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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE !

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**THE 32ND PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF ISRAEL**

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On the 26th and the 27th of January 1990, the 32nd plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel was held with the participation of members of the central Control commission.

The session was presided by Fadel Naemeh member of the Central Committee.

Meir Vilner ,the General secretary lectured about the recent political developments in Israel and the world ,and about the preparations to the 21st National Congress of the party.

Wolf Ehrlich ,Chairman of the Central Control Commission who headed the committee of the status lectured about the proposals for changes in the status of the Party.

tawfiq Toubi, Deputy General Secretary, delivered a report about the work of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat .

A debate was held on the lectures and the report.

The session was adjourn to the 4th of February, in which the summing up will take place and resolutions will be adopted.

ZO-HADEREKH 27.1.1990

THE 33TH PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF ISRAEL

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On the 4th of February ,the 33th Plenary Session of the CPI Central Committee took place with the participation of members of the Central Control Commission.

The session was presided by Fadel Namneh, member of the Central Committee.

Meir Vilner, the general Secretary, summed up the discussion held at the 32nd session on political issues and on proposals for changes in the Party statutes.

The central Committee approved a series of proposals for important changes in the statutes for democratisation and asked the political Bureau to finalize, together with members of the Statutes Committee, the final version of the changes proposed in the Statutes.

The Central Committee approved the lecture and the summaries and adopted resolutions.

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At the beginning of the session, Meir Vilner, in the name of the central Committee, congratulated Nimer Murkus, Secretary of the Central Committee, and Menashe Khalifa, member of the Central Committee, on their 60th birthday. He pointed to their important contribution to the work of the Party for many years and wished them to continue their fruitful activity in good health.

#### 1- THE BLOODY ATTACK IN CAIRO

The CPI Central Committee expresses its shock at the murderous attack in Egypt against Israeli

tourists and sends condolences to the families of the killed and get-well wishes to the wounded.

The Central Committee warns against using the bloody attack as an excuse for acts of anti-Arab state terror and for the sabotage of the peace efforts.

The Central Committee points out again, that only ending the occupation and reaching a comprehensive and just peace settlement will weaken and liquidate the causes of hatred and despair that lead to terrorist attacks against civilians.

## 2- SHAMIR'S PROVOCATION

The central Committee condemns the declaration by the Prime Minister that "for big immigration we need a big Eretz-Israel", and his call to settle the new immigrants in the occupied territories. The aim of this policy is to create accomplished facts, to perpetuate the occupation, to harm the Palestinian Arab people and to sabotage the efforts for reaching an Israeli-Palestinian peace. The Communist Party of Israel is against the settlement of Israelis in the Arab territories occupied since June 1967, and against occupation itself. The CPI condemns the scheme to use the new-immigrants from the Soviet Union to strengthen the settlements in the occupied territories. This is a provocation against the Palestinian people, against the peace-supporters in Israel and against world public opinion. It is a provocation against peace that demands an Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967 and recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to an independent state alongside Israel

The Central Committee respects the democratic principle of freedom of emigration applied by the Soviet Union today , according to the Helsinki agreements . However, the right to leave the Soviet Union must not be used to sabotage the peace efforts .

The Central Committee appreciates very much the Soviet peace policy , that is opposed to the occupation and supports an Israeli-Palestinian peace based on the principle of two states, Israel and Falestin. But this policy requires that emigration should not serve the enemies of peace.

The Central Committee expresses its concern at the cases of chauvinism and antisemitism in the Soviet Union, that contradict the nature of socialism. The central Committee calls the Soviet Communist Party and Government to ban the activity of chauvinist and antisemitic organizations like "Pamiat" and to react firmly against acts by racist rioters who abuse the democratisation in the Soviet Union.

The central Committee condemns the hypocrisy of the US administration, that agitated for years against the Soviet Union , accusing it of closing its gates to the departure of its citizens, while it now closes the gates of the USA to Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union.

The central Committee is against using the newcomers from the Soviet Union as an excuse by the government for not fulfilling its duty toward the unemployed , the inhabitants of slums and towns, young couples and Arab population and abandoning them. The government has to provide jobs, housing, education and health services to all inhabitants of Israel.

The central Committee condemns the attempt to justify thereby the dismissals of Arab citizens



from their jobs and to preach for transfer. The Central Committee calls all democratic forces to intensify the struggle against all cases of nationalist and racist discrimination and ensure the rights of all inhabitants of Israel, Jews and Arabs, on an equal basis.

The Central Committee calls all peace forces to intensify the struggle against the occupation, against the scheme of settlements and for a just Israeli-Palestinian peace. The many milliards spent on military purposes, for preparing another war and oppressing the Intifada, must be spent for solving the social problems inside Israel.

### 3- FREEDOM FOR MANDELA! END THE APARTHEID!

The CPI central Committee congratulates the fraternal Communist Party in South Africa and the African National Congress on the revocation of the ban on their activity. The cancellation of the ban, of censorship and other measures declared by the South African government, are an achievement for the freedom fighters in this country and of the international solidarity with them. However, the state of emergency is still in force, the racist Apartheid regime is not yet abolished and the great leader, Nelson Mandela, is still in jail.

The Central Committee adds its voice to the demand: Abolish the emergency state! End the Apartheid regime! Free Nelson Mandela at once!

The central Committee demands again to stop all relations between Israel and South Africa—military, economic, cultural and public—as long as the Apartheid is not abolished.

## PLURALISM OF OPINIONS AND UNITY IN IMPLEMENTATION

By : Meir Vilner

The CPI National conference was marked by the preparations of the Party toward the 21st Party Congress to be held in May 1990. At the opening of the conference , the General Secretary, Meir Vilner, delivered a comprehensive lecture, parts of which we quote here.

The CPI National conference takes places in conditions of a deepening political and social gap in Israel . The Intifada, that entered already its third year, proved the adherence of the Palestinian Arab people to the peace solution suggested by the PLO, supported also by the peace forces in Israel - the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. The mass activities that took place in Jerusalem and other cities, among the events of "1990- Time for peace", with the participation of Israelis, Palestinians and peace supporters from abroad, proved that the isolation of official Israeli policy is growing.

The "Weizman crisis" reflected on the one hand the stubborn adherence of Prime Minister Shamir to a policy that blocks every way to peace, and on the other hand, that even a cabinet minister and many in the Labour Party demand to recognize the PLO as the other side of the conflict and negotiate with it. The crisis proved again, that the CPI does not operate in a vacuum, and that it is one of the factors urging for a change in the political thinking in Israel.

Our conference takes place at a time of a further intensification of the attack by the employers and the government on the toilers. The

government budget proposed for 1990 has no solution for the expanding unemployment. Moreover it is based on a depreciation of the real wages, on a painful cut of of the national insurance allowances, on price raises following the almost total cut of subsidies, on a raise in the value added tax and on abolishing free education. The Na'amat and Histadrut congresses to be held shortly, will be an important place for discussion of these issues. Therefore we have to prepare ourselves properly toward them.

#### UNIVERSAL AND CLASS VALUES

Though centers of tension and confrontation have remained in the world (The Middle East, Panama, Afganistan and others) we see an improvement in interantional relations. The new political thinking initiated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has much contributed to the creation of a new international situation. The defense of world peace, liquidation of nuclear weapons that threaten the very existence of mankind, the solution of severe ecological problems- these universal values are more and more acceptable as supreme criteria in international policy. The joint interests of protecting these values, crossing borders and continents, does not render less important the struggle for safeguarding world peace and the class struggle and the struggle for national liberation.

US imperialism and its allies have not changed their character and have not given up their basic aim- liquidating socialism. What is new is that they cannot reach this by military means, and this is important and good for mankind. But they certainly try to use many difficulties existing in the Soviet Union and the stormy events in the socialist countries, to try to reach their aim by using different means.

The universal value- to secure the very existence of mankind-is, of course, a supreme value, but there is no contradiction between the class struggle and the national liberation struggle. The more successes will be reached in the class struggle and the national struggle for true independence, it will help the struggle for world peace and disarmament. And vice versa : The more we consolidate peace, there will be more convenient conditions to succeed in struggles for national liberation and strengthening national independence .

### THE EARTHQUAKE

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communist parties in other socialist countries fulfil under difficult conditions the historical task they took upon themselves: to defend socialism, to innovate it in all spheres, to expand democracy. The CPI supports the policy of Perestroika with its basic aims of more socialism. We have rejected attempts to nourish nihilism regarding the past of the Soviet Union and to ignore the many achievements of socialism. At the same time we have adopted an objective approach ,estimating the successes and failures against the background of the historical circumstances that reigned in the past.

It would be a simplification to blame for the failures in the Soviet Union only the leaders when socialism has reached a deadlock in their time. The system by which socialism was implemented in the Soviet Union- the administrative centralized system- lasted longer than it was objectively necessary . The concentration of all powers of decision in the hands of the party leadership and not sharing it with the party members and the general public;

The absence of collective leadership; underestimating the laws of objective developments are not the characteristics of socialism, but contradict them. In the Soviet Union and other countries, it was not recognized in time that they were lagging behind and that new antagonisms have appeared in the meantime, and the delay in correcting the situation even made it worse.

At the same time, one must take into consideration the specific conditions in every country.

The summary of the first five years of Perestroika (1985-89) shows important achievements in the extension of democracy, openness and advancing pluralism in society and culture. At the same time many difficulties are evident, first of all in the economy and in the relations between the peoples. These issues became specially critical in 1989. One of the reasons is, that the old rules were revoked, but new rules have not yet been established, and therefore the reforms encounter many obstacles. The worsening of the economic conditions and the domestic instability threaten also the unity of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party itself, as shown by the recent dangerous developments in Lithuania and other republics.

The earthquake that occurred in various socialist countries originates from internal reasons, but it reflects also a general problem: The communist parties that were for years in power, lost the confidence of broad sections, and in some cases of the majority of the people. Therefore, their chief task is now to restore the confidence and reach a senior status in a government coalition that will strive for an innovative and democratic socialism.

It is early to conclude where the present developments will lead, and if in all these countries the socialist basis in the economy and society will be kept. But also in these conditions of uncertainty we may say, that socialism is better than capitalism. First, if an existential danger exists to mankind, its source is solely US imperialism, while the Soviet Union is the main force that protects world peace, the supreme value for the existence of mankind. Second, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries struggle for disarmament for development, that can save the peoples of Asia, Africa and latin America from premature death of dozens of millions, from starvation and disease . Capitalism is unable to solve the problems of society ;in socialism, however, lies the potential for a basic solution of the social and economic problems.

The CPI, as part of the world communist movement, was influenced by its historical achievements, but also by the weaknesses that appeared . The Communist party in this country has operated and operates independently in all issues within its direct responsibility, and has adapted its policy to the changing conditions. At the same time, we,too, have been influenced by the Soviet model of building socialism and by the general norms of the communist movement. Our Party, too, needs innovation and we have also to show more independence not only in issues within our direct responsibility, but also in issues that are not within our direct responsibility.

#### TRENDS OF INNOVATION

In conclusion, the CPI is an example of an independent party that has dared to take decisions in fateful issues and in times of historical changes, also when its positions were not accepted by the communist movement. In 1965,

when we defended the internationalist policy of the party against attempts to divert us toward Jewish nationalist positions, we did not find adequate understanding on the part of the Soviet Communist Party, but only after two years, when our opponents supported enthusiastically the aggressive war of June '67. Nevertheless, we have stuck all the time to our position. And this is only one example.

Experienced and proud of our history, we are also today vigilant and repel every sign of chauvinism, Jewish or Arab. To our regret, there are such signs at the margins of our ranks. We must reject vehemently every attempt to harm the Jewish-Arab unity of our Communist party of Israel.

On the basis of our conception and policy, every comrade is entitled and should express his opinion sincerely without arrogance and labelling others. Pluralism of views and unity of action are the essential expression of democracy inside the Party. Therefore, we are for full freedom of expressing opinions, but deny factionalism that leads- as experience has taught- to dissolution and splits.

We are for criticism, however sharp, but discussion means also listening to a different opinion and keeping democratic procedures. Slandering the past of the Party, noisy antidemocratic cries to get rid of the leadership and signing underground petitions contribute nothing to internal democracy, but harm the atmosphere inside the Party, and prevent an open discussion on the issue. Only the 21st Congress will wind up the discussions, outline the future policy and renew the composition of the leadership.

Our Party has an exemplary collective leadership. None of us has a monopoly on truth, and among the members of the Political Bureau there is not a single comrade who has not found himself in the minority in some issue. But a comrade whose opinion is not accepted is not exempted from carrying out the decision of the majority. We shall not agree to a situation when a party member, whose view is not accepted, mobilizes the public against the Party, or that a member declares provocatively that the statutes, the norms and the decision of the majority simply don't interest him.

We are against shutting the mouth, against bossism and undemocratic leadership. We have never punished a comrade because his opinion was different and there were always comrades whose views differed from that of the majority. The sole condition was keeping the unity of action of the Party, i.e. its ability to carry out the decisions it adopts. Finally, life itself decides who is right in the discussion.

The central Committee, on its own initiative, has started a party discussion on the changes in the statutes, with the tendency of more democratisation and openness. The Central Committee, on its own initiative, has decided to change the composition of the Knesset faction and to publish an internal bulletin, in which a free discussion will take place on ideological, political and organizational issues, besides the polemics in the Party press. So we may say, the Party not only talks about the need for democratisation, but also implements ideas in **this direction.**

#### TOWARD THE CONGRESS

Every member of the Communist Party of Israel can and should share the efforts to improve our



work, so that the 21st Congress will mark a higher stage in the development of the Party-said Com. Vilner, concluding his lecture . And he added :Let us prepare the Congress and conduct it so that it will be a new historical stage in the Party's development ,characterized by democratization, more openness and innovations in our working methods.Let us consolidate still further the democratic norms in the work of our Party:

- \* Collective leadership at all levels and personal responsibility
- \* Pluralism of opinions and unity of action
- \* Maximal freedom of expression and discipline out of consciousness.

Com. Vilner called the Party to work so that we shall end the Congress ideologically ,politically and organizationally strengthened and prepared to see the innovations ,the further developments, the changes. At the same time let us stick to the aim, to the essence of our existence as a communist party, upholding the noble values of socialism- socialism without distortions, that will inspire again the working man, the youth and the peoples.

ZO-HADEREKH 10.1.1990

## WE ALL HAVE TO CHECK OURSELVES

By: Tawfiq Toubi

Excerpts from a speech at  
National Conference of  
the CPI .

The problems of our communist movement will continue to preoccupy us a long time. Life forces the Party to face new questions. The country-wide party conference has made an important contribution to the clarification of these questions.

The importance of the conference lies also in its conduct, listening to each other. Criticism has been voiced here in various issues, but little self-criticism. The debate was important, but we shall take decisions and then act accordingly. We are not interested to become a club for debates and we must not deal with ourselves only. As a communist party, that is active in various public frameworks, we have to face first of all the problems preoccupying the public : The peace initiatives and efforts, the fight against the expanding unemployment, the resistance against demolishing houses in Arab localities, the stand against arbitrary police attacks on the Arab population etc. An adequate preparation for the 21st Congress means also intensifying our public activities.

We shall strictly safeguard the right of every comrade to express freely his opinion in the party institutions, including his attitude toward the party institutions and its leadership. But also a free discussion requires fairness .Criticism is part of the party life, but it must have a basis. We have to take care of comradely relations, mutual respect. One can criticise, even sharply, without going into humiliation and slanders, gossip and antidemocratic methods.

## WHY WAS SAMIAH GANDERY EXPELLED FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Some participants in the discussion claimed that Sameeh Gandery was expelled from the Central Committee because he wrote in "Al-Arabi". This is simply untrue. He told the central Committee, in the session that preceded the session where his exclusion from the Central Committee was decided, that he does not accept the rules of discipline and the obligations of a Central Committee member. He announced that he would appear with positions differing from those of the Central Committee, and because he knows this is unacceptable, he intends to resign. We suggested to him not to hurry, not to resign and not to advocate different positions, and that we shall discuss the issue in the next session. This was decided by a great majority, against a minority of comrades who demanded to accept his resignation. Sameeh Ganadrey did not wait till the next session of the central Committee and before its meeting, contrary to the decision and contrary to an appeal to him, he published his positions that contradict the summary of the central committee regarding the elections to the Histadrut and the Joint List. The central Committee discussed his provocative behavior and all participants in the debate criticized him. But he repeated that he would also in the future oppose in public the positions of the central Committee not accepted by him. Even then the central Committee was prepared to be satisfied with the criticism against Com. Ganadrey provided he promises not to speak in public against the positions of the institutions where he is member. He rejected this proposal, too, and so the central Committee had no choice but to adopt a resolution on his expulsion from the institution, a decision for which he pressed, in fact.

Sameeh Ganadrey's participation in this conference shows, that nobody intends to prevent him from expressing his personal opinion in the Party. But as long as the statutes is not changed, we shall act accordingly. Otherwise it will be a self-dissolution.

#### STATUTES ARE NOT SOMETHING FORMAL

An argument is raised, as if the party institutions were formed on a principle of numerical equality of Arab and Jewish comrades, and that party delegations can go abroad only if they are formed this way and headed by a Jew. This and similar arguments have simply no basis in reality and who said so, does not know the facts. Personally, I asked not once by journalists why Meir Vilner is the general secretary of the Party, even though most comrades are Arabs. I answered them, That we elect a comrade by his suitability for the post and not by his nationality. This was correct in the past and it is so at present. The criticism in the issue of the delegations to other countries is unfounded, and means dancing to reactionary tunes.

We all have to check ourselves regarding the reasons of the results in the municipal elections and in the Histadrut elections. Some blame only the leadership without examining the subjective factors in a particular place. In the Triangle, Umm Al-Fahm, Jerusalem and the South, for instance, we got in the Histadrut elections more votes than the democratic Front and the Progressive List got together in the previous elections. Everybody knows, that this was achieved first of all thanks to the activity of the democratic Front for peace and Equality. Such results could have been reached everywhere where a decline occurred, if the local activity had been better. Some comrades criticized honestly the complacency and neglect. unfounded

is also the argument, that the election results prove that our Party loses its status in the public. Today, even sworn enemies admit, that we were right in our political estimate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, regarding the problems and status of the Arab population in Israel and in other basic questions.

The task facing us inside the Party is to prepare ourselves properly and democratically toward the 21st Congress and hold it as a united Party. Unacceptable is the proposal to put aside the Party statutes, to prepare the Congress with new means and norms and allow, in fact, the appearance of factions and platforms in a way that contradicts the existing statutes. Sticking to the Party statutes is no formal matter. The unity of the Party will rise and fall in this context. We have to go to the Congress on the basis of these statutes, clarifying the proposals for changes in the statutes, and the Congress will decide what rules will guide the Party in the future. I call all comrades, also those who have criticism and proposals for changes, to conduct a fair discussion, to strengthen the Party and preserve its unity.

ZO-HADEREKH 24.1.1990

## CRITICAL AND UNITED

FROM A SPEECH BY MEIR VILNER WINDING UP THE SECOND SESSION OF THE CPI CONFERENCE, 13.1.90.

Two days of discussion, during which some 70 comrades have spoken and many have made written proposals, are not easy to wind up. But one may state clearly, that this was a most democratic conference.

Many of the participants in the debate dealt with the lessons our Party has to draw from the changes taking place in the socialist countries and in the communist movement. The speakers at the conference have strengthened the conclusion of the Central Committee, that our Party has to evaluate independently not only the issues and events within its direct responsibility, but also general issues in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries. We have not to copy mechanically the experience in other countries, because one of the mistakes of the communist movement was copying what happened in the Soviet Union.

Our Party supported the Perestroika from the moment it was proclaimed, because in our opinion it is vital to socialism and the development of its democratic and human nature. Perestroika is meant to guarantee more socialism, but this does not mean that in its course were no political and economic mistakes made and that no big difficulties have arisen in the implementation of its goals. Perestroika has brought a new way of thinking and an improvement in international relations, democratisation and openness. At the same time, the relations between the peoples have become more tense and the economic situation is hard, there is even a setback.

Already in 1987 we have told the Soviet comrades, that the Soviet Communist Party might

lose control and we expressed our concern of the trend of development in certain issues, that mean passing from one extremism to another. Our Soviet comrades answered us, that these are natural difficulties in a transitory period, that can be overcome. But meanwhile it turns out, that the difficulties are bigger than expected. It is no incident, that Com. Gorbachev emphasizes in his last speeches, that democracy is not anarchy, and that inconsiderate steps have led to a situation of shortage of basic commodities, while the amount of money in the hands of the public has grown too fast. During the transition to new systems of ownership and decentralization of the economy, irregularities have arisen and a grey market has developed, where many products can be bought at excessive prices.

Recently, the relations between the nationalities have taken unprecedented sharp dimensions, in spite of efforts by the Party leadership and by Com. Gorbachev personally, the leaders of Lithuania stick to their position of leaving the Soviet Communist Party and the Union of Soviet Republics. They ignore the warning, that the disbanding of the Soviet Union might lead to grave results for Lithuania itself and to the whole Soviet Union and harm the cause of peace in Europe, and in the world. The developments in Azerbaidjan and Armenia as well as in other republics show that the authorities have lost control and chauvinist organizations stage real pogroms.

For the time being one may say, therefore, that so far the Perestroika and its repercussions in other socialist countries have not brought more socialism, and that in some socialist countries communist parties abandon their ideological basis. One may estimate, that in the general elections taking place during 1990 in GDR, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, in

Rumania and Bulgaria, the communist parties will have to work hard to get more votes than the competing parties. there are also other alarming signs . While attempting to build a more democratic society , undemocratic methods are used to close the media to those who have remained faithful to the innovation, but on the basis of marxism-Leninism. In Rumania things have reached a real threat of outlawing the Communist Party. The meaning of such a step will be the death of democracy.

#### OUR PARTY AND THE SOVIET UNION

In this conference, the question was raised why we are saying that "we were misled and consequently we misled others". Saying so means that we have never supported knowingly distortions and crimes. At that time we were sure, that the reports in the west about the crimes were false. It must be remembered that once not only communist parties , but also socialist parties and even bourgeois parties praised Stalin in spite of the press reports. Immediately after the truth became known at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, our Party condemned the crimes and distortions .

In the post-Stalin era we encountered negative things and made our remarks to the Soviet comrades about them . But we have not publisized our critical attitude, considering the anti-Soviet atmosphere and agitation. Usually we have not reported about it to the Party activists. In many cases this was unjustified. And in this respect, the criticism is right. Our Party has learned the lesson from this experience and today we are more critical and independent also in issues that are not our direct responsibility. In issues within our direct responsibility we have always been independent.



So today, when our Party supports Perestroika, democratization, openness and the new way of thinking in the Soviet Union, we expressed to activists and in public our criticism at things in the Soviet Union that seem to us wrong. Thus, for instance, we criticized giving nationalist organizations like "Pamiat" the possibility to operate and the weakness in defending national minorities in some republics of the Soviet Union. We are concerned at the state of affairs that has also antisemitic expressions, upon which many Jews are leaving now the Soviet Union.

#### THE POWER OF SOCIALISM

Our basic solidarity with the Soviet Union was absolutely right. Evaluating the annals of the Soviet Union, one must not pass from one extremism to another. The socialist regime in the Soviet Union brought its peoples great historical achievements. The Soviet contribution to the struggles for national and social liberation and for safeguarding world peace is enormous. In all these issues we showed and rightly so, solidarity with the socialist Soviet Union. We were enthusiastic at the victory of the Soviet Union over NAZI Germany and her support for the liberation of our country from the British foreign rule and for the establishment of two independent states, Jewish and Arab. Just as it is wrong to present the history of the Soviet Union in rosy colors only, it is wrong to describe it in black colors only.

On the argument that socialism as such has disappointed, we have to answer not with slogan, but with a deep-reaching analysis. We have to emphasize, that the positive sides are socialism, while the negative sides contradict socialism. Nobody has expected such developments that happen now in the socialist countries. Our

reaction must take into account the new reality but without gliding into emotionality . Everything must be done that socialism should overcome its present conditions, but one of the preconditions is, not to abandon the Communist, Marxist-Leninist ideology. We must not forget, that like in the past, today, too, imperialism does not hide, that its basic aim is the liquidation of socialism. Today, this cannot be done by military means, therefore political means are used. Imperialism also poses political conditions and adds dictates to every proposal for economic aid to the east European countries.

Marxism-leninism was not and is no dogma and already Engels has noted in the introduction he wrote to one of the translated editions of the "Manifest of the Communist Party", that if he had written the Manifest at that time, he would have written some parts differently. Still more so if we examine the contemporary capitalism and its present development that could not be foreseen by marx, Engels or Lenin.

The need to adapt the concepts to the reality exists not less in socialism. Experience proves, that when no such adaptation is made, the communist parties make mistakes and pay a heavy price. However, it has been proved in some periods, that when the communist parties detect correctly and in time the changing conditions, socialism is capable of developing at a more rapid pace than capitalism. Socialism has an enormous potential. Socialism is the future of mankind ,even if the process will be much more complex and longer. The developed capitalist countries have proved, indeed, a high capacity of scientific-technical development, but it must be understood, that the source of the greater part of their wealth lies in neo-colonialist exploitation . It must be pointed out, that

capitalism has not escaped, and cannot escape, its social antagonisms.

## POLICY AND THE LEADERSHIP

Comrades at this conference expressed a high appreciation for the policy of our Party in all its history, especially in the last decades. But after praising the policy and ideology, some of them are speaking against... the Party leadership. This is a clear contradiction. But there are comrades for whom the replacement of the leadership has become a slogan that is to serve an attempt to undermine the ideological and basic organizational fundamentals of the Party.

I wish to criticize severely the phenomenon of organizing petitions. This is a destructive activity that started as an underground operation inside the party. Those who engage in this anti-democratic activity will not achieve their aim, but can cause some harm to the Party. I appeal to the conscience of these comrades: Stop it! In our Party there are all the possibilities of a free discussion, verbally and in writing, for pluralism of opinions. Our Party is a democratic party, where a further democratisation and opening is taking place now. Who wants the best for the Party, should not use twisted ways.

## ON THE ELECTION RESULTS

Some participants in the debate argued, that we failed in the last three election campaigns. This statement is entirely unfounded.

In the Knesset elections of 1988, the DFPE faction has gained a significant increase of votes- 21%. relatively we have kept the same percentage. In the conditions at that time. This is certainly a success and not failure .

In the elections to the municipalities we encountered a new factor-the Islamic movement. We lost leading positions in some municipalities and reached leading positions in others. True, we won again in the elections to the Nazareth municipal council, but the percentage of votes obtained by the "Front" was lower. The Islamic movement, that participated in the elections for the first time, got a significant representation won also the seat of mayor of UMM-Elfahem. Instead of analyzing seriously this new phenomenon, its source and background, some comrades attack the Party leadership. Obviously, the Islamic movement is getting stronger in the last years not only in Israel, but also in many other places, like in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, in Jordan and other countries. Instead of thinking over the issue and how to deal with it, this phenomenon is used to attack the Party leadership and its policy.

In the Histadrut elections in November 1989, the joint list of the DFPE, the Progressives and the Arab democratic List reached disappointing results, and the reasons must certainly be analyzed. Our principled position for cooperation based on a joint programme, with everyone who is ready to cooperate, is correct. Unfounded is the argument, that the Arab population didn't want a joint list. On the contrary: there was a big, justified demand, that there should be no more division, if a joint programme can be attained. We have analyzed the reasons for the election results and published the conclusions. One of the important reasons of the result reached is the inactivity of some comrades in the election campaign. This was an outcome of the concern in view of the developments in the socialist countries, but also of the activity of some comrades against the Party leadership and its policy.

The Party leadership, most of whom bear the responsibility since 1965, must be credited for the correct policy, for the correct ideological bases and for safeguarding the Jewish-Arab unity. It must be remembered, that the years passed since 1965 are a very long period in our history of unity in the Party. Therefore, the talks about the nationality of those who hold posts in the party, are harmful. Our Party is an exemplary internationalist Jewish-Arab party, and one of its sources of strength is the collective leadership.

A party member has the right to think that he deserves to belong to the leadership. But the way to the leadership passes through the branches and who will be a delegate at the Congress, can be also a candidate for the Central Committee. In the CPI, the elections at all levels are secret and the number of candidates was always higher than the number of seats in the institutions. And there were cases, when somebody who was proposed by the outgoing central committee or branch committee or regional committee, has not been elected.

The Statutes Committee ends its work and after the Central Committee will discuss the proposal, it will be published and all comrades can comment on the proposal and suggest further changes.

The development of the Party must be based on continuity and innovation. That is how we used to operate till now, and so we must continue.

Let us prepare the 21st Congress in a spirit of comradeship and openness, to strengthen our Party and its influence.

ZO-HADEREKH 24.1.1990

**MK. MEIR VILNER:**

**I AM LEAVING THE KNESSET WITH  
A GOOD FEELING BECAUSE A QUARTER  
OF THE KNESSET MEMBERS SUPPORT  
ALREADY PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO**

With great appreciation for his work during the 40 years of his membership in the kneset, the Israeli parliament said goodbye to MK Meir Vilner, who handed this week his letter of resignation to the Kneset chairman. On this opportunity, the chairman expressed his appreciation for MK Vilner's way.

The Chairman, Dov Shilansky, in a gesture of respect, allowed MK Vilner to make his speech at the opening of the plenary session and preceded it with warm appreciation for his way and work.

MK Vilner brought in his speech the essence of his "credo" and expressed his content regarding the positive changes that have taken place and his concern at the existing dangers. At the end of his speech, Kneset members from various factions approached him and shook his hand. Many of them said they agree to most things he said in his speech.

A press conference took place in the afternoon in the Kneset building with the participation of MK Vilner and Hashem Mehameed, who will be a regular Kneset member of the faction of the democratic Front for Peace and Equilaity (DFPE).

**MK VILNER'S FAREWELL SPEECH**

With all sincerity, I am leaving the Kneset, after so many years, with a good feeling. After we were really isolated for years, in the first, second, third and fourth

Knesset, I am leaving the Knesset today in a different situation. In some things we said we were alone, nobody agreed with us and the Knesset members attacked us. Still in 1977, when the Likud came to power and I said the world PLO on this rostrum, a storm broke out in the hall and I was not allowed to continue my speech. But see what happens now. I found, that more than a quarter of the members in the present Knesset, and perhaps some more in their hearts, say openly that if you want peace with the Palestinian people, you have to talk with the PLO. We have reached a point, when even ministers in the Israeli government call for talks with the PLO. You will understand my feeling, when after many years of isolation, over a quarter of Knesset members and even cabinet ministers say that we must talk with the PLO. But not only this. A quarter of the Knesset members are for the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, and some advocate a Palestinian state alongside Israel. This gives me a good feeling : We are not alone !

I personally have said from this rostrum, that I have met not once PLO leaders, including Yasser Arafat . In 1987 we had an especially important meeting and signed a first communique of its kind, that the PLO supports a solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and of the Palestinian question on the basis of two states for two peoples in the 1967- lines. The communique says that the PLO calls the government of Israel, not only the State of Israel, to negotiate for peace. I considered this as something very important, because it was the first time that the PLO , at the most competent level, used these words in public.

I feel good , also because in the Knesset as well as among the Israeli people it is

understood , that the Palestinian leadership and the Palestinian people say now what we have proposed to the two parties for many years .

#### FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DOVES

The present Knesset is not like the First Knesset. I have friends among many knesset members, even if we are divided in our opinions and don't agree with each other. Not once it happened, that a Knesset member of a faction that is far from our conceptions, especially in the decisive issue of peace, made a speech on this restrum and then came to me and said : "Now seriously, what will happen to us? What will be the end?"

Every time people told me so, and now when I am leaving the Knesset, I wish to say that I am afraid. It has nothing to do with my Communist views and with my ideology : as a citizen, as a person who lives here and has a family here, and after all my family was killed by the Nazis -I am afraid of another war, perhaps with more deadly weapons. We are a small country and time may be a decisive factor for our very existence. And if a disaster happens, all of us, irrespective of our opinion, will not forgive ourselves.

Recently I have proposed several times in the Knesset a cooperation between all who are for a realistic peace. I wish that all doves in the Knesset, in spite of ideological and other differences, will join forces. The doves in the Knesset are a big force now and we can influence the future development of the State of Israel also in the Knesset.

#### PROTECT THE KNESSET



believe a day will come when the state of Israel will implement what the scroll of Independence said on equal rights for all citizens irrespective of race, religion, sex, nationality and community. I believe, that the existing discrimination against the Arab population will be abolished and equality will be reached also for the oriental communities and also equality in practise for the woman in Israel.

I leave the Knesset and soon other Knesset members will leave our faction, members of the Communist Party. Let me tell you sincerely, that there are several reasons for it . The principal reason is, that we lead our party and our movement. The world movement and also our Party are engaged now in ideological and other discussions . We wish to dedicate all our time to this work, needed at this time .We are also preparing an important Congress in May.

I shall continue with full energy and spend all my time on the political work till we reach peace then all our life will change and we can speak about the next stage in the development of the State of Israel.

Though we had different times, that were not easy in the Knesset, we, and I personally, had always a positive attitude toward the Knesset as a parliament. Those who want to liquidate the Knesset are enemies of democracy. With all deficiencies of the Knesset, in spite of all complaints against it, without the Knesset it will be a disaster for the State of Israel. With all the controversies and criticism, we have to protect the Knesset from those who undermine it, to establish a regime , that was called fascist in other countries.

I believe peace is the supreme national interest of the State of Israel, of the Israeli people, not only of the Palestinian people. What I did and what we have done all our life, has been done out of concern for the people of Israel, concern for the existence, security and future of the State of Israel as a state integrated in the Arab region where we live, building relations of friendship and cooperation.

KNESSET CHAIRMAN, DOV SHILANSKY:

**I HAVE ALWAYS ADMIRER HOW HE  
STICKED TO HIS IDEAS**

Knesset members, today at 10 a.m., Knesset member Meir Vilner handed to me his letter of resignation from the Knesset. MK Meir Vilner is one of the signatories of the Scroll of Independence, and except for two intervals he was a member of the Knesset since the First Knesset.

During all the time of his membership in the Knesset, MK Vilner was fighting for the ideas in which he believed. And though there was a large gap between his views and the views of the majority of the House, I have always respected and admired how he stuck to his ideas and his firm stand against a flood of criticism, sometimes also sneers.

It would be good, if Knesset members would learn from MK Vilner being faithful to their views in which they believe, without squinting toward the opinion of the public, and if they express the faith in their heart in every situation and condition.

I wish Knesset member Vilner health and all  
the best in his life .

ZO HADEREKH 10.1.1990

## BLOWS ON THE WORKERS WITH THOUSANDS OF EXCUSES

Speech in the Knesset on  
the budget for 1990 by :  
TAWFIQ TOUBI

THE FINANCE MINISTER SPEAKS ABOUT "ECONOMIC GROWTH" AND "ABSORBING IMMIGRANTS", BUT THESE ARE NOT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATE BUDGET FOR 1990 . THE NEW BUDGET IS MARKED BY MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND PAYMENT OF DEBTS, AND BY THE ECONOMIC-SOCIAL CRISIS AND INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL GAP.

Though the state budget has been brought before the Knesset by the representative of the Labour Party, Minister Shimon Peres, it is a budget harmful to the working class and serving the capitalists. The budget has no answer to the deepening crisis, the expanding unemployment and the bankruptcies in the farming sector. But it shows a clear intention to lower the living standard of the toilers by raising prices and depreciating wages and by a further cut in social services (education, health) and national insurance allowances. This budget is marked by a clear national discrimination, that has no answer for the requirements of the Arab population who becomes the poor sector in the State of Israel.

### THE BURDEN OF THE OCCUPATION

Changes are taking place all over the world. Against this background and thanks to the increasing detente and the atmosphere of peace in the interantional arena, various states have announced a cut in their military expenditures. The easing of tension affects also the Middle East and there is a growing tendency in the countries of the region to cut military

expenses. But Israel's official leadership behaves as if it were living in a different world: Instead of cutting the military expenses, it increases them at the expense of the living standard of the masses.

Blocking the way to peace; the attempt to perpetuate the occupation and subdue the Intifada; the policy of the long stick, turning Israel into a kind of policeman in the regions of all these can be seen in the budget. And because of this political military trend, the economic and political subservience of Israel to the USA is growing.

The table shows, that the obvious military expenses amount to about 16 milliard Shekel which is 24% of the total budget for 1990: while the return of debts amount to more than 24 milliard dollars- 37% of the budget. The military expenses and return of debts (mostly a result of the military expenses) add up, consequently, to 40 milliard Shekel, 61% of all expenses in the budget.

The direct military expenses for the suppression of the Intifada, marked specifically in the budget, have grown from 126 million Shekel in '88 to 276 million Shekel in '89 and to 300 million Sh. in the draft budget for 1990. But according to other figures, the true cost of suppressing the Intifada is some 100 million Sh. a month, or over a milliard Sh. a year. Minister Jacoby has estimated, that the Intifada has costed in two years ('88-'89) over a milliard Shekel. But Deputy Minister Beilin said that the Intifada has caused a drop of 1.5% in the gross national product (GNP). Especially the Israeli exports to the territories and the tourism to Israel have suffered.

An international comparison underlines still more the burden of military expenses. The security burden (including direct military expenses, payment of debts for these expenses and the loss of product) has reached in Israel 17% of the GNP, in the USA only 5-6%, in Western Europe only 2-4% ,and in Japan only 1%.

In the seventies and eighties, the burden of expenses for military purposes is the principal factor that has stopped the economic growth. This is illustrated by the following international comparison: In the 15 years 1974-1989, the per capita GNP in Israel has grown by 17%, compared with 32% in the USA and west germany; and even 68% in Japan. this means that because of the costs of the war and the occupation, the gap in the economic development is growing to Israel's detriment. A warning is already voiced, that if this trend goes on, Israel will deteriorate to the standard of a Third World State.

Hence the conclusion, that the true remedy for the diseases of the economy and society is a just and stable peace settlement, withdrawal from the occupied territories and creating a new climate for regional cooperation, This essential change will make it possible to direct large resources toward economic development, to develop public services and raise the living standard of the masses.

AFTER 40 YEARS FREE  
EDUCATION IS ABOLISHED

The 1990 budget, like its predecessors, will be an inflationary budget. At the income side of the budget one finds loans and grants from abroad ,loans and credits from Israeli sources, including the bank of Israel, in a total amount of about 25 milliard Shekel, that is 37% of the

total income . Therefore, one may doubt the forecast of the Finance Minister, that the rise of prices in 1990 will amount to 15% only.

The government on its part intends to contribute to the inflation by cutting the subsidies still left and raising the prices of bread, milk, water and traffic fares, as well as raising the taxes on fuel and cigarettes. Inflation will bring down the real value of wages also in 1990. But these are not all calamities that the new budgets hold for the workers.

The unemployment, that strikes already 170,000 persons, 10% of the labour force, is an outcome of the government's policy, that does nothing to limit the number of unemployed. It is planned to make things worse for the unemployed by adjusting the unemployment allowance in the future not to the average wages (as stated in the law) but only to the cost of living allowance paid to wage-earners.

The government and the employers take advantage of the expanding unemployment to press for wage cuts and less social benefits . The budget reveals, that the minimum wages will be kept down, the housing index will be excluded from the cost of living allowance, the students and working mothers will not be granted any more income tax reduction.

The Finance Ministry cuts systematically the allowances paid by the National Insurance Institutes . They will be adjusted according to the price index instead to the average wages. Children's allowances will also be cut, so that half of all families who have two children will lose the allowance.

especially severe is the intension of the government to cancel the law of free education that exists since 40 years and force parents to pay for compulsory kindergarten education, elementary and intermediate school. the excuse for this pay is the introduction of a long schoolday, till 3 p.m.

The long schoolday is something vital, especially when two parents are working and families live in hard conditions. However, the schoolday will be longer anyhow, because of the newly introduced 5 days school-week. Second, the Ministry of education has not reinstated the hours deleted from the study-table in the last years; third it means abolishing a basic social achievement, a dangerous precedent. Therefore, the long schoolday should be financed at the expense of other items in the budget, first of all the costs of the occupation.

The government that has prepared a series of serious blows for the workers and recipients of allowances, intends to be good with the rich and the earners of high incomes. The company tax will be reduced again, this time from 45 to 42%, thus the company owners will get a gift valued at 150 million Shekel. Further, the Finance Ministry intends to sell to private, foreign and local capitalists profitable governmental companies , at liquidation prices.

One may say, therefore, that the labour Party leaders do the job for the Likud. Peres who proposed such an anti-labour budget, becomes the target for the anger of the damaged population, while the Likud, allegedly dissociating itself from this budget, misleads them by pretending to protect them. We saw this recently, when the so-called "egg law" was brought before the Knesset, that is supposed to protect the farmers in the north. If the Lbour



Party will continue this policy, it will further lose public support and then no shameful deals, not even such as the one schemed presently with MK Charlie Biton, will save it .

#### IMMIGRANTS MUST NOT BE ABSORBED IN THE SETTLEMENTS ACROSS THE GREEN LINE

Problems connected with the absorption of immigrants were presented in the debate on the budget. We condemn the declaration by prime Minister Shamir, that a big immigration requires a big Eretz Israel, and his call to settle the newcomers in the occupied territories. Those declarations sabotage the peace process. We have opposed and continue to oppose the colonialization of the occupied territories, that Israel must return. therefore, we condemn every attempt to settle there new immigrants ,no matter where they come from.

The attempt by the Prime Minister to use the new immigrants for expanding the settlements in the territories is also a flagrant provocation against the Palestinian people and international public opinion. The settlements have been condemned in dozens of UN resolutions that define them as a provocation against peace.

That is why we oppose any allocation, in whatever Ministry, for absorbing immigrants in settlements across the green line.

In the division of the national sources ,the government has to listen to the demands of the citizens of the state, especially of inhabitants of poor neighborhoods and development towns, who have suffered many years from inhuman housing and living conditions. They demand, rightly, the same treatment and resources, given to the newcomers. It is necessary to respond to their demands, to prevent the deepening of the social

estrangement between the different sections of the population.

#### RUDELY IGNORING THE ARAB POPULATION BY THE GOVERNMENT

The shameful approach toward the Arab population is again reflected in the speech of the Finance Minister, who spoke on the budget a full hour, but not a single sentence referred to the Arab population, that constitutes 16% of the citizens of Israel.

The social and economic distress of the Arab sector is the fruit of national discrimination since the foundation of the State. If one speaks about poverty in Israel, it is no secret, that half the inhabitants who live under the poverty line are Arabs, and the two thirds of the children in that section of severe distress are Arabs.

The Arab workers are the first victim of employment and the Arab localities have become centers of jobless people, where a quarter of the labour force does not find work. 35% of the Arab academics are unemployed.

The health, education and welfare services in the Arab localities are at the lowest standard and the gap between them and the Jewish localities continues growing. many Arab municipalities are unable to pay the salaries of their employees, therefore it is vital to allocate immediately 100 million Shekel to cover their deficits.

The 1990 budget has to contain a special fund for the development of the Arab localities, to finance the development of vital social services, projects of industrialization and construction for educational and health

services. It is a fact, that for the financing of the special allocations for the religious sector, the government finds more than 100 million Shekel, while nobody in the financial committee recommends to save the Arab localities.

Conclusively, the government budget for 1990 is a budget for continuing the occupation, for blocking the road to peace, a budget implying calamities for the working class, national discrimination and serving the big capitalists. Therefore, the DFPE faction proposes to return it to the government.

ZO-HADEREKH 7.2.1990

**MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND REPAYMENTS OF DEBTS**

	BUDGET 1990		BUDGET 1989	
	MILLION SHEKELS	%	MILLION SHEKELS	%
<b>Over all expenditures</b>	<b>65,777</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>55,211</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Ministry of Defence	12,420		10,493	
Civil administration in the occupied territories	192		158	
Ministry of police	1,052		890	
Committee for nuclear energy	57		50	
General Reserves	1,981		1,752	
<b>OVERT MILITARY EXPENDITURES</b>	<b>15,703</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>13,344</b>	<b>24.2</b>
Repayments of debts (capital)	12,961		11,938	
Interest	9,706		8,181	
Repayment of debts to the Bank of Israel	1,710		1,500	
<b>Over all repayment of debts</b>	<b>24,377</b>	<b>37.1</b>	<b>21,619</b>	<b>39.2</b>
<b>Military expenditures and repayment of debts.</b>	<b>40,080</b>	<b>60.9</b>	<b>34,963</b>	<b>63.3</b>

## THE TRUE FACE OF THE INTIFADA

By: Tawfiq Toubi, speech in  
Knesset on a motion of a  
non-confidence in the ,  
government, 24.1.90.

THE DECLARATION BY FEISAL AL-HUSSEINI IN FAVOR OF AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE SETTLEMENT, MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND COEXISTENCE, WERE LIKE A THORN IN THE EYES OF THE SHAMIR GOVERNMENT AND THAT IS WHY HE WAS ARRESTED.

The release from arrest of Feisal Al-Husseini without a charge-sheet filed against him, exposed the nakedness of the Shamir government .

By the arbitrary arrest, the government has demonstrated again that it does everything to sabotage the peace efforts . This government is incapable of allowing the activity of Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories, who advocate the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and in the Gaza Strip, alongside Israel . Feisal Al-Husseini, who believes in a peace based on mutual recognition and coexistence, expresses the peace-supporting contents of the Intifada and the desire of the Palestinian people for a settlement that will respect the right of the two peoples to independence ,sovereignty and peace.

### A POLITICAL ARREST

This is not the first time that he is harassed. Feisal Al-Husseini was already twice in jail, every time six months ,in administrative detention, and recently he was forbidden to travel abroad. The last arrest adds to these harassments the attempt to "frame" him for engaging in terrorist activities. But this provocation, planned and organized by the regime

through the General Security Service, was woven with such coarse threads that it did not last but a few days.

The GSS and the police were forced to release Feisal Al-Huseini after Shamir's attempt to deny the political nature of the arrest failed. Even the police superintendent Kraus was forced to admit, that by arresting Al-Huseini the police was only a tool in the hands of the security services, i.e. the government.

The provocative arrest roused a wave of protest in Israel and the world. Even the US administration referred to it as a transparent attempt to erect an additional barrier on the way to an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue and spread despair among the masses in the occupied territories.

Indeed one of the aims of this arrest was to signal to the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, that peace supporters of the kind of Feisal Al-Huseini, who are among the real candidates for a dialogue with Israel, will be a target for persecution.

#### EXPOSING THE DOUBLE-FACED BEHAVIOR

The Shamir government, in its great hypocrisy, claims, that it is interested in negotiating only with "elected representatives" of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. But the reality proves, that when such real representatives appear, who enjoy the trust of their people and are ready to conduct negotiation for peace, the government is trying to defame them, to subdue them and even remove them from the political arena. Does anybody in the government or in the GSS believe, that they will succeed in finding a Palestinian quisling, who will come to the negotiating table by the order of Shamir?

The obstinate refusal of the government to negotiate with the PLO, the competent leader of the Paletinian people, prevents every progress toward peace . Not only in the world, but also in Israel people understand already that only with the PLO can and should the government talk peace. What does the government in its almost total isolation in this issue? It is trying to interfere brutally in determining the composition of the Paletinian delegation for the negotiations, and in this context, Feisal Al-Huseini is arrested.

#### VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS

The arrest of Feisal Al-Huseini has also another aspect: It shows again the disrespect of the government and its intelligence services for elementary human rights. The GSS representatives have tried to mislead the court, claiming they have appearantly conclusive insriminating evidence and they raised again and again the argument of secrecy for security reasons. But the hearing by judge Arad showewd, that the request for 15 days detention was maid still before he was demanded to testify. Therefore, by order of the judge, who reprimanded the police, the testimony was written down in the courtroom. After the order of arrest was issued, the GSS interrogators tried to extract a confession of acts he has never committed , and this by cynical threats and shameful proposals.

And if the accusations framed up against him were not enough, the police let the "Kách" and "State of Judea" hooligans attack Al-Huseini twice, inside the court building and outside . All excuses by the Minister of police in this affair mean nothing : The policemen simply have let the pogromists spit on Huseini and let them try to lynch him. This was no police negligence; it was a plot planned by the security services to make it clear to Al-Huseini and to the public

that even though the prey escaped their hands , they will continue to harass him in the future, threaten him and disturb him in his activities.

#### A NARROW GOVERNMENT OR EARLY ELECTIONS

The non-confidence motion tabled by the faction of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, (DFPE) is, therefore, to protest against the persecutions against Feisal Al-Huseini, against the criminal attempt to silence every Palestinian voice of peace, and against the sabotage by the Shamir government of every peace effort.

When one hears the proposal by Minister Sharon in the cabinet meeting to use the fact that the USA is preoccupied in Panama and the Soviet Union in Azerbaijan, to get rid of Al-Huseini and of other Palestinian personalities, and when the Prime Minister does not reject this proposal immediately- one sees again how politically and morally bankrupt this government has become.

The Shamir government, by this policy, may bring another disaster of war on the two peoples. Therefore, the supreme interest of both peoples is to disband the "national unity" government that is a government of national disaster.

For Israel and for peace it is vital to establish another government that will negotiate for peace with the PLO. The DFPE will support a narrow government headed by the Alignment, if it agrees to talk with the PLO and to recognize the right of the Paletsinian people to self-determination. If it is impossible to form such a narrow government, the DFPE will support early elections to the Knesset.



## NOT EVERYTHING PASSES

By: Yael Unger

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION DID NOT EXPECT THAT THE SUPREME COURT OF JUSTICE WOULD ORDER TRIAL OF COL. YEHUDA MEIR BECAUSE HE GAVE ORDERS TO BREAK HANDS AND LEGS.

In January 1988, the Intifada was not yet two years old, when Col. Yehuda Meir, then commander of the Nablus area, ordered his subordinates to pick up, according to a list prepared in advance by the general security service, 20 of the villagers of Hawara and Beits. The hands of the marked victims and the legs of some of them, were chained, they were blindfolded, their mouths gagged, they were pushed on a bus and taken outside the villages. Then they were taken off the bus and the orgy of violence started.

The soldiers, who, according to the testimonies taken post factum, got explicit orders to break hands and legs, were beating their victims with sticks and kicking them. The sticks were broken from the blows. There were testimonies that the driver of the bus kept the motor running so that the screams of the beaten men could not be heard.

The procedure was clear: Each of the prisoners was beaten till his bones were broken. But the beatings did not stop. The helpless victims were left alone only after they fainted. Then they were left in the field. Not all of them. The order included a further detail: Not to break hands and legs of one of the men, so that he could call for help, so that the unconscious should remain in the field.

An officer by the rank of captain, the company commander who had to carry out the

order, protested to Yehuda Meir (then a Lt. Colonel) and to another Colonel against the order. He claimed that it is immoral. Then he carried out the order. Not himself. He testified that he was not capable physically to take part in the operation, therefore he remained in the bus. But he instructed his soldiers how it must be done. When the soldiers had finished their job, they were, according to a report by the military police, in a state of shock. The captain, their commander, resigned from the Israeli army on his initiative, in the wake of this event.

maybe the affair would have faded, like many similar outrages, in that opaque arena of atrocities by an occupant army against an uprising population. But this event has assumed rather dreadful dimensions, which pushed Col. Meir from the pleasant darkness into the lights of the media.

#### THE END OF THE TIME OF EXEMPTIONS

When the military court of the southern command stated, a few months ago, that the order to break hands and legs is evidently against the law, a new era started in the Intifada trials. We were disgusted to hear in the course of that trial the argument "we have only carried out an order". But this was, at least temporarily, also the end of the orders obeyed without any thought and objection. This was also the beginning of the end of the season of exemptions for commanders. Over thirty years after the Kafr Kassem affair it was indicated, that the commander, too, have to answer in court for the orders they had given.

The association of "Parents Against Silence" lost no time and thus the public demand was raised to bring Col. Meir to court because of the beatings of Hawara and Beita. The military

establishment understood, that it cannot evade entirely punishing him, but did not want to be too harsh. Thus, the solution was found to judge Meir by the Chief-of-staff, whose competence of punishing an officer in the rank of Colonel is rather limited, and not by a court martial whose competence of punishment is much wider and heavier. The Chief-of-staff found him guilty of the charges, punished him with a severe reprimand and expulsion from the army. Thus, it seems, they hoped to put an end to the affair.

But the Civil Rights Association, the "Parents against Silence" group and four of the beaten victims did not give up. They appealed to the Supreme Court of Justice and asked the court to order the Chief Army Prosecutor to bring material Col. Meir to a material court, in order to apply against him, to him the full measures of the law. Then, the chief Army Prosecutor, who only a short time ago would not create a precedent of putting a senior officer on trial because of such an order, was forced to react. In his declaration to the Supreme Court he admitted, that Meir's behavior was indeed "severe and intolerable", and therefore he believed that he should be tried by a special court martial. But because of the time that had passed since the event, he did not take such a step and also because of the unclear conditions, as he defined them, that prevailed at that time with regard to orders to use force.

The judges of the Supreme court, Moshe Beiski, Dov Levin and Yacov Kadmi, refused to accept these arguments. What is unclear in the orders to break hands and legs? they pointed out in their verdict. Therefore, they stated: "the decision of the Chief Army Prosecutor is essentially unreasonable". It follows, that this decision must be revoked. The Army Prosecutor will have to bring Meir before a special court martial on a charge of causing intentionally

severe injuries. The maximum punishment we may expect is 20 years in prison.

#### A SLAP IN THE FACE THAT MAKES THINGS EASIER

This decision has two meanings, one for the military judicial system, the other for the Supreme Court itself.

It is no secret, that the military prosecution is no independent institution. In a hierarchical establishment like the army, there is no room even to pretend, that decisions in the various levels of military prosecution are taken entirely independently. Senior army sources, as report by "Yediot Ahronot" the day after the verdict, admitted that the Chief Army Prosecutor consulted the Chief-of-staff before he took the decision to try Meir on a disciplinary charge only.

Therefore, though the verdict is also a slap in the face of the Chief Army Prosecutor, it makes actually things easier for him. It seems, that by his very answer to the Supreme Court, Col. Amnon Strashnov called for this decision. In his declaration he admitted, that the order to break hands and legs was indeed clearly unlawful.

It was as if he said: Decide for me. And the Supreme Court decided. This absolved Strashnov from the necessity to argue with his commanders about the policy to be taken against offending officers. From now on he has a ruling ready if he wants he can use it against all Yehuda Meirs, in all commanding levels. If he wants.

As for the Supreme Court itself, beyond the repeated statement, that orders of this kind discussed in the appeal are clearly against the law, a gap has been widened here that started

by the Supreme Court decision a few weeks ago, to revert the decision of the Legal Advisor of the Government and to order an investigation of the journalist Noah Kleiger suspected of a sub judice offense. So far the Supreme Court did not interfere with the decisions of the Legal Advisor on the ground that it is not its duty to do so, unless they are unreasonable, which was believed to be the case with the Noah Kleiger decision. In the Meir Affair, the Supreme Court interfered in the decision of the Chief Army Prosecutor, whose status in the military hierarchy is like that of the legal Advisor of the Government. Here, the argument was an essentially unreasonable decision .

This tendency, in fact, is not encouraging. Usually and normally, it is not healthy that one authority interferes with the affairs of others. The executives have to execute, i.e. to take decisions on bringing to court those against whom evidence exists that justifies it, and the judges have to judge according to the evidence brought before them. It is not desirable, that the executive authority is brought before the court judges, so that they bend its hands and order it to do its duty. But the way how the legal advisor of the Government looks today leaves no choice but this activism by the judges. This is still more true with regard to the Chief Military Prosecution, because there is not even a resemblance of an independent decision.

Soon the Supreme Court judges will discuss the appeal against the decision of the Legal Advisor of the Government not to put on trial the bank directors of the manipulation of the bank shares.

The judicial question for discussion there will be essentially identical with that decided here, At this stage, the message of the Supreme

Court of Justice is Not everything passes Now we have to wait and see, if Recanatí is treated differently from Yehuda Meir

#### ANNEX

In the wake of the affair of the almost successful evasion of Yehuda Meir from a court martial for his dreadful order, some rather doubtful system of settling accounts in the Israeli army has been exposed.

The Chief of staff, judging Meir, ruled i.a. that Meir should be discharged from the army. Without the appeal submitted to the Supreme Court of Justice, it might perhaps never become known, that in spite of the shame, Yehuda Meir would not have suffered financially. From the declaration submitted by the state prosecutor to the Supreme Court in reply to the appeal it turns out, that the Israeli army took care that Meir's pension rights should not be effected, even though his regular service ended so shamefully.

If Meir had served till the age of 40, he would have been entitled to monthly pension from the Defense Ministry. But because of his forced retirement he had not reached the age of 40 at that time. This will happen in three years. But to enable him to benefit nevertheless from these generous retirement conditions, it was decided to leave him in a framework that will enable him to get full pension rights when he reaches the proper age, even if in the meantime -during a period of three years- he is not on active army service. The customary solution in such cases are going on unpaid leave during the rest of the time, or being at the disposal of a civilian body for the same period. The Israeli army has not yet decided which of the two alternatives will be chosen.

The practical meaning of the policy adopted by the Israeli army toward Yehuda Meir was, that in similar cases not only full legal measures will not be taken against senior officers because of criminal acts, but the way will be open to them to retire without suffering financially.

ZO-HADEREKH 3.1.1990

## DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

### PRESS COMMUNIQUE ABOUT THE VISIT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL TO POLAND

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party a delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel composed of comrades David (Sasha) Khenin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee and George Toubi, Secretary of the Central Committee and Head of the Foreign Relations department visited Poland between the 12-18 January ,1990.

The Delegation of the CPI held talks with Prof. Reikovski member of the Political Bureau with member of the secretariat Nataff and with other senior officials of the International Department, as well as with representatives of the Parliamentary bloc and leaders of the Trade Union in Poland.

The Delegation of the CPI visited different regions in Poland and held talks with leaders of the Party in these regions.

During its stay in Poland the delegation of the CPI was recieved by the first Secretary of Polish United Workers Party Matsislav Rakovski.

During the talks the representatives of the two parties pointed with satisfaction to the improvement of the international atmosphere mainly due to the Soviet peace initiative , which advances the possibilities for the success of the talks about disarmament

The representatives of the Polish United Workers Party reported to the guest delegation about the developments in Poland about the



preparations to the 11th Congress and the founding Congress of the new party of the left. They expressed their support to a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict, and to the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. They also supported the right of Israel and all states in the region to develop in peace .

The delegation of the CPI reported about the situation in Israel, about the efforts to achieve a peace settlement and a solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of respecting their right for an independent state alongside Israel and the right of all states to live in peace and good neighborhood.

The Delegation of the CPI referred to the deteriorating economic situation, the expanding unemployment and the efforts exerted by the CPI for establishing the widest possible unity of all forces of peace, democracy and progress. The CPI considers the convening of an international conference with the participation of all sides involved including Israel, the PLO and the permanent members of the Security Council is the way to achieve peace in the region.

The representatives of the two parties expressed their satisfaction from the meetings, which were held in an atmosphere of sincerity , friendship and understanding. Both sides expressed their interest in developing the cooperation between the CPI and the new Polish Party of the Left.

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LETTERS AND CABLES SENT BY  
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

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TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear Comrades,

Warm greetings and congratulations on the occasion of winning your legality after long years of hard struggle against racism Apartheid, for national independence, social progress, equality and peace.

Your heroic and consistent struggle supported by your people have brought closer the dawn of freedom to the people of South Africa. We wish you on behalf of all Israeli Communists ,Jews and Arabs every success in your efforts for achieving complete victory by abolishing the Apartheid.

\* \* \* \* \*

TO THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations on the occasion of your victory in winning legality and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela .

The heroic struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC is bearing fruits and will lead to the collapse of Apartheid and complete victory in the fight for democracy, equality, social progress and peace.

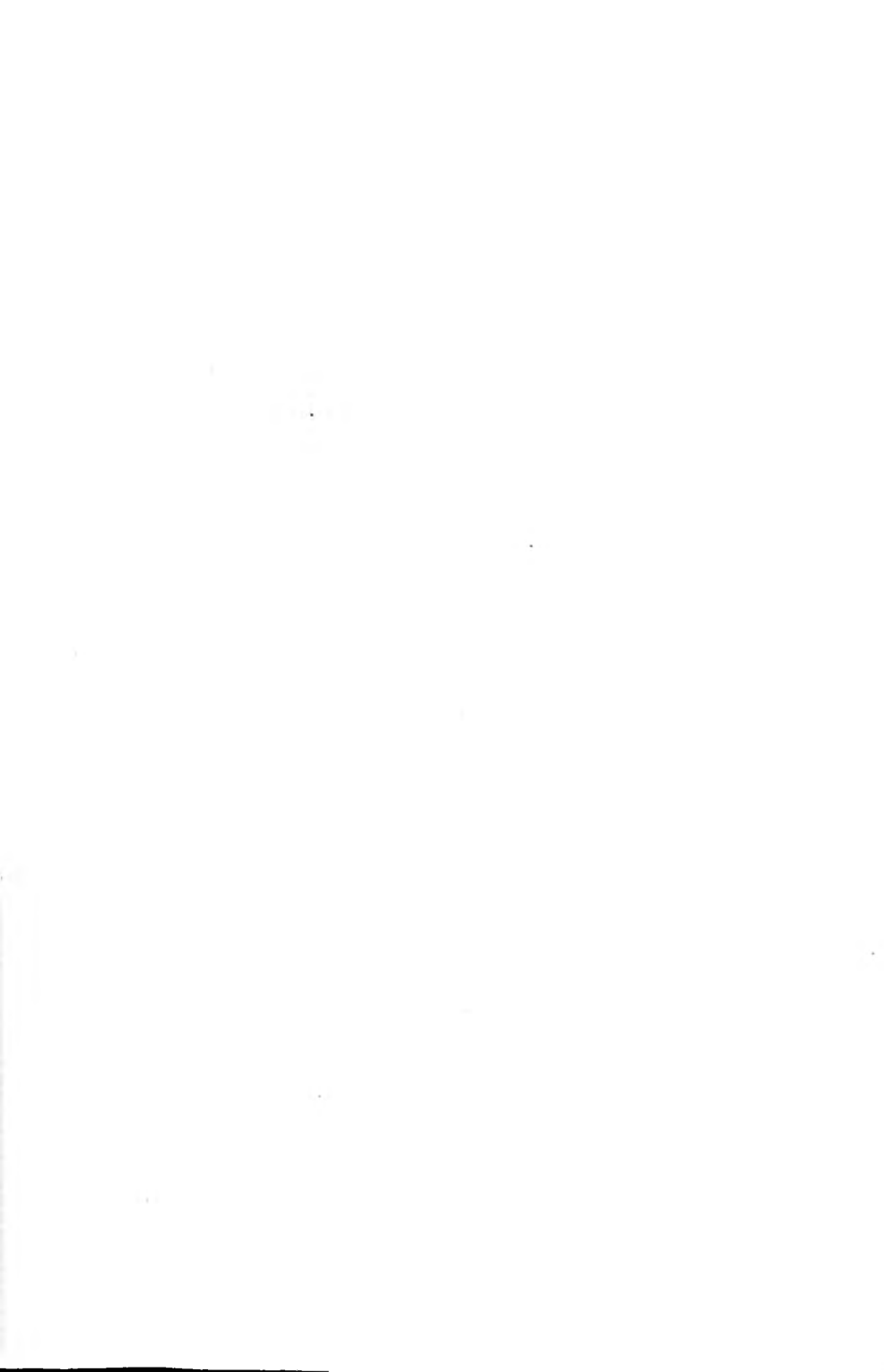
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TO NELSON MANDELA  
C/O THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Warm congratulation on the occasion of your release . Your courage, determination and adherence to your convictions are a source of pride to all fighters against racism Apartheid, for equality and human values.

We wish you good health and complete success in your noble struggle for the liquidation of Apartheid , for social progress, equality and peace.





1-2/1990

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