

created among the British people by the blind alley into which they had been led by Tory servility to the United States and arrogant aggressiveness towards the U.S.S.R., the Labour Party's spokesmen were throwing away all their chances, by ensuring that their idiotic proposals would be rejected by the Soviet Union as they were when put forward by Macmillan.

Of course everyone knows why the Labour Party leaders imagine that they can succeed in inducing the Socialist countries of eastern Europe to commit hara-kari where Macmillan failed. They have fallen victims to their own propaganda about events in Hungary and Poland last autumn, and imagine that the Socialist camp is tottering. In due course, naturally, they will learn better: but why should the people of Europe, and particularly of Britain, suffer from their folly, and from the continuing war perils of a continent armed to the teeth in this era of nuclear weapons?

One ominous reminder came but a few days later. Adenauer, spokesman of West German monopoly capitalism, declared on April 5 that his government would now require 'tactical' atomic weapons, and hinted that more powerful nuclear weapons might be needed as well—of course in order to 'play its full part in defence of the West'. Hitler said that too.

However, pressure from the rank and file brought about a successful revolt among Labour M.P.s on April 3 against Gaitskell on the question of H-bomb tests. It could win a second victory, if the job were tackled resolutely. You can't fool all the people all the time.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

THE FRUITS OF CAPITALISM

At a time when our powers to produce surpass anything which our forefathers could have dreamt possible, when by the aid of science and machinery in industry we are capable of producing in super-abundance, when through our creative efforts the wealth and luxury of the ruling class transcends our comprehension, we see at the same time only starvation and devastation in the homes of the millions of our class. In return for our toil we receive hunger and war.

From *The War and the Unemployed*,
by Wal Hannington, May, 1932.

ISRAEL

S. MIKUNIS

[In view of the great interest in the present position and future of Israel in the Middle East, we are pleased to print, slightly abridged, this speech of the leader of the Communist Party of Israel, delivered in the Knesset (parliament) on March 6.—Ed., L.M.]

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Knesset!

If there is a fraction in this house today which has the full moral-political right and obligation to move a vote of no-confidence in the Ben-Gurion government—this is our Communist fraction. We have been the sole fraction in the Knesset that rejected the adventure of the war against Egypt under the command of the British and French colonialists and with your participation; we have been the only ones that warned of the dangers inherent in this adventure; we have predicted its certain failure; we have sounded the alarm over its disastrous consequence, for the political status and the economic situation of Israel. Aware of our national responsibility and faithful to the cause of peace, the security of Israel and her future, we demanded the return of the Israeli forces from all occupied territories to the armistice lines.

Now, more than ever, many people understand that Israel did not reap any benefit from the Sinai adventure, that she only drew the chestnuts out of the fire for the British and French colonialists. Reality itself has verified all our political warnings and assessments. Following the war, the honour of Israel has been stained in the eyes of the world; her political status has been gravely affected; her economic position has been damaged; Israel-Arab relations and her relations with the countries of the socialist camp have been worsened; she had to retreat from all occupied territories; needless victims have fallen. Now even a blind man can see that the way of war has failed, that the policy in the service of foreigners 'from positions of strength' has become bankrupt. All those who care for Israel's peaceful existence and her future in this part of the world, have to unite in an energetic fight for a basic change in the policy of Israel, for the formation of a government of peace and national independence. . . .

The Ben-Gurion government deserves no-confidence not only because of its responsibility for the war and its consequences, pernicious to Israel; it deserves it also because of its delaying the

full evacuation from all occupied territories for months, with the encouragement of the imperialist powers. This delay rendered an important service to these powers, and particularly to the United States, for intensifying its intervention in the Middle East and thereby raising the tension in our region and aggravating the position of Israel in the Arab East and on the international arena. During the period of the delay, the government has assisted the United States to become the principal 'mediator' in the Middle East and to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of the region, with the aim of advancing the 'Eisenhower Doctrine'. During this period, you have circumvented the resolution of the United Nations Assembly, you have fully leaned upon Dulles, you have, step after step, subjected Israel to American rule.

Haim Meguri-Cohen (Herut): Whose rule do you want?

S. Mikunis: I want Israeli rule over Israel.

The big crime of the Ben-Gurion government consists not only in that it has thrown Israel into the Sinai adventure as the vanguard of the Anglo-French aggressors, but not less in that in retreating from Sharm-a-Sheikh (Gulf of Aqaba) and the Gaza Strip it has put Israel into the service of imperialism—this time mainly of American imperialism, according to a secret agreement which today is already not so secret, with the United States rulers. . . .

The whole noisy discussion on the question of the so-called American 'guarantees' to Israel; all the enthusiasm of Ben-Gurion over the 'declaration' of Eisenhower; all the energetic demands of the Mapam leadership for 'more concrete' guarantees from Foster Dulles, voiced by people who declare their faith in revolutionary socialism—all this is a big bluff; all this is intended to blur the basic truth that it was the government of *Israel* which gave guarantees and promises to the United States to assist them in their intrigues for military intervention in the region; that the government of Israel undertook the shameful task to guarantee enslaving American tutelage over Israel in the service of the Lords of oil and Wall-street capital.

This is a most worrying situation from the point of view of our national interests. In implementing *thus* the retreat from Sharm-a-Sheikh and the Gaza Strip in collusion with the United States for the sake of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the government of Israel has lost another opportunity to convert the retreat from the occupied territories into a political act of lessening the tension in the Israeli-Arab relations and of creating the pre-conditions for a just peace

settlement of the issues outstanding between Israel and the neighbouring states. The secret agreement with Foster Dulles aggravates Israel's subservience to the United States, abandons Israel to isolation and dangers; imposes on her the task of outpost in the region in the service of imperialism, mortally hated by the neighbouring peoples; and puts obstacles in the way of liquidating the malignant Israeli-Arab conflict.

From this tragic situation, only the United States rulers have benefited on the one hand, and the big bourgeoisie on the other. The big bourgeoisie, the big speculators have enriched themselves, have in this period become fat on the pretext of the 'emergency hour', at the expense of the working class and the masses of the people. The bourgeoisie and the government have exploited the 'opportunity' to impose sanctions on the toilers: the tax burden has been aggravated, the cost of living has soared, tens of thousands of families have been thrown into the throes of unemployment. The social achievements and rights of the working class have been cut down, the living standard of the working people has been lowered without precedent; for the war policy affects first and foremost the toiler, as it affects first and foremost the national interests of Israel. . . .

Honourable Knesset,

The Premier's speech yesterday was made under the shadow of the 'promises' he received from Eisenhower. This was the poorest part of the speech. Ben-Gurion wants us to believe that it is possible to build something on those promises, while it is known to anyone who cares to know that Eisenhower himself hardly holds his own positions in the Middle East and that every passing day moves the United States more and more to the same situation in which England and France find themselves today in the area. It is not accidental that to this very day, after eight years of existence of our state, the Israeli government has not succeeded in guaranteeing the most vital national interests of Israel—her recognition by the Arab states, signing of a peace treaty with her, security and calm on the borders, freedom of navigation, etc. The government could not guarantee all this, because it leaned upon imperialism and observed the Arab East through the rifle barrel, because the policy of military government towards the Arabs of Israel, because the policy of Kibia and Kufr Qasem makes it impossible to guarantee the interests of our people and country. Only without and against imperialism and its aggressive pacts; only by means of peace and

agreement; only through the acknowledgement of the just national rights of the Arab-Palestinian people—viz., the recognition of the rights of the Arab people to self-determination and of the rights of the Arab refugees to return to their homeland, the country of both of our peoples; only by abolition of military government and granting equal rights to the Arab population of Israel—only thus is it possible to secure for our country a status of a state recognised and endowed with equal rights in the Middle East to ensure our peaceful existence, our security and our future in this part of the world.

Different sections of the people of Israel understand more and more that it is impossible to go on in this way, that a change is required in our situation, that the change can and must come from inside. The time has come to bring about a basic change in Israel's policy from dependence on imperialism towards a policy of peace, independence and neutrality. Many non-socialist states, both small and large, in Asia and Europe, have chosen this path, and it has proved its superiority—politically and economically—over the dependence on the warmongers, the colonialist enslavers of peoples. Today there are objective international conditions and factors, and foremost the socialist camp, which enable also a small state like Israel, to take up a new way to ensure its national interests. The Knesset, the ruling circles of Israel, all those whose duty it is to care for the peaceful existence and independence of our country, must most seriously heed the new initiative of the Soviet Union regarding the Near and Middle East which opens new horizons for Israel.

We refer to the programme to ensure the peace, the independence of the peoples and the economic development of the countries of the Near and Middle East formulated by the former Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Shepilov, in his speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet on February 12 this year.*

*The Government of the U.S.S.R. proposed to the governments of the United States, Britain and France to exert a common effort for the implementation of the programme in the Near and Middle East, on the following points:

(1) Preservation of peace in the area by settling controversial questions solely by peaceful means through negotiations. (2) Non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the area; respect for the sovereignty and independence of these countries. (3) Renunciation of any attempt to involve these countries in military blocs with the participation of the great powers. (4) Abolition of foreign bases and withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of the Middle East countries. (5) Reciprocal refusal to deliver arms to Middle East countries. (6) Aid in furthering economic development of the Middle East countries without any political, military or other conditions incompatible with the dignity and sovereignty of these countries.

This programme entirely conforms with the interests of all the peoples of the area, including Israel, and opens a genuine possibility for the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Hanan Rubin (Mapam): Is the Communist Party for freedom of navigation for the State of Israel?

S. Mikunis: Yes. This is well known. I made a declaration in the Knesset to that effect only two weeks ago.

In view of all this, abandon the illusions about the 'promises of the President of the United States', adopt a policy of political realism, stop the foolish and criminal slander campaign against the Soviet Union—a campaign which first and foremost harms Israel—and do everything necessary to normalise and improve our relations with the Soviet Union.

A bitter experience of many years proves that the government headed by Ben-Gurion is neither willing nor capable of carrying through the necessary change in Israel's policy. This was especially demonstrated during the last months, since the Sinai adventure. For the honour of Israel, for its peaceful existence and security, for freeing our country of its isolation in the international and Middle East arena, for ensuring our independence and the lives of our sons and daughters, for paving the way to a just and peaceful settlement of Arab-Israeli relations, for ensuring our people's freedom from foreign yoke, and for our future as a state recognised and endowed with equal rights within the family of the peoples of the Arab East—for all this, we propose to the Knesset to express its no-confidence in the Ben-Gurion government; because of its responsibility for the adventure of the war against Egypt in collusion with the Anglo-French colonialists, disgracing Israel, causing needless victims, inflicting grave political and economic damage, and also because of its agreement with the government of the United States which invites American armed intervention in the Middle East, which endangers Israel's security and sovereignty, as well as the peace in the whole area.

We call on all patriotic forces in the people, irrespective of political and national differences, to unite in the struggle for a basic change in the policy of Israel, from dependence on imperialism and serving its ends, to a policy of peace, independence and neutrality, to unite in the struggle for the formation of a government of peace and national independence.

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