czechoslovakia, a member of the Pact, according to the request made by leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, raises a series of problems.

Our reaction to the situation now created must be determined according to our universal principle, as communists, as marxists-leninists: What benefits socialism. Only the interest of socialism in Czechoslovakia, only the benefit of socialism and peace in the decisive global struggle conducted between the forces of socialism and peace on one hand, and the forces of imperialism and war on the other one, only these can determine our position.

## The Right-Wing Forces Raised their Head

Our Party supported the resolutions of the January Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, when decisions were made about corrections of mistakes in party life and in the management of economy, about democratization, and about strengthening the position of the Party within the popular masses. It is the right, and even the duty, of the Czechoslovak communists to correct mistakes for the benefit of socialist progress.

But it was clear to us from the beginning that without a line being drawn not only against the mistakes, but also against the right, against opportunism, revisionism, which would obviously raise their head under these circumstances, the mistakes would not be corrected, but would slide down and become mistakes in the opposite direction, more dangerous mistakes.

And what did actually develop in Czechoslovakia? While attempting to correct mistakes of the past, the Party took steps which were exploited by the forces of the right and of reaction.

Conspicuous among those steps were declarations about "total freedom" of the press, radio and television. Under the name of "ensuring socialist democracy", the party practically surrendered its role as leader and controlling force of the means of information and propaganda, which are an important instrument of power. This important instrument was abandoned, put into the hands of right-wing, revisionist, nationalist and anti-socialist elements. These turned the means of propaganda into a rostrum for falsification of the essence of socialism, for poisonous attacks on the unity of the socialist camp, for kindling anti-soviet hostility, for attacks against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia itself, against its internal and foreign policies, against the socialist system itself and its achievements.

It was clear from the beginning that such a development had nothing to do with democratisation. This was an attack on the fundaments of socialism, on the leading role of the Communist Party, on the vanguard role played by the working class in the construction of socialism society.

This was a distorted interpretation of socialist democracy, and in particular while socialism is still being built in conditions of the cruel struggle between the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist, in the international arena as well as in the conditions of existence in Czechoslovakia itself of hostile reactionary forces, in conditions when great parts of the professionals and youth (obviously, in no small degree due to mistakes and shortcomings in the educational-ideological work of the Party itself during the years of its rule) are still influenced by bourgeois ideology, in conditions of offensive by the counter-revolutionary forces from within and without.

The distorted democratisation which was introduced, turned into a campaign of persecution against anyone called "conservative", against communists and internationalists from among the builders of socialist Czechoslovakia. They were not even permitted to defend themselves, to repel the calumnies and defend the positions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

## Not out of "Love for Israel"

We also learned something from our own experience. Lately quite of a sudden, a flood of Czechoslovak journalists and

visitors had swept our country. True, among them were also conscientious communists, who took a correct stand, according to their party line, but the greater part became integrated in the current of pro-imperialist propaganda let loose by the rulers of Israel; they acted as their mouthpieces and worked enthusiastically in order to draw socialist Czechoslovakia into positions contrary to those of the other socialis states, to pro-imperialist positions in relation to the Middle East crisis. Their starting point, just as that of other people holding anti-socialist positions, was nationalistic, opportunistic, anti-soviet.

Conspicuous among those people, was the writer Mnjacko, who had been an enthusiastic supporter of the previous president, Novotny, and then turned his coat. Being such a strong supporter of our country's rulers and their policy of expansion, he did not content himself with active support of the anti-communist group of Mikunis-Sneh, but organized a venomous campaign against our Communist Party, slandering us in a provocative manner. Mnjacko started organizing Czechoslovak volunteers for Israel and financing from his "own sources" their transport from Bratislava to Athens, while the kibbutz which played host to the volunteers for "work and study", paid the travelling expenses from Athens to Israel and the return trip. This was reported in the Israeli semi-official daily "Lamerhav" of 16.8.68.

Over radio Prague and the TV wide publicity was repeatedly given to the views of the Israeli Government leaders, Eshkol, Eban and others, by means of interviews given by them to journalists, in a transparent attempt to create a public opinion favourable to diverting Czechoslovak policy from its anti-imperialist direction.

## Overt Counter-Revolutionary Organisation

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia stated in its plen ry session in May that the main danger came from the right and must be repelled. But, actually, no steps were taken to curb the danger arising from revisionism and anti-socialist froces. A situation was created, which was exploited by counter-revolutionary forces inside and the imperialists outside the country, who staged a political and organisational attack in order to shake the fundaments of socialism in Czechoslovakia, to liquidate the guiding and leading role of the Communist Party.

One of the clearest expressions of counter-revolutionary organisation was the manifesto "2000 Words" which openly preached the liquidation of working class and Communist Party power. True, this platform was cricized by the Presidium of the

Czechoslovak Communist Party, but it was not resolutely repelled, and began to be used as a counter-revolutionary rallying element, with the Party taking no mensures. Part of the party leadership even supported it.

Under these circumstances, the overt activity of the antisocialist forces inside and the imperialist forces outside grew stronger, in particular that of the revanchists in neighbouring West Germany, who are in particular interested in the liquidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia, in tearing off Sudetenland, and in exposing the other socialist countries to the NATO forces.

All this created serious dangers for socialism in Czechoslovakia itself, and of course for the neighbouring socialist states, their security and achievements.

The Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and the G.D.R. made utmost efforts to solve the crisis by political means only. In July the Warsaw meeting of the aforementioned five parties took place, which sent a letter to the Czechoslovak Communist Party, advising and demanding that it bring matters under its control and that it let not anti-socialist forces dominate the street.

But the revisionist forces amongst the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party undermined any comradely advice.

Later on, talks were held at Cierna and Bratislava. The Czechoslovak leaders by putting their signature to the Bratislava Declaration, in fact agreed with the conclusion in the letter sent to the C.P. of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Meeting. But again they did not take any measures to curb the anti-socialist forces.

The danger to socialism in Czechoslovakia grew ever more. Let us take just one example from those given in the Israeli press. In "Lamerhav" an item was published on 21.8.68. about a meeting of B.Yigal, a correspondent of that daily and members of the Slovak Liberal Party.

B. Yigal wrote that the journalist Irma Trentova told him that "till January the Slovak Liberal Party "Strana Slovitza" existed only nominally, as a kind of miserable shadow of the Communist Party. In the organ of that party, "Slovitza", one could read the same things written some days before in the communist "Rude Pravo". But today everything has changed..." Journalist B. Yigal met three leaders of the Liberal Party and mentioned their names. They told him that up to January "they could not criticize the policy of the ruling party..." The journalist adds that beginning with January, the liberals started thinking about

their road and preparing a new programme of their party. And what was there in their programme? In every paragraph, for the purpose of camouflage, they stated that they were in favour of socialism ... They said that they were in favour of existence of political bodies, of non-marxist parties which "would conduct struggles in political matters and would criticize the 'policy of the ruling party' .. they would rally all Christian communities and ensure their representation.. they would demand the admission of private initiative in certain branches ... and what they called normal relations with all capitalist countries. Naturally they meant relations with Bonn. B. Yigal says that even communists "were not satisfied with the Bratislava talks"... This is an example of the ramified activity of anti-socialist forces. Not only was that activity not curbed, but it even grew stronger, through the encouragement and intervention of the dark forces from outside Czechoslovakia, which suddenly appeared dressed up as friends of "Czechoslovak renaissance", as friends of liberal socialism".

Of course we would have preferred if the Czechoslovak communists and working people had by their own forces themselves repelled the dangers to socialism in their country. But this had been made impossible.

## Socialism Will not Abandon any of its Positions

As communists, as anti-imperialists, we formulate our attitude to any event from the class point-of-view. Whom does it benefit-socialism or imperialism, the forces of peace or those endangering peace in the world? This is the question that determines our stand in relation to the events in Czechoslovakia.

In the evolving situation of danger to socialism in Czechoslovakia and the lack of abiltiy to defend the socialist achievements through the forces of the Czechoslovak communists only, the entry of the Armies of the Soviet Union and its allies was the only step which could save socialism in Czechoslovakia. Thus this measure has to be evaluated as fraternal aid rendered to the Czechoslovak communists, to the Czechoslovak working class for the preservation of the achievements of socialism in their country, for the preservation of the independence of their country in face of the danger threatening it on part of Hitler's heirs in Bonn, who do not at all conceal their intention to tear off territories from Czechoslovakia.

In spite of all the difference, we cannot but see the similarity between this action and the action of the Soviet Army in Hungary in 1956. Just as the Soviet Union defended Socialism in Hungary in 1956, it did so again in the C.S.S.R. in 1968.

We witness outcries and protests coming from various directions. A noisy anti-soviet hysteria is raging in our country, too. All this imperialist propaganda which moves heaven and earth against the Soviet Union and its allies because of what they call "invasion", "occupation", "Soviet trampling on Czechoslovak independence" is most cynical and ridiculous when the murderers of the Vietnamese people, those who have sent 600 thousand soldiers to a country many thousands of kilometres removed from their own country, are now appearing as the defenders of independence and sovereignty, and even as defenders of "democratic socialism"...

To this choir of black ravens do also belong the Israeli Government leaders who try to use the indispensable action of the Soviet Union and its allies in defence of socialism, in order to exploit the situation for a further aggressive action.

The various imperialists cry out bittlerly because they have lost an opportunity, because they have failed in their design, which they had carefully planned for some years. In particular vociferous are the West German revanchists, because they have lost a chance to cut off Czechoslovakia from the family of socialist peoples, to annex again Sudetenland, to menace again Democratic Germany with the purpose of liquidating her.

The NATO circles have lost an opportunity to change the balance of forces in Europe and the world in their favour. Therefore they are crying out.

To all imperialists and their allies we reply: No, gentlemen! We, the forces of socialism will not satisfy your desires. In the global struggle now taking place between socialism and capitalism, socialism will not abandon any position. The outcries and demagogy of the gentlemen imperialists will not deter the communists from standing up in defence of socialism and its achievements, against subversion by the imperialists and their allies.

## The Global Struggle between the Two Systems Goes On

A discussion has arisen in the communist movement itself. I do not refer here to the position of the Chinese leaders and those resembling them, on the left and the right, too, those who, whatever the Soviet Union does, have nothing to say towards the USSR but calumnies and slanders. What guides their stand is not the interest of socialism, but anti-sovietism.

There were some people in our world movement who alleged that it was not true that socialism in Czechoslovakia had been

in danger, and therefore they objected to the action of the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact.

There were other voices in our world camp who said: "One should have left it to the Party and working class of Czechoslovakia to solve their own problems themselves"... "The SU is not in charge of the fate of socialism in Czechoslovakia, but only the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the working class of Czechoslovakia"; and yet other comments in this vein.

It is worth while to mention here what the Bratislava Declaration at the beginning of August said, a declaration to which the Czechoslovak Communist Party is a fully responsible partner. In this Declaration it says: "To maintain, to strengthen and to defend these achievements (of socialism), which were attained at the price of heroic efforts of work done with self-sacrifice by each one of the peoples, this is the internationalist duty of all socialist countries. This is the common opinion of all those present at the Conference."

All those in our camp who have reservations about the fraternal assistance rendered, and who criticize it in the name of what is called "sovereignty and independence of the Czechoslovak party and state", certainly know that there is nothing comparable to the existence of a socialist regime in order to give the fullest guarantee to sovereignty and independence.

Discussing problems of this sort we are not permitted to forget even for a moment that permanently and in various forms a global struggle is being conducted between the two systems - the socialist and the capitalist, between socialism and imperialism. And this is something that leaves its mark on every event

The imperialists are working persistently and tirelessly to change the world balance of forces in their favour. Lately Czechoslovakia was their chief target. If Czechoslovakia remains a member of the Warsaw Pact or not, if the frontier of socialism today is on the Elbe and the Somava mountains or not, this is not only the business of the Czechoslovak working class. This is the business of all members of the socialist community; this the business of the entire international working class, but first and foremost of the socialist Warsaw Pact states. And this was decided upon together in Bratislava, and signed by the Czechoslovak delegation. Let each of us look at the map of Europe and he will see what it would mean for the security of the socialist states in Europe if the socialist system in Czechoslovakia were shaken!

#### The Determining Factor : Ensuring Socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Among those criticizing the action of the Soviet Union and its allies are some who say that there had been an "imaginary danger"... "socialism had not been in danger at all". Who has to establish whether or not there existed any danger to socialism? First of all, the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia itself stated in May that the chief danger to socialism in the CSSR was from the right. From the international point of view, the opinion of the Soviet Union and other socialist member-states of the Warsaw Pact is decisive in this case. If one position had been lost to the socialist camp in Europe, the first contentions would be directed towards the Soviet Union History would not have forgiven the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states if they had not come out to save socialism in Czechoslovakia. What would have happened if the anti-socialist forces and their imperialist supporters abroad had carried out their design? Is it so difficult to understand what historical damage would have been caused to the socialist camp in the whole world, to the cause of peace in the world ?

There are some who say that the action of the Soviet Union and its allies in Czechoslovakia has done harm to socialism, particularly in democratic, bourgeois-parliamentarian regimes; that it harms the influence of the communist movement in the capitalist countries, especially in Europe, and that therefore the grand total - so they allege - has been much harm to the cause of socialism.

We do not disregard the temporary difficulties which some parties in capitalist countries may undergo resulting from the development of events. But it is clear that the benefit of socialism in the CSSR and the <a href="whole world">whole world</a> obliges us to prevent a breach in the front of the socialist states in Europe, obliges us to prevent with all means the loss of any position attained by socialism, in particular in the heart of Europe, and in particular when this is bound up with the security of the entire socialist system.

Every advance of communists in any capitalist country is very important for the cause of socialism. But their advance today is unavoidably connected with the strengthening and advance of the socialist camp. What is decisive today is the struggle carried on between the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist, the struggle between the working class in power and the imperialists who rally all their forces in order to shake, first of all, the socialist power in the socialist countries.

The fundamental contradiction of our days is the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp and the imperialist states, headed by the USA.

This is how things have become since the victory of the October Revolution and this is how they are today, after the victory of socialism in fourteen countries.

In his report to the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin said:

"Reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist parties, in civilised and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting-point." (Lenin: Collected Works, (English Ed. Vol. 31, P. 241).

This principled position is valid to this day. This has always been our internationalist, socialist, class starting-point and from this starting-point we also determine our stand in relation to the events in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia's remaining an important link in the Warsaw Pact under conditions of the global struggle, this is today much more decisive in relation to the struggle for socialism than temporary difficulties of one or the other Party.

If we, the Israeli communists, had charted our course in accordance with what was "comfortable and easy" for us, we should have turned our back on the anti-imperialist struggle in our region and should have behaved as the deserters Mikunis and Sneh did behave, and then it would perhaps have been easier for us. But then we would not only have abused our duty as internationalists, as communists, but we would also have betrayed the interest of the Israeli working class and the true national interests of Israel.

What is decisive today, is that the socialist system in Czechoslovakia be ensured, that Czechoslovakia stay a solid link in the Warsaw Pact. This also benefits the advance of socialism in the capitalist countries of Europe, benefits peace in Europe and in the entire world, benefits the independence and security of Czechoslovakia itself.

#### Thanks to the Homeland of the October Revolution

To the calumnies of the imperialists against the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army, it is not difficult to reply. Those hypocrites in the west, who compare 1968 with 1938-39, with Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia, will not succeed to make one forget that it was their own betrayal of Czechoslovakia which brought about the Munchen Agreement and Hitler's conquest of Czechoslovakia.

It is impossible to make one forget that it was the Soviet Army which with its millions of sacrificed men, handed back to the Czechoslovak people their national independence and sovereignty, and created the conditions for the victory of socialism in that country.

The members of the anti-communist Mikunis-Sneh grop demonstrate today in the streets of Tel-Aviv against the Soviet Union and surpass reaction in their anti-soviet hysteria. They even censure MAPAM because of its criticism of the Soviet Union had been "too moderate".

To our regret, there are today in the socialist camp, too, elements who spit into the well from which they have drunk, and impudently slander the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army whose victory over the Hitlerites helped the working class of their country become master of its destinies, straighten its back and build socialism. Those in the socialist camp who are whetting their tongues aginst the Soviet Union had better remember that thanks to the homeland of the October Revolution can their peoples continue today the peaceful construction of socialism in their countries and are ensured against imperialist designs.

The fraternal assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states to the Communist Party and working class of the CSSR, is creating the conditions, under which it will be able to overcome the difficulties and the counter-revolutionary forces.

We are sure that the Czechoslovak Communist Party, fraternally aided by the SU and the other socialist countries and loyally cooperating with them will advance Czechoslovakia along the road of socialism .

For the Strengthening of the Socialist Camp and the Communist
Movement

The question poses itself how it was possible that after twenty years of working class power in Czechoslovakia and under the conditions of existence of the world socialist system,

it was necessary to bring into play the armies of the Soviet Union and its allies, in order to defend the achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Before answering this question, we stress that the most important thing today is to fail the imperialist designs. This is the determining factor.

We are living in a period of fateful struggle between the two systems - the socialist and capitalist. The forces of imperialism and reaction are conducting the struggle against socialism in various froms, according to the front and to the circumstan-

ces; the armed struggle against the people of Vietnam, the aggression against the national liberation movement in the Middle East, the undermining done in the socialist countries, the sharp ideological struggle, the attempt to weaken the unity of the socialist countries and the communist camp etc. They exploit the difficulties of socialist construction, the nationalist elements and the forces of the past which still exist in the socialist countries, and also the mistakes made in the socialist states.

The CP of Czechoslovakia and the Chechoslovak working people have had great successes in building socialism in their country. At the same time the work of the CP of Czechoslovakia was accompanied by mistakes which it is essential to correct. The revisionists and anti-socialists misused this process of improving work and correcting mistakes, in order to throw out the child with the bath-water. The rightist-revisionist tendencies which became conspicuous during the last few months, in the period of attempted correction of past mistakes, and which sabotaged the sincere efforts made to correct those mistakes, have drawn their force not only from nationalistic tendencies, but also from weaknesses and negative phenomena that exist in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement, from the expressions of leftist dogmatism and liqidationist rightist revisionism and of nationalism which is common to both. One cannot separate the developments in Czechoslovakia from this situation.

But it is not the weaknesses which characterize the situation in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement. The social, economic, political and defensive invigoration of the socialist states, and primarily of the Soviet Union, on one hand, and the intensification of contradictions and crises within the imperialist camp, on the other hand - these are the lines which characterize and determine the situation. The defeats of American imperialism in Vietnam emphasize the superiority of the socialist forces over the forces of imperialism.

The events in Czechoslovakia oblige us to draw conclusions, in relation to ourselves, to our camp.

The first thing that is obligatory in this situation, is to repel the attack of the class enemy against the socialists states, the communist movement, the Soviet Union. The strengthening of unity of the socialist states and the communist parties is the thing wished and demanded by every communist, by every antimperialist. The strengthening of unity on the basis of marxism-leninism, on the basis of repulsion of nationalist deviations and positions from the right and from the "left", on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

We, the Israeli communists, will work for the success of the international communist meeting which was decided to be held in Moscow at the end of this year. We shall make our contribution, so that this meeting may strengthen the consolidation and unity of ranks of the international communist movement, for the benefit of the struggle for peace, independence of the peoples, democracy and socialism.

## NEWS FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

## A) THE WOMEN OF NABLUS DEMONSTRATED ("Zo Haderekh" - 28.8.1968.)

About two hundred women dressed in black demonstrated last Saturday in the town of Nablus in solidarity with the inhabitants of East Jerusalem, and in protest against the many arrests among the citizens of their town.

In the morning hours the women, among them representatives of the Red Crescent Organisation, the Nablus Women's Organisation and various welfare organisations of the town, marched in direction of the prison in order to hand a petition to the prison authorities.

At the head of the demonstration marched a woman whose son was sentenced to prison for life, and in her hand she bore a poster which read: "Allah akbar", like the slogan shouted by the women of Port Said in the Sinai war.

Another poster read: "Jerusalem is Arab, and we, the women of Nablus, protest against its annexation and the unification of Jerusalem". Yet other posters called for the setting free the men and women prisoners, against the settlement in the West Bank (Israeli military or civil settlements in the territories occupied after the June war - transl.) etc.

But the women were not allowed to attain their object. On approaching the building of the Military Government, which lay on their way, their progress was blocked by Frontier Guards who told them to disperse. When the women did not obey, they fired warning shots into the air. The women then turned to the town Council, met the Mayor, Hamdi Canan and gave him the memorandum which they had wanted to give to the prison authorities, so that he could convey it to the Nablus Military Governor.

The Cairo radio broadcast on Saturday information about the tortures of women from the West Bank in an Israeli prison and mentioned in this connection the name of Abla Abu Taha. It also informed about the manifestation of the women of Nablus, who had protested against the maltreatment of women detainees.

# B) A PREGNANT WOMAN TORTURED IN JERUSALEM PRISON ("Zo Haderekh" 4.9.1968.)

On 25.7.68. the police detained Abla Shafik Taha Adema al-Bashar, on her return from a visit in Amman. Immediately afterwards her husband, Ismail Salman Abu Mayal of Jerusalem was detained as well. Also detained were the young girls Sara Hashem Fattah Allah Joude and Lutfiya Ibrahim al-Huari of Al-Bira.

The three women were accused by the police with having smuggled weapons or having given assistance to such act.

The police prohibited advocate Ali Rafa (from the Law office of H.Naqqara, F. Langer. K. Gazi and S. Jiris - the detainees' representatives) to meet the detainees, claiming the investigation had not yet been completed. Only a week after detention the police allowed him to meet them, just to make them sign power-of-attorney, and without enabling him to talk with them.

It is pointed out that the police visited the homes of Ismail Salman and Samir Kums and measured the houses. The owners are under the impression that this was done in preparation of blowing up the houses.

On 7.8.68. advocates F. Langer and A. Rafa visited the detainee Abla Shafik Taha Adama. The meeting was held in the room of Inspector Gollan. The detainee wept, revealing hair-raising facts, to her lawyers, whilst the inspector tried again and again to stop her.

#### Beaten and Maltreated

On her detention she was put into a room where prostitutes were sitting. Those attacked and beat her till she lost conscience. In front of the policemen they ripped her clothes from her and left her naked. Then she was put for eight days into an isolation cell without any utilities and for three days she was prevented from leaving the cell for the easing of nature.

A policeman named Dwik kicked her and cursed her when she lay stunned by the beatings. The detainee, being pregnant, began to bleed. When she asked to see a doctor, the investigators told her: "When you speak, the doctor will come".

One of the female prison warders, named Yaffa, told her:
"It is a lie that you are pregnant. After such beatings you would have aborted". The policewoman also threatened her, saying that if she did not speak, they would pull out her "all she had in her belly".

The detainee showed to the lawyer the traces of beatings on her body and said if the lawyer had seen her one week before she would have seen swollen parts and open wounds on the whole of her body, in particular around the eyes, arms and back. The lawyer protested before the inspector who is responsible for the treatment given by the prison authorities to the detainee, whose story sounded like a tale of horror, and handed a complaint to the inspector. She also demanded a medical examination of the detainee.

## The Prostitutes Maltreated Her and the Policemen Looked on

On 12.8.68. advocate Felicia Langer met the detainee Lutfiya al-Huari, one of the three female detainees. She told the lawyer in presence of the police inspector what happened to her after being detained in the Jerusalem Prison. She was put in a cell where there were prostitutes. Those started maltreating her, ripping her clothes from her and beating her hard. Hearing her cries, policemen came, but looked on without doing anything to save her. The prostitutes put out cigarettes on her body, cut her hair (how did they obtain scissors in prison?...) and broke two of her teeth.

The detainee started a hunger strike till her treatment was changed. She also claims that she has committed no crime and that she is shocked by what she experienced in the first days of her detention, when she could not see her lawyer.

Advocate F. Langer protested against the cruel maltreatment of Lutfiye before the inspector, Mr. Gollan, and in particular

against the shameful behaviour of the policemen who watched the detainee's maltreatment without interfering.

The inspector said an investigation was under way and expressed his sorrow about those deeds.

#### Petitions in East Jerusalem

When the maltreatment of the three women detainees became known in East Jerusalem, following the lawyer's visit, a storm broke out among the inhabitants. Leaders belonging to different circles and women's organisations published petitions, demanding the liberation of the detainees, or at least allowing them a position of political prisoners with all rights emanating from this. The signatories to the petitions warned that if the maltreatment of the detainees continued, they would organise strikes and demonstrations - informs the "Yediot Ahronot" (28.8). The petitions were also distributed among the foreign consuls residing in Jerusalem.

Under public pressure the detainees' families were permitted to visit them, a long time after their detention, but still before the completion of the investigation. Later the detainees were transferred to the detention prison at Abu-Kabbir, Tel-Aviv.

### Blackout

It is pointed out that the authorities did not deny the information about the maltreatment of the women detainees behind the prison walls. Only certain newspapers argued that those were false accusations...

It is a grave fact that the authorities imposed a blackout upon the whole affair and also prohibited the publication of the torture, till compelled by public pressure to lift the blackout.

### C) NEW DEPORTATIONS

(Leading Article, "Zo Haderekh" - 11.9.1968.)

The Israeli occupation authorities have again deported four Arab public figures from Jerusalem and Hebron to the Jordan's East Bank.

The Defence Minister of the sovereign State of Israel has again used the mandatory Emergency Regulations (issued by the

British mandatory power then ruling Palestine - transl.), and removed last Friday from their homes Kamel Dajani, a Jordanian ex-Minister of the Interior, Dr. Daoud Husseini, a member of the Jordanian parliament, Zaliha Shimabi, the president of the Jerusalem Arab women's organisation and the Hebron lawyer Yasser Amar.

The Ministry of Defence, in its stumbling adventurous policy, has not shrunk from the negative reaction of local and international public opinion aroused by the deportation of six public figures last year:

Sheikh Abd-al-Hamid Sayikh, the progressive lawyers Ibrahim Bakr and Kamel Nasser, the communist leader Faiq Wurad, Anton Attalah, a Jordanian ex=minister for foreign affairs, and Ruhi al-Khatib, the Mayor of Arab Jerusalem.

The official pretexts for these cruel deportations cannot calm public opinion which is concerned about the deterioration of the situation resulting from the continued occupation. The deportation of public figures opposed to the occupation, mass arrests, expulsion of the population, the blowing up of homes and other acts of oppression, all these will not solve the problems of accupation, but will only cause their aggravation. Our warnings have proved correct, that it is a dangerous delusion to think the oppression of the freedom of another people and the occupation of its lands will strengthen Israel's security and will advance us to the summit of desired peace.

We communists have alway resisted the mandatory Emergency Regulations; we resisted the deportation from mandatory Palestine of the members of IZL and IFF (two extremist Zionist military organisations - transl.), although we did not agree with their policies and ways of struggle. Then every political force understood that it was its duty to resist deportations and expulsions. We call upon all Israeli democrats and lovers of peace and brotherhood of peoples, to fulfil their duty this time, too, precisely when it is the authorities of sovereign Israel who permit themselves to use the faulty and retrograde means of the foreign colonial rulers.

It is our duty to warn against these and other steps which are steps of desperation, originating in the failure of the prediction made by those who put their trust in a policy of power and territorial expansion.

#### D) BLOWING UP HOMES AND BLOWING UP ILLUSIONS

(Statement of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel, made September 19, 1968.)

Last week homes were blown up again in the occupied territories - in Nablus, Hebron, Ghaza, Khan-Younis and Rafiah. The cruel policy of collective punishments is continuing, despite its failure and despite its having been condemned by democratic public opinion in our country and the entire world.

We, the communists of Israel, together with all reasonable people in this country, condemn these cruel deeds of the occupation authorities, demand their being stopped, and warn against the results stemming from the aggravation of oppression of the people inhabitating the occupied territories.

No misleading can conceal any longer from the eyes of the public in our country the failure of the policy of occupation. The resignation of the Mayor and the members of the Nablus Municipal Council, the strikes and demonstrations against the collective punishments and against the continued occupation, prove more strongly than ever the failure of the policy of force and of the illusions concerning the stability of the rule of occupation and its profitability for the security of Israel and for good neighbourly relations between the peoples of our country.

We again warn against the vicious circle: occupation - resistance to occupation - oppression and collective punishments - intensification of resistance.

We again warn against the continued adventurous policy of collective publishments in the occupied territories and beyond the cease-fire lines.

The bombing of the Jordanian towns Irbid and A-Salt, the blowing up of homes and other acts of oppression - will only intensify the bitterness and bloodshed of innocent Jews and Arabs, will only remove any peace settlement and aggravate the danger to security.

There is no solution except retreat from the occupied territories, except solving the crisis by fully implementing the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, which guarantees, together with the retreat, the abolition of belligerency and recognition of right to existence and security of all states in our region, Israel included. Thus will be opened the way to a comprehensive peace settlement.

The Communist Party of Israel calls upon all democratic forces in our country, upon all lovers of peace and friendship between the peoples and upon all intelligent people, to act in common for putting an end to the blowing up of homes and collective punishments.

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#### E) NEWS IN ONE DAY'S ISSUE OF "HA'ARETZ"

In "Ha'aretz", Hebrew daily newspaper, (12.9.1968), three news items appeared in the same issue. The first reported the demolition by dynamite of a three-storey house in Nablus, owned by Haj Hamzi Touqan, by order of the Israeli Army. Official excuse - his son being affiliated to an underground group accused of trying to blow up the quarters of the military governor in Nablus. "Ha'aretz" carried a picture of the destroyed house and reported that business in the town was partially stopped in a partial protest strike against the dynamiting of the house.

The second news item reported the dynamiting and demolition on Tuesday, 11.9.68. of a house in Hebron owned by Muhammed Kheiry Al Bahri, by the forces of the Israeli Army. The excuse is that one of the brothers who own the house gave assistance to two persons accused of giving assistance to terrorist activities. Another house in the vineyards of the owners was also demolished.

The third news item in "Ha'aretz" is the blowing-up, also by dynamite, by the forces of the Israeli Army of six houses in Khan-Younis in the Gaza strip, also on 11.9.68. The excuse is that the owners of these houses belong to underground resistance organisations.

## STOP THE BLOODSHED !

# A) ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The inhabitants of Tel-Aviv and the whole country were shocked and gripped by anxiety on the day of bloodshed - September 4th. Grenades had been placed at the Central Bus Station of Tel-Aviv, which caused injuries to some dozens of citizens and the death of one. Those who placed the grenades, committed a criminal and adventurous act. We reject and condemn these acts. They hit innocent inhabitants and intensify the general tension. These acts do not advance the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people against the occupation, but only cause it serious harm. In Israel they strengthen the "hawks", the sabre-rattlers.

One must not ignore the general background. More than once have we warned against the delusion that conquests strengthen the security of Israel. And really, life has proved that the continued occupation, the ceaseless acts of oppression and violation done to the inhabitants of the occupied territories cannot but intensify the resistance to the occupation. The security situation of Israel is now more badly shaken than before the June 1967 war.

What has happened in Tel-Aviv and Jaffa after the grenade explosion at the Central Bus Station cannot be named other than a pogrom against the Arab inhabitants. Arab workers who work in that neighbourhood, Arab passers-by, tranquil Arab inhabitants at their homes, have been brutally attacked, and many of them were wounded. The police did not intervene early enough and resolutely enough. Whereas many dozens of Arabs who were there just incidentally, were detained for intervogation, no detention was announced of those rioting against the Arab inhabitants.

A pogrom against tranquil Arab inhabitants is a criminal act, and moreover works like pouring oil on fire. The hot-headed pogromists are not national heroes, but criminals who must be renounced and brought to justice.

The pogrom against the Arab inhabitants is not an accidental occurrence. It is a result of the policy of the strong hand conducted by the ruling circles relative to the Israeli-Arab conflict, a result of the war psychosis, the policy of occupation, oppression and discrimination. This is the foul fruit of

the charvinist anti-Arab education.

We point out the positive fact that the great majority of the Jewish population of Israel is disgusted at the acts of the pogromists. The members of the Communist Party of Israel did everything in their power to calm the passions and prevent bloodshed. Jewish working people belonging to various circles withstood the rioters. A Jewish soldier who was present at the Central Bus Station was severely wounded by the pogromists when he defended Arab inhabitants against the rioters. It has also to be pointed out that most newspapers condemned the base pogromist acts.

The Communist Party of Israel calls upon all Israeli citizens possessing a sense of national responsibility to take a stand and join forces in the struggle for stopping the bloodshed.

The solution of the present crisis is not a further war, as recommended by certain adventurous circles in Israel, which are connected with factors from oversea. A further war will only bring further disaster to both the people of Israel and the Arab peoples.

The solution of the crisis lies in the implementation of the UNO Security Council Resolution of November 22nd, 1967, which shows the way to peace between Israel and the Arab states, by the retreat of the Israeli army from the occupied territories and at the same time the abolition of belligerence between the Arab states and Israel, and the recognition of the right to existence and security of all states in our region, of Israel as well as of the Arab states.

The Communist Party of Israel calls upon the workers and popular masses, upon all sound forces of the people, to join forces in the struggle for opening the path to peace, in the spirit of brotherhood and friendship between the peoples.

## B) THIS NIGHT, TOO, WILL COME TO AN END / By Johaina

("Al-Ittihad" - 23.8.68.)

Since the June war, I pay attention to the fact that there are many things that bring us back to situations of twenty years ago: to the wounds which were now reopened by the war, to searing memories which now have surfaced again, as if the war were, a conjuring wand which brought back the past with all its agonies and complications. The six-day war was a step backward with regard to everything concerning the Israeli-Arab conflict amd its just and peaceful settlement.

But the "night of the grenades" in Jerusalem, this painful occurrence which took place Iast Sunday, has revealed yet another consequence of the June war.

When we read the news about the "night of the grenades", my friend said bitterly: Now we have returned to the "market days".

He referred to the vegetable markets. We are both from Haifa. We were in Haifa in those days when mines went off one day in the Arab Wadi Salib market and next day in the Jewish Hadar Hacarmel market. Then parts of bodies were blown off, the moans of the wounded and the sobs of mourning mothers rent the air. The tension kept rising, the atmosphere was electrified. Youngsters from this and from that side used to mutually attack each other. Homes went up in flames. Shops were plundered.

And we, communists, would condemn those deeds. We would call upon Arabs and Jews to see the foreign hand, the hand of the main cause, the real responsible cause for the bloodshed. We would call for the unity of the two peoples in their struggle for the expulsion of the foreign imperialists, for mutual respect for the rights of both peoples, and for peace.

Have we really returned to those "market days"? We condemn the bomb policy today, just as we did twenty years ago. But first and foremost, we condemn today the policy of aggression, the policy of force and service to imperialism, which has brought about the June war and the whole tragedy caused by this war to Jews and Arabs alike.

Is this the secure future "within the securest frontiers". promised by Eshkol and Dayan to the people of Israel?

I was not in Jerusalem in the "night of the grenades", but I have read what the "Ha'aretz" printed on the morrow of that night about the shrieks of the wounded, about the anxiety, about the youngsters who went to Arab Jerusalem to riot there against the Arabs, uttering cries of joy, attacking and rejoicing, dancing and attacking, and when the police asked them to return to their homes, their gay cries became even stronger.

I have also read about the Jewish youngster who, having been wounded by grenade splinters, sat on the floor and groaned with pain. The hot-headed mob thought he was one of the saboteurs, and assailed and beat him. They did not pay attention to the cries of his acquaintances that he was a wounded Jew. And when the police came to take him to the patrol-car, his assailants continued hitting him.

The Defence Minister, M. Dayan, renounced these acts and went to the streets of the Old City of Jerusalem to cálm the spirits.

The Jerusalem Municipality published appeals in Hebrew and Arabic, in which it condemned the planting of the grenades and the riots of the ruffians against the Arab inhabitants. Dayan declared that Jerusalem would not become a second Cyprus, where Greeks and Turks fought each other. Everybody called for peace and quiet.

However, a disease cannot be cured but by liquidating its causes. The development of affairs in Jerusalem and other places proves that military power does not solve any problems, as it does not respect the will and liberty of the peoples.

Well do I remember the first days following the June war, the dancing in the streets; the innocent children who were brought in trucks with flags and drums, and who entered Arab Jerusalem, singing and dancing in front of weeping eyes and black clothes of mourning. Well do I remember the days of the "unification of Jerusalem" and the people's delusions, that peace will be attained.

We warned against the results that were to be expected. The victorious leaders and those dragged after them, cast hostile looks at us. They raised an outcry against us and tried to mislead the people into the belief that we had betrayed it.

But what is it we see now? Every day passing after the June war without its traces being erased deepens the abyss menacing the inhabitants of this country, Jews and Arabs, and intensifies the tragedy of these two peoples.

It becomes ever more clear that the interest of the Jews, just as the interest of the Arabs, that the interest of the

people of Israel, just as the interest of the Palestinian Arab people, lies in the liquidation of the results of that war, and that as soon as possible, so that both peoples might advance toward a just peace, which since long they have been dreaming about.

The "market days", the days of Irbid and A-Salt, and the "night of the grenades" - all these are one single night, spread over the people.

But this night, just as any night, will come to an end.

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# C) PRESS REVIEW ABOUT HAND GRENADES AND POGROM IN THE CENTRAL BUS STATION OF TEL-AVIV

On September 4, 1968, several hand grenades, which had been planted in refuse baskets in the Tel-Aviv Central Bus Station, exploded, wounding tens of innocent citizens and causing one death. Subsequently the mob, incessantly incited by chauvinist propaganda, attacked anybody "suspected" of being an Arab (a number of Jews too were made victims). This occurred not only at the site of the bomb outrage, but also in Jaffa, where Arab workers were lynched; some were hospitalized. Arab inhabitants were attacked in their homes. Cars holding distinctive plates from the occupied territories were smashed. Members of the Communist Party present intervened to prevent attacks on innocent Arab citizens.

The Politbureau of the CP of Israel issued on the next day a statement, which is published here.

The pogrom, in Tel-Aviv - Jaffa, which was a repetition of a pogrom against the Arab population in Jerusalem a few weeks ago, was widely discussed by various sections of the population and in the press. Many voices of condemnation were heard. We give hereunder some comments that appeared in the Israeli press.

## "The Authorities are to Be Blamed".

Already on 8.9. the correspondent Teddy Preuss wrote in the "Davar" daily:

"For the pogrom against the members of minority groups in Tel-Aviv and Jaffa last Wednesday, first and foremost the authorities are to be blamed. Hooligans, members of the underworld and ruffians, exist even in the best-ordered of societies. The level of a society is measured, among others, by the degree of its desire and ability to curb any anarchy on the part of the aforementioned (elements-transl.)

"One has also to wonder about the Defence Minister. Moshe Dayan has condemned the hooliganism in East Jerusalem very sharply and he analyzed very logically the dangers inherent in pogroms. Why then did he not use his influence, so that a strong hand would be shown to those whom he condemned?"

A reply to this was given by the Police spokesman, Y. Nash ("Davar" - 10.9.):

True, during the acts of hooliganism following the plan-

ting of hand grenades in Jerusalem streets, a number of suspects were arrested and set free. They were set free after some hours of interrogation when the police did not succeed in gathering proof of any crimes which could be related to the suspects personally.

"True, the Jerusalem Police could have kept them in further detention till the end of 48 hours as permitted by law, but there existed no practical justification for this, except paying lip service, and the Jerusalem Police is not prepared for such".

#### Exile in the Homeland

The best proof against the pogromists not just being a mob of members of the underworld, against the allegation that the "enlightened" Israeli public has no part whatsoever in this, is furnished by readers' letters in the Israeli press. Dr.Rosenblum (editor of the evening paper "Yediot Ahronot", known for ultrareactionary positions - transl.) took the trouble to give publicity in his newspaper to the venomous hatred, and there were not a few people who thanked him for this. H. Kook from Jerusalem writes ("Yediot Ahronot" 11.9.):

"Thanks are due to Dr. Herzl Rosenblum for his leading article on 5.9., where he very courageously reflected the feelings of many of us.

"One does not have to hurry too much in sticking on the rioters in the Central Bus Station the ugly label of 'pogromists'.

"When the explosion occurs next to you, when people are getting wounded around you and blood is spilled near you - your responses are not measured by everyday, cool criteria."

Yet other Israelis have an altogether different opinion. One instance is Yehuda Nini of Rehovot who writes in "Ha'aretz" (10.9.):

"I am not one of those gentle souls, I am far from being a "vegetarian". But these days I am walking about with feelings of profoundest shame. It hurt me most painfully to see Arabs in Tel-Aviv running in fright from the mob chasing them. It hurt me to see cars, the windows of which were smashed and the glass splinters lying around. I was ashamed to see the fear in their eyes. I felt that the whole Jewish morals was not worth the candle, if such things can pass in this country. I was born in this country and my parents came from Yemen. I have never known a pogrom or fear. But today I have felt the fear of the innocent followed by the mob. Suddenly I felt as if I myself were running

away in terrible fright through the lanes of Kiov, Odessa, Homel, Kishiniov (sites of anti-Jewish pogroms in Tsarist Russia-transl.), the mob running in my footsteps. Suddenly I felt all the pogroms which I had only known from books. Suddenly I understood the meaning of living in exile in one's own homeland. Horror, failure and shame."

### Empty Talk

According to some persons the Jewish people is a people of choice. Pogroms made by its sons do not resemble pogroms made in different historical periods. Pinhas Cohen of Lydda writes ("Yediot Ahronot"- 12.9):

"I do not intend to defend any shameful ruffians' behaviour, but one ought not to forget that the mischievous youngsters (as distinguished from the pogromists in Europe and the Arab countries) did not attack without any reason. Their blood simply boiled, when they saw the results of the explosions in the Station - therefore they could not control their nerves."

Still there exists concern about the future, and thus the attempt to analyse the situation brings to a different conclusion amongst other people. Zeller of Nir-Yitzhak in a letter published in Al-Hamishmar daily - 12.9.68. writes the following:

"It arouses some wonder that in spite of the supposedly general opinion of factors and personalities in the state, in relation to the riots of ruffians in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, the police has not found it right to put anybody on trial.

"If these riots constituted cooperation with hostile organisations, as the Defence Minister has said, how can one pass on? The impression has been created that these statements are just empty talk, meant perhaps to soothe external factors and tourists.

"To my sorrow, I am no partner to the positive evaluation of the preventive actions by the police, as long as they consider hooligans and pogromists as "youth who like to be gay", as the Jerusalem Police Commander has defined it. Is there no connection between this definition and the swift release of the seven pogromists (out of hundreds!), because of 'lack of proof'?

"There is much that is strange and unknown in these episodes which may affect the character of the state in future."

# THE FESTIVAL OF "L'HUMANITE"

On Saturday and Sunday, 7-8 of September, the traditional annual festival of "L'Humanite" was held in Paris.

The Israeli communist press which had been invited this year just as last year, was represented by comrade Ruth Lubitz for the Editorial Boards of "Zo Haderekh" and "Der Veg" and by comrade Muhammed Khass for the Editorial Board of "Al-Ittihad."

In the international town constructed in the framework of the festivities, an Israeli pavillion was erected, where an exhibition of photos rege 'ng the communist press and the struggle of the Israeli working people was shown, as well as Israeli products of handicraft.

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#### VILE BEHAVIOUR OF THE POLICE

The base actions of the Israeli police against members and leaders of the CP of Israel who leave and return to this country, have now reached a new peak with the search carried out against comrade Ruth Lubitz, who left on September 5 to represent the Israeli communist press as head of delegation to the Paris Festival of "L'Humanite".

Comrade R. Lubitz is a well=known personality in this country. She is the Chairman of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of Israel, member of the Presidium of the Israeli Peace Council, and member of the Council of Women Workers. The police leaked information to the evening paper "Ma'ariv" (6.9), that she "is suspected of conveying forbidden material abroad".

What is the "forbidden" material that was in her hands? The greater part had been censored two days before her departure and the rest was... keyholders designed to be distributed at the Festival of "L'Humanite". These showed on one side the heads of a Jewish and an Arab worker and below the word Israel in the two languages; on the other side was written in French D'Israel Avec Amitié. Such is the "forbidden" material which the police in their zeal have found!

The search carried out against comrade R. Lubitz comes at the end of a long series of similar occurences concerning other comrades. From the poets Samih al-Kassem and Muhammed Derwish who went to the Sofia Festival, their books of poetry were confiscated, books that had been published in Israel. From comrade

Tzipora Sharoni, who returned with ten Israeli children from the Artek children's camp, her notes were confiscated. She had to undergo a humiliating search lasting for two hours. From comrade Ita Vilner, who returned to the country one week before her husband, Member of Knesset Meir Vilner, material was confiscated which M.K. Vilner was sending to Israel. Comrade Muhammed Khass, the second member of the delegation to the Festival of "L'Humanite", nearly missed his plane due to the search carried out in his baggage.

This shameful behaviour is not a proof of the rulers' self-confidence, but of weakness and nervousness. We are certain that the Israeli public does not indentify itself with these actions.

# TALKS OF D. KHENIN IN BULGARIA

On September 4, the Bulgarian press published the following announcement:

During his brief stay, comrade David (Sasha) Khenin member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, met with comrade Boris Veltchev, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

At the meeting, which was held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, problems were discussed which are connected with the strengthening and broadening of the relations between the two fraternal parties, as well as topical problems concerning the international communist and workers' movement. Regarding all problems discussed, complete identity of opinions was expressed.

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# THIS, TOO, IS CALLED A SCHOOL BOOK...

#### By Rami Livneh

For the ten thousands of pupils the first of September is the real New Year. Thousand and one problems arise every year around this date: school fees, level of studies, the Arab schools, the percentage of leaving elementary school for the labour market etc. This time we shall try to illuminate one dark aspect of this ramified complex - one example from the matter of studies.

School books, the purpose of which is incitement against the State of Israel, books containing abuse, falsifications, calumnies and lies — only books of this sort, from which one used to learn in the territories "liberated" by the Israeli Army, were censored by the Ministry of Education. At any rate, this was the spirit of the explanations given by the Ministry of Education when it censored, at the beginning of last school year the text books in the occupied territories. This year, at the beginning of the 1968—1969 school year, it is worth the while to make a short tour through the mass of Israeli school books which feed tens of thousands of pupils every year with an overdose of "historical truth", "brotherhood of man" and "education for good citizenship"

It is very difficult to master the abundance of "sterile" material lying in such a strategical place as the pupils' bags. Therefore have we fished out one single "pearl" - a companion to the history of the State of Israel, called "Israel's Independence" which in certain educational institutions is even used as the main text book.

## "At Dawn"

It is difficult to demand of a book "for the young" to be constructed along the lines of a profound historical research work. Still there is no doubt that big letters and a popular style do not relieve it from conveying reliable information. The book opens with a description of "the country at the stage of desolation". It says (P. 13):

"The Arabs who already conquered our country one thousand and three hundred years ago, did really settle here and did consider the country as their homeland, but they did not do anything to preserve it from the teeth of destruction and desolation".

The worst of it is not the concealment of the fact that the area under cultivation, in Arab hands at the time of the (Zionisttransl.) "redemption of lands", was 5,5 million dunams, which is

somewhat more than the area under cultivation at present; neither is it the concealment of the fact that in every place where the Islam arrived during its expansion, close relations between Islam and Judaism developed; nor is it the disregard of the common struggle of Jews and Arabs against the Crusaders' occupation. The worst is the style. For throughout the whole length of the book, except in some isolated instances, it is impossible to find the noun Arab without modificators such as: occupants, murderers, robbers and thieves.

About the Bilu (first Zionist immigration, financed by Baron Rothschild - transl.), the author says (P. 26):

"In the beginning they had a difficult time in the country. Wherever they turned to, they were surrounded by Arabs, and the Arabs' eyes were fastened to their pockets. No Jewish colonies had yet been established, and they did not know where to look for work. Should they go to work in Arab orchards? No, not for this had they come here."

The book does not attempt to show how the lands were "redeemed", how business was transacted between the Jewish "philanthropists" (Barons Rothschild, Hirsch etc.) and the effendis, at the expense of the tenants who cultivated the soil. Against this, the words of one of the members of Bilu are quoted who speaks about the first days of Gedera (one of the first Jewish colonies - transl.), - P. 30:

"Our neighbours sold us dry sticks instead of the olive shoots which we wanted to plant. They drove us off in shame when we came to draw water from the well... Gedera was then nothing but a desert near an Arab village, the inhabitants of which were only looking for plunder".

## The Awakening of the People

The Jews coming here did not find peace. Their brothers, the Jewish farmers, preferred to employ Arab workers because of the low wages they received and because of their skill. The new immigrants of the second immigration wave did not conduct a common struggle with the Arab workers against the Jewish kulaks. They had only one object before their eyes (P.58):

"To be sure, the new immigrants could have established colonies of their own and made a living, but they understood the great danger of foreign labour (throughout the history of Zionist settlement in Palestine, the labour of Arabs for the Jewish newcomers has been called "foreign labour" - transl.); they could not reconcile themselves to the fact that the Arabs would inundate the Hebrew colonies, and instead of creating

there conditions of absorption and opportunities of work and existence for the Hebrew immigrants, foreigners would dominate them".

Who were those Arabs who would dominate the colonies? (P.59):

The Arabs who inundated the Hebrew colonies, did not only come there to obtain work. They saw the flourishing farms of the Jews and wished to profit from them not only by heavy work, but also in a much easier way - theft and robbery".

Particularly interesting are the chapters dealing with the "pogroms". In 1920 - thus it turns out in the chapter "The Bloody Events" - the colonies in the Galilee did not play any role at all in the struggle between the rule of the British imperialists and that of the French; they simply "built the country", contrary to the Arabs who devised plots of murder and plunder against the Jewish Yishuv (the Jewish population of Palestine - transl.)".

"The Arabs in the region" - so it says on P. 83 - "hated the French. But at the same time as they chased the French, the bandits set eyes upon the Hebrew settlements in the Galilee. Under the pretext that the Jews were friends of the French, they planned to attack the Hebrew settlements and to vent their anger on the settlers".

An innocent child could ask the simple question 'why?' Therefore the author prepares the medicine before the injury and explains (P. 88): "Agitators went among the Arabs, telling them that the Jews would take their lands from them; the incited Arab masses were just waiting for a suitable time to shed Jewish blood like water, and by the way to plunder the possessions of the Jews. Leaders incited them against the Jewish population and sent them to attack the new settlements, to plunder them and murder their inhabitants".

Of course there is not one word about the Arab rebellion. Not one single line is devoted to the Arab anti-imperialist general strike, which was exploited by the Zionist leadership in order to "conquer the market". Instead, the young pupil is told that the Arabs are bloodthirsty and kill for pleasure. This is how the period 1936-39 is described (P. 95):

"The Arab gangs plotted to destroy all that had been built by generations of "Halutzim" (Zionist "pioneers" - transl.) and they attacked our colonies, set fire to our corn fields, stoned and fired at Jewish passenger cars; the damages done to our property was very great and many were the victims that fell in those bloody events".

### The Establishment of the State of Israel

In our innocence, up to now we had been sure the State was established in order to give equal rights to all its citizens, without regard to their religion, race, sex and nationality. We had been sure that the Jewish people in Israel was not designed for being a "Herrenvolk", but a people maintaining friendly and fraternal relations with its neighbours, based on mutual respect. Now comes this profound book, "Israel's Independence" and clears our error away. It describes to the children of Israel the "yearnings of the heart of the people sitting in Zion" on the eve of the UNO Resolution of November 29, 1947 (When it was decided to end the British mandate in Palestine and to set up two states — a Jewish and an Arab one — transl.). On page 114 we read:

"Shall the dream of the tortured people which has for two thousand years resembled an eternal wanderer through the world, really come true? Shall the English leave the country and we ourselves shall we become its lords, and shall we be able to open its gates, open it wide before every <u>Jew</u> who will wish to return to it to live here?"

In order that the disaster that has happened to us should not recur, in order that in Israel no children should grow up who might think that this is a country which promises equality of rights without regard to religion and nationality, the author quotes the Declaration of Independence (on pp. 123 - 124-125), but leaves out of it the paragraph that mentions notions such as equality of rights...

## Guarding Security

A pastoral image depicts Ben-Gurion sitting under a tree, a shepherd's staff in his lap, in his hands an open book, near him a heap of books and a flock of sheep, calmly browsing on desert grass. For Ben-Gurion is, of course, "the most distinguished and most energetic man among the Jewish people of our generation".

Throughout the 20 years of the State of Isral's development, its achievements have been great and miraculous. "Throughout the whole of this period our state has marched along the road of consolidation and strengthening and now it need not be afraid of its enemies' designs". (P. 164)

We learn from the book that in 1956 there were sabotage acts of the "Fadayun" (Palestinian Arab military organisation active at that time - transl.) which without express reason

decided to do sabotage work in Israel and to attempt the lives of its citizen. "Finally", it reads on page 202, things reached a point where the State of Israel could no longer bear these crimes and the Defence Army of Israel decided to put an end to them".

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There is one way to understand what makes our "darling sabras" (nickname of Israeli-born Jews - transl.) so stinging. There is a well-tested means for the understanding of the great psychic distortion affecting too many our young people - the future of our people: One has just to open the school bags of children coming home from their "homeland lesson" and peruse their text books . One has to open their drawing exercise-books and see what subject was drawn in their last lesson. No doubt the knowledge that these children carry in their school bags explosives designed to sabotage any perspective for Jewish-Arab understanding - this mere knowledge will not prevent the explosion. But it suggests the direction of development of the young generation, so that we shall not be surprised, may God forbid this! by the malignant tumours that will grow thanks to the overdoses of this poison.

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# A GLIMPSE FROM THE ECONOMIC FIELD

The net profit of the "Alliance" tyre manufacturing company (Alliance-Hadera) was-6.4 million IL. (3.5 IL. = 1 \$) for the year 1967/68 as against 3.1 million IL. in the previous year. The balance of the company recently published shows also that the net overall profit from all the Alliance undertakings in Israel (including Alliance-Caesarea) was 7.1 million IL. as against 3.9 million IL. the previous year. This fabulous growth of profits was attained (growth of over 100%) notwithstanding the fact that the turnover of the company increased by only 27%.

This is typical of the growth of profits in various companies in Israel during the previous year attained on the background of increased military expenditure.

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