

20 Years After the June 1967 Defeat

Twenty Junes ago, the Zionist army occupied the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and Sinai, defeating the Arab regimes' armies and dispossessing thousands of Palestinians and Arabs. The less than six-day war of 1967 marked a sharp defeat for the Arab rightist and bourgeois leaders and regimes. It exposed the failure of the policies espoused by the classes and leadership in power. On the other hand, the 1967 defeat demonstrated with irrefutable logic that the aspirations of the Arab masses and the Palestinian people for liberation and social progress could only be realized by a revolutionary alternative to these classes.

The 1967 defeat was the prelude to a new stage in the region - a stage characterized by official Arab decline and the emergence of the Palestinian revolution as a direct, popular response to the June defeat. Undoubtedly, the 1967 war was a Zionist victory on the one hand. On the other hand, it was a political victory for the reactionary Arab regimes that capitalized on the setback inflicted on the organizations and regimes of the Arab national liberation movement. Under the impact of the 1967 defeat, the reactionary regimes were later able to assume the decisive role in drawing up official Arab policies. This was particularly true after the oil boom and its negative effects on the class structure in the region.

Twenty years later, the region is still affected by that defeat. The decline of the official Arab policies has continued - a sorrowful fact that could be seen in one simple example: the silence concerning Peres' public visit to Morocco last year. In this article, we will examine what has become of the official Arab policies, the Israeli policies and the Palestinian policies, twenty years after the June 5, 1967 occupation.

1967-1987: POLICIES IN DECLINE

A look at the official Arab situation today can only prompt a description like that of Marcellus in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: «Something is rotten in the state of Denmark.»

It is known that since the establishment of the parasitic Zionist state, a prime goal for imperialism and Zionism was attaining the Arab government's recognition of that state. The Zionists and imperialists realized that this goal could only be achieved through military force, to create facts in the region to their advantage.

The 1967 aggression came during a historical period that was not conducive to Arab recognition of 'Israel'. On the Israeli level, a socioeconomic crisis threatened the fragile structure of the Zionist entity. On the Palestinian level, armed struggle was escalating, and the PLO and Palestine Liberation Army were formed by the Arab League. On the Arab level, Egypt, the major front-line state, had enacted a radical socioeconomic program that would establish it as a firm, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, anti-revolutionary force. In Syria, several progressive changes were taking place.

Thus, the 1967 aggression was a necessity for the Zionist-imperialist alliance in order to attain hegemony in the region and establish a base antagonistic to the socialist system and revolutionary forces around the world. These aims were obvious in all the Israeli and US plans for solving the Middle East crisis since 1967: UN Security Council resolution 242, the Johnson plan, Rogers plan, Allon plan, Jarring mission, the Israeli Labor Party's plans, Camp David and, finally, the Reagan plan issued after the Palestinian forces' withdrawal from Beirut in 1982. The common aim of all these plans was ending the state of war between 'Israel' and the Arabs in a way that would consolidate the Zionist state while subjugating the Arab nationalist regimes. To this end, all these plans emphasized recognizing the right of existence and sovereignty of all states in the area. What is actually meant by that is 'Israel', since all the Arab states are recognized.

Although the Zionist-imperialist goals have not materialized after twenty years, this alliance cannot be totally dissatisfied with what has been achieved over these two decades. In addition to the 'peace' and normal relations established between the Zionist entity

and the most important Arab country, Egypt, there is a *de facto* acceptance of the Zionist entity by the vast majority of Arab states. This is witnessed in several facts: First is the Arab states' firm, unilateral adherence to the ceasefire resolutions, and their acceptance of the new Israeli borders after 1967. An exception to this was the 1973 war which proved to be only an attempt to pave the way for a settlement; in the case of Egypt, it led to outright surrender. Second is the total, forcible prohibition of Palestinian armed activity in the Arab states, particularly in the front-line states or across their borders. Third is the establishment of covert and even overt relations with the Zionist entity, namely by Morocco, Jordan and Numeiri's Sudan. Fourth is the complete neglect of the Israeli atrocities against the Palestinian people, whether in occupied Palestine or elsewhere. It took almost three months of siege of Beirut for the Arab states to convene a summit, and they did so only after the Palestinian withdrawal. Aggression against the Arab masses and territory is treated with the same attitude (the Israeli air raid against the Iraqi nuclear reactor and the bombing of the PLO's headquarters in Tunisia). Fifth is neglect and non-adherence to the resolutions boycotting the Camp David regime in Egypt. Sixth is the establishment of strong ties with the imperialist states, the strategic allies of 'Israel' and the supporters of its aggression, paving the way for the US in particular to consolidate its influence in the region. On the other hand, all efforts were exerted to weaken the role of the Arabs' friends and allies, particularly the Soviet Union.

Egypt's acceptance of UN Security Council resolution 242 was an initial indication of the Arab governments' willingness to recognize 'Israel', without consideration of the Palesti-