

**INFORMATION BULLETIN  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL**



SPECIAL ISSUE  
XVII CONGRESS MATERIAL



THE XVII CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL



Above - The Presidium  
Below - The Hall during the Opening Session

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THE 17th CONGRESS UNDER THE SIGN OF CLARITY, UNITY  
AND OPTIMISM

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(Abridged from "Zo Haderekh", June 28, 1972)

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel opened in the evening of 21, 1972 in the "Alhambra" Hall in Jaffa. The hall was filled to capacity by a variegated, festive crowd of town and country people, Jews and Arabs - all in high spirits.

From the early afternoon on delegates started arriving from all over the country. The members of the Young Communist League of Israel in their white blouses and red scarfs were everywhere about, welcoming the delegates, defending the delegates and the public from the fascist hoodlums on the street in front of the hall. When the fascist gangs - the "Jewish Defence League", members of Beitar (youth organization of Herut Party), "Dov", started to attack the entrance gates with stones, the Communist youth revealed courage and cool heads. The police, which had given the fascist gangs permission to "demonstrate", looked on passively and demonstrated their "indifference" - at least till one policeman was accidentally hit by a stone thrown by the fascists.

The noisy rioting outside, did not disturb the festive atmosphere in which the Congress was opened.

Among the guests present, were: Eumelio Caballero, Councillor of the Cuban Legation in Israel, the writer M. Avi-Shaul, President of the Friendship Movement Israel-USSR, Y. Maius, Secretary of the Israeli Peace Committee; Y. Riftin, Z. Sadeh and Sh. Caleb, representatives of the Union of Left Socialist Zionists; A. Massis, of the leadership of the "Ha'olam Haze-Koah Hadash" Movement; Member of Knesset (Parliament) Sh. Cohen ; Sh. Attir, member of the secretariat of Kibbutz Artzi (Mapam kibbutz organization); Dr. H. Darin-Drabkin, editor of "New Outlook"; M. Eidelberg and A. Berland,

from the Presidium of the Friendship Movement Israel-USSR; S. Eidelberg, President of the Democratic Women's Movement in Israel; N. Yellin-Mor, member of the Initiative Committee for Improvement of Relations with the Soviet Union; the journalist Z. Yariv and a number of journalists who had come to cover the event.

On the rostrum, on the background of the main slogan of the Congress - "Against Occupation - For Peace", sat the Party leaders and the members of the 18 delegations sent by fraternal parties and the editorial board of the magazine "Problems of Peace and Socialism".

The large public, consisting of members of the two peoples - Arabs and Jews - who filled the hall, and the presence in the Congress Presidium of delegations from so numerous countries lent the festive opening the concrete character of proletarian internationalism.

#### The Opening Speech

The Congress was opened by comrade Tawfiq Toubi, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Israel. Banners of the Working Class, the State and the Party were carried to the rostrum by Party veterans, the anthem of the State and the "International" were sung.

Comrade T. Toubi welcomed delegates, guests and the public. Inter alia, he said that "we communists are true to the interests of both peoples, the Israeli people and the Palestinian Arab people, to the cause of peace and the independence of the peoples. We reiterate and warn that there can be no future for the occupation. A policy that leans upon Phantom (war planes) and the dollar cannot hold out forever".

Comrade T. Toubi called for the cancellation of the Regulations restricting the free movement in the country of Party leaders and members.

#### Report of the Central Committee

The 1,500 people present in the hall listened attentively to the Report of the outgoing Central Committee of the Party, delivered by the General Secretary, Comrade Meir Vilner.

At the opening of his speech, comrade M. Vilner condemned the raid of Israeli army and air forces on Lebanese territory, the bombing of peaceful villages.

Comrade Vilner dwelt on the Party Programme for establishing a broad peace front in Israel, which is to include all persons and circles, irrespective of views and party affiliation, who oppose occupation and are for peace.

Comrade Vilner surveyed the political situation. At the end he called for the immediate release from prison of the war resister Giora Neuman and of the leaders of the Israeli Black Panthers.

The people present in the hall warmly received the greetings sent by the Communist Parties of Jordan and Iraq and other Arab countries.

Comrade Yoram Gozhanski, secretary of the YCL of Israel presented to the Congress the "donation" of the YCL - 100 Young Communists who applied for membership in the Communist Party of Israel.

In the morning session of next day, cde. Pnina Feinhaus delivered the Report of the Central Control Commission.

394 delegates from 70 branches all over the country and many guests took part at the Congress. 66 delegates were given the floor to participate in the deliberations.

The greetings delivered by the heads of the representatives of the 17 fraternal parties were received by the delegates and public with enthusiasm, especially the one presented by Comrade Konstantin Grishin, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

### Resolutions

The Congress confirmed the Report of the Central Committee, the Theses prepared by the C.C., including part of the amendments proposed by members before the Congress and by delegates during the Congress.

### The Concluding Session

On the last day of the Congress - June 24, 1972, the new

Central Committee and the Central Control Commission were elected.

The Congress concluded in high spirits, with the "International" sung enthusiastically by the 400 Congress delegates.

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The Young Communist League of Israel greets the Congress



The Young Pioneers greet the Congress



## ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 17th CONGRESS OF OUR PARTY

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(From the Lecture of comrade M. Vilner in the 1st Session of the Central Committee on July 6, 1972.)

Our 17th Congress gave the people a clear perspective of peace, outlined an inspiring and realistic programme for the establishment of permanent peace between Israel and the Arab countries, showed the road to a life of peace and security. It will be difficult for our antagonists to compete with our peace programme which was adopted by the Congress.

Our 17th Congress laid strongest emphasis on the vital necessity of establishing a peace front in Israel, irrespective of ideological views and irrespective of the attitude towards the June war - on the basis of a settlement of peace without any annexations and on the basis of respecting the rights of all the peoples and countries in our region.

The 17th Congress contributed to the solution of ideological questions and their clarification. In the ideological respect we clarified some additional aspects of our fight against zionist ideology. Especially important is the definition of the Congress that zionist ideology and practice contradict the national interests of the Israeli people and the interests of the Jewish masses everywhere.

The 17th Congress made clear the connexion between the socialist perspective and the struggle for establishing an anti-imperialist, democratic front; and the connection between our struggle - for establishing a peace front which is concrete and urgent in this stage - and our struggle for an anti-imperialist democratic front and for a socialist future for Israel.

The 17th Congress outlined an economic and social programme

for the Israeli working class and for all the toiling and popular strata, that are struggling against the severe consequences of the war and occupation and of the intensification of dependence on the foreign monopolies and on American imperialism.

The 17th Congress has still more emphasized the fact that our Party, thanks to its ideological path and its political programme, has gained maximal solidarity on part of the fraternal communist parties, and first and foremost of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The participation of so unprecedentedly numerous communist delegations in our 17th Congress and their appearances in our Congress were a vigorous expression of proletarian internationalism and of the weighty support given to our path and struggle.

The 17th Congress demonstrated the solidarity of the fraternal Arab communist parties with our Communist Party of Israel, with its path and struggle. The 17th Congress proved to the people in Israel that on the basis of a correct programme of justice for all the peoples and of struggle against the common imperialist enemy, it is definitely feasible to find a common language between Jews and Arabs, between the Israeli people and the Arab peoples.

The 17th Congress proved that our Party, which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, as adapted to the conditions of Israel, is also pursuing a correct tactics, which is beginning to bear fruit. The participation in the Congress of delegations of several political organizations and public figures, to an extent unprecedented in previous congresses, proves the correctness of the path of joining with other forces in the fight for concrete targets, even if they are only very partial.

Our 17th Congress demonstrated the great devotion of the Party members, of the members of the Young Communist League of Israel and of the sympathizers - to the Party and its path.

One must mention their great contribution to the organization of the Congress, its successful execution in all spheres and the defense of the Congress against the assault of fascist gangs.

Also mentioned must be the efficient and agile work of

publicity done by our comrades, and the wide echoes which our 17th Congress had in the public, the press and other means of communication.

Another point to be mentioned is the great success of the fund-raising campaign towards the 17th Congress, which reached 145% of the target. Thanks to this success we were able to hold the Congress in a proper manner, in spite of the great expenses.

Finally, one must say that this was a great congress, rich in content which can considerably advance the work of the Party. The task now is to implement its resolutions, to study the Theses adopted as Congress Resolutions, the Report of the Central Committee to the Congress and all the other material of the 17th Congress, which is of ideological, political and organizational importance.

It is the duty of the Central Committee to guide the Party according to the line of the Resolutions of the 17th Congress, and to lead it forward, confident and certain that objectively there exists no other path for the Israeli people except the path outlined by us.

OPENING SPEECH OF 17th CONGRESS DELIVERED BY COMRADE  
TAWFIQ TOUBI, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND  
SECRETARY OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
ISRAEL

.....

Delegates to the 17th Congress,

Dear Guests,

Members of the audience,

I have the honour and the pleasure, in the name of the Central Committee, to open the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel.

I welcome the delegates to the Congress and wish them success in their work.

I welcome the members and sympathizers of the Party, the members of the Young Communist League, the public personalities and representatives of organizations who have honoured us with their presence.

Cordially, with a warm communist greeting, I welcome our dear guests from abroad, the representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, whose presence in our Congress is a powerful expression of the ties of solidarity, fraternity and friendship which exist and are tightening, between our Communist Party of Israel and the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

I cordially welcome our dear guests.

Comrades delegates and dear guests !

Our 17th Congress convenes three years and a half since the previous Congress. It convenes under conditions of continuation of the dangerous crisis in our region, which broke out with the June 1972 war.

These days it is five years that have elapsed since that war, which was opened by the Israeli rulers in conjunction with the American imperialists against the neighbouring

Arab countries. A great deal of blood and tears has flowed during these five years, but not one of the fundamental problems of Israel has been solved. The military victory has not only failed to lead to security and peace, in the name of which the Israeli rulers allegedly went to war, but security is today more shaken, and the bloodshed is continuing. Our Communist Party has been again proved correct, as it had said that not by way of war, not by marching with imperialism and by receiving its backing will Israel reach its safe shores in the Middle East. The drunkenness of the military victory has passed long ago, and in its stead there are apprehension and uncertainty regarding the future.

Generals, commanders, journalists and many public personalities from the Government camp actually prove today in their various revelations the truth of what we, communists, had been claiming all the time, concerning the aggressive character of the June war. The Government's propaganda about the danger of extermination, which had been propagated by the Israeli rulers, in order to justify their opening the war, has been wrecked. And the public stands perplexed and perturbed.

Not even one of the war aims has been attained. The anti-imperialist Arab regimes, which the American imperialists and the Israeli rulers wished to overthrow, are standing today more consolidated; are deepening the progressive social changes; are constantly tightening their relations with the Soviet Union; and the Arab national movement which it was attempted to reverse, is gaining new achievements. The nationalization of the IPC (Petrol Company) in Iraq and in Syria, is a new blow which the Arab peoples have dealt to the imperialists, to their economic and political positions.

We congratulate the Iraqi and the Syrian peoples on their having become the owners of their lands and their oil sources. We are certain that it will not be long before as well Saudia as other Arab countries will implement the age-long slogan of the Arab peoples: "Arab oil to the Arabs".

The establishment of governments of the patriotic-democratic front in Syria and in Iraq, with the participation

of the communists, is one of the characteristic features of the situation in our region, an expression of the constant change in the balance of forces in favour of the anti-imperialist, democratic, progressive forces in our region.

On this background, the Israeli rulers have failed to dictate to the Arab countries, consequent upon the June war, a settlement of surrender which would perpetuate the occupation and liquidate the rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

It is a perilous delusion on part of the Israeli rulers to think that the longer they will continue the occupation, the longer they will maintain the status quo, the more accomplished facts they will create in the occupied areas, the more will they succeed in reaching arrangements which will perpetuate the occupation and trample the rights of the Palestinian Arab people. This is a very dangerous gamble.

We, the communists, loyal to the true interests of both peoples, the Israeli people and the Palestinian Arab people, loyal to the cause of peace and peoples' independence, reiterate and warn that there can be no future for occupation. The policy from positions of strength which leans upon Phantom planes and on the dollar will not be able to hold out forever.

Our 17th Congress shows the people the only existing path to get out of the impasse into which Israel has got through the criminal policy of expansion and annexations of the Government. The only path to a just and lasting peace is the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242, Israel's retreat from all territories occupied in the June war and the mutual recognition of the just national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and the Israeli people.

The Israeli Government, which leans on the backing and stimulation of the American imperialists, and which sticks to territorial annexations, rejects a peace settlement based on the safeguarding of the rights of all the peoples and states in our region, while Egypt and other Arab countries have publicly announced their preparedness for this.

As a result of this, the peril of a new explosion in our region is intensifying - with all disasters deriving from that.

Out of its apprehension and concern for the cause of peace, for the security and peace of the Israeli people and all peoples of the region, our Communist Party calls upon all forces in Israel who cherish the cause of peace, all the organizations and personalities who oppose the continuation of occupation and who support the implementation of the Security Council Resolution, to rally in a peace front which will mobilize the popular masses for a political public struggle which will compel the Government to retreat from its obdurate positions for the benefit of the desired peace, which can only be a peace without annexations.

As patriots and internationalists we have fearlessly fought against the policy of war, occupation and annexation pursued by the Israeli rulers, against their acts of oppression and terror in the occupied territories, against colonialist settling, evictions, arbitrary arrests and violations of human rights.

It must be pointed out that not only communists, but other citizens too, possessing conscience and humane feelings, have come out against the horrors of the occupation and have condemned them. By this they are serving the interests of their own people, are helping build bridges of peoples' fraternity for a happier future in face of the prevailing hostility and hatred.

Our Communist Party has no more vital task today, no more responsible and more respectable task than the intensification and expansion of the political struggle against the policy of occupation and annexation, against the oppression and deprivation of human rights in the occupied areas, for a just and lasting peace.

Let our 17th Congress be a new source of power and impulse for intensifying the struggle of our Party for peace between Israel and the Arab countries, for brotherhood and friendship between Israel and the Palestinian Arab people and the other Arab peoples.

Dear comrades,

Loyal to the daily interests of the working class and the people's masses, to the cause of equality of national rights of the Arab population, to the cause of democracy and citizens' rights, our Communist Party, its organizations and members, have waged public struggles against the anti-worker policy of the Government, against the policy of national and anti-democratic discrimination.

On the rostrums of the Knesset (parliament), the Histadrut (General Federation of Trade Unions), the Local Councils, in factories, in town and village, among the popular masses, our Party has stood with the popular masses and the workers, in their struggle to raise their pay, against the rising prices and the mounting taxes; at the side of the Arab population in its struggle for equality of rights; supporting the inhabitants of the poverty quarters; the oriental-Jewish communities and the Black Panthers, whose struggle against discrimination and for better living conditions is evolving growing sympathy.

We come to our 17th Congress to report on the daily devoted work of the Israeli communists, Jews and Arabs, in the service of the interests of the working class and the popular masses.

We will not only summarize, but also outline a path.

It is the task of our 17th Congress in its debates and in its conclusions to help us expand still more our ties with the workers' masses, and to intensify our activity in defense of the daily interests of the popular masses.

Comrades,

We are happy to state that we come to the 17th Congress with greater forces, with further achievements for the Party.

Under difficult and complicated conditions our Communist Party of Israel continues to work. We are fighting against the reactionary ideology and practice of zionism in the heartland of its sovereign authority, we work in an atmosphere that is saturated with chauvinism and hatred of



other peoples, in an atmosphere of wild anti-Soviet instigation.

We are indeed a legal party, however various administrative means of repression are brought into play against the Party, its leaders and members; restriction orders and administrative arrests, in accordance with the colonialist emergency regulations from the days of British rule, terror against and persecution of communists in various spheres of life, are limiting this legality and are unmasking the real face of bourgeois democracy in Israel.

It is a shame for the authorities that more than one third of the delegates to this Congress, members of central party bodies, members of municipal and local councils, editors of communist newspapers, youth leaders, poets and writers, can be in this hall only due to a special permit issued by the military authorities only for the duration of the Congress.

The issuing of the permits is a special gesture of the authorities, but during the whole year these comrades are not free to leave their domiciles.

From this rostrum we protest against the deprivation of communists and other democrats of their freedom of movement, while their only "crime" is their political struggle against the policy of war and occupation, and for peace.

We demand the abolition of all the restriction orders, demand freedom of movement for the communists and for all peace fighters from among the Arab population, who suffer from restriction orders.

In spite of all the difficulties our Communist Party of Israel works and fights successfully. We come to the 17th Congress with an increase of Party membership since the 16th Congress. This increase has taken place among the Jewish and Arab comrades alike. We are summing up a great increase in the ranks of the Young Communist League of Israel among the Jewish and the Arab youth. We are summing up a wider distribution of the communist press in the different languages - Hebrew, Arabic, Yiddish,

Bulgarian and Romanian. These are important achievements for our Party.

We come to the 17th Congress with the internationalist unity, the Jewish-Arab unity of our Party firmly forged.

Against the rock of this internationalist-unity the attacks, intrigues and subversions of nationalist-chauvinist liquidationists, and of the toadies of the authorities and the dark apparatus were wrecked and broken.

This unity sucks its strength from the loyalty of the Party members to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, and to the common defense of the interests of the workers and the legitimate national interests of the two fraternal peoples. This unity of Jewish and Arab communists, which is the life blood of our Communist Party of Israel, will stand in future too; in this stormy sea of war and constant bloodshed, it will be a light-house which will light the path to both peoples, the Jewish and the Arab, towards a happier future. We swear to preserve this unity with all our strength.

From this our Congress we categorically protest the crimes against humanity committed by the American imperialists and call out to them: Stop the murder! Stop the crimes against the Vietnamese people and against the whole of mankind. American imperialists, get out of Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people build their free homeland! This is also the demand of the best sons of the American people itself, of whom Angela Davis is a symbol. Her acquittal is a great victory for the forces of freedom in the USA and in the whole world.

We send from our 17th Congress our warm greetings, feelings of our solidarity and brotherhood to the Vietnamese people and are certain that by its supreme heroism and with the fraternal help of its true friends - the Soviet Union and other socialist countries - it will succeed in overcoming the murderous enemies and will triumph.

Comrades,

From our 17th Congress we send warm fraternal greetings to

all the peoples, that are fighting against imperialism, racism and oppression, to the peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and to all other oppressed fighting for their liberty.

Comrades,

In the period between our 16th and 17th Congress great leaders of the working class have passed from the ranks of the international communist movement.

Let us pay tribute to their memory:

Johann Kopenig, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria,

Ho Chi-Minh, Chairman of the Labour Party of Vietnam,

Victorio Codovilla, Chairman of the Communist Party of Argentine,

Abed al-Khaled Mahgoub, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Sudan,

Jamsranguin Sambu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary People's Party of Mongolia and President of the People's Republic of Mongolia.

We are commemorating them together with others, who have given their best forces and energies for advancing the cause of communism.

We will also commemorate the members of our Communist Party of Israel who have passed away since the 16th Congress, the comrades:

Arie Mishpati, Izuan Morgenstern, Gilla Vardi, Isidor Orhon, Dov Schneidman, Ali Salem.

We are commemorating the proletarian poet Alexander Penn, who served with his revolutionary poetry for many years the cause of progress, peace, brotherhood of peoples and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Comrades,

We come to the 17th Congress after deliberations in all

Party organizations about the theses towards the 17th Congress. This was a fruitful democratic debate in all Party organizations and we will summarize it in our Congress and will voice our views on our future work.

With concern as to the dangers and consideration of the great tasks imposed on us, and at the same time, with optimism and confidence in the correctness of our path we will work with all our strength for the victory of the great cause - for ending occupation, for achieving a just peace.

We were able to come to the 17th Congress as we do today, in high spirits and with achievements, thanks to the devotion and the strenuous work of the members of the Party, the members of the Young Communist League, the sympathizers of the Party, thanks to the masses of conscious workers who have sided with our Party in every time of distress, have supported it and have marched under its banner.

Our profound gratefulness is going out to those, thanks to whom we can maintain the activity and struggle of our Communist Party of Israel under difficult conditions, and sum up a new chapter of achievements and successes for the benefit of peace, peoples' brotherhood, democracy, social progress, for the cause of socialism.

Long live the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel!

Long live the Communist Party of Israel, the conscience and compass of the popular masses in Israel in the struggle for a just and lasting peace !

Down with the occupation ! Down with the annexations !

Long live peace !

Long live the unity of our international communist movement !

Long live Marxism-Leninism !

Long live communism !

FOR UNITING THE FORCES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OCCUPA-  
TION, FOR PEACE, FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKERS, FOR  
DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

.....

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF ISRAEL TO THE 17TH CONGRESS, DELIVERED BY  
COMRADE MEIR VILNER

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Dear Comrades and guests,

Our 17th Congress convenes  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years after our 16th Congress. This is a rather short period from a historical point of view. But this has been a period of stormy advance and development of the progressive forces in the world. Positive political and social changes have taken place in our region - the Middle East. In Israel, too, things are not standing in the same place.

Our 17th Congress is being held 5 years after the June 1967 war, when Arab territories are still occupied. The continued occupation and the failure to establish peace, constitute a danger of flare-up of a new war with all its disasters. Hence the question of fights against occupation and for peace will be placed in the centre of debate in our 17th Congress.

Despite the fact that a cease-fire exists since almost 2 years, our region still constitutes a dangerous hotbed of war. If no political solution to the crisis in our region will be attained, a grave deterioration towards war might take place, which is liable to inflict catastrophies on Israel and on the Arab states, and to endanger world peace.

The 17th Congress of our Party will show the path for preventing the renewal of the battles and for establishing peace which will be the only security for the people of Israel and for the Arab peoples.

Our 17th Congress will call upon all forces of peace in Israel, irrespective of their ideological and political

convictions, to set up without delay a peace front.

Today there is no Israeli national interest that is more decisive; today there is no revolutionary task that is more important than the task of achieving the withdrawal from all the territories which were occupied in the June war, and the establishment of peace with the Arab countries, which will respect the legitimate national rights of all the peoples and states in our region, the Israeli people and the Palestinian Arab people included.

The Central Committee has issued theses towards the 17th Congress, which include a report about the activity and struggle of the Party between the two Congresses, as well as political, ideological and social topics. These are to be discussed and approved by the Congress.

In branch meetings, in regional conferences and in party cells, comprehensive discussions of the theses were held.

The discussions in the Party have proved that our Party is united politically, ideologically and organizationally. Our task after the Congress is to consolidate still more our organization towards the none too easy battles which will confront us in the coming years.

In the discussions towards the Congress, comrades have put forward different proposals and amendments to the theses. The Central Committee in its 26th and last session before the Congress has summed up the remarks and proposals made by the comrades and approved a considerable part of them.

This Report of the Central Committee already includes certain conclusions of the Central Committee which were drafted after taking into consideration the discussions in the Party towards the Congress. It also includes an analysis of some new developments which have taken place after publication of the theses. We have laid stress on elaborating the perspective for the way-out from the grave crisis facing Israel and the Middle East, the perspective of marching together with the encouraging and positive developments in the world.

Comrades,

The 5 years which have elapsed since the June war have been years of continuous disruptions, on part of the Israeli Government and the USA, of the international efforts for a political solution of the crisis in our region. The organizers of the war in 1967 have not renounced their basic aim - to overthrow the anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab countries, to liquidate the progressive social changes in these countries, and to undermine their relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Israeli Government, apart from being an associate in these basic aims of the June war, has also its own calculations: through its integration in the global intrigues of the USA rulers, to attain territorial expansion, and to perpetuate the occupation of the Arab areas, which were occupied in June 1967.

The Israeli Government is serving the all-round global interests of the US rulers without any geographical limitations nor any political or moral inhibitions.

In exchange for its services, the Israeli Government expects to receive - and usually it does receive - an all-round support in money, arms and political backing, in order to realize its plan for territorial annexations.

The relations between the US rulers and the Israeli rulers are determined first of all by their common positions in the global struggle of imperialism against the forces of peace, national independence and socialism. This partnership is expressed in diverse and coordinated actions against communism and against the Land of the Soviets. The decisive factor in this partnership is American imperialism and its interests.

The ruling circles in Israel and their supporters on the right fear any relaxation in the international situation; they fear any improvement in the relations between the western powers and the Soviet Union. They specially fear the improvement of Soviet-American relations. The official mass communication media in Israel did not

hide their anxiety at the visit of the President of the USA, Nixon, to the Soviet Union, They tried their best to poison the international atmosphere during the Soviet American summit discussions. In order to achieve this end, they organized a renewed noisy anti-Soviet campaign in Israel and in all the western world. This was an artificial and foolish campaign carried out by politicians who fear the consolidation of peaceful coexistence between the states of different social regimes and who consider the tense international atmosphere an advantage for themselves. They estimate that in a situation of tense Soviet-American relations there will be more possibilities to perpetuate the occupation of Arab territories, because the Washington rulers will need them more in their fight against the anti-imperialist Arab national movement and against other national liberation movements, against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The ruling circles in Israel are appalled by the success of the Soviet-American summit talks which dealt a severe blow to the cold war and to the cold war and to the policy of military pacts. The Israeli rulers had based their policy on an opposite international development. The present development, which is being hailed by all the peace-loving peoples, makes the earth tremble under the feet of enemies of the cause of peace, and anti-Soviet instigators.

The Soviet-American summit conference in Moscow is a result of the basic changes which occurred during the last years in the international balance of forces in favour of socialism. The signature of President Nixon on the 12 principles of peaceful co-existence and his recognition that "in the nuclear area there is no alternative to mutual relations between them (between the Soviet Union and the USA), except those based on the principles of peaceful coexistence", is a historic victory of the Soviet peace policy forged by Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin.

Taking into account the changes in the balance of forces in the world and the heroic struggle of the peoples against imperialism, the Soviet Union is doing its best, and with great success, in order to create better



conditions for the construction of socialism and communism, in order to save humanity from the catastrophe of a nuclear war, and to foil the imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the peoples.

In the Soviet-American summit conference important agreements were signed which will influence the future international developments. The most important agreement is the one which limits the rockets and strategic arms of the two states; this will diminish the armament race and create the base for additional efforts towards disarmament and consolidating peace.

The agreements which were signed, the joint statement and the 12 principles for preserving peace and for cooperation, constitute a blow to the imperialist policy from positions of strength, and to the imperialist plots aimed at exploiting local conflicts in order to create new hotbeds of war.

It goes without saying that determining correct principles and signing important agreements are not sufficient. The decisive thing is to carry out these principles and agreements. The peoples will continue their fight to achieve this aim. The factors which forced American imperialism to renounce certain principles, which had gone bankrupt, are liable to force it to carry out these agreements.

Behind these agreements stand the mighty Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Behind them stand the international revolutionary working class movement, the peoples that are heroically fighting imperialism, behind them stands the whole peace-loving humanity.

This is also important as regards the Middle East. The paragraph in the joint Soviet-American statement which deals with our region, says that the two sides have defined their positions, they approved - as mentioned in the statement - their support of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in accordance with the Security Council Resolution 242. They stressed the importance of the constructive cooperation between the interested sides and the special UN envoy, G. Jarring, and their desire to assist in achieving successful results of his mission

and to play their part in achieving a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

We assess that this statement constitutes an important contribution to the cause of peace in our region. American imperialism, which is the primary responsible, together with the Israeli rulers, for paralyzing the mission of D. Jarring, and which tried to appoint itself as an uncalled "mediator", was forced to admit this failure and agree to the renewal of the mission of the UN envoy.

We don't cherish any illusion, that from now on matters will progress smoothly and without frictions. Nevertheless it is quite obvious, how worried are the annexionist circles of Israel about this development in the American - Soviet talks. The rulers of Israel had already said farewell to Jarring's mission and had assumed, that the resolution of the Security Council has become out dated. Indeed they carry on preventing, encouraged by the Americans, the resumption of the Jarring - mission and the implementation of the Security Council's resolution. However, the general results of the Moscow summit meeting and the general development in the world and in our region prove to every reasonable person, that in the long run there will be defeated all those forces, who, aided by USA - Phantoms, wish to crush the rights of other peoples and to erect an Israeli imperium in the last third of the twentieth century.

We, the Israeli Communists, and together with us all the same forces of the people of Israel, welcome hopefully the positive results of the USA - USSR summit meeting. It was indeed a historical event in the right direction. The strengthening of this direction conforms with the interests of all the peoples. The peace-loving peoples are interested in efforts towards the fortification of a peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems. At the same time the peoples are alert to imperialist aggression and fight against it.

The Soviet Union has again demonstrated exemplary Marxist-Leninist firmness of principle and elasticity, combining the efforts of upholding the peaceful coexistence with providing the Vietnamese people and all the peoples

fighting against imperialist aggression with the utmost assistance.

The summit meeting in Moscow was held at a time, when the Vietnamese Liberation Army was inflicting heavy blows upon the army of the USA - Saigon puppet government and freeing extensive territories together with their towns. The defeat of USA - aggression in Vietnam is an event of tremendous international importance. It shows the real relation of forces in to-day's world and proves beyond any doubt, that imperialist aggression is failing and will fail, because time is working not in favour of aggressors and conquerors, but in favour of adherents to peace and freedom wherever they may be.

The people of Israel should, for its own sake, stride with the current of our epoch, with that tendency in international politics that aims at the removing of the nightmare of a nuclear war, that hovers over mankind, and at fortifying the matter of peace and independence of the peoples .

#### The Development in the World

What is the objective background for convening the American-Soviet summit conference? What is the development which forced the rulers of Washington to talk with Moscow in a more realistic manner after they failed in their attempts to talk from "positions of strength"?

The last years which have elapsed were years of further significant strengthening of the world socialist community, of the international workers' movement, of the international communist movement, of the national liberation movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces, the forces of peace and democracy. These years have also witnessed a further sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialist states and inside the developed capitalist states.

The development of the balance of forces in the world during the last years, confirms again the important premise of the international meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow in June 1969:

"Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces".

The world socialist community, in whose centre stands the Soviet Union, has accomplished during the last years many achievements in consolidating the unity and cooperation between the socialist countries, in developing economy and science, in raising the living standard of the workers, in consolidating the socialist society.

The superiority of socialism over capitalism has been proved again in the scientific-technical revolution in the world.

At the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, the general crisis of capitalism further sharpened. This is expressed by an accelerated general inflation, by the halt in the economic development, by increased un-employment, and by deepening of the problem of poverty. If in 1969 the industrial production in all the developed capitalist countries increased by 7.5%, in 1970 it increased by 2.1% and in 1971 by 0.7% only.

Specially pointed is the gap in the developments between the USA and the Soviet Union during the last two years. The industrial production in the Soviet Union in 1970 increased by 8.3%, while in the USA it dropped by 3%. In 1971 the industrial production in the Soviet Union increased by 7.8%, while in the USA it again dropped by 0.4%.

Despite all endeavours of obliteration made by the bourgeois ideologues and the propaganda organs at the service of capitalism, the masses are seeing more and more the diseases of the capitalist order - exploitation, humiliation of human dignity, national oppression, poverty and social degradation. The developed countries in the capitalist society, primarily the USA, are sunk in a deep social crisis. The moral deterioration and the social disintegration are evident in the various spheres of life - beginning with the narcotic drug epidemy and

the expansion of crime and corruption, and ending with the crisis in arts and literature.

While unemployment afflicts the developed countries in the capitalist world, the number of workers and employees in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is constantly rising. In 1971 the number of the unemployed in USA reached 6 million approximately and in Europe 3 Million.

The increase in unemployment, the inflation and the difficulties of subsistence of the workers, have led to the intensification of class struggle, expressed in expansion of the strike movement. The upsurging struggle of the proletariat refutes the false doctrines according to which the working class has lost its revolutionary impetus in the epoch of the scientific-technological revolution, as the result of the rise in its scientific-technical level.

The currency fever which afflicts the monetary system of the capitalist world in recent years still continues shaking the international capitalist monetary system. The shocks origin in the shaky status of the US dollar and in the sharpening of contradictions between the imperialist powers and the competition among them on the markets. USA is now confronted by Japan and the countries of the European Common Market, which have strengthened their position at the expense of USA, which finds itself in a depression. The economic depression in USA has assumed a chronic character because of the continued dirty war in Vietnam and the aggressive activities of the Americans in Laos, Cambodia and other countries. The military expenditures of USA will reach in 1972 the record sum of 83 thousand million dollar.

One of the consequences - 20 million US inhabitants go hungry and 10 million of them are slowly dying of chronic undernourishment. Many millions are living in slums in horrible housing conditions and their children have no perspective to get education or learn a trade.

The economic depression is accompanied in the USA by a sharpening political crisis. The protest movement against

the Vietnam war comprises considerable strata of the American people and among them youth, students and workers. The negro movement in USA has strengthened and crystallized in the struggle against racial discrimination and for equal rights. Angela Davis, the communist negro heroine who lived in the shadow of a staged trial, has become a symbol of the struggle for equal rights and freedom. Her acquittal and release are a great victory for the fighters for liberty and progress in USA and the whole world.

The increasing strength of the world socialist system, first and foremost of the Soviet Union, and the increasing consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces, have till now prevented American imperialism and its allies to kindle a third world war. This is an important achievement of the forces of peace and progress.

At the same time the danger of a new world war has not yet been eliminated. Imperialism has remained aggressive, as is its nature, but it encounters greatest difficulties in carrying out its designs. The Soviet-American summit in Moscow, the agreements ratified between the Soviet Union and Poland on one hand and West Germany on the other one, the 4-power agreement on West Berlin, the many progressive changes in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin-America - all these are signs of the times. The peoples have before them the enthusing perspective of a further change in the international correlation of forces in favour of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism.

Also the development in the Middle East is encouraging and revolutionary.

In contradiction to the aspirations and delusions of the imperialist powers and their henchmen in our region there occurred in a number of Arab countries in recent years important anti-imperialist and social-progressive changes, and bonds were tightened with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also the unity among the progressive Arab countries has been strengthened.

The ties of friendship and cooperation between Egypt and the Soviet Union, between Iraq and the Soviet Union, the

closer relations between the Soviet Union and Syria and additional countries - characterize the development. This friendship is not a matter of temporary expedience, but based upon the true interests of the peoples, on the cooperation in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress, on the awareness that the national liberation movement is an inseparable part of the world revolutionary movement.

In a number of Arab countries a united front has risen of the anti-imperialist forces, with the participation of the communist parties. Especially this has become prominent recently in Syria and in Iraq where the communist parties participate in the governments. The popular fronts are based upon democratic anti-imperialist programmes.

The nationalization of the American-British IPC (Iraq Petrol Company) in Iraq and Syria constitutes an extremely severe blow to the positions of the foreign monopolies in the Middle East, opens a new stage, a higher one, in the fight of the Arab peoples for full national independence. This is a revolutionary step of historic importance, which still more shakes the hold of imperialism over our region.

Political changes have also occurred in the Lebanon. The Lebanese Communist Party gained legality. The progressive forces have strengthened. Lebanon's relations with the Soviet Union have improved. American imperialism and the ruling circles in Israel bring military pressure to bear upon the Lebanon, in order to intensify inter-Arab dissent, to evolve internal strife, to bring about a collision between the authorities and the Palestinian organizations.

American imperialism tried to exploit the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser in October 1970, in order to divert Egypt from the path of anti-imperialist and non-capitalist development. It tried by means of the Rogers plan and vain promises to Egypt to strengthen within Egypt the pro-imperialist forces and its own positions, but unsuccessfully. Never have the American imperialists been so hated by the Arab peoples, never before had these peoples so clearly understood that the USA is the central factor for the war incendiarism in our region, for the continued occupation and for foiling the efforts for peace.

The attempt of the Jordanian reaction to liquidate the movement of the Palestine Arab people against the occupation, integrates in the efforts of American imperialism and its flunkys to divide the Arab national liberation movement and to weaken it. This attempt conforms with the planes of imperialism and its henchmen in Israel and in the Arab countries, to liquidate the just rights of the Palestine Arab people. This attempt reached its peak in September 1970 and in the spring of 1971, in the bloodbaths staged by the Jordanian authorities against the Palestine popular masses and the Palestinian organizations. For carrying out this blood-bath, they were assisted by imperialism, reaction in Jordan and by the Israeli rulers who threatened to intervene. They also exploited the errors made by resistance organizations, in the political sphere as well as in the means of activity. The Israeli rulers received with sympathy and open joy the terror campaign against the Palestinians in Jordan and even actively assisted King Hussein in various ways in his cruel war against the Palestinian organizations.

The bloody campaign against the Palestinian Arab people in Jordan led to a temporary weakening of the Palestinian resistance movement. But imperialism and its flunkys had no success in liquidating it, just as they were not successful in breaking the spirit of the inhabitants of the occupied areas.

This is admitted by the war minister M. Dayan in his interview on the fifth anniversary of the June war, when he admitted that even Arab personalities in the West Bank, who were elected as town mayors under the military occupation, do not reconcile themselves to the occupation: "After all, the Arab leaders sincerely express their views, from their point of view, when they say that they don't want us to sit in the (West) Bank or in the Gaza Strip".

The communist parties in the Arab countries are fulfilling an important task in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for progressive social changes, for the unity of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces. The communist parties are fulfilling an important task in the struggle against the Israeli occupation, for the rights of the Palestine Arab people and for a just and durable peace.



The historical perspective of development in the Middle East is further strengthening of the anti-imperialist movement on the one hand, and further shaking of the imperialist positions on the other hand. The anti-imperialist and progressive changes occurring in the Arab countries are not only in the interest of the Arab peoples, but also in the interest of the Israeli people in the interest of peace and security in our region, in the interest of the future of the relations between Israel and the Arab countries, which will be based on mutual respect of rights, on cooperation for the benefit of all the peoples.

The experience of recent years has confirmed again these fundamental premises.

### In the Struggle against Occupation and for Peace

Comrades,

In the period between the Congresses the Israeli public has seen more clearly the unequivocal position of the neighbouring Arab states in favour of a peace full settlement with Israel.

During the last 3 years Egypt continued, first under the leadership of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, and then under the leadership of President Anwar Sadat, its efforts to achieve a just political solution of the crisis in our region.

On February 8, 1971, Dr. Gunnar Jaring addressed Israel and Egypt, appealing to the sides to define their stand towards the implementation of the Security Council Resolution. Israel was requested to give her consent to return to the international border with Egypt, and Egypt was requested to consent to an agreement of lasting peace with Israel. The Egyptian Government responded positively and made it clear in its replies to Dr. Jaring, that she is ready for an agreement of a just and lasting peace with Israel, to recognize the right to sovereign existence of the State of Israel within the border lines of June 4, 1967 and to grant Israel free navigation in the Suez Canal and the Tiran Straits and she also agreed to accept practical international guarantees, including the

fixing of demilitarized zones and placing of UNO forces which no side can unilaterally remove. Egypt also pledged herself not to permit any military activity from her territory against Israel, also not of irregular forces. Egypt conditioned her consent to all this on Israel's implementation on her part, of the Security Council Resolution in all its parts.

The Egyptian President, Sadat, was asked in an interview with the American periodical "Nasweek" (December, 3, 1971): "If Israel will pledge herself to retreat in accordance with the UNO resolution, will you then agree to direct talks for preparing a draft for a peace treaty?" A. Sadat replied: "Yes", but pointed out: "I will never consent that the occupation of our country will be exploited as instrument for dictating conditions. If Israel will consent to retreat to the international frontiers, I will be ready to hold negotiation about the details and points of an agreement for a lasting and final peace". The preparedness of Egypt also to enter direct negotiations with Israel, if the latter will be ready in the framework of a peace treaty to withdraw from the territories occupied by her in the June war, has removed another pretext used by the Israeli rulers in their sabotage of the peace efforts.

A further pretext of the official Israeli propaganda was that Syria rejects the Security Council Resolution. And here, at the beginning of March 1972 the Syrian President, Hafez Assad, announced that Syria consents to the Security Council Resolution 242, as Egypt had done before.

These developments perplexed the G. Meir Government. And then, according to orders from above, a new brainwashing campaign started in the pro-Government and right-wing press, in the radio and television. This campaign wished to prove that nothing had happened; it alleged that the Arab states are not ready to recognize the right to existence of the State of Israel and to reach a peace settlement with her under any circumstances, within any frontiers; and that their aim is allegedly nothing but the extermination of Israel. The prime minister enlisted in this campaign and repeatedly proclaimed, disregarding the facts, and the truth, that the Arab states are not

ready, allegedly, for peace with Israel, even if Israel would retreat to the June 4, 1967 lines.

This governmental propaganda does not prove the strength of the governmental policy's stand, but its weakness and its fear of the public knowing the truth. This public, which in June 1967 was successfully misled with the argument that "there is no choice", that Israel is allegedly going to be exterminated, this same public is not at all enthusiastic now to get involved in a new war, to sacrifice victims and to pay thousands of million liras only for continuing Israeli domination over the occupied Arab territories. Against the declarations of many of the cabinet ministers who deny facts, there also appear declarations of other cabinet ministers who speak the truth. Thus the weekly organ of the Labour Party, "Ot" published on March 9, 1972 an utterance of the present minister of commerce and industry, who until recently had been the chief-of-staff, General (in reserve) Haim Bar-Lev, as follows: "I believe that today we can achieve this on the basis of the previous borders. If I believed that this is the maximum we can achieve, I should say: all-right. But I think that this is not the maximum. I think that if we continue to stand, we can achieve more".

This utterance of the minister Haim Bar-Lev proves first of all that the words of the prime minister and other ministers about the Arab countries not being prepared for peace, also if we consent to return to the June 4 lines, are an intentional misleading of public opinion in Israel and in the world.

Secondly, the former chief-of-staff admits that peace on the basis of the June 4 lines is all-right, that is to say, constitutes no danger for Israel, as claimed by various demagogues, who look for pretexts for territorial expansion.

Yet, H. Bar-Lev too proposes to continue sabotaging the peace settlement, to continue trying to wrest out territorial annexations, of course with the assistance of the American boss.

These calculations, which are built on the assumption that time acts, allegedly in favour of perpetuating the occupation and for creating conditions for official annexations, are erroneous and dangerous calculations. One has to be completely politically blind to assume that in the international and Mid-Eastern development of our days, time acts in favour of aggressors and occupants. The opposite is true.

We warn: A serious danger exists that the Israeli Government will cause the renewal of war by its obdurate refusal to make peace without annexations. There exists the danger that the Government will inflict a national disaster upon Israel. One who relies on the sword, especially if that sword is not precisely his own, but American, is liable to reveal himself as an adventurist who in the course of time will be told by the Israeli people: Be cursed for having missed the historic opportunity that existed to sign a peacetreaty with the Arab countries, to open a new page of security and good neighbourly relations.

We communists devote all our force so that the historic opportunity for peace will be turned into reality.

Already today there are circles which are far from us in world outlook and which supported the June war, but which today see the danger in its entirety, the danger for Israel itself, deriving from the continuation of the governmental policy, from the frenzied nationalism and militarism.

Thus, for instance, Colonel (in reserve) Meir Pail said in a protest meeting in Tel Aviv on May 27, 1972 against the eviction and expulsion of thousands of bedouins in the Rafiah area: "When I see this nationalism among ourselves, this inebriety, this drunkenness- with our military force, I am very apprehensive and I wish we gotrid of the (occupied) territories as fast as possible, in exchange for a political solution, for in the military respect I don't know what the correlation of forces will be in 20 or 30 years hence".

The truth is that there are many signs that the correlation of forces already now is changing from year to year.

The government in its eagerness for territorial annexations, does not at all conceal its refusal to return to the June 4 lines, also if they will be acknowledged as permanent recognized and secure borders by the Arab countries in the framework of a peace agreement. For this is the significance of the Security Council Resolution 242.

On June 5 this year, on the 5th anniversary of the June 1967 war, the semi-official daily "Davar" published an interview with the prime minister, G. Meir, given to the American weekly "Parade", where she again declared that "we will not return to the June 4 frontiers". Replying to a question which territories Israel thinks to hold on to and not to return, she said: "East Jerusalem, The Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, Sharm esh-Sheikh." If to this is added the Government's demand that the "security border" of Israel will be on the river Jordan, the picture will be complete. The prime minister really demands to continue Israeli domination over all the Arab areas occupied in the June war, to annex a considerable part of them officially to Israel and to dominate the rest by Israeli military presence, without formal annexation to Israel.

On that same date, on June 5, "Davar" published similar words of the foreign minister, A . Eban in his interview to "United Press".

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the June war an interview in the same spirit was also published, given by the war minister M. Dayan broadcast over the Israeli army radio station.

In this interview Dayan said that the Security Council Resolution 242 "itself is not liked by us", even as basis for negotiations. Regarding frontiers he said: "Concerning the Israeli plan basically its general outlines are clear. Israel has said that she will not get down from the Golan Heights, that she considers the Jordan as her security border, that she will not return to the previous borders and that she will stay in Sharm esh-Sheikh... These are clear fundamental lines... to this must be added (East) Jerusalem - and you have, though no

map, but a picture which describes about what we are ready to talk, and mainly about what we are not ready to talk - about returning to the previous borders".

Minister M. Dayan said also openly that the Government is settling all the territories which it thinks it will not return: "In those places, which the Government has decided to settle - and those are in the Jordan Valley, the Golan Heights, Pithat Rafiah, the Gaza Strip etc etc. - I don't think that settlements have been established that contradict the Israeli position, which says that we shall not return to the previous borders". (according to "Al Hamishmar", June 6, 1972.).

In the framework of this Report we have quoted only the freshest annexationist declarations. If we should quote all the declarations of the government ministers, which prove that the Government does not think seriously about peace, but is interested that the occupation will be perpetual and that the world will get accustomed to it, we should have to speak many hours and even days.

Today it is still more evident to public opinion in Israel and in the world that the official Israeli policy strives for territorial annexations, for imposing military dictates, for liquidating the rights of the Palestine Arab people, for frustrating the peace efforts in the international arena, for preventing the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

In order to provoke the Palestine Arab people still more and all the Arab peoples, the Knesset (parliament) adopted on March 16, 1972 an extreme nationalist resolution which says:

"The historical right of the Jewish people over the Land of Israel (Palestine) is indisputable". This resolution negates the national rights of the Palestine Arab people and on principle justifies in anticipation any Israeli action intended to create accomplished facts in the occupied areas, and even for occupying additional areas. This resolution disregards the very existence and national

rights of the Palestinian Arab people, the UNO Charter

and international law. This resolution contradicts all the fundamentals of the UNO General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947, which provided the legal international basis for the establishment of the State of Israel.

By this policy of "what is mine, is mine, and what is yours, is mine too" the zionist circles ruling Israel give moral and political assistance to the extremists in the arab world who object to the legal international basis of the existence of Israel.

The extremist zionist resolution of the Knesset, which for the first time was adopted by that forum, is but the generalization of zionist theory that on principle this country "belongs" to the Jewish people, and only for practical reasons this target can be achieved only by stages. The Knesset resolution is only a generalization of things that had been more than once declared by Golda Meir and other ministers in the Israeli Government. Thus, the war minister M. Dayan on July 5, 1968 declared in a youth conference of the "Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim" (Labour Party Kibbutz framework):

"You have to believe in the concentration of the Jewish people here, and you have to work to the best of your ability in your own time and life, for the expansion of settling. You don't have to terminate the work. But God forbid that you say this is the end, up to here, up to Deganya, up to Mefalsim and Nahal-Oz (names of kibbutzim on the borders) and no more. This process is going on for 100 years. You have to give your part to it... Today we are sitting on the Suez and the Golan Heights... We are advancing stage by stage from the soil of reality to the implementation of the chosen targets".

But all those eager for annexations, who wish to trample underfoot the Palestine Arab people and to negate its rights live in bitter error. Their error lies in the fact that they consider as feasible

that the "process which is going on for 100 years" will continue in the same direction in future too.

There has been an historical process which led to the

domination of the imperialist powers over the majority of countries in Asia and Africa. This was a process that continued for more than 100 years. And what is the situation now? This process does not only not continue, but the colonial method of imperialism has completely collapsed. The soil burns underneath the feet of the colonialists in the remaining colonialist countries. The policy of the Israeli rulers, who tie the State of Israel for life and death to the imperialist powers, endangers the future of the State of Israel. The State of Israel can exist for a long time and live in security, if it will be a Mid-Eastern state, peaceful and independent, maintaining normal neighbourly relations with the Arab peoples.

Therefore anyone who relies on the continuation of the colonialist process which has been going on for 100 years, and that this will in future too expand, is just a racist and aggressor, who imperils his own people and prevents it for living in peace and security.

One cannot understand, one cannot explain the obstinate policy of the Israeli Government, the impudent belittling of world public opinion, of UNO decisions, the militarist arrogance of its political and military leaders without seeing behind it the saboteur Number One of the cause of peace in our region - the American imperialism.

Without the money, weapons and political backing of USA, the Israeli rulers could not wage their policy "from positions of strength". The truth is that the nationalist arrogance of the Israeli rulers does not so much lean on the strength of Israel, which after all is dependent and limited, but on the strength of the American imperialist support.

The Government and its supporters have not learned the lesson from the defeats of the US army and its puppets in Vietnam, the lesson of the debacle of the pro-American militarist clique of Yahya Khan, in Pakistan, the lesson of the nationalization of oil in Iraq and Syria. In short: The lesson of the new epoch. The historical process of our times leads to the breaking of the imperialist props, to the failure of all those who lean upon those props.



The war minister M. Dayan, who is known for his "hawk" position in relation to the Arab people, stands with trembling knees before the American patron. He and the like of his, know full well that under present circumstances, as long as the present political line continues, the very existence of the Israeli Government depends on the rulers of the White House. It is enough for them to stop for some months the stream of money and weapons and the "independent" Israeli Government will fall. Therefore the war minister, M. Dayan emphasized in his interview on June 5, this year:

"If USA will wish to press down on us with all its weight, we shall have to listen to its wishes. I assume that this is so". And further: "If I had to choose between a situation, where the USA gives us, helps us, sells to us in the economic sphere, the military sphere, and the political sphere - and as result of this we have to be very much tied up and very much dependent on responding to their wishes, for otherwise: 'You don't want to listen, then we don't have to give you all this' - and a situation, where we will be free like a swallow in the sky, but this would be the result of the USA not giving us anything, neither economic assistance, nor weapons, nor political support - I should prefer our 'enslavement', which in fact gives us more freedom than that 'freedom', which would bend us down and would create for us a situation of slavery. Without weapons and without political and economic assistance our situation would be much worse. The result would be that we would not be able to do what we are doing now".

In this matter we have no differences of opinion with Moshe Dayan.

Here you have the whole philosophy of the Government, while you stand on one leg: enslavement to the USA gives us freedom to act against the Arab people. Therefore: Long live enslavement to USA; long live the freedom to enslave the Palestinian Arab people. This is the philosophy of voluntary slaves who have turned into ruling slaves, who trample without any pangs of conscience those who are under their control.

The American imperialists are interested in exploiting the continuation of the occupation of the Arab territories by Israel in order to bring to despair the peoples in Egypt, Syria and other progressive Arab countries, to bring them to despair of the anti-imperialist regimes, in order to put in a wedge into their relations with the Soviet Union.

But the American imperialists who wished by means of pressure of the continued Israeli occupation to force the Arab peoples to their knees, to force them to wail for US assistance, have completely failed. The Arab world develops in the opposite direction of what the imperialists wished.

As a result of the failure of the tactics of American imperialism, as result of the weakening of its positions in the international arena and in our region, it has been compelled to manoeuvre. Hence the various vacillations in its tactics regarding our region. But what till now has been dominant in the US policy is the continuation of aggression in our region, which had been started by the Israeli rulers in June 1967.

Many ask: Does a perspective exist for forcing the American imperialists to retreat from their war adventure in the Middle East? Does a perspective exist for a political solution of the crisis in our region, when the alternative to this is the renewal of war with all the possible perilous international complications?

To this we reply that such a possibility does exist and that we have to struggle for its implementation and for preventing the alternative, which is liable to turn into bitter reality, if the political path will fail.

The forces of peace, national liberation and socialism in the world, and first and foremost the Soviet Union, do everything in order to prevent a renewal of war in our region, in order to establish peace, in order to force the American imperialists and the Israeli rulers to stop sabotaging the implementation of the Security Council Resolution. We evaluate that the continuation of the changes in the correlation-of-forces in the world

and in our region to the detriment of Washington and its henchmen, the intensification of the anti-imperialist fight of the Arab peoples and the expansion of opposition within Israel itself to the policy of war and annexations will finally compel American imperialism and the Israeli rulers to retreat from their aggressive adventure.

When this will be achieved, it will be an historic achievement for the Israeli people and the Arab peoples.

Some say: But already 5 years have passed and "matters do not move".

Is it correct to say that matters do not move? We reply: It is not correct. Indeed, the occupation still continues, but it is incorrect that matters are standing in one place.

If the correlation of forces in the world has changed to the detriment of American imperialism, which is the chief disturber of peace in our region, this means that in our region, too, matters do not stand in one place.

If the US rulers are suffering defeats of world-wide historic importance in Vietnam, matters do not stand in one place.

If matters in the Arab countries develop in a favourable way, in direction to strengthening the anti-imperialist and progressive tendencies, and if the correlation of forces in our region begins to change not in favour of the Israeli rulers, this means that matters do not stand in one place.

If official Israel acquired very great sympathy in the non-socialist world in June 1967, but now it is almost completely isolated, and is being removed from positions that had been "guaranteed", (as in Africa), matters do not stand in one place.

And if within Israel itself a process has begun of sobering-up from the drunkenness of war and occupation, and when there is not enthusiasm to sacrifice blood and money to the Moloch of war and occupation, and when

there is no enthusiasm to sacrifice blood and money to the Moloch of war and occupation, and when people become more and more aware of the fact that the Arab countries are prepared, on their side, for an agreement with Israel for achieving a just peace, this means that matters are not standing in one place.

It is these fundamental factors which will in the end determine the development and which are liable to compel the American plotters and the annexationists in Israel to become more realistic.

Therefore we say, that the official Israeli policy is not only reactionary and contradictory to the cause of peace, but also unrealistic, adventurist and detached from the international and regional reality of our days.

Therefore it is a patriotic Israeli imperative to put an end to the policy of serving American imperialism and enslaving oneself to it; it is a patriotic imperative to pursue a new policy of peace and independence from the imperialist powers.

The opportunities of the imperialists to force any state to enslave itself to imperialism are in our days very limited. Under the conditions of our epoch every state is able to pursue an independent policy. The correlation of forces in the world, which has fundamentally changed in favour of the forces of peace and socialism makes it very difficult for the imperialists to react by military intervention or by means of economic strangulation, when a state crosses over to the line of independent national policy according to the interests of its people.

If the State of Israel is a vassal of American imperialism, this is not so because it has no alternative, but because the Government's policy is guided by a nationalist, anti-communist ideology and by its delusive aspirations that in exchange for serving imperialism it will be able to annex Arab areas to the State of Israel.

We warn that this policy only intensifies the enmity toward Israel in the Arab world, among which we are living. We warn that this policy contradicts the national interests of Israel and imperils them. As against this, a new

policy of peace and respect for the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and of the Arab states, will lead to the recognition of the State of Israel by the Arab states, to Israeli-Palestinian understanding and to the removal of the nightmare from the Israeli people and the Arab peoples alike.

The Central Committee brings to the confirmation by the 17th Congress a programme of the Party for a democratic anti-imperialist front in Israel.

The Party's programme at the present stage of development in Israel is a general-democratic and anti-imperialist programme, whose implementation will lead to a fundamental change in Israeli policy, to freeing Israel from dependence on imperialism, to leading Israel onto the path of social progress.

In the preface to the Programme is stated:

"The Programme of the Party expresses the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people in Israel, Jews and Arabs alike. It expresses the class interests of the workers in industry and agriculture, of the working farmers and the fellahin, of the professionals and creative artists, of people working in construction, transport and services, the interests of the artisans and small and medium merchants, of the national bourgeoisie, and also the interests of the Arab population - of all the classes and strata of the people, whose interests are contradicted and whose future is imperiled by the domination of foreign monopolist capital over the Israeli economy, by the political, economic and military dependence on imperialism.

"The Programme of the Party is thus a plan which expresses the national interests of the Israeli people and is intended to ensure existence, peace, security and prosperity to Israel.

"For the implementation of the Programme, the Party will work for the establishment of a democratic anti-imperialist front for a policy of independence, peace, democracy, equality of rights and social progress".

And further: "The implementation of this Programme will

create conditions for a transition to a higher revolutionary stage of the Israeli society - to socialism".

The Programme provides our Party with a clear-cut strategical plan with the clear vision of the happy socialist future for Israel, while the present stage in the revolutionary struggle is the establishment of a democratic anti-imperialist front for implementing its own programme.

It is the urgent task of our Party to fight now against the occupation and for establishing a just and durable peace without annexations, which will give security to Israel and to the Arab peoples alike. Therefore, our Party now exerts its main efforts for intensifying the struggle for these objectives and for rallying a peacefront in Israel. Hence the central slogan of our 17th Congress is "Against Occupation - For Peace". This slogan expresses today in the best way the patriotism and internationalism of our Communist Party of Israel, our concern for the destinies of our peoples and of our homeland, our apprehension for the safety of our children, for peace in our region and in the world.

Our Communist Party brings to the people - with all the historic responsibility for the fate of the people and of the homeland - a peace plan, which is based upon justice and realism. Our plan takes into consideration the rights of all the peoples and states in our region and the general interests of peace and security in our region and in the world.

Our peace plan is based upon the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967 in all its parts, as clarified and strengthened by the decisions of the UNO General Assembly at the end of 1970 and at the end of 1971, and also by decisions of the Security Council concerning Jerusalem.

Our Party brings to the people the following peace plan:

- \* Respect for the rights of all the peoples and states in our region, including the people of Israel and the Palestine Arab people.
- \* Implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, in all its parts.

- \* The peace frontiers will be the lines of June 4, 1967, to which the Israeli army will retreat.
- \* The sides will abolish all claims of belligerence and will respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the states in the region and the right to live in peace within recognized and safe frontiers, free from threats or use of force.
- \* Permanent peace will be established between Israel and the Arab countries.
- \* A just solution of the question of the Palestine Arab refugees, based on respecting their rights, in accordance with the UNO Resolutions, which ensure them of their right to choose freely between return to their homeland and receipt of compensation.
- \* Free navigation for Israel, as for all states, in the Suez Canal and the Tiran Strait.

We are certain that this peace plan is acceptable to Egypt and the other neighbouring Arab countries. It is supported by the Soviet Union and the socialist and other peace-loving countries. According to this plan permanent peace will be established, which will be signed by the two sides.

Our peace plan is correct in respect of principle, in taking into consideration the rights of all the peoples, and is realistic in respect of implementation, taking into consideration the balance-of-forces in the world and in the region.

The governmental circles pose the question of security as a pretext for their demands of territorial annexations, The demand for expanding the borders of Israel for "security reasons" disregards the fact that the Arab countries need security and security arrangements not less than the State of Israel. It is an historical fact that the State of Israel, in collaboration with imperialist powers, has opened aggressive wars against neighbour states in 1956 and in 1967. Also they disregard here that in our days, when there exist a modern air force, sophisticated elec-

tronic and rocket weapons, it is not territory which will ensure security for Israel, but the establishment of peace with the Arab states.

Yet, security arrangements are possible and even desirable after the establishment of peace. We do not disregard this problem.

Our Party proposes security arrangements as an inseparable part of the peace plan for the Middle East. But these security arrangements cannot be territorial expansion, imposition of Israeli sovereignty over occupied Arab territories, or Israeli military presence in those territories. Security arrangements in the Middle East, in the international conditions of our days can be:

Practical guarantees on part of the great powers or on part of the Security Council; introduction of UNO forces to security points that are important to the sides, without any side being permitted to remove these forces; establishment of demilitarized zones at various frontier points.

We are certain that the peace plan and the security arrangements proposed by our Party express the national interests of all the peoples, the needs of peace and security for all.

#### For the Establishment of a Peace Front

One of the most important tasks of our 17th Congress is: To outline paths for strengthening the consolidation of the peace forces in Israel, and to intensify struggle. The consolidation of the peace forces in Israel will turn them into an influential political factor, affecting the political development. Their consolidation will assist in the mobilization of additional circles and wider masses for the struggle against the governmental policy and for a policy of peace.

The principal weapon, which is used by the enemies of peace in their endeavours to prevent the consolidation of peace forces in Israel is anticommunism. The governmental circles understand very well, that a unified peace front of forces having different ideological and political views will constitute not only a greater quantitative combination,



but will give a new quality to the fight against occupation and for peace, will give it more strength. They also understand that the lack of unity, the division among the peace forces, cause perplexity among that public, which begins to lose confidence in the Government's policy.

The historical experience of two generations has proved that the struggle of the social-democratic and liberal movements against "two fronts", against "two enemies", against fascism and against communism, has prevented unity in struggle against the danger of fascism and war and has brought catastrophes to the peoples.

Our Party works untiringly for establishing a united Israeli peace front. Our Party has actively taken part in peace activities, together with other peace-loving organizations, and is always ready to cooperate with any organization and any person who are ready to fight for a just peace, and this irrespective of ideology and even irrespective of their position relative to the June 1967 war. The lack of unity of the potential partners to such a peace front, is to a great degree due to the anti-communist tendencies of part of them. Developments have proved that Mc Carthyism on part of circles or personalities who favour the ideas of peace, hits the struggle for peace.

All peace lovers in Israel, all opponents of the governmental policy must understand that the cause of the fight for peace, for prevention of renewal of war, for prevention of deepening the abyss between the peoples, is not "one of the causes", but is, in this epoch, the decisive, the fateful cause, which is liable to determine the image of the Israeli society for many years to come and even to determine the whole future of the State of Israel.

Today, the decisive test for the concern of a person in Israel for the fate of the people and the homeland is his stand regarding the occupation, the rights of the Palestine Arab people, regarding peace. All those who oppose occupation, who are in favour of respecting the rights of the Palestine Arab people, together with respecting the rights of the Israeli people - are peace-lovers, are the true Israeli patriots.

What is the development within Israel and what are the perspectives for establishing a broad and militant peace front as demanded by the situation? In Israel, in the last years, contradictory developments have occurred.

The turning to the right in political and social life in the country, is continuing. Chauvinist and militarist moods have intensified. The aggressive forces of the right have strengthened inside the main ruling parties, the Labour Party and the National-Religious Party. In Mapam an additional severe turn has taken place to the right, to the West in the political and ideological sense.

As a result of this great obstacles have piled up on the path of the forces of peace and democracy. Yet, and this is the new phenomenon in the latest period, various public circles have begun to doubt the justness and realism of the governmental policy - and reference is to such circles as in the past accepted that policy without any objection.

The governmental circles cannot any longer openly disregard the protest of so many against their policy.

In her appearance before academic personnel in the Weizman Institute on May 14, 1969, G. Meir said: "I find it difficult to reconcile myself to the fact that in this country, too, there are here and there among the intellectuals such as pose the question if we really are just".

About 3 years later, on March 22, 1972, in a talk with writers in kibbutzim, G. Meir was already, according to her own definition, shocked, and she said: "In youth rallies, in which I frequently appear lately I am shocked, really shocked by the reaction of the young people".

These declarations are but a confirmation of the fact that the circles which object to the governmental policy and its results are growing. We were witness to phenomena of conscientious objectors' refusing to serve in the army reserve, to the return of mobilization orders by youngsters from slums. Conscientious objectors are finding understanding on part of many circles. The number of youngsters who refuse to serve in the occupied areas is growing. Professors and many other public personalities are publicly expressing doubts regarding the Government's desire

for peace. Members of Mapam kibbutzim protest against the colonial settling and eviction in the Rafiah area. Also, in the press additional circles are criticizing the growing appetite of the Government for annexations.

Comrades,

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The years which have passed since the June 1967 war marked by ever aggravating violations of the democratic freedoms. There is a growing number of phenomena of trampling civil rights, of restriction of freedom of political activity of opponents of the governmental policy, and of restriction of freedom of trade union struggle.

The Government and its instruments - police and army - have constantly pursued a policy of limiting the freedom of political activity of our Communist Party of Israel. On the eve of the elections to the Histadrut Congress and to the Knesset (parliament) - in the second half of 1969, many members of the Party and of the Young Communist League of Israel were thrown into prison, many were put under house arrest and daily reporting at the police station. Thereby many Party activists were deprived of their freedom of movement and their possibility to take part in the election campaign.

The authorities have now for 5 running years imposed restriction orders upon hundreds of activists and leaders of our Communist Party and on other peace fighters in Israel, among the Arab population.

We demand to put an end to the restriction order and to the movement restriction orders issued to communists and other opponents of the governmental policy. We demand to abolish the Emergency Regulations, this heritage of the British colonial rule.

Putting in action of police force against opponents of the governmental policy has become in latest years a permanent phenomenon. Policemen are sent in order to defend strike breakers, in order to disperse by force demonstrations of the Black Panthers, in order to club down youngsters who demonstrate for retreat from the occupied areas and for peace.

At the same time, the policy shows itself impotent in relation to activities of rightist and fascist groups, which use violence and terror, which fan hatred against Arabs, which organize attacks on democratic forces in Israel. Members of Beitar (youth organization of the Herut Party) carried out a violent assault on the editorial board of "Zo Haderekh" (organ of our Party) in March 1971, but the law court treated the pogromists leniently. Cases of arson and attacks on political background were carried out against other editorial boards of journals.

The extreme right groups draw encouragement from the policy of annexationist and oppression led by the Israeli Government and from the aggravation of violation of democratic freedoms in Israel. Their activity is screened by the extreme reactionary circles in authority. On this backdrop those groups constitute a serious danger for the Israeli working class, for all democratic peace loving forces in our country.

The religious coercion in the country severely limits the civil rights, hits the freedom of conscience, the status of woman and her elementary human rights. It is the obligation of all democratic forces in Israel to fight for introduction of a secular constitution, for separation of religion from the state and for guaranteeing the freedom of conscience, side by side with guaranteeing freedom of religious worship; for enactment of a secular and democratic marriage-and-divorce law.

War and occupation have created a more convenient atmosphere for corruption and crime. A wave of crime, especially violent crime, is steeply rising. Weighty evidence has been published about the establishment of organized crime in Israel. In state and semi-state institutions senior officials have made use of the occupation for personal enrichment (the "Netivei Neft" affair and others).

The occupation has turned the Israeli youth into an occupationist army. The occupation encourages a relation of belittling the value of human life and of human dignity. The occupation creates a convenient atmosphere for additional violations of the democratic freedoms and intensifies the danger of fascism in Israel.

In conclusion: The war and occupation have not only failed to strengthen Israel, but have even enfeebled it to a most dangerous degree from the social and moral point of view. The threat to all democratic freedoms has become concrete. All forces of peace and democracy must intensify their struggle and act together, in order to block the road in front of the forces of extreme chauvinism and fascism, in order to defend the democratic freedoms and to expand them.

The Israeli society is in a situation of tension and fermentation. Internal contradictions are sharpening. The Government's influence on the various strata of the people is weakening. More than in the past, the Government is leaning upon the repressive apparatus of the state. Under these circumstances, there exists the possibility, even before the establishment of the democratic anti-imperialist front, to establish a peace front, which will greatly contribute to the change of the official Israel policy.

The cause of peace and democracy demands unity of action of all forces of peace, greatest possible consideration given to all held in common, to all decisive factors, in spite of ideological and political differences. To establish the peace front our Communist Party of Israel calls upon the "Ha'olam Haze - Koah Hadash", the "Union of Independent Socialist Zionist Left", the "Movement for Peace and Security", "Siah" (New Israeli Left) and all the circles add personalities fighting for peace.

There exist oppositional groups among the governmental parties, that are beginning to understand the lack of realism and the extent of danger inherent in the governmental policy.

Our Party extends its hand also to these oppositional circles, which are ready for a peace without annexations, by implementation of the Security Council Resolution. A united peace front of all the peace forces is a vital need for the struggle against occupation and for peace.

Our Party builds its policy, its strategy and tactics on the perspective that the objective development, international, Mid-eastern and internal - Israeli - will assist

in opening the eyes of many more in Israel. The situation will be seen more realistically by many more people and forces which are still passive will awake and raise their voice against the governmental policy, which is dangerous for the cause of peace and security in our region, for the true national interests of Israel itself.

Our Party on its part does and will do everything in order to bring into prominence every healthy opinion, in order to rally in the broadest possible front all the forces of peace that exist and such as will yet appear, for the struggle for a new Israeli policy, a policy of peace and national independence.

Comrades,

In recent years there has been an expansion, and deepening of sobering-up in various part of Israeli public opinion regarding the Government's policy. Now many are convinced that the Government prevents the establishment of peace, by demanding territorial annexations as a precondition of peace and by integrating into the American policy in the region.

Latterly, there has begun, though slowly and only partially, an additional process of sobering-up. Reference is to the very evaluation of the character of the June 1967 war. More and more facts are revealed which prove to any honest person that in 1967 no danger of extermination threatened Israel, that the June war was not a war for existence, but an aggressive war for unequivocal political targets in the service of American imperialism and in the service of the Zionist expansionist targets.

Many new facts which were published in recent years confirm the correctness of the assessment of our Communist Party, that the June war was not a just defensive war, but an unjust aggressive war. The US and Israeli rulers exploited the errors of Egypt, which declared the closing of the Tiran Straits and also the anti-Israel speeches of Arab politicians, in order to open war, although the matter of free navigation could have been solved by political means.

Senior Israeli army officers who fulfilled central functions in the June war and in its preparation - (generals, members of the general staff) Matatyahu Peled, Ezer

Weizman, Haim Bar-Lev (today government minister), all have stated that there was no danger at all of extermination of Israel in 1967, that the propaganda about the extermination was a bluff in order to justify the war.

Here we bring the most important of the more recently revealed facts:

1) David Ness, who had been charge d'affaires of the US Embassy in Cairo prior to the June war and during its course, disclosed in an article published in the London "Times" on June 5, 1971, that many months before the June war the American foreign ministry (state department) had requested supply of secret military information which was necessary for the Israeli army for preparing the surprise bombing of the Egyptian air bases by the Israeli air force.

2) At the beginning of November 1971 Mordekhay Friedman, manager of the "Netivei Neft" Corporation in occupied Sinai revealed that some time before the June war he had been called to the Israeli war ministry and there he had been put in charge of exploitation of the oil resources in Sinai, after it would be occupied...

3) Finally: Three of the highest ranking military commanders, who are now in reserve, have publicly admitted that all the declarations about a danger of extermination threatening Israel in May 1967 was nothing but bluff.

Major-General (in reserve) Dr Matatyahu Peled said: "The thesis that in June 1967 danger threatened Israel, a danger of annihilation, and that the State of Israel fought for its physical existence, is a bluff which was engendered and which was developed after the war... in May 1967 no danger whatever of extermination threatened Israel, neither as individuals nor in its entirety. The Egyptians had concentrated 80 thousand soldiers in Sinai and we mobilized against them hundreds of thousands of men". ("Ha'a-retz", March 3, 1972.).

Since the war of independence in 1948 no danger threatened the existence of Israel, emphasizes M. Peled. The truth is, he says, that the June 1967 war had its political reasons. It was the reaction on part of the USA to what he terms as "the attempt of the Soviet Union" to bring

instead of the "American arrangement" which had existed till 1957, a "Soviet arrangement".

Maj. General (in reserve) Ezer Weizman, who during the June war was chief of operation in the general staff and now is chairman of the extreme chauvinist Herut Party, has expressed his agreement with M. Peled and declared publicly: "I am prepared to accept that the State of Israel was not threatened by any danger of extermination", but this does not prevent him from justifying the June war. E. Weizman scorns those who claim that there was a danger of extermination.

The former chief-of-staff, Lieutenant-General (in reserve) Haim Bar-Lev has recently joined the above mentioned evaluations and said in an interview to the evening paper "Ma'ariv", on April 18, 1972.:

"No, there was no danger of annihilation on the eve of the six-day war and we did not speak and did not think in these terms. Such a danger existed only in the liberation war (1948), and it became quickly clear that in fact then too this was not a serious one".

The highest army commanders thus admit now that all the Zionist and imperialist propaganda conducted on the eve of the June 1967 war and during its course, about the danger of annihilation threatening Israel was nothing but a smoke screen in order to mislead the people in Israel and world public opinion.

These days the number of Israeli killed and injured after the June war was published. The number comes close to 4,000, and this despite the ceasefire existing since almost two years. These days also, it was published that the Government did know that when it adopted the decision on June 4, 1967, to open war, it apprehended that 30 thousand and up to even 100 thousand Israelis were liable to fall. And in spite of this it decided to open war. This does not prove a very delicate sensibility regarding the lives of our sons and daughters.

The Government has just now published, for the first time, the text of the Government's decision of June 4, 1967 about the opening of the war on its own initiative after receiving the green light from USA. It turns out that the official declaration of the Government on June 5, 1967 as if Egyptian airplanes and Egyptian tanks were



moving before dawn of that day in direction of Israel and that therefore the Government was "forced" to put into action the army - was based on a lie.

These recent publications have still more shaken the confidence among various public circles in the policy of the Government and in the credibility of its spokesmen and its declarations.

After the above mentioned declarations of former army commanders, and the many recently revealed facts, is there any logic at all in the utterances of the prime minister, G. Meir, who wishes to lend justification to the Government's demands for territorial annexations by comparing the situation in the Middle East to the situation in Europe after the second world war? Mistress G. Meir and her accomplices wish to justify territorial annexations with the argument that the aggressor must pay for his aggression, as it happened after the second world war. But if this is the argument, then the right to demand territories is preserved for the Arab countries, which in 1956 and in 1967 fell victim to the aggression prepared by the Israeli Government in coordination with imperialist powers.

Thus, if the Arab states agree to a stable peace with the State of Israel within the border lines prior to the June war, this ought to be welcomed and appreciated.

#### The Palestinian Question

Comrades,

Our Communist Party of Israel has fought all the years for Israel's recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. Development has confirmed the premise of our Party, that there is no, cannot be any just and lasting peace in our region and no security for the Israeli people without the national rights of the Palestine Arab people being guaranteed together with the national rights of the Israeli people.

The June war has not only failed to "liquidate" the Palestine question, as its organizers had hoped, but has sharpened it still more.

The June war, the occupation, the refugee problem which has sharpened, have led to the development of a mass Palestine Arab movement. The Palestinian organizations have assumed a new character. They have turned into a anti-imperialist national mass movement, which is struggling against the occupation and for the national rights of the Palestine Arab people.

An important role in this struggle is fulfilled by the Communist Party of Jordan, the bearer of the standard of national and social liberation.

Imperialism and Arab reaction work for the liquidation of the Palestine national movement because of its anti-imperialist character.

The Palestine Arab people has not reconciled itself and will not reconcile itself to the negation of its rights. It fights in all possible forms for its liberation from occupation and for implementing its just national rights.

In this struggle it enjoys the solidarity of all the Arab peoples and of all fighters for peace and progress in the world, and also of the progressive forces in Israel, and first and foremost of our Communist Party of Israel.

At the same time, the historical experience has taught that errors and incorrect positions and extremist actions of Palestine Arab leaders have more than once assisted the Zionist leaders and the imperialists to carry out their plans against the Palestine Arab people.

Our Party rejects the stand of certain Palestinian factors and of governmental factors in some Arab countries, who still negate the right to existence of the State of Israel and do not consent to the Security Council Resolution 242.

It has to be pointed out that such a stand is not shared by any of Israel's neighbours. Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon support the Security Council Resolution and demand its implementation.

The Security Council Resolution is a positive resolution, in respect of peace and security in the Middle East and in the world, as well as in respect of safeguarding the rights of the peoples, including the rights of the

Palestine Arab people and the Israeli people.

It is not by chance that the Israeli Government stubbornly opposes the implementation of the Security Council Resolution in all its parts.

The Security Council Resolution lays down that after its full implementation, all the questions in dispute of those which were not solved in the relations between the peoples must be solved by political means, based on respecting the legitimate rights of all the peoples.

The plan proposed by certain Palestinian circles concerning the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state, where equality of rights will be granted to Arabs and Jews alike, while the sovereign Israeli state will be abolished, is not correct in principle and makes things easy for the common enemies of the Palestine Arab and the Israeli people - imperialism and its flunkies in Israel and in the Arab states. One must also see that certain Zionist leaders have appropriated this slogan, aspiring to perpetuate the occupation and to deprive the Palestine Arab people of its right to self-determination.

After the June 1967 war, and particularly latterly, certain circles among the rulers in Israel started to put out new plans, whose aim is nothing but the perpetuation of the occupation, turning the occupied areas into an Israeli colony. Slogans, like "encouragement of the Palestinian entity", or "granting the right of self-determination to the Palestine Arab people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip", when they are put out as long as the Israeli occupation continues, are but deceptive slogans on part of those circles which are putting them out. There is no and cannot be - self-determination of the Palestine Arab people under Israeli military occupation. Slogans like "granting the opportunity to the Palestine Arab people in the occupied areas to establish a democratic representation which will open negotiations about peace with Israel", and similar ones, are attempts to organize groups of collaborators with the occupation authorities under the disguise of "democracy" and "Palestinian representation".

A number of Israeli peace-champions, opponents of the governmental policy, also raise the above slogans and

demand of the Government to enable the establishment - under Israeli occupation - of "a Palestinian representation", which will conduct "free negotiations" about peace with Israel. Objectively, under the conditions of occupation, these initiatives play into the hands of the Government's policy.

Only when an end will be put to the occupation of the territories occupied in June 1967 by Israel, will the conditions be created for implementing the right to self-determination of the Palestine Arab people. Only the abolition of the occupation will create the conditions enabling the Palestine Arab people to decide upon the manner of implementing its right to self-determination.

Our Communist Party has always emphasized the correct path to go by, so that the State of Israel will attain peace and cooperation with Arab people. This path is embodied in the slogan: "With the Arab peoples against imperialism and not with imperialism against the Arab peoples".

Every people languishing under occupation, has the right to struggle against the occupation and for its liberation.

The cruel oppression in the occupied areas and the very occupation itself are the main factor which nourishes extremist and unrealistic positions and irresponsible actions on part of certain circles in the Palestinian Resistance Movement. It must be pointed out that progressive patriotic circles among the Palestinian Arab people have expressed their dissociation from and their opposition to such positions and such actions. Our Party, which struggles against the occupation and is in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people against the occupation and for its national rights, rejects extremist positions and actions which are intended to hit civilians and civil aviation.

Great damage is caused to the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people and to the struggle of the peace-forces in Israel and in the international arena by such actions, as the criminal action in the Lod airport, which was carried out by Japanese emissaries of an extremist Palestinian organization and in whose consequence about

100 persons were killed or injured - passengers and civilians who by chance were at that place. This criminal action has severely hit not the Israeli rulers or imperialism but the fighters against the occupation and for peace.

The Marxists-Leninists have always rejected on principle and in practice adventurist methods of struggle, of personal terror. Such methods only soil the struggle and the revolutionary ideals in whose name these actions are allegedly carried out - actions that lack any revolutionary moral and political sense.

While condemning murderous acts like this, one cannot free the Israeli rulers from great responsibility for such tragedies, too. These grow on the soil of continued Israeli occupation of Arab areas, on the background of cruel oppression in the occupied areas and of the Government's belittling the national rights of the Palestine Arab people.

Life itself has proved that those who think that they will be able to lead a calm life and at the same time continue the occupation of the Arab areas, and to ignore the rights of the Palestine Arab people, are completely detached from reality.



General Secretary MEIR VILNER delivers the Report of the outgoing Central Committee

## THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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Comrades,

The Israeli occupation is a colonialist rule, whose aim is to annex the occupied territories to the State of Israel.

The Government is in a frenzy carrying out colonialist settling in the occupied territories with the evident aim of creating accomplished facts towards the official annexation.

The Government violates all the decisions of UNO concerning the occupied areas, tramples the human rights which are guaranteed by the UNO Charter and by the Geneva Convention.

The inhabitants of the occupied territories are languishing under a brutal terror, enslavement and infamous economic exploitation. They are deprived of elementary human rights, exposed to the arbitrariness of military governors, thrown en masse into prisons and concentration camps; many homes are blown up, their lives are a prey to military terror. The inhabitants of the occupied areas serve as cheap labour power for the policy of "determining facts" in those areas and for enrichment of the big capitalists, foreign and Israel, of various parasites, who accumulate war profits.

Before the Israeli occupation lived in the occupied areas about 1,5 million persons. Already during the course of the war and the first 3 months after it more than 500 thousand inhabitants were driven out or compelled to flee. This number grew afterwards, when oppressive actions, expulsion and eviction were carried out on part of the authorities, particularly in the Gaza Strip and the Rafiah area.

From the economic point of view the occupied areas constitute an Israeli colony. By force of its military rule, the Israeli Government imposed on the territories a colonialist socio-economic regime.

Eastern (Arab) Jerusalem was officially annexed to the State of Israel. The authorities expelled from the Arab sector of Jerusalem many leaders from various circles. Houses were blown up. Housing estates were constructed with the aim to Judaize the Arab part of the city by force of the military rule.

The actions of the Government in Jerusalem are an additional proof that its intentions are not directed toward peace. The problem of Jerusalem cannot be solved by a military dictate and by annexation of the eastern part of the city to the State of Israel.

In the framework of the peace settlement the eastern part of Jerusalem must be restored to Arab sovereignty. Yet, with the abolition of the occupation, there must be arrangements, agreed-upon by the states, which will guarantee free approach to the places that are holy to members of all religions, and other joint arrangements between the two parts of the city.

During the last 3 years the inhabitants of the occupied areas waged many struggles against the occupation. The forms of the struggle were many and variegated. An important place in leading the struggle against the occupation and for peace is taken up by the Communist Party of Jordan which is persecuted by the occupation authorities.

Our Party condemns the cruel oppressive acts in the occupied areas. The history of the Israeli occupation is soaked in blood and tears. It is a severe indictment against the Israeli Government. It has been proved again that the Israeli occupation is not - and cannot be - "liberal" and "humane". The occupationist uses means of terror and oppression, intimidation and humiliation, in his attempt to break the resistance to occupation and oppression.

The occupation forces have more than once opened fire on demonstrators and passers-by alike. By the shots of the occupation forces women, children and men were killed and wounded. Thousands have been thrown into prison, even without any trial, by force of administrative measures. The tortures in the prisons cry out to heaven.

The military government considers as crimes not only military activities, but also any conversation against the occupation; giving a glass of water to a person who is suspected of a contravention; failure to denounce a father or a brother, mourning the death of members of one's family. Into the Israeli military courts in the occupied areas young boys and girls have been dragged, accused of bringing copies of our organ in the Arabic language, "Al-Itihad", to the West Bank, or just of having read it; for belonging to pupils' or girls' organizations; for collecting donations for bereft families; for hoisting the Palestinian flag in demonstrations; for disturbing the orderly course of studies. The military courts hand out the severest sentences en masse, including imprisonment for life.

The democratic public in Israel has more than once stood up against the brutal repressive acts in the occupied territories. There have been even cases, where Israeli soldiers and officers alarmed the public against atrocious acts carried out by the occupation forces in the Gaza Strip.

One has to point out the ramified activity of the League for Civil and Human Rights in Israel, in mobilizing democratic public opinion in Israel and in the world, against the cruel actions of the occupation forces.

One has to point out the important contribution made by communist and other, democratic advocates for the defence of victims of the occupation and for the defence of human rights.

Our Communist Party, true to its consistent struggle for cessation of the bloodshed, for a settlement leading to a just and lasting peace, and for normal neighbourly relations between the Israeli people and the Palestinian Arab people, has appeared from the first day on against the occupation and the oppression, has warned against the destructive consequences arising from the occupation for the future of Israeli-Arab peace and for the Israeli society, and has mobilized the democratic public opinion for the struggle for the retreat and for peace.

From all rostrums which are at its disposal - the press,



the parliament, the trade union institutions, the law courts and other public rostrums, our Party has exposed the crimes committed by the occupation forces, has defended those persecuted by the occupation, and organized activities of solidarity with the victims of occupation and with political prisoners on hunger strike. Despite the fact that the occupation authorities are punishing the distribution of our Communist Party press and its reading in the occupied areas, and prohibit the entry of the Arab members of our Party into the occupied territories, the policy of our Party is known and respected among the masses of the Arab people in the occupied areas. The policy of our Party has saved the honour of the Israeli people and presents to the Palestinian Arab people - the other Israel, the Israel of workers who also suffer, who desire peace and not war, life and not annexations.

The more one has to condemn the racist and colonialist appearance of all those, who defend the occupation in the name of "the national interest", "security" etc.

The national interest and the security of Israel have nothing in common with the occupation, which only perpetuates enmity and war. Only the imperialist bosses, the big foreign and local capitalists, those who are prepared to sacrifice the lives of our sons for their own "national" interest, for the profits made from the oil fields in Sinai and from the cheap labour of the workers from the occupied areas, for the possibility to enrich themselves from robbery - only these gain from the continuation of the occupation. It is not by chance that precisely now, in the fifth year of the occupation, corruption affairs have exploded. The activity of the knights of "The Complete Land of Israel" (meaning the whole area of the State of Israel and the occupied areas), the fascist storm troops of Kahane's League, of Beitar (youth organization of the Herut Party) and similar organizations, which attempt to impose terror upon our public life, must alarm the best parts of the people to struggle against the occupation, against corruption, and against the danger of fascism.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION AND THE SHARPENING  
OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

.....

Comrades,

Our 17th Congress convenes, at a time when the economic situation has sharpened and social polarization has widened; when the employers and the Government are attacking the rights of the workers and are reducing their real wages. The workers are giving battle, are breaking the anti-workers laws, the orders of the Government and of the Labour Courts, and do not reconcile themselves to the lowering of their living standard, to the giddy price rises, the unbearable tax burden and to the enrichment of a few at the expense of the working masses, and through the infamous exploitation of the occupied areas, and the militarization of the economy and the state budget.

Our 17th Congress will outline a path for the strengthening of the workers' struggle, for further rallying the workers' ranks in their justified struggle.

There were some among the governing circles who deluded themselves into thinking that the war and occupation will solve the difficult economic questions facing Israel, will weaken the class struggle and will constitute a source of economic prosperity over a long range .

Just as reality has refuted the various militarists and chauvinists in respect of policy, they now reap empty ears of corn, in the economic and social respect, too.

The five years which have passed since the June 1967 war have not only failed to put the Israeli economy on a healthy basis, have not only not strengthened it for a long range, but the opposite has occurred: The economic advantages of the armament race and occupation are transient, while the economic distortions caused in their consequence and their negative social consequences will cast their shadow over the Israeli social and economic life for years to come.

The Israeli economy is now dependent upon foreign capital, upon foreign monopolies, especially American, and this more than ever before. The State of Israel has removed itself

further from economic independence.

The five years which have passed since the June war, were years of an extreme militarization of the economy and the state budget. The profits of the big bourgeoisie swelled up, the real wages are decreasing, poverty is spreading and the class contradictions are sharpening.

Even the official circles are compelled to admit that the economic tide of the post-war years was not the fruit of a healthy development of the Israeli economy, and that the relative abundance enjoyed by certain strata was but artificial, that its continuation is liable to turn into an economic crisis, still deeper than the one before the war.

The finance minister, P. Sapir, openly threatens a "more cruel austerity" than the one before the war. And we do know the significance of an "austerity": decrease in production, mass unemployment, drastic decline in the living standard.

The extreme militarization of the economy and the budget is obvious. If the overt military expenditures in the year of preparation for the war (1966) were 1,200 million Israeli liras, in 1971 they amounted to 7,000 million Israeli liras, i.e. an increase by six times. In the budget the item of expenditures in foreign currency for military acquisitions abroad, especially from USA, increased at a still more giddy pace, by 10 times, by one thousand per cent.

If the overt military expenditures constituted in the war year, 1967, about 30% of the state budget and 23% of the Gross National Product, in 1971 the overt military expenditures constituted about one half of the state budget and about 30% of the GNP. About 240 thousand workers, who constitute about one quarter of the entire labour force in Israel, are directly or indirectly employed by the army. On the eve of the war, in 1967, the percentage was 10.

The state budget in its entirety has greatly swollen up. In 1967 it was 4,500 million Israeli liras, while the GNP (including commodities and services) was 14,000 million IL.

i.e. one third of the GNP. This year, 1972 the budget will reach 16,000 million IL while the GNP is estimated at 21,000 million IL. That is to say, the state budget will equal this year two thirds of the GNP. This is an extremely perilous percentage and indicates the distortion of the entire structure of the economy.

The gigantic military expenditures are the primary reason for the ever increasing deficit in the balance of payments, which causes a malignant growth of Israel's foreign debt. The debt in foreign currency increased from 1,600 million dollar at the end of 1967 to 3,600 million dollar at the end of 1971. It is assumed that at the end of 1972 the foreign debt will reach 4,200 million dollar. And this in spite of the fact that export has almost doubled during the last 5 years. "But" writes the evening paper 'Yediot Ahronot' in summing up in its issue of May 26, 1972, the 5 years since the June war, "the necessity to import raw material and military equipment causes, of course, an immense increase in the rate of deficit, which in everyone's opinion is very grave".

To the increase of the State's foreign debt one must also add the increase in internal debts, which also gives rise to concern, i.e. increase from 3,000 million Israeli liras in 1967 to 10,000 million IL in 1972.

Payment of debts and interest is a heavy burden upon the State budget, in 1966, the year before the war, the Government spent for payment of debts (stock and interest) about 800 million IL. This year, 1972, the amount of payment will reach 3,700 million IL, i.e. 23% of the entire state budget.

The payment of debts is primarily a payment for previous military expenditures. If we add the sum which is marked for payment of debts to the sum of military expenditures, we will understand the whole scope of the social and economic consequences of the policy of war, occupation and annexations.

The vast increase in foreign debt is one of the expressions of the increasing enslavement of Israel to foreign capital and to the imperialist powers, particularly the USA.

The economic "assistance" given by America to Israel and the enslaving loans, primarily for enabling her to pay for the weapons sold her by USA, distort the Israeli economy in a measure which in the long run is liable to bring a collapse.

One of the means, which the Government uses for "balancing" the budget is the printing of banknotes. This year the printing presses are working full speed for printing money.

In the 5 years since the June war the printing of banknotes amounted to a total of 4,000 million IL. The rate of increment of printing is interesting. If in 1968 banknotes were printed for a sum of 224 million IL, in 1971 the printing reached the astronomic figure of 1,142 million IL.

The printing of money for covering the deficit which increases as the result of the inflated military expenditures brings in its wake a decline in the real value of the Israeli lira, devaluation and a general price rise.

The immense military expenditures, which cause the increasing chronic deficit in the state budget are, thus, in the conditions of Israel, the main reason which causes the inundation of the market with banknotes, the present galloping inflation.

The destructive stream of foreign capital from abroad to Israel assists in increasing the inflation. The foreign capital streams into this country not because of love of Israel, but because of love of easy profits. In Israel ideal conditions exist for foreign investors. The laws for stimulation of investments of foreign capital make possible the accumulation of legendary profits with a minimal investment on part of the capitalists. The capitalists are also permitted to take out of the country all profits and interest in dollars, and without any limitation. Also the high interest paid in this country and the relatively cheap labour are exploited.

The fast rises in prices are destructively affecting the budget of the workers' family. In the last 5 years, since the June war, the prices have risen at a fantastic

rate. According to the calculations of the chief of the department of prices in the Central Bureau of Statistics, Reuben Karshai, the prices rose by 32,5% (December 1967 - December 1971). But especially steep was the rise in prices in the last two and half years. The rents have risen by 43% since the war; transports and postage fees by 38%; victuals by 33%. In the one year of 1970 the prices of victuals rose by 10.1% and in 1971 by a further 13.4%. If one adds to all these rises and others the big increases in prices, that took place since the beginning of 1972, and the real rise in prices not taken into consideration by the Central Bureau of Statistics we must reach the conclusion, that since the war of June the whole range of prices has risen by at least 50%, and we are still in the midst of additional increases in the prices of victuals, services, electricity, postage fees etc. There are due some more increases in municipal and government taxes, the latter in form of surplus-value tax, which is nothing but an additional indirect tax, involving an accelerated general increase of prices.

According to official data the prices of flats have risen by 70% in the years of 1968/71. It is no mere incident, that the cry of the inhabitants of slums, who live in abysmal lodging conditions, as well as of young couples, who without state aid cannot even dream of a flat of their own in the prevailing circumstances of renting flats by key money or of flats for sale, is heard ever louder.

How is the high cost of living felt in everyday's life? For a considerable part of the population - for one quarter, at least - the situation engendered is an outright calamity. Take for example this characteristic passage of a conversation, held by Tamar Maroz of the daily "Ha'arets" (issue of March 17, 1972) with a young woman, a mother of four children, whose husband is a permanently employed civil servant:

"The government acts in a way, that my children shouldn't have anything to eat. Maybe nobody cares about it. Meanwhile the prices have risen so fast, that one hasn't almost any money to buy any food. Everything has become so expensive, that it isn't worth while to lose words about it. I try to fool my children a little with the food. For instance I dilute the milk with half a quantity of water, but the stomachs of children are not to be

fooled. They come and appeal to me: "Is there anything more to eat, ma?" And I, by failing to give them some more food, am getting nervous. In such instances I start shouting at them, and sometimes I even give them a spanking. Let them leave me alone. I have no more to give them! And later I lie down on my bed and cry like mad. Where should I get them food from? I would have rather be eaten myself if only I could. I myself try not to eat. Sometimes I want, too. Why does nobody care about food becoming more and more expensive, about a person not being able to pay for all this? Do they want us to stop eating at all?"

The working people now increasingly feel the economical and social results of the occupation. While the economic prosperity and the accumulation of vast profits on the part of the capitalists is still in full swing, the real wages of the working people are steadily going down. The overwhelming majority of the salaried people have been suffering during recent years from relative and absolute impoverishment alike.



Party Veterans carry the Banner of the CC of the CP to the Presidium

According to official data, as a result of the increase in the price of means of living, of services, of taxes and compulsory loans, the average real income per capita has fallen by 1% in 1970 and by 2.5% in 1971. The data about the income per capita include the whole population. As to the families of workers and employees in the services the decrease in the real income per capita exceeds 10%. With many workers' families the decrease reaches a far higher percentage. The relative impoverishment finds its expression in the decline of the percentage of wages in the total national income from 63.2% in 1966 to 60.6% in 1970. The percentage of wages in the national income has fallen further in 1971 and continues falling off in 1972.

The main reason for the intensification of class exploitation, for the decline of real wages and for the expansion of poverty in Israel in the last few years lies in the government's policy of war and occupation involving tremendous military expenditure and deepening of the dependence on foreign capital. The struggle for stopping the decline in real wages of the toilers and for raising them, is therefore closely intertwined with the struggle against occupation and for peace.

The war, the occupation and the development of the military economy have strengthened the Israeli big bourgeoisie, have intensified the concentration and centralization of capital and increased profits to unprecedented heights.

An estimate of the profits of industrial firms proves, that there has taken place an increase of 1,000 million IL. in 1968 to 1,400 million in 1970, i.e. an increase by 40% within two years. No estimate is available yet for the year of 1971.

During the last years the profits of the banks have increased by leaps and bounds. The figures for the year of 1971 show, that the declared profits of "Bank Leumi", "Discount Bank" and Bank Hapoalim" amount to 137 millions IL. This means an increase of 74% in comparison with 1970.

All the sectors of the big bourgeoisie enjoy the direct support of the government. Thus the annual budget for 1971/72 included premiums for exporters to the amount of 870 millions IL. and moreover allocations for the encouragement of industrialists and citrus growers to the amount



of 280 millions IL.

These sums which were given directly by the Government to the capitalists were greater than the governmental allocations in the budget for the ministries of health, education, welfare, labour, internal affairs and housing.

The Israeli bourgeoisie enjoys governmental assistance also concerning the prevention of rises in labour wages of Israeli workers, and concerning the supply of cheap labour from the occupied territories. The employers' organizations and the Government were partners in 1970-1971 to the "package deal", which was intended to limit the workers' struggle for wage rises.

The exploitation of workers from the occupied areas, whose wages are by 30-50% lower than those of the Israeli workers, have brought additional millions of profits to the Israeli workers, have brought additional millions of profits to the Israeli owners of factories and farms. Israeli capitalists have, with the encouragement of the Government, opened enterprises in the occupied areas, or have bought up local enterprises according to the method of sub-contractors, and have made still higher profits.

The economic interest of the big bourgeoisie in the continuation of occupation of the Arab territories is evident.

The expansion of the domination of the foreign capital over the Israeli economy and the strengthening of the power of the Israeli bourgeoisie have accelerated the process of capital concentration (primarily in banking, insurance and industry). The 3 biggest banks - Bank Leumi, Discount Bank and Bank Hapoalim directly control investment companies, pension funds; and indirectly they control dozens of industrial enterprises. The strengthening of the bank and industrial concerns has given its particular stamp to Israeli capitalism.

State capitalism in Israel has strengthened in recent years as the result of import of governmental capital, of the militarization of the economy (the great development of the military industry) and from state investments in the infrastructure (ports, roads, the electric grid), in banking and development of minerals. The greater part of the workers in the state sector, in which the state possesses

more than 26% of the shares, are employed in big and important enterprises. To this must be added that the Government controls the redistribution of 50% of the national income by means of the state budget, regulates the scope of credit, and intervenes actively in all that is done in the Histadrut-owned and private sector.

The concentration of considerable economic resources in the hands of the Government is generally carried out in cooperation with foreign and local capital. The Government encourages foreign and local private capital by establishment of joint enterprises and companies, by magnanimous loans and grants, by acquisition of failing private enterprises and by selling out profitable state enterprises. In 1970 - 71 the Government sold shares of 32 state companies.

In short, the war of June 1967 and the prolonged conquest have resulted in the increasing domination of foreign capital over Israeli firms, in broadening the interference of the state in the economy and in strengthening of the monopolies and the corporations. The linking of these processes has strengthened the state-monopolists tendencies in the Israeli economy.

The economic prosperity has secured quite considerable advantages to the petty bourgeoisie, the small producers as well as the kibbutzim, the moshavim and the various cooperatives, too. They have participated in the exploitation of cheap manpower from the occupied territories and have received part, even though only a small one, of the military and other governmental commissions. At the same time, these strata of self-employed persons and members of cooperatives continued to be exploited by big capital, be it the bank, industrial or commercial capital.

Although they employ and exploit hired labourers, the members of the kibbutzim and the moshavim are themselves toilers, exploited by big capital - foreign or local - and hence constitute allies of the working class in its fight against the monopol capital and for economic independence and progressive social changes.

#### The sharpening of the class struggle

During the past three years the class struggle in our

country has broadened and become fiercer. Industrial workers and employees in services have waged numerous and embittered struggles for raising wages, for the cost-of-living allowance, for the improvement of working conditions, for the defence of their trade union rights, against the increase in prices and taxation, against the government's interference in labour conflicts in favour of the employers, against laws restricting or even forbidding strikes, against orders by the government or by labour courts aimed at breaking strikes of toilers, at depriving the working class of its main weapon of struggle.

Both the years 1970 and 1971 saw a broader and more comprehensive wave of strikes than the foregoing year of 1969. The number of complete strikes rose from 144 in 1969 to 163 in 1970 and to 169 in 1971. In 1970 there took place two nation-wide strikes - that of the teachers and that of the nurses, and about 250,000 working days were lost. In 1971, following the severe administrative and juridical steps taken by the authorities against striking people (stand-by orders compelling people to work, labour courts), the workers and the employees of the services resorted more to the method of sanctions (stoppage of working overtime) and of go-slow-strikes. Struggles of this kind are not included in the statistics of strikes. As a result a decline in the number of strikers and of lost working days was registered in 1971.

The struggles of the working people expressed their mounting opposition to the attack launched on their standard of living by the Government and the employers. The main demand of the strikes was the one for raising the wages.

In the years of 1969-71, more than two thirds of the strikes broke out in the public and Histadrut (Trade Unions) sectors. It was precisely in the state- and municipal services as well as in the Histadrut enterprises, that the contradiction between the policy of the Government, the municipalities and the Histadrut-leadership on the one hand and the demands and needs of the working people on the other hand was greatly accentuated during these last years. This sharpening of contradictions found its expression in strikes of stevedores, employees of civil aviation, secondary-school teachers, postal employees, nurses, municipal employees, customs employees, X-Ray-technicians, workers of the "Koor"-corporation, of the electricity company etc.

The class struggles of the last years have been characterized by a better organization and the firm militant persistence in the workers' demands. The striking workers did not shrink back in face of threats of army intervention (in the case of the civil aviation employees) or that the plant would be closed down ("Rogozin" plant).

The Government acts in the interest of foreign and local big capital, and considers the expansion of the struggles of the workers and other groups of employees as a great peril for continuation of their own policy. Therefore the Government so unequivocally sides with the employers, and being the biggest employer, it also acts directly against the employees of the state and public services.

At the beginning of 1972, the Government passed a law in the Knesset which forbids strikes in branches that are defined by the Government as "vital". It ought to be pointed out, that bourgeois parties, such as Gahal, Free Centre, Independent Liberals, had been the first to demand compulsory arbitration in labour conflicts and enactment of laws against strikes. The leadership of the Alignment, which threatens striking workers with police and army intervention, acts according to the anti-worker demands of the bourgeois parties, which directly represent big capital. Mistress Golda Meir's utterance against the strike in the Lod airport ("In Lod occurred yesterday an act of banditry. These revolutions that are taking place here, have brought fascism to many countries" - according to the daily "Ha'aretz", September 8, 1971), and M. Dayan's call (for throwing into prison workers who are striking without having given a previous two-week notice) - these two declarations are an expression of the anti-worker, reactionary policy of the Government.

The expansion and sharpening of the workers' struggles in our country, on one hand, and the Government's steps against the freedom of trade union struggle, including freedom to strike, on the other hand, testify to the fundamental contradiction between the workers' interests and the policy of our country's rulers. The intensifying collisions between the workers and the Government lead the workers gradually to comprehend that the assault upon their living standard and their social and trade union rights is a direct result of the policy of occupation and annexation

and of the policy of serving big foreign and local capital. This comprehension will on its part contribute to the deepening of the daily struggle against lowering the living standard and for peace in our region.

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The workers who struggle for achieving their legitimate demands, are compelled to stand in the battle not only against the employers and the Government, but also against the leadership of the Histadrut, which tries to curb the struggle. The Histadrut leadership, guided by zionist ideology and reformist doctrine, assists in the implementation of the anti-popular economic and social policy of the Government, and cultivates peace between the classes.

The General Secretary of the Histadrut, Y. Ben-Aharon, and other personalities in the Histadrut leadership appear from time to time with some criticism directed at these or other anti-worker measures of the Government. But generally, in the end, they have yielded, and supported the Government's steps, at the most attaining some insignificant corrections which do not alter the severity of the inflicted measures.

The "package deal" for 1970-71, which was signed by the Histadrut leadership, the employers and the Government, the reconciliation to the price rises and to the devaluation of the Israeli lira, the reconciliation to the severe anti-worker law for prohibiting strikes, and even the active support lent to that law - this is what characterized the policy of the Histadrut leadership. This leadership has stood against the majority of workers' strikes. In 1971, 56% of the strikes did not receive confirmation and support from the Histadrut institutions.

The policy of the majority in the Histadrut leadership drives the workers to despair and to leaving the Histadrut. We, communists, reject such erroneous conclusions. The Israeli workers are in need of a militant Histadrut, a militant Trade Union Federation. No doubt, the stronger the oppositional forces within the Histadrut, which consistently defend the workers' cause, and the more courageously and militantly the workers will fight for defending their interests in spite of all anti-worker

laws and threats on part of the employers and the Government, the more will the Histadrut leadership be compelled to take into greater consideration the workers' demands.

The resignation of the General Secretary of the Histadrut, Y. Ben-Aharon, in May 1972 in reaction to the Government's intervention in favour of the industrialists against the workers in a labour conflict in the canned products industry, is an expression of the intensified pressure of the workers on the Histadrut leadership.

The intensified struggle of the workers constitutes one of the main factors that cause contradictions appearing within the leadership of the ruling party. The protests of masses of workers from all over the country against the Government's intervention in labour conflicts, and for cancellation of the resignation of the Histadrut General Secretary, these are expressions of the workers' opposition to the anti-worker policy of the Government and of their demand of the Histadrut leadership to side with the workers in their struggle for their rights, that the Histadrut serve not as an instrument in the hands of the Government and the employers against the workers. The Government and the direction of the Alignment were interested in removing Ben-Aharon from his post. Ben-Aharon took back his resignation as a result of the mass protest movement of the workers. The more loyal the Histadrut will be to the interests of the workers, the stronger will it be and its force will be not only potential, but will have direct, actual influence.

The experience of the last 3 years has proved again that only by a united and resolute struggle can the workers rebuff the assault of the Government and the employers on their wages and living standard. Experience has proved that only by struggle can one attain achievements. Workers, who do not struggle are not taken into consideration by the Government and the employers. As against this, workers who struggle, who do not shrink back, can succeed in their struggle. The more resolute and firm the workers and other employees are in their struggle, the more united they are, the greater will be their achievements.

### Sharpening of the Social Problems

In the last 3 years social fermentation in Israel has assumed dimensions we have not known for many years. The social struggles were joined by inhabitants of slums and poverty areas, Jewish-oriental communities, young married couples and residents of development townlets. The question of poverty has become one of the central problems in the Israeli society.

According to data of the Institute of National Insurance, every fifth family and every fourth person in the urban population lives in poverty or under circumstances of distress or on the threshold of poverty.

In the cities thousands of families are living under conditions of sub-human housing, poor services and terrible congestion. In the poverty quarters of Tel-Aviv alone there live 133 thousand persons, partly in dilapidated buildings in unpaved streets, filled with rubbish. More than half of the children of Tel-Aviv are growing up under conditions of poverty. Horrible destitution exists in the poverty neighbourhoods of Jerusalem and also in Haifa and in other towns.

The lack of housing is the curse of young couples. They have started struggles, have organized and have held sit-in strikes and hunger-strikes, have seized empty flats. The Government was forced to take these struggles into consideration, but it proposes solutions which are nothing but a drop in the sea of needs.

The lack of homes is a great trouble in what is termed "development townlets". In many townlets houses are not connected with the central canalization. In addition to the housing trouble, or better, the lack of housing, there reigns an awful poverty in those townlets.

Very grave is also the situation of hospitalization. Welfare support for poor families still leaves them in a situation of distress.

The poverty in Israel (among the Jewish population) to a great degree conforms to ethnic-community origin. The

majority of the Jewish poor are emigrants from Asian and African countries or sons of emigrants from these continents. Thus, a second and third generation of a poor and deprived population of oriental communities is growing up. Income per person in families from Asia-Africa amounts to only 47% of incomes per person in families from Europe-America. The poverty quarters in cities and in certain development townlets have turned into a sort of ghettos for oriental-Jewish communities.

The most deprived sector among the oriental communities is the youth, living in congestion and destitution, without opportunity to acquire adequate education, such as other young people have. The children of oriental families who constitute the majority in the primary schools, are only 30% of secondary school students and only 10% of university students.

An expression of the awareness of being deprived and of the desire to get out from the vicious circle of poverty and crime, has been given by the "Black Panthers" in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and other localities. The Black Panthers have raised the slogan of struggle against communal discrimination and for human living conditions for the inhabitants of the poverty quarters. They organized mass demonstrations and more than once collided with the police. In the wake of one of their demonstrations, which was brutally attacked by the police, the communist parliamentary faction proposed in the Knesset a vote of no-confidence in the Government. The more the struggle of members of deprived oriental communities will become integrated in the general struggle of the workers of all communities and of members of the two peoples, who are exploited and deprived by the regime, and the more they will be united in their struggle, the more important will these oriental-Jewish communities become as a factor in the struggle for human living conditions and for changing the face of the Israeli society.

The aggravation of the social questions and the deepening of social polarization result from the policy of war and occupation, from directing the greater part of the state budget to finance the military expenditures and for holding on to the occupied territories.



The inhabitants of the slums, the residents of the development townlets, the youngsters from the oriental communities, the young couples, together with the working people, are not any longer prepared to reconcile themselves to the prevailing situation and to swallow the argumentation of "security". They resolutely demand better living conditions and a secure future.

Our Party stands with all its force for the defense of the interests of the workers and all the popular strata, who are hit by the policy of the Government and the big capitalists, by the domination of the foreign capital over the Israeli economy, by the policy of war and annexations.

Our Communist Party shows the parth to change matters by turning the economic and financial resources not into channels of war and occupation, but into channels of development and raising the living standard of the workers and popular masses.

#### The Arab Population in Israel

The Arab population in Israel, which comprises more than 350 thousand persons and constitutes 12 % of the citizens of the State, continues to suffer from national discrimination in all spheres of life. The masses of Arab toilers continue to suffer from double exploitation and oppression - as toilers and as Arabs.

In respect of their domicile, - 2/3 of the Arab population is rural. But only one third of all Arabs employed are working in agriculture (as fellahin and as wage-earners). About 40% work in construction, services and industry, generally outside their localities. The fundamental reason for the separation of their place-of-work from their domicile is the expropriation of the Arab fellahin's lands by the authorities. The Government deprived the Arab fellahin by means of various anti-democratic, racist laws of more than one million dunam, about one half of the cultivated and public land of the villages (1 dunam is 0.1 hectare, or 0.25 acre). And this in addition to the expropriation of lands belonging to the Arab refugees.

The Arab fellahin, who suffer from the policy of national discrimination, are at the same time exposed to the exploitation by big capital, by the banks and by industrial companies, which buy industrial crops. The Arab fellahin receive very low prices for such crops as tobacco, olives and various industrial crops, the greater part of whose production is in the hands of the Arab fellahin.

The discrimination regarding to the Arab workers is expressed in employment, in wages and in their rights as members of the Histadrut (General Trade Union Federation).

As a result of the national discrimination of the Arab population, the path is closed to Arab small and medium capitalists, for establishing and developing industrial enterprises in the Arab localities in Israel. Even the few isolated enterprises that had existed (such as the cigarette factories in Nazareth, the canned product plant in Baqa al-Gharbiya) were closed down.

In recent years a great number of Arab girls and women has joined the labour force, under very poor conditions. In the sphere of employment of Arab girls, flourishing business is made by the middle-men who supply cheap labour for seasonal work and also for industrial enterprises, and rob the girls of at least one third of their wages.

Grave discrimination is suffered by the Arab youth. The majority of young Arabs join the unskilled labourer force, seasonal and temporary work, as they encounter difficulties in receiving any vocational education.

The drop-out of Arab boys from elementary school begins in the 5th form and continues to the 8th form. 30% of the pupils drop out. In the secondary school age group (14-17) there are only 20% Arab youngsters who study in secondary or vocational schools, as compared to the 60% of Jewish youngsters. The result is that the educational gap between the Arab and Jewish youth in this country is increasing. In higher studies the discrimination against Arab youth is still more prominent. And those who graduate from studies encounter difficulties in finding any work adequate to their knowledge, because of the national discrimination.

In the Arab education network, the ministry of education acts systematically for obliterating Arab nationality, and educates to self-effacement in relation to the Jewish majority. The curriculum for Arab schools ignores the great spiritual leaders and statesmen in Arab history, ignores Arab culture and Arab national values. The Arab pupil is required to have a wide knowledge of such subjects as the history of zionism, the Old Testament - at the expense of studying the history of his own people. The Government causes the dismissal of democratic and patriotic teachers, and this hits the level of the teaching personnel.

This direction of education in the Arab sector in Israel is intended to sever the Arab youngsters from the history of their people and thereby to sever them from the Arab national liberation movement.

In a severe situation are the local councils in the Arab localities. The Government continues its policy of non-establishment of elected local councils in the Arab villages. To this day there are no local councils in more than 60 out of the 112 Arab localities. In those localities, where there exist councils, they encounter many difficulties and obstacles.

The Arab local authorities suffer from the general policy of the Government in relation to local councils - policy of insufficient aid, and of passing the burden of social services onto the shoulders of the local authorities - and also from the policy of national discrimination pursued towards the Arab population. Sites for housing construction in the Arab villages have been very constricted and the degree of housing congestion there is the highest in the country. The Arab inhabitants encounter very great difficulties in receiving permits for building.

The level of social services, among these the health service, in the Arab villages is extremely low. Many are the Arab villages, in which there is no medical service at all and still greater is the number of villages lacking a physician at night. There is no canalization in any Arab village at all. The greater part of Arab villages have no electricity till this day.

The Israeli Government, which abroad tries to present itself as democratic and enlightened, does not shrink back from pursuing a racist policy - not only in the occupied areas, but also in relation to the Arab population within the State of Israel.

The finance minister, Pinhas Sapir, has no bigger troubles, than to make the following declaration - nothing less, nothing more :

"The Judaization of the Galilee still constitutes a severe problem and in the nearest future deliberations are to be expected in a suitable forum, for advancing this scheme. The only way for intensifying the Judaization of the Galilee has been up to now the founding of development townlets" (according to the daily "Ha'aretz", 2, 1972).

Thus, the notion "development" has not been anything but camouflage for the infamous policy toward the Arabs, just as the antisemites used to treat the Jews.

In their policy of national discrimination and oppression, the ruling circles in Israel find assistance on part of some elements among the Arab population, that are ready to serve as tools in the hands of the repressive apparatus, out of avarice, or because of narrow class interest, because of the possibility to draw advantages from the regime of national discrimination and the exploitation of Arab toilers.

A central role in the fight against the policy of discrimination and national oppression and for equality of rights is played by our Communist Party of Israel.

It indomitably sided with the Arab population in its struggle for equality of rights, and acted for rallying Jewish and Arab democratic forces in Israel for this struggle.

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The Arab population in the State of Israel is a national minority and a part of the Palestinian Arab people. It has fought for equality of civil and national rights in the State of Israel, for social progress and democracy.

for implementation of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states.

Thanks to the confidence in the correct policy of our Communist Party of Israel, thanks to the self-experience acquired, the Arab population in its masses, under the leadership of our Party, has waged a public-political struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the Jewish democratic forces, against the aggressionist and annexationist policy of the rulers. Before the June 1967 war, and after it, the Arab population rejected adventurist paths of struggle, which would have brought only harm to itself and to the general democratic struggle in Israel against the prevailing policy.

Our Party will continue to enrich the noble tradition of the fight against national discrimination and oppression, for full equality of rights for the Arab population in Israel.

Our Party calls upon all democratic forces in Israel to appear resolutely against any national discrimination and oppression, for equality of rights and fraternity between the Jewish and Arab workers and popular masses.

In the Struggle against the Ideology and Practice of Zionism and against the anti-Soviet Incitement

Comrades,

The 16th Congress of our Communist Party of Israel at the beginning of 1969 confirmed the ideological theses "On the Jewish Question and Zionism in Our Days". This was a Marxist-Leninist conclusion of the subject in view of the new developments after the second world war.

In the theses for the 17th Congress the Central Committee has devoted a central chapter on the ideology and practice of zionism and on the anti-Soviet incitement. This chapter completes the ideological material, which was confirmed by our 16th Congress.

In the course of the last years, between the Congresses, developments have taken place in Israel, which show that

in the ideological sphere, too, doubts are arising relative to zionism, among various circles. Here and there question marks are put: Is zionism really right? Does not what happens now in the occupied territories teach us something about the character of zionism throughout the years? Is it really only an incident that there have been such brutal expulsions and evictions as these of the ten thousand Arabs from Pithat-Rafiah, accompanied by destruction of homes, clogging of water cisterns and wells, by barbarian maltreatment of men, women, aged persons and children?

The zionist movement abuses the friendly sentiments felt by progressive circles in various countries toward the Jewish popular masses, because of the associations with the extermination of six million Jews by the Hitlerian beasts in Europe, in order to mislead those circles concerning the policy of the Israeli rulers and of the zionist organizations.

The ideology and practice of zionism contradict the interests of socialism and progress in the world and the cause of national liberation of the peoples.

We wish to stress most emphatically that the ideology and practice of zionism contradict the interests of the Jewish workers everywhere, and the national interests of the people of Israel. The zionist policy in capitalist countries assists the reactionary, racist and antisemitic forces. Therefore, any support given to the zionist policy does not only not constitute a support of the true national interests of the people of Israel and of the interests of the Jewish workers, but it contradicts them.

Zionism, not only fails to give security to the Israeli people, but it imperils it. The zionist policy which dominates the State of Israel endangers the security and future of the State of Israel, puts the people of Israel on top of a volcano, exposes the destinies of Israel to the tender mercies of imperialism; isolates Israel from the Arab peoples which live around Israel and makes that Arab world hate Israel; it isolates Israel from the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union, from the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which fight against imperialism and for their national and social liberation.

Hence, the fight against the ideology and practice of zionism is a deed of Israeli patriotism. This is a fight for the true national interests of the Israeli people, for the interests of the Jewish workers everywhere, for the general cause of peace, independence of the peoples, democracy and socialism.

The reactionary ideology and practice of zionism constitute a fertile soil for the appearance and strengthening of fascist zionist parties and groups, which use terrorist methods and establish paramilitary organizations, such as the League of Kahane. The Israeli rulers and the zionist leadership in various countries sometimes dissociate themselves from the methods of activity of these groups. But, in reality, they back the fascist groups, encourage their activities and give maximal publicity to their bandit actions - by means of all the mass communication media - radio and television.

These days General Shmuel Gonen (Gorodish) has been appointed to the post of chief of the training department of the Israeli army. The press has quoted utterances representative of the world outlook of one who is going to guide our uniformed youth, one of these responsible for their lives:

"It is very important for me that the Israeli people shall live forever, whether other peoples will exist or will not exist".

How can "other peoples" not live? That is to say - they will be exterminated. The general and chief trainer of the Israeli army does not care whether the other peoples will exist or not. But if the other peoples will not exist, the people of Israel will not exist either.

The utterance of general Gorodish is racist, cannibalist. What is so serious, is that such extremist views do not prevent the general from occupying the highest post in the training of the Israeli army.

It is necessary to meditate, what the ideology and the policy are that have given growth to such ultra-racist views.

Our Communist Party considers it a vital necessity for the

Israeli people and for all progressive forces to conduct an ideological and political fight against the ideology and practice of zionism. At the same time, our Party is struggling for the unity of workers, for unity of all forces of peace and democracy irrespective of ideological view and party affiliation, in order to work in unity for common, concrete progressive objectives in defense of the workers' rights, of democracy and the advancement of the cause of peace.

Comrades, The most important service to imperialism in its struggle against communism is given by the zionist organizations in the sphere of incitement, activities and subversion against the Soviet Union. In the last years the incitement against the Soviet Union in Israel has reached an unprecedented scope. The Knesset (parliament) was summoned many times for shameless anti-Soviet stage performances; anti-Soviet lectures are delivered in schools, intended to poison the souls of children and youngsters in our country with the venom of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The anti-Soviet incitement on part of the Israeli Government and the zionist leaders are coordinated with the propaganda centres of the Washington imperialists.

The pretext of the anti-Soviet incitement of the zionist organizations is their alleged concern for the Jews of the Soviet Union, and particularly the possibility of those who wish so, to emigrate. It is a fact that there is no discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union, that the Jews in the Soviet Union are enjoying full equality of rights and that their overwhelming majority considers the Soviet Union as their homeland and is constructing communism, together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government permits now also immigration to Israel to those who wish it (with the exception of extraordinary cases). But this fact has not diminished the dimensions of anti-Soviet incitement on part of the zionist leaders and the Israeli rulers. They spread the anti-Soviet poison in every possible way. They organize anti-Soviet conferences and provocative demonstrations against Soviet leaders, who visit in foreign countries. They cooperate in anti-Soviet activities with fascist and antisemitic organizations, with "white-



guardist" deserters, who escaped from the October Revolution, and with collaborators with the nazis, who escaped punishment by running away to the west. But the truth pervades more and more public opinion and the anti-Soviet incitement is being less absorbed.

The anti-Soviet incitement on part of the zionist leaders and the Israeli rulers and their subversive activities against the socialist countries and against the anti-imperialist regimes in countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, are nothing but one of the forms of payment which the American imperialists receive in exchange for the arms, money and political backing which they give to the ruling circles in Israel.

An important reason for the intensification of anti-Soviet incitement on part of the Israeli rulers and the zionist organizations, in the years after the June 1967 war, is the fact that the Soviet Union constitutes an obstacle for those leaders to achieve their predatory aspirations for territorial annexations.

The intensified anti-Soviet incitement around the theme of "persecution of Jews" is also intended to divert public opinion from the policy of aggression and occupation on part of the Israeli Government, from the cruel oppression of the Arab inhabitants in the occupied areas, and from the policy of national discrimination of the Arab population in Israel.

The anti-Soviet incitement of the Israeli rulers and the zionist leaders is an activity against the peace in the Middle East, is intended to psychologically prepare the people of Israel for a war escalation in our region, which might lead to involving in war the great powers. Thus, they act against the most vital interest of the Israeli people and of the Jewish masses in the world, which is the relaxation of international tension, prevention of a third world war.

The zionist leaders and the Israeli rulers, who organize the anti-Soviet incitement campaigns, disregard antisemitism in the countries, where it does exist, that is, in the imperialist countries. They keep mum when nazi war criminals roam about freely in the imperialist countries of the west, when murderers of Jews, and of other

peoples, encounter lenient treatment and easy punishment, if they are not brought to trial at all.

It is a vital necessity for Israel to bring about the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union, normal, and even friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The path to this is : To put an end to the aggressive and annexationist policy, to put an end to the anti-Soviet incitement, to pursue a policy of peace and national independence.

There has never been and there is no greater friend of the Jews than the Soviet Union. Since the October Revolution, when the young Red Army saved the masses of the Jews in Russia from the pogroms of the White Guard; through the second world war, when the Soviet peoples sacrificed 20 millions of their sons and the Soviet army saved masses of Jews from extermination, including the Jewish population of our country; and up to the support given by the Soviet Union in 1947/48 to the right of the Jewish people in Palestine, together with the right of the Palestinian Arab people - to self-determination and to independence, the Soviet Union has pursued a continuous and consequent line of supporting the legitimate rights of all the peoples.

This principled Leninist Soviet policy has never been altered. It is the Israeli Government, which in contradiction to the true national interests of the people of Israel, pursues a policy of enmity to the Soviet Union, out of blind hatred for communism, in order to render service to the global policy of the imperialist powers and because of occupationist aims.

The Soviet Union is a loyal friend of the Israeli people and of the Arab peoples alike. Its opposition to the aggressive and annexationist policy of the Israeli Government is a just opposition and conforms with the struggle of the consistent peace champions in Israel. The Soviet peace plan for the Middle East ensures the existence, security and independence of the State of Israel as a Middle East state, as it ensures the rights of the Arab states, whose territories are under Israeli occupation, and the rights of the Palestine Arab people.

Life itself proves that the enemies of the Soviet Union are the enemies of peace and of the peoples' independence, for there exists no important international problem in the world, which it is possible to solve without and against the Soviet Union.

The anti-Soviet incitement is, thus, an incitement against peace, a crime against the Israeli people.

We condemn the anti-Soviet incitement as communists and internationalists . To the same extent we condemn the anti-Soviet incitement as Israeli patriots and peace-fighters.

Friendship with the Soviet Union is a vital need for the Israeli people.

Friendship with the Soviet Union is a class interest for every worker, is a moral and political imperative for any lover of progress and peace.

At the end of this years the 50th anniversary will be celebrated of the foundation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. This is an historic event for the entire progressive mankind. On this occasion we congratulate the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which have contributed the decisive share to the national and social liberation of the peoples, to saving humanity from the fascist barbarity, for creating the possibility for preventing a new world war. We wish the Soviet peoples further successes in the construction of the fundamentals of the communist society, in their fight for consolidating peace and freedom in the whole world.

Our Communist Party of Israel and the International Communist Movement

Comrades,

These days we celebrate the third anniversary of the International Consultative Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, convened in Moscow in June 1969. Our Party took an active part in the deliberations and work of the Conference.

The Conference of the International Communist Movement in 1969 was a very important event, which marked a new stage in the crystallization of unity of the movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The course of international development has proved the correctness and importance of the evaluations and conclusions reached by the International Conference.

The events of the last years have confirmed the premise of the Consultative Conference, that "the world system of socialism is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Every fight for liberation, gains the support on its part, and first of all on part of the Soviet Union, a support which has no substitute". Hence the great importance for the strengthening of unity of the socialist camp, for coordination and cooperation of all the revolutionary forces with the world socialist system and first and foremost with the Soviet Union.

In view of the consolidation of unity of the international communist movement, which was achieved at the Moscow Consultation and following it, the divisionist policy of the present leaders of People's China is prominently standing out.

From the beginning of the sixties the adventurist and nationalist line of the group around Mao Tse-Tung has taken hold of the Communist Party of China. The present leadership of the CPC has severed itself from the proletarian class principles and from proletarian internationalism. It has exchanged Marxism-Leninism for Maoism - an ideology and practice of petty bourgeois chauvinism, of great power hegemonism, of anti-Sovietism, of violating all the fundamentals of socialist democracy, of personality cult in party and state.

In the course of these changes, the Maoist leaders arbitrarily removed from the Party the majority of the central and other party cadres.

Our Party rejects the policy of the CPC leaders, which contradicts the interests of the socialist camp, of the international movement, of the anti-imperialist struggle

and harms the cause of peace, peoples' independence and socialism.

We are convinced that the interests of socialism in China and in the whole world, oblige a change of the policy of the Communist Party of China, a return to the traditional Chino-Soviet friendship, and the resumption by the CPC of its important place in the international communist movement, and complete unity will be restored to the international comm. movement.

We believe that the objective interest of the great Chinese people, which constructs socialism, will overcome the subjective distortions in the ideology and policy of the CPC leaders, and complete unity of the international communist movement will be restored.

The spearhead of the global imperialist strategy is directed against the world socialist system, and first of all against the Soviet Union, and this because of the special function fulfilled by the Soviet Union, as the greatest and most powerful anti-imperialist force, as the chief force in the world socialist system.

The vanguard status of the CPSU stems from the fact that it is the party with the greatest revolutionary experience, from its special functions in the service of the revolutionary movement, and particularly from its extremely responsible role as the guiding force of the main socialist power, upon which is imposed a particular responsibility for rebuffing imperialist aggression, and the defense of world peace and freedom of people.

Therefore, our Communist Party of Israel is connected - together with the entire international communist movement and the world revolutionary movement - by feelings of solidarity and appreciation with the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

The relation to the Soviet Union is the primary test of proletarian internationalism, which is the key to the proletarian class world outlook.

Our Party will in future too consider proletarian internationalism as the supreme principle of the working class,

will be loyal in future too to the conclusions of the International Consultative Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, for the defense of socialism in every socialist country is the internationalist obligation of all the socialist countries, of every communist party.

Our Party draws encouragement and strength from the fact of its being an inseparable part of the international communist movement, from the solidarity of the fraternal communist parties with our Party and its struggle.

Our Party considers as especially important the development of fraternal relations with the Communist Parties of the Arab countries.

We point out with great satisfaction the relations of brotherhood and friendship existing between our Party and Communist Parties of the Arab countries - relations which have tightened in the last years. Our Party expresses its solidarity with the heroic struggles of the fraternal parties in the Arab countries and wishes them further successes.

Our Party will continue to expand its cooperation with all the fraternal communist parties in common matters. Our Party favours the method of world-wide consultations of the communist movement ; of regional consultations; of bilateral meetings, in order to tighten the relations between the parties and exchange experiences for intensifying coordination and strengthening the unity of the international communist movement.

### The Party

We come to our 17th Congress, feeling sure that in Israel, too, things do not stand in one place.

We have to a great degree succeeded in breaking through the wall of isolation which the enemies of peace and progress had erected round our Party, and especially since the June 1967 war, when our Party courageously and as one man stood up against the aggression and for peace and security.

We come to the 17th Congress, when the ranks of our Party expanded since the 16th Congress by 24%. This increase has taken place among the Jewish and Arab comrades alike. The decisive majority of those who have joined are from among the workers and youth.

Expansion of the Party ranks was and has remained a central task of our Party.

Our Party works in difficult and complex objective conditions, in a dense chauvinist militarist and anti-Soviet atmosphere. A radical change in the status of our Party will be connected with a change of objective conditions in Israel. Yet experience proves that also under the present objective conditions it is possible to expand the ranks of the Party and its links with the workers and popular masses, and to strengthen its influence among the public.

In the years between the 16th and the 17th Congress our Party has waged - with its own forces as well as in cooperation with other forces - political, trade unionist, municipal and various social struggles against the occupation, for advancement of the cause of peace, for defense of the rights of the workers and the democratic freedoms, for equality of rights to the Arab population, for elimination of the ethnic-community discrimination, and for social progress.

The representatives of the Party in parliament, in the Histadrut, in the local councils and the party press have served as mouthpieces for the just demands of the working class and the other deprived strata among the population, and have assisted in their organizing in important combats for their interests. By initiative of the Party, and in cooperation with other circles, struggles and various activities were conducted in places-of-work, in neighborhoods - such as demonstrations, rallies, deputations, petitions etc. - for the defense of the workers' interests.

Since the 16th Congress an important activity has been developed for reconstructing the democratic organizations, which had been hit as the result of the ideological-political desertion of the Mikunis-Sneh-group to the other side of the barricade.

The activity of communists in the democratic organizations is vital for advancing the democratic and general national, progressive objectives in our country. The Party will continue to direct its members to intensify their activity in the democratic organizations, such as the Democratic Women's Movement, the Friendship Movement Israel-USSR, the Initiative Committee for Improving Relations between Israel and the Soviet Union, the Israeli Association of Fighters at the anti-Hitler Front and Victims of Nazism, the League for Civil and Human Rights in Israel and other organizations.

The democratic organizations will achieve their aims and will fulfil their role to the extent as their activity will comprise a maximum of nonparty and other circles.

Since the 16th Congress the distribution of our communist press has increased - "Zo Haderekh" by 4.2%, "Al-Ittihad" by 8.5% on Tuesdays, and by 11.3% on Fridays. This increase does not express the existing possibilities and the capability of the Party to expand the distribution of the communist press in Hebrew, Arabic, Iddish, Bulgarian and Romanian.

Since the 16th Congress there has been an improvement in the educational ideological-political work of the Party. An important place in the work of the department for ideological-political education has been taken during the last two years by the theoretical organs "Arakhim" and "A-Darb". Imparting Marxism-Leninism to the Party cadre, the elevation of the ideological level of the Party members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, these are an important task to which a maximum of forces must be devoted.

#### The Young Communist League of Israel

The members of the Young Communist League of Israel have stood honourably and courageously - as behooves the young guard of the Party - shoulder to shoulder with the Party in all its political and social combats.

The Communist Party congratulates the Young Communist League of Israel, its members and its leaders, on its courageous struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the Party,



for the interests of the working and student youth, for a life of peace, creation and happiness.

In face of the moral deterioration, after the example of the American way of life; in face of the spirit of chauvinism and hatred of the peoples fanned by the ruling circles; in face of the terror and intimidation actions undertaken by the various government apparatuses against the young communists, the Communist Youth in Israel acts and disseminates among the working and student youth, the sublime ideals of peace, brotherhood of the peoples, real patriotism and respect for the rights of others, the spirit of solidarity with the oppressed and the victims of imperialism and reaction, the aspiration of the youth for a better life, for socialism.

Since the 16th Congress the number of YCL members in all districts, among the Jewish and the Arab youth, working and student youth, has increased by 35%.

One must not disregard the particular conditions and the great difficulties encountered in the activity among the youth in our country. The influence of zionism of chauvinism and anti-Sovietism, is a big obstacle on the path of the youth to the YCL and to the Party. Yet, it is possible to increase the influence among the young generation by improving the work among the youth.

The ostensibly "revolutionary" charm, that charm bare of any perspectives of the leftist groups, is going bankrupt politically and organizationally. By intensification of the political-ideological activity, by initiatives for militant public activities it is possible to mobilize new circles of youth to the just struggle of our Communist Party and to lead them to the road of Marxism-Leninism, to the ranks of the YCL of Israel and to the Party.

The masses of youth that are disappointed with the Government's policy, that are disgusted with the continuation of war, and that are concerned about the peril of renewal of the bloodshed, are searching for a path to peace and understanding with the neighbouring Arab people.

A great deal of attraction is inherent in the policy, the ideological path and the very Jewish-Arab composition of our Communist Party of Israel and of the Young Communist League of Israel.

Experience has proved that the degree of success in the work of the YCL among the young generation depends decisively on the attention given by the Party and its institutions, on their all-round assistance. This is a task of utmost importance also for the strengthening and development of our Communist Party of Israel. The Party will intensify its assistance to the activity of its young guard - the Young Communist League of Israel.

Our Party has had many achievements. We have members, who in their majority are fully devoted to the working class, to the people, to the lofty ideals of communism. Thanks to the dedication and loyalty of the comrades our Party has overcome all obstacles and all corrupters; has crystallized and expanded its ranks. The Party has many sympathizers who devote much of their strength to Party work.

Comrades,

Our Communist Party of Israel, as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, cannot be content with the achievements attained. We must advance, advance further, in spite of all difficulties.

A great future lies ahead of us, lies before the working class and the people in Israel, when we will succeed, together with other forces of peace and progress in our country, to bring about the change of Israeli policy, to a policy of peace, real independence, friendly relations with the neighbouring Arab peoples, with the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, with the peace-loving peoples in the whole world.

Forward to the strengthening and expansion of the Party's ranks, to rallying the workers and democratic forces, to establishing a peace front, to ensuring a life of peace and security, of prosperity for our peoples.

Long live the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel!

Long live our firm Jewish-Arab unity !

Long live proletarian internationalism !

Long live the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin !

Long live Peace !            Long live Communism.

OUR CONGRESS HAS GIVEN THE PEOPLE AN INSPIRING AND  
REALISTIC PERSPECTIVE (CONCLUDING SPEECH OF THE 17th  
CONGRESS, DELIVERED BY COMRADE MEIR VILNER)  
.....

Dear comrades and guests !

We are now coming to the last stage of the 17th Congress of our Communist Party of Israel. This was a congress of utmost importance. If one takes into account under what conditions the 17th Congress of our Party has convened, it is possible to say without any exaggeration, that this great congress has been a victory for the Israeli communists.

The Congress had been prepared in a democratic manner as usual in our Party, the material was published for discussion, beforehand and deliberations were held in Party districts, branches and institutions. We, communists, can give a lesson in democracy to all parties in this country. The debate in our 17th Congress established a record in the entire history of our Party - 63 comrades took part in the debate.

Political-Ideological Unity

Comrades, the discussions in the 17th Congress have proved that the Communist Party of Israel is united and consolidated ideologically and politically. The ideological-political unity of our Party, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, is the most important source of strength of our Party. On the basis of the ideological-political unity our Jewish-Arab unity was forged - this source of strength cannot be touched by any enemy.

This does not mean that there were no polemics in the Congress. This does not mean different views were not expressed on several political issues. I think that it is something positive, something natural, that communists who are fully united politically on all fundamental questions, had different views, various nuances on some issues. What is important, is that all lead to one goal - how to define better, more convincingly, more precisely, our policy. Therefore we are concluding the debate in the

17th Congress with a good feeling - we have a cadre which debates and thinks on a high political, ideological and moral level.

Our Congress was open to the press. We, as an exemplary democratic party, discuss openly. It has to be pointed out that a considerable number of comrades have greatly contributed to the congress debate, to the development of our ideological and political thought and to the discussion on questions of organisation. Several comrades have elaborated questions in an original and independent manner, such as comrade Tamar Gozhanski, who in her speech analyzed the character and scope of Israel's economic dependence on foreign capital and the ways in which foreign capital's dominate Israeli economy. There were comrades who raised questions, based on their fundamental knowledge of the issue. Thus, comrade Youssif Shehadeh analyzed the municipal problem and the problem of discrimination against the Arab local councils. There were comrades who elaborated the question of the workers' struggle; the basic problems of the class struggle in our country today, the question of the Arab fellahin; of the intelligentsia and many other questions. Comrade Felicia Langer contributed in a particular manner to the debate with her description of the situation in the occupied territories, based on her personal experience, the difficult conditions under which she works as an advocate with a communist conscience, and on her daily encounter with bitter reality. Many other comrades have considerably contributed to the deliberations of our 17th Congress.

Our comrades exerted great efforts in the organization of the Congress, and in its defense in order to make possible its smooth working.

On this occasion I wish to express our feelings of gratitude to the numerous comrades, members of the Communist Party, and the Young Communist League of Israel and the sympathizers, who carried out all the work, even the most difficult one, with courage and dedication. They took care of the successful convention of the Congress, in every respect. And indeed the Congress convened successfully, despite the encroachment on the part of our enemies. Thank you, dear comrades !

### Impressive Expression of Solidarity

Comrades, one of the things which lent to the 17th Congress its particular character, was the participation of such a great number of delegations from fraternal communist parties from diverse parts of the world, a record number. This is an impressive expression of solidarity, of proletarian internationalism.

Permit me, at the conclusion of the debate, to say some words to our friends, the comrades from the fraternal communist parties, who have come, some from distant countries some from nearer ones, in order to take part in our Congress and to greet it.

Some words to our Soviet comrades, to the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Your visit in the State of Israel, under the conditions prevailing today, in order to participate in the Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, is of utmost importance. This is a patent expression of friendship, on the part of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, for all honest, peace-loving people in Israel, for those who are concerned about their people and their homeland, who do not wish our youth to be killed in further wars.

Comrades, among the public and in the press, in the radio and television, there has been an awareness of the importance of this event - in spite of the hostile political attitude of some of the media. They say that we identify ourselves in everything with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We can say, in all modesty that in the same way it may be said that the Soviet comrades identify themselves with the positions and struggles of our Communist Party of Israel. Comrade Grishin, the chief of the CPSU delegation has in his greetings, in the name of the Central Committee, expressed identification with the policy of our Communist Party of Israel and we appreciate this very much.

We thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for sending us its delegation, for its expression of friendship and sympathy with our Party and with everything good and healthy in the people of Israel.

Comrades, I wish to express the feelings of gratitude and appreciation for the participation of the delegations from the communist parties of the socialist countries, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary and Mongolia. This is a token of the traditionally friendly relations existing among our communist parties.

Special thanks to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, whose representative was welcomed with particular exultation. This is natural, we are aware of everything new. Every new victory gives us pleasure, inspires us, encourages us too. At the conclusion of the Congress we send greetings to the Communist Party of Chile, to the Socialist Party of Chile,

to all the revolutionary forces in that South-American country. Chile is a new proof of the fact that the revolutionary process in our day has not stopped, that it marches forwards in one country after the other. We are certain that no spot on the globe will remain out of reach of this triumphant process .

From that same Latin America we have heard about completely different conditions, about the difficult conditions of the Communist Party of Columbia, whose representative has greeted our Congress. They are fighting against the internal reaction and against foreign imperialism. We wish the Communist Party of Columbia success in its struggle.

We consider it an honour that we could receive the delegations; the greetings, and the solidarity from the two biggest communist parties in the capitalist world - France and Italy. Their great weight in their countries affects the balance of forces in the world, between progress and reaction, between socialism and capitalism. We wish them further successes in their struggle.

We thank the German Communist Party, the Communist Party of Austria, the Communist Party of Spain, the Communist Party of the United States, the Communist Party of Canada, the Progressive People's Party of Cyprus (AKEL), for sending delegations to our 17th Congress. We wish them success in their struggles for the benefit of the workers in their countries, for the benefit of their peoples and

for the general cause of peace, national independence and communism.

And finally, many thanks to the editorial board of the organ of the international communist movement, "Problems of Peace and Socialism", whose representatives are taking part in our Congress. Our Party considers the periodical "Problems of Peace and Socialism" a very important periodical, and highly appreciates its great contribution to the ideological and political crystallization of the international communist movement.

Comrades, we have received a great number of greetings in writing from fraternal communist parties.

In particular, I wish to express the feelings of solidarity of all the comrades, as strongly expressed in our Congress, with the difficult struggle, under the conditions of occupation, waged by our Jordanian comrades in the West Bank. We, Israeli communists, - and I can also add: I as a Jew am ashamed of the fact that my people who themselves suffered in history from persecution and antisemitism, are enslaving and oppressing another people.

We are struggling against the occupation, because we oppose oppression and domination over other peoples. We are fighting against the occupation not less for the reason that in the long run this policy is liable to end perniciously for Israel. The aggressive policy of the Israeli Government serves its own policy of expansion, and the global interests of the American imperialists, who are prepared to drown in blood both Jews and Arabs for their own selfish aims.

We consider the greetings of the Arab communist parties to our 17th Congress a special expression of solidarity and brotherhood between the Israeli communists and the Arab communists. Our greetings and gratitude go out to the Arab communist parties which have sent our Congress their fraternal communist greetings, to all the communist parties in the Arab countries.

Comrades, we thank all the communist parties in the world which have greeted our Congress. We thank them for the attention; for the solidarity with our struggle, and wish

all the communists wherever they may be successes in the struggle, which is common to all of us.

Comrades, I should say that one of the first swallows in our 17th Congress is the participation of certain organizations and personalities who for the first time take part in a congress of the Communist Party of Israel, or who for the first time sent greetings to a congress of the Communist Party of Israel. I say "a swallow" for I do not wish to exaggerate. However this is something new, something developing. This shows that in addition to the correctness of our ideology and policy, our tactics too are correct. Our efforts for cooperation with others, for creating a front with others, for marching together in common cause, with anyone possible, and for a progressive aim, are beginning to bear fruit. We do not have to lose sight of the goal, nor lose the compass of Marxism-Leninism, we do not have to give up our principles on our path. However, on this correct path we must go, even if it means taking one single step, a half a step, in the broadest possible front - this is our policy. If we unhesitatingly persist in this, rejecting any sectarian attitude which frighten us against cooperation with others, lest we lose our path, if we reject also the opposite extreme attitude which would efface the aim for which we are marching together to advance, we shall advance further. Our progressive and revolutionary path must be the broadest possible, towards the implementation of our lofty aims, which are in the interest of the workers, the people, peace and social progress.

#### Democracy Is Indivisible

Before I touch on several issues which have emerged in the debate, permit me to devote some words to the cause of freedom in this country. Last night, during the few hours I had left for sleep, I thought about the deeper significance of what had happened outside the Congress, on opening day. Here inside this hall nothing happened. The Congress proceeded in exemplary order from its start to its end. Not one single fascist thug succeeded in disturbing the proceedings of the Congress. In what consists the strength of these fascist thugs? Their "strength" consists in hurling stones, in breaking glass windows and



trying to force their way through, and in attempts to injure persons. This is their spiritual capacity.

At the end of the Congress I want to warn all workers' parties, Mapam, the Labour Party and also the bourgeois parties, inasmuch as they think about the future: Do not permit this fascist insect to grow and to act unhindered. We must ask: Why did the police give permission to the fascist "league" to demonstrate in front of our Congress, when that "league" had declared in public that it intends to prevent by force the holding of the Congress and hurl blows at our foreign guests? The police knew all this. Therefore we must ask the Government: Is this your democracy, to give a permit for a demonstration of fascist thugs, who have beforehand announced that they will use violence? We say: No, this is not democracy, and this was no chance incident.

Favourable mention must be made of the newspaper "Al Hamishmar", which yesterday wrote as follows: "A mob of some hundreds of persons hurled stones and bottles on the people who came to attend the Congress and caused the smashing of the glass doors leading to the "Alhambra" Hall in Jaffa, before the police intervened and detained 22 persons". Thus, there is some criticism and the fascist demonstrators are called a "mob". On the same subject I read in today's "Davar" and in "Davar Hashavua" very correct things, but neither drew any conclusion. There are very serious accusations against the police. I quote:

"It will be an under estimation to state that the police is guilty of leniency in handling "Dov" and the other right-wing groups. Here the police faces a group which has won broad political backing, if not out of sympathy with their views, then out of a wish to settle accounts with the left. Towards the groups which are close to the "Herut" party, the police behaved even with greater leniency than towards the religious extremists, while curbing their underground activities. One can say that if the religious extremists have gone unpunished after having been caught in their act, the police did not even make any effort to arrest the right-

wing groups".

And who are the fascist thugs, "Davar" asks, and replies: "The 'Dov' and 'Gurei Ze'ev' people (the fascist gangsters who were here yesterday), - who used terror against activists of the left and also did not leave untouched ministers of the Labour Party are known and respectable members of the 'Herut' movement"... "Begin (the leader of the 'Herut' Party, exmember of the Government, during and after the June 1967 war-IB) knew how to leave his extremists at home, as there was a division of labour between him and these groups. Till now he succeeded in gaining from the violent activities of 'Dov' and the other groups, without at the same time, ruining his new, respectable image, in the public eye".

"Davar" wrote further: "The 'Dov' boys who forced about 1,000 boys in Jerusalem to sign a petition against the famous 'professors' letter, (a public letter signed by university professors in which the Government was accused of not having done everthing possible for achieving peace -IB), were received by the Prime Minister. Even though at the time no great attention was paid to this meeting, it has undoubtedly a symbolic value. It is difficult to imagine that there could have been an Israeli Prime Minister this side of the Green-Line (that is to say Israel before the June war - M.V.) who would have held such a meeting".

With whom does the Prime Minister hold a meeting asks "Davar" and replies: "With those who in one of their leaflet, had demanded of the PM to 'vomit' from the Government 'the diaspora type who does the work for the Egyptian army' - Aba Eban (the Foreign Minister - IB). It seems that the Government is not any longer in the place it was some years ago, or that it is moving from the centre towards 'Herut', or what seems more likely that the traditional Mapai Central Committee is moving to the right". (Mapai is the main group within the amaiganated Labour Party - IB).

These are the words of "Davar". ("Davar" is officially the organ of the Histadrut, the Trade Union Federation and usually reflects the line of the Labour Party and the

I think nothing has to be added to this. This is the real background to the fascist gangsterism which is expanding. The journalist writing in "Davar" accuses the Government of having come closer to "Herut", of having moved to the right, and on this background fascist groups are sprouting, and already threaten also ministers of the Labour Party who have not found favour in their eyes. Therefore we say to the members of the Labour Party: Do not be passive. A united front of all the democratic forces, irrespective of political views, must be established against fascism, against any violation of the democratic forces, so that fascism will not be able to rear its head.

Comrades, speaking about democracy I wish again, at the conclusion of the Congress to express our protest against the continuing of the system of compulsory residence which restricts the free movement of our members and the leaders from among the Arab population. We demand the abolition of these restrictions and of the Emergency Regulations which legalize these restriction orders.

On this occasion we again protest against the continued detention of Giora Neuman, against the harassment of the Black Panthers and the continued detention of their leaders. And this at the same time, when fascists are handled with kid gloves.

We demand the release of the courageous draft resister Giora Neuman !

We demand the release of the Black Panther leaders, who struggle for a just cause !

#### For a Lasting Peace with Permanent Borders

Comrades, one of the main questions discussed, in the Congress as well as among the public and in the press, with reference to our Congress, is the question of our Party's peace programme.

The peace programme of our Party was defined in the theses of the 17th Congress and in the Report delivered on behalf of the Central Committee at the opening of the Congress.

We are being asked: Is the peace which you propose, a lasting peace? Sometimes, when I read these questions in the press, I ask these journalists: Don't you hear what we speak? Or are your ears deaf? A long time ago we announced our plan for a lasting peace. Perhaps someone in the Government does not want lasting peace. This is another matter. But we speak explicitly about lasting peace, about a stable peace, about a permanent peace. These are synonyms for the same thing.

We say that the implementation of the Security Council Resolution in all its parts, means establishing lasting peace between Israel and the Arab countries. This will not be merely paving the road to peace, as comrade Hava Levenbraun said in the debate, but in the prevailing international and regional conditions, it would be definitely peace, peace between Israel and the Arab states, a lasting, stable and just peace, a peace which respects the rights of all the peoples and countries in our region.

After the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution, that is to say after the retreat of the Israeli army to the borders, to the lines of June 4, 1967, and after the solution of the question of the refugees, who would implement their right to choose either the return to their homeland or the receipt of compensations - there will be peace between Israel and the Arab states, according to which Israel will live securely as a sovereign state within the June 4 borders. Free navigation will be safeguarded too. Any question which might arise, or which remains outstanding between the countries, will be solved on the basis of the principle of renouncing the use of force only by political means. Hence, there will be a peace with security, a peace which will ensure for every state recognized borders, safe borders, stable borders.

Already in the Report I have mentioned Egypt's commitment in her replies to Dr. Jarring, that after the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution, Egyptian territory shall not be used for any military action in any form whatever against the State of Israel.

Of course that State of Israel shall not take as it did in 1956 and in 1967, any military action in any form overt or covert, against the Arab states.

With the establishment of peace, the struggle in Israel and in the Arab countries will pass more and more to the venue of the class struggle, the social struggle for transforming the regime, and advancing to a progressive one. The general revolutionary process, for the benefit of all the peoples in our region will advance.

The question is: Does this mean that the Palestinian problem has been solved? We are asked: Why do you say in the Theses of the Congress and in the Report of the Central Committee, to the Congress, that after the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution and the establishment of peace between Israel and the Arab countries the Palestinian question will have been solved to a high degree?

Why will this solve the problem to a high degree? Because this will restore to the Palestinian people all the territories occupied in June 1967, and will solve the painful and very important question of the refugees, on the basis of recognizing and implementing their right. We are asked: Then why do you say, to a high degree, that is that the Palestinian problem will be solved to a high degree, do you want to liquidate the State of Israel in stages, the implementation of the Security Council Resolution being the first stage?

Comrades, about those who write thus in the press, I will later address to them a few words. But I want first of all to speak about the matter itself.

One must not identify the question of peace between Israel and the Arab states with the Palestinian problem. The two issues are very much connected, but they are not identical. We are asked: after the establishment of peace between Israel and the Arab states, after Israel's retreat to the June 4 lines and after it lends a hand to a just solution of the question of the Palestinian Arab refugees according to UNO decisions, what else is there to solve in the Palestinian problem? To this we reply: Then the conditions will have been created for the Palestinian Arab people to realize their right to self-determination. What does this mean? On this matter they try to frighten and mislead the public in Israel.

We say: In respect to Israel, two things are required: retreat to the June 4 lines, and recognition of the refugees' right to choose between return to their homeland and receipt of compensation. Afterwards, however, the Palestinian people will have to decide freely their own destinies - whether they wish to live in one political framework in Jordan or in a separate framework, under this or that regime. It is not Israel that will determine this issue. None other than the Palestinian Arab people have the right to do so.

#### Who Wants to Liquidate Whom in Stages ?

In respect to Israel the peace frontiers of the 4th of June will be recognized and secure. Therefore, whoever speaks about the doctrine of stages for the liquidation of Israel, alleging that this is our proposal, alleging that this is the Soviet Union's proposal, alleging that this is the proposal of the Jordanian Communist Party, alleging that this is the proposal of Egypt - whoever says this, does a provocateur's job, the job of an enemy of peace, of an enemy of the people of Israel. And I refer to a concrete provocation: Today an article was published in two newspapers at one and the same time, in "Yediot Ahronot" and in the "Jerusalem Post", by Yair Tsaban of the Mikunis-Sneh group. In this article he writes that we, together with Na'im al-Ashhab, one of the leaders of the Jordanian Communist Party, propose to liquidate the State of Israel by stages. I declare, with all responsibility, in front of the delegates of our 17th Congress and the 18 delegations of the fraternal parties represented in our Congress, that this is a lie, a libel, and a provocation. The author of that commissioned article has entitled it: "To the guests of the Congress of Rakah (CP of Israel)". I can announce in the name of our guests that they rebuff with scorn and disgust these provocative insinuations of the anti-communists.

What encouraging is, that not only we think thus. It gives us pleasure, comrades, that also in circles which are ideologically far from us there are honest people, who attack the falsifiers of our position and of the position of our fraternal Jordanian party. I quote from the article written by the orientalist Dr. Amnon Kapelyuk in "Al Hamishmar" on June 16, 1972. There he

criticizes Yehuda Lahav of the Mikunis-Sneh group (who serves I don't know who), who had falsely accused Na'im al-Ashhab and our Party, alleging that we propose the liquidation of Israel by stages. I quote Amnon Kapelyuk from "Al Hamishmar": "... From the article written by Na'im al-Ashhab (in "Problems of Peace and Socialism") it is decidedly impossible to understand that recognizing the rights of the Palestinian People means the liquidation of the State of Israel, or its elimination, or even the merger of its inhabitants in a 'democratic state', as proposed by Arrafat, on the one hand and termed by al-Ashhab as an 'utopian slogan' on the other. Therefore the caption given to al-Ashhab's article in "Ma'ariv" of May 23, 1972 is a falsification". Dr. Amnon Kapelyuk writes that this caption which read: "The implementation of the Security Council Resolution - a necessary stage for the liquidation of Israel" as it appeared entitling the article of Yehuda Lahav is a provocation". This, writes A. Kapelyuk, is "allegedly a quotation from al-Ashhab's article", and adds: "but one cannot understand from the words of al-Ashhab (unless one approaches this important article a priori in a negative way and unless one interprets and quotes recklessly), that the rights of the Palestinians are to replace the rights of the Israelis, that Palestine has to be established on the ruins of Israel, as the above mentioned article in "Ma'ariv" implies".

Therefore we say: There is no hope for slanderers, and lies have short legs.

The question is, gentlemen and here I address myself to the serious people among the politicians and journalists, from among our opponents: Why do you evade discussion? Why do you put into our mouth things that are the opposite of what we say? I ask you: Do you agree to a permanent peace with the Arab states on the basis of the June 4 borders, and to the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian refugees - or don't you? This is the question. Don't wriggle out of it.

And now, comrades, I come to the doctrine of liquidation by stages". Who wants to liquidate whom, by stages? The war minister Moshe Dayan said that what we have occupied up to now is not the last chapter, we have "to advance to our target" stage by stage. This he said in

a youth meeting of the "Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim" of Labour Party kibbutzim - IB) on July 5, 1968, as published in his book "A new map - new relations", pp. 180-181; and added:

"You have to believe in the concentration of the Jewish people here and you have, to the best of your ability, in your own life-time, to work for the expansion of colonialist settlement. You don't have to finish the job. But God forbid that you should say, this is the end of the chapter, up to here, up to Daganya, to Mefalsim and to Nahal-Oz (kibbutzim on the June 4, 1967 border lines of Israel - IB) and no more. No, this process has continued throughout 100 years, You have to contribute your share to this... Here, we are sitting today on the Suez and up to the Golan Heights... and we are advancing, stage by stage, from the base of reality to the realization of lofty aims".

We accuse the Government and all the political elements who are demanding territorial annexations, that it is they who have a plan for liquidating the rights and the existence of the Palestinian Arab people. It is they who want to liquidate them by stages.

Thus, this is the truth about the doctrine of stages. This is the truth about who makes this proposal, and whom does he propose to liquidate by stages.

#### The Struggle for Peace and the Struggle for Socialism

On the other hand there are people who debate with us, people who are not satisfied with our revolutionary struggle against the occupation and for peace, and who ask: And what about socialism? As regards socialism, as you can see all is well in the world. And here too it will be well. We Marxists-Leninists, our Communist Party are the primary force in this country which fights for socialism. In our Programme, about which we spoke in the Report, our Party asserts as its target, a socialist Israel. The realisation of the programme for a democratic, anti-imperialist front, will create the conditions for advancing to socialism. The question is how to attain socialism. I say: To liquidate the occupation, this is also a step towards socialism. This is a democratic step,



which will further the creation of future conditions for a socialist revolution. This will strike at the imperialists and the local reactionaries, who block the path of the workers to socialism.

One must not postulate the triumph of socialism as a condition for peace. There are some here, not in the Party, but outside it, who do not accept this. They say: Can one establish peace without socialism? Yes, we reply, one can force imperialism and the Israeli rulers to retreat from the path of adventure even before socialism triumphs in Israel or in the Middle East. Whoever does not see the path to peace before the triumph of socialism, sows despair, does not comprehend the present balance of forces in the world, does not comprehend the profound significance of the summit conference in Moscow between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the USA, does not comprehend the processes now occurring in the international arena. The balance of forces changes to the detriment of imperialism.

#### For the Development of Militant Initiatives and Actions

Comrades, I am passing on to the last part. All the comrades paid tribute to the policy of the Party, to its ideology, to its struggles, even though here too remarks were made, which in part, must be accepted and considered. In the main, comrades criticized matters connected with the organization of the Party, and with patterns of work of the Party institutions. Here various proposals have been made. I wish, first of all, to say that part of this criticism is correct. Moreover, the Central Committee itself, in the Theses of the 17th Congress, pointed out several matters which ought to be changed, organized differently and better in accordance with our experience. We have still not solved the question of raising the level of organization of the Party to its political and ideological level. In this respect there are many things said in the chapter: "The Party", and I do not wish to take up your time now with matters which the Central Committee itself has brought up as proposals and ideas for future work. In the Theses there is also reference to the need of taking more initiatives, such as the petition in places-of-work against the law

prohibiting strikes. In the Theses of the Central Committee reference is made to the need of having more militant actions. We ourselves saw this need and in this respect we welcome the remarks made by some comrades and their various proposals. At the same time, not everything can be accepted.

There is a comrade who, when you don't accept what he proposes, says: this is not democracy. I do not understand this logic. At least there must be equality: one may make a proposal and another one may express a different opinion.

One of the comrades on the other hand, has claimed that the Central Committee has introduced an exaggerated liberalization into the Party. This is to say, that in the Theses we allegedly propose an exaggerated liberalization. I wish to announce that no Party institution has decided on any liberalization whatsoever, neither exaggerated nor otherwise. Who has ever mentioned liberalization? What we want is that all comrades and leaders, from top to bottom be more comradely, that there should be human relations in the Party, ever increasingly better comradely relations. What there is, is not enough. You want something to be accepted - you must try to convince. Our discipline stems from consciousness. We are for democratic centralism, but what we need is not commanders but political and organizational guides.

There is a comrade who made extremist proposals that cannot be accepted. Reference here is to how to treat a comrade who has made mistakes. Comrades, there is no comrade who does not make any mistakes. There cannot be any thing like that. A mistake must be criticized, corrected and avoided in future. But a comrade must not be disqualified because he has made a mistake. Two or three of the participants in the debate went about with a slip of paper, with a note that said: On this or that date, such or another was printed in "Zo Haderekh" and on this or that date "Al-Ittihad" said something that was not correct. ("Zo Haderekh" and "Al-Ittihad" - the Hebrew- and Arabic organs of the Party respectively -IB). So what is to be done? A million of things were correct and 3 things were not.

This is absolutely absurd . On the contrary: Let's be more human in this respect too. There is no particular political deviation in our Party. Sometimes one person emphasizes one aspect and another emphasizes another aspect. There is the case when someone wrote a polemic discussing with minister Moshe Dayan, his desire for annexations and opposition to peace. Someone said: "This is not correct". Why? The critic replies: "can Dayan oppose the establishment of peace without American imperialism?" Of course he can't. "This was not said in that article. It should have been added". We write about that every day. But to conclude from this that the comrade who wrote that article, does not understand the role of American imperialism in the Middle East - is unfounded. The same comrade who wrote that article, wrote 100 other articles, in which he stressed the American imperialist factor.

Comrades, when one puts too much salt into food, it becomes uneatable. A remark can be correct in this or another respect, but exaggerations and generalisations are not realistic. By the way, I want to announce, and I think that the members of the outgoing Central Committee will agree with me, that the number of errors in publications which were mentioned by comrades in the Congress is very small compared to the number of errors which were found and criticized in the Political Bureau and in the Central Committee during the last three and a half years. We work in accordance with the method of criticism and self-criticism, and carry it out in a comradely, friendly and sincere manner. This is the correct communist method of work.

#### Remove the Nightmare of Bloodshed!

Comrades, we must see that before the Party there are very complicated tasks in the near future. We are witnessing increasing unrest on the ceasefire lines. There is no calm, no security. We warn against any escalation of military activity from the side of the Israeli Government. The reason for this escalation, lies not in this or other activity of the Palestinian organizations. About this we have already said much in the Congress . Perhaps the newspapers are influenced by this. But there is a political aspiration on part of the Government.

The Government wants to complicate the situation in the Middle East. The Government wants to bring about civil war in the Lebanon. The Government fears a detente in the international situation. The Government wants to create an atmosphere in the Middle East which will make difficult the renewal of Dr. Jarring's mission and the renewal of negotiations for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution. Much has been written today in the press about the sufferings of the inhabitants of Kiryat-Shmone. We feel the sufferings of the people in Kiryat-Shmone, the sufferings of the people on both sides of the frontier. But who is responsible for these sufferings?

Who is responsible for the continued bloodshed?

We want to remove these sufferings, this nightmare of bloodshed - hovering over the inhabitants of Kiryat Shmone and all the inhabitants of Israel. We want to remove the nightmare of war hanging over the Arab peoples. But who does not allow this matter? The Israeli Government, the occupationist government, which does not wish to retreat from the occupied areas, even in the framework of a lasting peace. We accuse the Government of doing what it now does in the Middle East, out of its own political reasons and with the encouragement of Washington. We demand that it should not intervene in the internal affairs of the Arab states. We call for the cessation of bloodshed, for the prevention of a new war. But the Government cannot demand that a people should agree to live under occupation, to lose its rights, its homeland, its life, its existence - and keep silent. Therefore an end must be put to occupation, the rights of all peoples must be respected, and then the nightmare of bloodshed will be removed.

We have already spoken in the Congress about our opposition, at the same time, to the incorrect programmes of certain Palestinian organizations and their incorrect methods of struggle. However, the factor which does not permit putting an end to the prevailing situation, is the Government and its boss in Washington. Today I heard at 7 o'clock in the morning through the Israeli Broadcast that the foreign minister Aba Eban said: "If, God forbid, the balance of forces in the Middle East change to the detriment of Israel, what will happen (he did not say

what will then happen to the inhabitants of Kiryat-Shmone) to the deterring system of the West?" This he says abroad, as a threat to the realistic circles in the West. I say that it is a pity for every young Jew or Arab to die because Aba Eban wants to guard the "detering system" of the West - against the Soviet Union.

Comrades, what are our tasks? First of all, expansion of our Party ranks, increase in the distribution of our communist press, intensification of our activity among the workers and all the toilers, in the municipal sphere, in the poverty quarters and slums and among the general public, we should care particularly for work among youth, women, and the intelligentsia and for strengthening of the Party organization; and of its ideological work, against any nationalism. We fought and will fight against sectarianism and opportunism.

In conclusion I wish to say a few words about the youth and about women.

The youth were discussed in the Congress and in the Theses. The outgoing Central Committee did not find it necessary on the eve of the Congress to determine new forms, new ideas for work among the youth and for the organization of work among the youth. This is related to the work of both the Young Communist League of Israel and the Party. What we did write in the Theses, is a general idea, which the new Central Committee will have to enlarge upon and realize. The question is: How to find a way to direct the fermentation among the youth, its dissatisfaction with the continuing bloodshed, with the social situation, with the difficult conditions for entering secondary and higher schools, with the situation of the working youth, how to direct all this into progressive, revolutionary channels. How is all this fermentation to be directed into correct political and ideological channels and how is one to instil Marxist-Leninist consciousness among the youth? We did not decide upon any crystallized action in the organizational sphere. But one must not be afraid of thinking in a new way. It is permissible to think, the youth must be allowed to propose new and suitable forms. The new Central Committee will, after examining the matter, decide upon a form which will bring about the

fusing of the work of the young generation with the work of the older party members within the framework of the Party, and at the same time, will enable the youth to create a social framework of their own and attract masses of youth to the correct path of struggle. Regarding the work among the women, if I am not wrong, this subject was less stressed in the Congress. In many spheres of our work among women there has been considerable achievements in the period between the two congresses, but there are still many spheres which can and must be developed. I wish to emphasize that just as in the Party, just as in the Communist Youth, there is a women's organization - the Movement of Democratic Women. There, Jewish-Arab sisterly relations prevail. I wish to point out as one of the pleasant new developments that, in the 17th Congress, for the first time, there are Arab women delegates from the Triangle District. There is also an encouraging development among the Druze population. For the first time we have also Druze women delegates in a congress of the Communist Party of Israel.

Summing up, comrades, I propose that all of us should be first of all objective in the assessment of the work of our Party. Under our difficult and complicated political conditions, if we have reached such an ideological, political and organizational unity, this ought to make us happy. This does not come along of its own. This necessitates immense work throughout all the days of the year - systematic, ideological, and political work of the Party institutions, of the organizations of the Party. This is not created by itself and does not preserve itself like wine. This necessitates systematic work, systematic education and vigilance, especially that we are living within an environment and not detached from that environment. Therefore we must look upon this unity of the entire Party as an enormous achievement, which must be strengthened by the consolidation and development of our organizational work.

The second thing is that communists should not say: we have achieved, we are satisfied. No, comrades, we are objective. There are neglected fields, there are things which we had not enough strength, as simple as that, not enough manpower, in order to deal with them: we also had shortcomings and made errors.

But all in all, the sum-total is pleasing and we hope there will be more achievements in future too.

Still, when I heard the greetings of the fraternal communist parties, the high appreciation of our Party, to say the truth, sometimes I asked myself: will this not spoil us? Comrades, the comrades from the fraternal communist parties have said all that in sincerity, after political consideration, after objective consideration. At the same time, we must be modest. Modest, comrades, in our behaviour, and in our self-assessment ! We are still at the beginning of the road. We are on the correct road, we do not stand in one place, but we in this country are still at the beginning of the road. In order to advance much, we need better objective conditions, but not a little depends on us too. There are things to improve, there are things to perfect, in order to advance in the correct direction, faster, better, for the benefit of the workers, for the benefit of the people, for the benefit of peace and progress.

Forwards to new achievements of our Communist Party of Israel !

**FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEACE FRONT**  
.....

Appeal of the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of  
Israel Peace Fighters - unite!

Down with the Occupation !

To the Israeli Workers! To all Peace Fighters in Our  
Country !

We, the Israeli communists, who convened our 17th  
Congress under the central slogan - "Against Occupation -  
for Peace," call upon you:

Let us work for rallying and integrating all the public  
struggles, which are upsurging in our country, for  
rebuffing the danger of renewed war, and for establishing  
peace in our country. Any person of understanding  
comprehends that the present situation cannot continue.  
The intensification of the tension, these days, along  
the cease-fire lines is an alarm signal pointing to the  
existence of the danger of renewed battles.



We warn against the intrigues of American imperialist and other circles which are liable again to use the Israeli rulers in order to sacrifice our sons, our future, for saving their positions which are collapsing in our region, for saving their oil concessions, which the Arab peoples have started to nationalize for the benefit of their independence and freedom.

Out of deep concern for peace, for the fate of our peoples and our homeland, we call upon every person in Israel possessing a sense of responsibility:

To draw the conclusion - and in good time - which the experience of the 5 years elapsed since the June 1967 war, obliges one to draw;

To consider the dissolution of all the illusions that it might be possible to compel the Arab peoples to renounce their lands occupied in the June 1967 war, to renounce their legitimate rights and their anti-imperialist regimes.

We call upon you to draw the conclusion from the new winds that blow in today's world, in the wake of the Soviet-American summit conference in Moscow; this is an atmosphere of relation of tension in the world, of failure of the cold war and anti-Soviet-instigation; this is an atmosphere of consolidation of peaceful co-existence between states of different social regimes.

We are witnesses to the fact that the dirty American aggression in Vietnam is collapsing. The imperialists are unable to save the decaying regimes in Saigon or Taiwan. The liberated peoples of Africa are consolidating their unity. Chile in Latin America confidently advances, arm in arm with socialist Cuba. From the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the Arab peoples have passed on to the nationalization of their oil resources... The friendship of the peoples with the Soviet Union is becoming a determinant factor in international development.

Therefore, the official Israeli policy is not only reactionary and opposed to the cause of peace, but also adventurist and detached from the international and regional reality of our times. The policy of the Government is detached from the sentiments and aspirations of

the Israeli people.

We say, that the interest of the Israeli people is peace and security, and not occupied territories. The social fermentation which is upsurging in Israel, the struggle of the workers in defense of their living standard, the demonstrations of the slum dwellers for a human life, and the expansion of the struggles waged by the peace forces for a peace without annexations, against the cruel oppressive actions in the occupied areas, against colonialist settling and mass evictions - all these are signs of the rising indignation against the Government's policy which forces the Israeli people to sacrifice blood and money on the altar of the policy of occupation and annexations.

We communists are certain that to the extent that the peace forces in Israel will unite and will remove the stumbling-block of anti-communism they will be able to force the Government to abandon its adventurist policy, to retreat from the occupied areas, and to lend a hand to establishing a just and lasting peace, which is a vital need for the Israeli people and the Arab peoples.

There exists a real historic opportunity to establish a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states, which will ensure the rights, security and future of the State of Israel together with ensuring the rights, security and future of the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian Arab people.

There exists a serious danger that the Israeli Government will cause a renewal of war by its obstinate refusal throughout 5 years, to attain a peace without annexations. Thereby the Government might inflict a national catastrophe upon Israel.

The Israeli communists, Jews and Arabs, do everything in order to prevent a national disaster, and in order to enable the State of Israel to enter upon the path to peace.

In our 17th Congress we resolved to devote all our force, the force of the 40 thousand supporters of our Communist Party of Israel, to the struggle against occupation and

for peace, for unity of the peace forces, irrespective of world outlook and party affiliation, in order to make peace triumph over war.

In this struggle of ours we are encouraged by the firm Jewish-Arab unity of our Party ranks. The Jewish-Arab unity of our Party is a torch that throws a light on the future relations between the Israeli people and the Palestinian Arab people, between the Israeli people and all the Arab peoples - relations of equality, fraternity and good neighbourliness. The greetings which we have received from the fraternal communist parties in the Arab countries and from our communist brothers in the occupied West Bank, are encouraging us communists and all peace fighters in Israel.

Our Party has proved again that it is the bridge to the Arab peoples, in our struggle we are encouraged by the participation in our Congress of numerous fraternal Communist Parties from the socialist countries, from West Europe, from Asia, from Latin America, from the USA and Canada; and by the greetings which came to our Congress from many Communist Parties from all parts of the world. We drew particular inspiration from the participation in our Congress of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which bears the main burden of the struggle for the peoples' liberty and for world peace.

Our Party has proved again that it is the bridge to the tremendous socialist forces of the world.

Miserable and infamous is the anti-Soviet instigation which tries to isolate our people from its true and powerful friends, and to lead it into despair. The Soviet Union exerts great efforts in order to prevent the renewal of war in our region, in order to bring about a just and stable peace between Israel and the Arab peoples for the benefit of all the peoples, the Israeli people and the Arab peoples alike.

The forces of the extreme right, which are interested in preventing progress in our country, have set up fascist storm troops, that attempt to raise their hand against our Party and against all the forces of peace and democracy.

We call upon all the forces who cherish democracy, to rally in the struggle against the fascist danger.

The Israeli workers, all the exploited in our country, who are fighting against the anti-worker, anti-democratic legislation, against the encroachment upon the freedom to strike and to trade union struggle, against the policy oppression, against the stand-by orders imposed on striking workers and on communists and Arab peace fighters, will draw inspiration from the broad international solidarity with our Party's struggle.

From the rostrum of our Congress we call upon the workers of Israel, Jews and Arabs, upon all forces of peace, to rally, to be tenacious in their fight, in order to bring about the changes that are necessary for the Israeli people and the State of Israel, in direction to a just and lasting peace, friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in direction of integration in the Middle East, in direction of national independence, democracy, equality of rights and social progress.

Peace fighters, unite!

Down with Occupation - Long Live Peace!

FROM THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE 17TH CONGRESS

Against the American Aggression in Indo-China

An end to American Aggression in Vietnam !

Glory and Honour to the Heroic Vietnamese People !

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel sends its ardent congratulations to the Vietnamese communists and to the entire Vietnamese people on their historic victories in their glorious, heroic war of liberation.

The 17th Congress expresses its energetic protest against the American aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The Congress demands an immediate stop to the barbarian bombings of towns and villages in Vietnam and the removal of the mines from its shores. We demand an end to the American war crimes committed against the Vietnamese people, an end to the extermination of the Vietnamese people !

The 17th Congress demands an end to the American imperialist intervention in Indo-China, the removal of all armed forces of the American invaders and their allies, which will enable the Vietnamese people to solve their own problems.

The 17th Congress protests against the policy of the Government which supports the American aggression in Indo-China.

The 17th Congress calls upon the members of the Party, upon the Communist Youth, upon all democratic and peace loving forces in Israel to express their indignation and intensify their activity of protest against the American criminal acts in Vietnam, and show solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China in their just heroic war.

The American intervention in Indo-China must stop at once!

The barbarian bombings of Vietnamese towns and villages must stop at once !

All the forces of the American invaders and their allies must be evacuated from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia !

Glory and victory to the heroic Vietnamese people !

Abolish the Restriction Orders !

The 17th Congress energetically protests against the continuation of the system of restricting freedom of movement by compulsory residence orders, in contradiction to the principles of democracy.

These orders which prohibit free movement from places of residence, and restriction orders which prohibit free entrance into various places, have been imposed by the authorities on hundreds of activists and leaders of the Communist Party of Israel and other peace fighters among the Arab population in Israel. Among the persons who are restricted are members of the Political Bureau; the Secretariat of the Central Committee and other members of the Central Committee, editors of the Party's organ in the Arabic language, "Al-Ittihad", members of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Israel and the editorial board of its organ "El-Ghad", members of municipal and local councils, leaders of the Democratic Women's Movement of Israel, trade union leaders, lawyers, poets and writers.

The communists and other opponents of Government policy are persecuted without indictment and without trial, on the basis of the British colonialist Emergency Regulations.

These arbitrary means of oppression and pressure have not deterred and will not deter our Communist Party, its Jewish and Arab comrades from their struggle against the pro-imperialist policy of the Government, and for the retreat of Israeli forces from all the areas occupied in June 1967, and for the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242, for a just and lasting peace.

The 17th Congress warns all peace and democratic forces in Israel that democracy and freedom of political activity are indivisible. Experience in our country, too,

has proved that any threat against the freedom of activity of communists and other peace fighters, is a threat against the democratic freedoms at large.

The 17th Congress calls upon the democratic forces in our country to demand of the Government the elimination of the restriction orders and the abolition of the entire Colonialist Emergency Regulations inherited from British rule.

#### Warning against the Activities of the Fascist Groups

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel categorically condemns the riots of the fascist groups on the evening of the opening of the Congress outside the "Alhambra" Hall in Jaffa. The chauvinist atmosphere which the Israeli Government nurtures and its policy of annexations and occupation are a fertile soil for the growth of various fascist groups.

We warn all champions of democracy in Israel against the freedom of action given to these hooligan groups. History has shown that such groups will not limit their activities to communists; they will doubtlessly hit anyone who does not agree with their adventurist views and actions. We call upon all champions of democracy in Israel to act in order to stop the activities of these fascist groups.

The 17th Congress condemns the granting of a police permission to the "Jewish Defense League" to hold a demonstration of the entrance to the Congress hall. This enabled this hooligan group to carry out their provocative action. This is particularly grave because the police had been cautioned against the intention of the "Jewish Defense League" to break up our Congress.

The design of the fascist hoodlums has failed. The Congress worked in calm and good order. No provocative actions and no riots will deter our Party from continuing the struggle for the interests of the working class and of the people's masses in Israel, for democracy and peace.

NEW PARTY INSTITUTIONS ELECTED BY 17th CONGRESS OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

In the 17th Congress of the CP of Israel, which convened in June 21-24, 1972, the following institutions were elected :

(Names are given alphabetically, according to the Hebrew alphabet).

The Central Committee -

Othman Abu-Ras, Yehuda Ungar, Yehoshua Irge, Kalman Altman, Salim el-Qassem, Uzi Burstein, Benjamin Gonen, Meir Vilner, Tawfiq Zayad, Moshe Zisser, Emil Habibi, David Khenin, George Toubi, Tawfiq Toubi, Samira Khoury, Saliba Khamis, Zahi Karkabi, Abraham Levenbraun, Hans Lebrecht, Ruth Lubitz, Jamal Moussa, Abraham Melamed, Ali Ashour, Ya'akov Kojman, Emil Touma.

Candidates to the Central Committee:

Yoram Gozhanski, Tamar Gozhanski, Ghassan Habib, Menashe Khalifa, Assad Youssif Knaneh, Nimr Murkus, Ghazi Shbeita.

Central Control Commission:

Wolf Ehrlich, Mun'em Jarjoura, Ramzi Khoury, Felicia Langer, G. Mikhaeli.

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The Institutions of the Central Committee

The Political Bureau

The Central Committee elected a Political Bureau consisting of 9 members:

Burstein David (Uzi), Gonen Benjamin, Vilner Meir, Habibi Emile, Khenin David (Sasha), Toubi Tawfiq, Lubitz Ruth, El-Qassem Salim, Touma Emile.



### The Secretariat

The Central Committee elected a Secretariat consisting of 6 members:

Irge Yehoshua, Vilner Meir, Khenin David (Sasha), Toubi Tawfiq, Khamis Saliba, Karkabi Zahi.

The Central Committee elected comrade Tawfiq Toubi as Coordinator of the Secretariat.

### The General Secretary

The Central Committee elected comrade Meir Vilner General Secretary of the Party.

### First Session of the Central Control Commission

At the first session of the Central Control Commission on July 4, 1972, Comrade Ehrlich Wolf was elected Chairman of the Central Control Commission and Comrade Houry Ramzi was elected Secretary of the Central Control Commission.

THE DELEGATIONS OF FRATERNAL PARTIES AT THE 17th  
CONGRESS

Communist Party of the Soviet Union -

KONSTANTIN NIKOLAYEVITCH GRISHIN - Member of the Central  
Committee and First Deputy Chairman of the Control  
Commission of the CC - head of the delegation;

ALEXANDER SOLOMONOVITCH GRINGAUS - Deputy Editor-in-Chief  
of "Moskovskaya Pravda";

NIKOLAY BORISOVITCH SLEPOV - Functionary of the "Union  
of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations  
with Foreign Countries".

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Communist Party of Austria -

BROUNO FURCH - Member of the Central Committee and  
Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the organ of the CP Austria  
"Volksstimme".

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Bulgarian Communist Party -

ANGUEL FILLIPPOV TSVETKOV - Member of the Central  
Committee and Secretary of the National Council of  
The Fatherland Front - Head of the Delegation;

YORDAN KIROV - Senior Functionary in the International  
Department of the Central Committee.

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Communist Party of Canada -

NORMAN FREED - Member of the Central Committee.

\* \* \*

Communist Party of Chile -

JORGE TEXIR - Member of the Central Committee.

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Communist Party of Columbia -

ARTOURO RIBERO - Member of the Central Committee

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The Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus -  
AKEL -

YANNI KATSARIDIS - Member of the Political Bureau and  
the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

\* \* \*

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia -

EVZEN ERBAN - Member of the Central Committee, Member  
Presidency of the National Assembly of the CSSR and  
President of the National Assembly of Czechia -  
Head of the delegation;

WACLAW JUMER - Senior functionary in the Central  
Committee.

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French Communist Party -

LEO FIGUERES - Member of the Central Committee.

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Socialist Unity Party of Germany (DDR) -

HELENE BERG - Member of the Central Committee;

RUDOLF GUTMANN - Deputy Chairman of the International  
Department of the Central Committee.

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German Communist Party (Fed. Germany) -

KARL SCHABROD - Chairman of the Central Control Commission.

\* \* \*

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party -

IMRE KATONA - Member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Greater Budapest Branch -  
Head of the delegation;

ISTVAN DOBOS - Senior functionary in the Foreign Relations Department of the Central Committee;

Accompanying the delegation - BELA C. TOTH - Editor of the organ of the HSWP "Nepszabadsag".

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Communist Party of Italy -

EMILIO SERENI - Member of the Party Direction.

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Revolutionary People's Party of Mongolia -

ZUGATIN NAMSARAI - Member of the Central Committee ;

LUMBSADORGAN DAVAAGIB - Member of delegation.

\* \* \*

United Polish Workers' Party -

ZDZISLAW KUROWSKI - Member of the Central Committee -  
Head of the delegation;

WIESLAW KLIMCZAK - Senior functionary of the International Department of the Central Committee.

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Communist Party of the U.S.A.

CARL BLOICE - Member of the Central Committee.

\* \* \*

Spanish Communist Party -

ENRICO ROVIERA MATTA - Member of the Central Committee.

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Delegation of the Redaktion of the organ of the International communist Movement "Problems of Peace and socialism" -

THADEUSZ WREBLAK (Poland) and CONSTANTINOS PAFFITIS (Cyprus).

GREETINGS WERE RECEIVED FROM FOLLOWING FRATERNAL PARTIES:

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Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria  
Communist Party of Argentine  
Communist Party of Bangla-Desh  
Communist Party of Denmark  
Communist Party of Ecuador  
Communist Party of Finland  
Communist Party of Great Britain  
Communist Party of Greece  
Guatemaltese Party of Labour  
People's Progressive Party of Guyana  
United Party of Haitian Communists  
Communist Party of Honduras  
Communist Party of India  
Communist Party of Indonesia  
People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)  
Iraqi Communist Party  
Jordanian Communist Party  
Jordanian Communist Party organisations in the occupied  
West-Bank  
Party of Labour of Korea  
Nigerian Marxist-Leninists  
Peruvian Communist Party  
Communist Party of the Phillipines  
Portuguese Communist Party  
Reunion Communist Party  
Romanian Communist Party  
Communist Party of San-Marino  
Communist Party of Salvador  
South African Communist Party

Left Party - Communists of Sweden

Swiss Party of Labour

Another fraternal Party of an Arab country

A personal message was received from comrade Na'im El-Ashhab, member of the leadership of the Jordanian Communist Party, who had been detained in Israeli prisons over a long period.



The Delegation of the CPSU Presents a Picture of Lenin to the Presidium of the Congress

THE FOLLOWING PERSONALITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN ISRAEL  
SENT GREETINGS TO THE 17th CONGRESS

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PERSONALITIES: Dr. James Jacob Rosenthal, journalist; Dr. Amnon Kaplyuk, orientalist; Azriel Uchmani, literary critic; Shlomo Attir, member of the secretariat of the Kibbutz Artzi (Mapam kibbutz organization); Eli Israeli; Advocate Muhammed Miari.

ORGANIZATIONS: Yacov Riftin, on behalf of the Initiative Committee for Improvement of Relations with the Soviet Union; Yacov Maius, secretary of the Israeli Peace Committee; Sonia Eidelberg, President of the Democratic Women's Movement; Mordechay Avi-Shaul, President of the Friendship Movement Israel-USSR;

MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATIONS: Committee of the Elrom Quarter; the Democratic Faction in the Local Council of Abu-Snan; the Democratic Front Faction in the Local Council of Iblin; the Communist Faction in the Local Council of Yafia.

WORKERS: 21 greetings were received from groups of workers with dozens of signatures attached to each of the greetings.

FROM VARIOUS PLACES-OF-WORK, AMONG WHICH: Seamen from Haifa; working women from the hosiery factory at Nazareth; working women from a textile worke at Nazareth; working women from the factory "Gibbor" - Yarka; working men from Palalum metal factory, Ramat-Gan; printers from the "Al-Ittihad" press, Haifa; workers from "Atta", Kiryat-Atta; cinema workers "Diana", Nazareth; young workers from Beit -Jan; working women in the Lodzia and Ata factories, Kufr-Yassif.

STUDENTS: Jewish and Arab students from the Haifa University; Arab students from the Jerusalem University; students from Terra Santa School, Nazareth, students of "Yanni-Yanni" School, Kufr-Yassif; Jewish and Arab secondary school students, Haifa; students of the Orthodox Secondary School, Haifa; students and pupils from Tayibe and Tireh; Committee of Secondary School Students, Nazareth.



**C O M M U N I S T P A R T Y O F I S R A E L**  
**C E N T R A L C O M M I T T E E - F O R E I G N R E L A T I O N S D E P A R T M E N T**  
**P . O . B . 2 6 2 0 5 , T E L - A V I V I S R A E L**

**Cable Address: ISCOMPAR TEL AVIV**