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Political evaluations  
and the task of the Party

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ssions on the future of mankind is hard to imagine. In the USA it has already been decided to allocate budgets to start this activity. The Soviet Union raises this issue in every forum, at every opportunity and calls on the peoples to frustrate the new design against world peace.

We must explain to the Israeli public that if the development in the international arena continues in the adverse direction and a danger of extermination of mankind is created, Israel is a part of mankind. Let no one think that the world will be destroyed and ... Israel will remain keeping the occupied Arab territories in its hands.

But in spite of the grave international situation, lately initiatives for a solution of the conflict in the Middle East are being taken. As known, the Soviet Union has long ago proposed to convoke an international conference as the only path to a solution. It also puts forward a peace plan for the Middle East. The "Brezhnev Plan" of September 1982 was one of the outstanding initiatives. In December 1983, the UNO General Assembly adopted a resolution about the convocation of an international conference for the Middle East in the spirit of the Soviet proposal. The initiative to convoke an international conference for the establishment of comprehensive peace in the Middle East is thus also the initiative of UNO. The General Secretary of UNO, Peres de Quiar, approached 20 states which are closely related to the issue or have relations with the PLO, and requested them to support the resolution of the Assembly. The majority of those 20 states expressed their agreement. Only two (the USA and Israel) expressed their opposition.

The new Soviet initiative of July 30 1984 for a peace settlement in the Middle East, which has been published as an official proposal of the Soviet government, is of great importance, because of its contents as well as because of its timing. What is new in this Soviet plan is the specification of matters, a specification which convinces any unbiased person, for this is the only feasible peace plan, which takes into account the rights of all sides involved in the conflict, and that this is the sole road to achieve peace. The fundamental lines of the solution naturally remain intact: The establishment of an independent Palestinian State in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, alongside the State of Israel; East Jerusalem shall be the capital of the Palestinian State; the line

of June 4, 1967 shall be the peace frontier; effective international guarantees shall be given to the agreements with the participation of all members of the UNO Security Council, or part of them, among them the Soviet Union.

In its new proposal the Soviet Union sets out a detailed plan for the work of the international conference (Committees, sub-committees etc.). It thereby stresses its serious attitude towards the convocation of the conference and the establishment of peace in the Middle East. Of course, a preparative activity towards such a conference must be carried out. But the out-of-hand rejection from the side of the USA and Israel of an international cooperation for the solution of the crisis in the Middle East shows that they are not interested in peace. They continue the line which undermines the endeavours towards peace, made by the Soviet Union and numerous other states, which are concerned about the existence of a hotbed of war in our region, that is liable to endanger the peace of the world.

I should like to point out that in spite of the Camp David accords, and despite the fact that there are pro-imperialist Arab states, all the Arab states which were approached, have agreed with the UNO resolution regarding the convocation of the international conference for the Middle East. It is very important to point out that pro-imperialist Egypt and Jordan as well as Syria and Lebanon and the PLO have expressed their agreement to the convocation of the international conference. This proves that also pro-imperialist factors are afraid of a dangerous slithering-down in the Middle East.

As against this, in Israel we witness an additional negative development: The deepening and widening of the strategic alliance with US imperialism. The beginning of direct military collaboration took place already in the Lebanese war. Meantime also joint military Israeli-American manoeuvres were held.

In Lebanon certain positive developments are apparent. The various political bodies in Lebanon have signed an agreement and started to put it into practice. Indeed, from day to day we witness distinct provocations from the side of the Israeli authorities and their agents in Lebanon, and also from the side of international reactionary factors, from the side of CIA agents, and other elements. The forced closing-down of the Israeli representative offices near Beirut has been used by the Isra-

eli government as a new pretext for taking steps which cause a more difficult life in Southern Lebanon and erect obstacles regarding the communications between south and north. Israeli warships and planes attack towns, villages and refugee camps in Lebanon.

The ruling circles in Israel and the USA view with anxiety the process of stabilization of the situation in Lebanon, under the leadership of the Rashid Karamel government and its agreement with Syria. Therefore still great dangers loom ahead.

#### FIRST PART: Evaluation of the results of the elections to the 11th. Knesset

The general result was that the Likud, in spite of having lost 7 seats (decreasing from 48 to 41), has remained a strong central force, and this notwithstanding the failure in the Lebanese war and the deep economic and social crisis. There had been hope that after all what had happened, the Likud would receive a serious setback. But nothing of the sort happened. Moreover, after all what had occurred, the forces which are still more to the right of the Likud, have strengthened. The list "Tehiya-Tsomet" which included the fascists and racists Rafael Eitan (nicknamed "Rafoul", commander in chief of the Israeli army during the Lebanese war), Yuval Ne'eman, rabbi Waldman and others received 5 seats in the 11th. Knesset, as against 3 in the previous one. In addition to that, the racist Kahana was for the first time elected to the Knesset. This archi-terrorist fascist received more than 25 thousand votes, 5 times more than in the previous elections. Symptomatic for the situation are the numerous votes cast for the Likud, Tehiyah and Kahana in the army, that is to say among the young people.

One must take into account also the list of rabbi Druckman - "Morasha", which received two seats, as this, too, is an extremist nationalist - religious group. The same tendency is expressed by the election of 4 members of "Shass" (Sepharadic Jews which split off the Agudat-Israel party), who finally decided to side only with the Likud and the extreme right. "Shass" too, is a distinctly rightist, hawkish body.

But this is not yet the whole picture.

The Alignment indeed lost in the elections to the 11th. Knesset less than the Likud lost, (decreasing from 47 to 44 seats), but the very fact that the Alignment got less votes than in the previous elections, in spite of the bankruptcy of the Likud's policy, is a failure. It is true that the Alignment lost no votes in favour of the right, but for the benefit of two other lists: one of them "Ratz", which obtained 3 seats instead of 1. It is clear that "Ratz" received votes from persons who were not satisfied with the hawkish rightist line of the Alignment leadership in the election campaign. Also the liberal bourgeois list "Shinui" emerged strengthened (3 seats instead of 2).

We can sum up, stating that the political map in Israel has moved still more to the right, in direction of hawkishness. Also the racist tendencies have strengthened.

We must see that the danger to democracy, the danger of fascism, stems not only from the side of Kahana and not mainly from Kahana. He is the hooliganist, vociferous expression of what the adherents of "Tehiyah-Tsomet", Druckman, Sharon and others really think. The latter are more dangerous than Kahana, because behind them stands a much bigger force. Kahana gives legitimation to the fascist-racist positions by the very fact that he has this time succeeded in entering the Knesset.

Nevertheless we must see that there is a very wide movement of indignation, directed against racism and the rabid actions of Kahana. We will again present to the Knesset a bill against racism, racist incitement, racist activities and racist organisations. I want to emphasize that we - the Communist Party of Israel, and later the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, have tabled such a bill in every Knesset, beginning with the first Knesset. But it was always rejected by a majority of votes. The Alignment opposed, until the 10th. Knesset - the bill against racism. In spite of the fact that the government coalition which was headed by them had - together with us always a majority at their disposal, until 1977, but they always rejected our bill against racism. In the 10th. Knesset there were differences of opinion over this question within the Alignment. There were persons in the Alignment who said that there is no need for a law prohibiting racism and fascist organisations. Those who opposed such a bill claimed that it may be a dangerous precedent: If one starts repressing anyone, who knows how this

will develop and against whom this will be directed. We decided that one must definitely demand the prohibition of racism and fascist organisations. The argument that such a law might be used against us, is not a relevant political consideration. If our enemies want and if they can out-law the peace forces then they will do this without any connection with the law against racism. We must take up a principled attitude: The racist and fascist organisations must be prohibited. This is the interest of democracy and the struggle for peace.

The debate taking place around the composition of the government is concentrated on the economic questions. There is nearly a general opinion that Israel is facing bankruptcy, that the inflation is unbearable, that the deficit in the balance of payments has constricted the balance of foreign currency beyond the "red line", etc. And what kind of remedy they are proposing? To lower the living standard! The general director of the ministry of health, Modan, has said: "We must end the tradition that in Israel the medical services are the cheapest in the world". The conclusion: Pay much more for medical services! Peoples will also be constrained to turn to private doctors. But private health service is very expensive; it is only for the rich. As for the "world", there exists a socialist world, with the Soviet Union in its centre, and in that world medical service is given free of charge. It is not true that Israel has the cheapest medical services even in comparison with certain countries in the western world. Thus, the health services in Britain are a part of the welfare services which have not yet been liquidated, although the conservative government attacks them rabidly.

But reference is not only to the health services. There are designs to hit hard at education, welfare services and many other spheres.

With regard to the system of taxation: Lately there were proposals to diminish and even to eliminate the income tax, and instead of it to increase the VAT (value-added tax). And what is VAT? An indirect tax on all products and services. As against that, the income tax is a direct tax, in accordance with the size of income. In the last few years, corporations and big capitalists do not pay almost any income tax. Thus the income tax which the capitalists paid, decreased by approximately 40%. As against this, the part of the income tax paid by the wage earners rose considerably. It is known that from the wage earners the income tax is deducted automatically, fully,

directly and immediately from the wages.

A campaign for liquidating the subsidies for food and other vital products and public services is also being prepared.

Hence the conclusion must be drawn that there is no intention to touch the fundamental factors of the economic and social crisis and seriously to solve the economic problems, but to deal an extremely heavy blow at the workers and medium strata. There is also a visible tendency to widen and deepen unemployment.

There is no tendency to put an end to the occupation of southern Lebanon and stop the intervention in that sovereign state. They want to stay in Lebanon permanently under the cover of the "South-Lebanon Army", which is nothing but a gang of mercenaries employed by Israel; they want to prepare in Lebanon the next war. Neither do they intend to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territories and the Syrian Golan Heights. They are not prepared to stop the colonial settlements. The capitalists, the Likud and also the top leadership of the Alignment hatch a design for imposing on the shoulders of the workers and other popular strata the burden of the severe economic results of their aggressive and annexationist policy.

One of the prominent developments which is causing anxiety is the economic dependence, and consequently the increasing political and military dependence on the USA. In the present budgetary year, 1984-1985, the so-called American "aid" to Israel will considerably increase. The military and economic grants will reach the astronomic sum of 2 billion and 600 million dollar, and negotiations are being held regarding an additional increment. On this background the US pressure for lowering drastically the living standard of the workers and medium strata in Israel is intensifying. The pressure is acquiring dimensions of issuing orders to the Israeli government.

**SECOND PART: The results of the elections regarding the list of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality**

In the election results of the DFPE, an exceptional case is prominent: In the Triangle district, numerous votes were lost. In other districts, especially in Naza-

reth and Acre (and to a certain degree also in the Haifa district) there was a success. There were localities with great success, both absolute and relative; there were some localities with an absolute increase but a decrease in the percentage.

Each and every district and each and every locality must analyze the objective causes of their own elections results.

We must learn from the places where we were successful as well as from those where we were not successful. We then are able to draw comparisons and study why, under equal conditions, in some places we were successful and in others not.

In general we hoped for an increase of our strength First of all, consequent upon the Lebanese war. We had been the only party and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality had been the only parliamentary group in the Knesset, which fought against the war and from the very first moment; and everybody admits that; we took part in all the struggles against the war and have initiated struggles. Secondly, in view of the severe economic and social crisis - we thought that we would rise, that we would increase our strength in the Knesset. And in fact all perspectives for this were available.

A number of factors influenced the process of the elections, as a result of which we retained our whole relative strength and gained more than five thousand additional votes for the DFPE.

One of the causes which had a detrimental influence was the establishment of the list of Mi'ari-Peled-Avneri. The main source of their votes came to them from the Alignment and from Arab pro-Alignment voters, and also from circles in the Arab public who in the previous elections to the Knesset did not vote at all. But also from us they took some votes in not a few localities and prevented additional voters from voting for the DFPE.

This is not the only cause. A second cause is: The influences and repercussions of the election campaign to the local authorities, which took place in October 1983. In a considerable number of places, according to the reports and according to what we came to know ourselves in the election campaign, the bitterness which had accu-



culated in the elections to the local authorities has had an influence. We must remember that the last two election campaigns to the local authorities were direct elections of heads of local councils, in contrast to the elections in previous years. Previously, the campaign was concentrated on the election of the local council. Then we drew up a line, according to which it was forbidden that the local elections should disturb the politically decisive elections to the Knesset. We noticed then a phenomenon (before the last two elections to the local authorities - when elections took place on the same day to the local councils and the Knesset)- that in numerous villages we received a relatively small percentage in the elections to the local councils and a very high percentage on the same day from the same voters - in the elections to the Knesset. For example, in the elections to the local councils we received, let us say, about 10 per cent, while in the elections to the Knesset on the same day and from the same voters we received more than 50 per cent. This was a characteristic phenomenon. After the change of the electoral system, when the election to the head of the local council became direct by all the voters and not by the council, as it had been previously, a certain sharpening took place in the struggle between the candidates to the head of the local council. This had been expressed in the last elections to the local councils more than in former elections because the elections to the Knesset were at a date that was near the date of the local elections. The residues of bitterness which had accumulated on the background of the competition in the election of the heads of the local councils had not yet been subsided.

A certain part of the voters found refuge in the MH'ari list. Those who planned the establishment of the new list against us, found it correct to put at the head of their list a person who is not considered one of the traditional collaborators. As a matter of fact, it was we who had "built him up" in the Committee for Defence of the Lands (owned by Arab citizens of Israel) and therefore he was "pure" in the eyes of the public.

In summa we can conclude that under the given concrete circumstances the elections results are a success for the Communist Party of Israel and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

If so, what are the causes of the success under these complex and difficult conditions?

After all, our votes could have been decreased, and



On the day of the elections, SHASSI sent a letter to our Communist Party, in which they announced that they had decided to vote for the DFPE in the present elections to the Knesset, but that SHASSI would leave the Front after the elections, irrespectively of the results. Their reasons: Under the conditions which had developed (that is to say, the establishment of the Mi'ari list) and as a result of certain shortcomings in its work, the DFPE is unable to bring about the unity of the left and peace forces. At the same time - they write - SHASSI continues to consider the political programme of the DFPE as the correct basis for the establishment of peace.

This development is symbolical. The way in which the DFPE has functioned is not the main cause. If this was the question, they could have demanded corrections. The truth is that the leadership of the Front had met SHASSI half-way and beyond that. At the same time of the negotiations with Matti Peled we went towards SHASSI to the greatest degree, despite the separate negotiations which they held with the Uri Avneri-Matti Peled circle, and encouraged their demands. We agreed to their demand to invite the representatives of the "Alternative" group (Avneri-Peled) to a meeting of the leadership of the DFPE any time they asked, including the meeting about the question of the agreement on surplus votes.

The truth and deep reason for the fact that SHASSI has left the DFPE is completely different and this we must take into consideration while drawing conclusions and evaluations towards the future. It has been proved that a factor which does not only disagree with us ideologically but opposes us ideologically, and particularly regarding the question of the attitude towards the Soviet Union, is liable to lose also its own political way. We explained to SHASSI: In spite of all, when you speak about the Soviet Union, you can at least express some respect towards it regarding the question of peace in the Middle East. After all, the Soviet Union supports what we all consider as the central and most fateful issue: Just peace. Then, why do you always stress only the questions on which you do not agree with the Soviet Union?

One must also take into account the subjective factor, that central personalities in the SHASSI group are former members of our Communist Party. The saying "An apostate for spite" is valid. We did not want the SHASSI group to leave the Front. Also after we received their letter, we decided to invite them to a meeting. But they insisted

on leaving the Front.

### "THE PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE"

We have correctly assessed the character of that list regarding its policies and ideology. We have assessed that this is a mixture of Arab nationalists and Jewish nationalists. We have assessed that what holds together the various and strange components of that list, the holders of different and contrasting opinions is the opposition to communism, to the Soviet Union, and the orientation towards American imperialism. All the rest is trifles or camouflage, at least as far as the initiators of the list are concerned.

This was clearly expressed in the election propaganda of the Mi'ari-Avneri list. In the Arab sector they slandered and defamed us on nationalist basis, by methods and at proportions which had so far never been used by any party in Israel, be it the most reactionary one. For example, as Arab nationalists they raised the cry in their publications and their public meetings: "Why did Meir Vilner sign the Charter of Independence of the State of Israel?" They photographed one sentence of the Charter of Independence: "We, members of the Provisional State Council, decide to establish a Jewish state under the name Israel", and they asked provocatively: "Why 'Jewish'? After all, there are two peoples here!" However, they concealed what is written in the preceding sentences of the Charter of Independence, namely that the State of Israel is being established on the basis of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of November 29, 1947. Further it is written in the Charter of Independence: "The State of Israel will be prepared to cooperate with the institutions and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the resolution of the Assembly of November 29, 1947..."

As is well known, our Party supported the resolutions of UNO, of November 29, 1947, which demanded the cancellation of the British mandate, the pull-out of the British army from the country and the establishment of two independent states, an Arab state and a Jewish state. If all the political factors had then accepted the resolutions of the Assembly, the independent Palestinian State would have been established long ago within the borders of the UNO plan of 1947.

In addition to this, the Mi'ari people concentrated on the introduction of the Charter of Independence. In the introduction all sorts of general matters are written there, all sorts of political, ideological and religious matters which also many Zionists did not agree with. But this is the introduction. At many events in history there have been such cases. But we put our signature to the resolution of the General Assembly of UNO, of November 29, 1947 and that is all. The formulation "Jewish State" is the formulation of the Assembly: "An Arab state and a Jewish state". This does not mean that we say that the State of Israel is only a Jewish State. We explicitly say and we have decided so in our congresses, that the State of Israel is the expression of the realisation of the right to self-determination of the Jewish people in the country, and that the State of Israel is a state in which two peoples live: The Jewish people, which is the majority, and a Palestinian Arab national minority, which is a part of the Palestinian Arab people. We struggle for full national and civil equality of rights of the Arab national minority in Israel, and the Arab population in Israel struggles together with the whole Palestinian people and the Jewish forces of democracy and peace in Israel for the realisation of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

This is only one example. Also on other questions, the Mi'ari-Peled-Avneri group attacked us in the most provocative manner.

What must we learn from that? We must conduct among our cadres and in the wide public not only a general ideological and political explanation, but also explain historical problems. The young generation do not know from their own experience the events of the past.

It is clear that there are things which were correct in previous periods and are not appropriate today. There may have been some isolated things in the past, which perhaps were not correct either. It must be explained: A new generation has grown up - 20-30 years old - who did not live through the period of the British mandate, through the years before the establishment of the State of Israel in its first years. These are important themes. We need not to be in the defensive, but precisely we must be in the offensive on these issues. But they should be studied and analyzed by the Marxist-Leninist method and in the light of the accumulated historical experience. The history of the Communist Party in this country,

first the Palestinian, and after the establishment of the State of Israel, the Israeli party, is a heroic history in the service of the anti-imperialist struggle, national liberation and independence, the defence of the workers' interests, the general interest of peace and socialism. With regard to the list of Mi'ari-Peled-Avneri, our evaluation was definitely correct. We exposed its character and its fundamental strategic aims. Also our tactic towards it was correct. We defined it as a hostile list. As a matter of fact, they themselves had before that defined us as enemies. In their shameful talk with the minister of defence, Moshe Arens, they were asked who are their main enemies. They replied: The Alignment and Rakach (the Communist Party). In reality their only enemy was the Communist Party. Because now we know already clearly that it was the Alignment which acted for the setting-up of the Mi'ari-Peled list. Not a few functionaries of the Alignment in the Arab villages were "passed on" to the "Progressive" list and helped it to organised itself and to direct the election campaign against the enemy: Rakach and the DFPE (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality). That is why, the leadership of the Alignment - for the first time in any elections to the Knesset made sure that no Arab lists connected with the Alignment should be set up. The activity of the Alignment among the Arab population was weak. They left the field to a large extent to Mi'ari-Peled-Avneri. What was important in their eyes was: To beat the Communists and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. They were sure that our strength would decline in these elections. But they suffered a great disappointment.

As said before, our line and tactic towards the Mi'ari peled list were correct. What we did not asses correctly was the size of the forces which supported them. Only in the election campaign it became clear that activists of the Alignment in numerous Arab villages were requested by factors in the Labour Party to assist in setting up the "progressive" list. And only towards the end of the election campaign, some of them were requested to return and act directly for the Alignment. The fact that the Alignment could tell their functionaries among the Arab population: Go and help the "Progressive List" and afterwards tell some of those: Come back and work directly for the Alignment - is really stunning. This is the truth. All the rest was a show. It is possible that there were differences of opinions within the Alignment on this issue and therefore there were also fluctuations.

We also failed to assess the existence of additional important factor which supported the Mi'ari list: The Moslem Brothers. They openly supported - to the surprise of many - the list of Mi'ari. This was prominent in the Triangle, and especially in Kufr-Kassem. The representatives of the Moslem Brothers appeared in mass meetings of Mi'ari and called for supporting his list. And indeed his list received many votes in Kufr-Kassem and other villages also due to the Moslem Brothers.

In the propaganda of the Mi'ari list, the religious factor was exploited in a provocative manner. They accused our front of being a front of infidels. They used every rusty weapon in order to hit us. They succeeded indeed in entering the Knesset, but failed in their two main tasks.

In order to get votes among the Jewish public, they emphasized in their propaganda among the Jewish voters the military past of Matti Peled, a member of the general staff of the Israeli army in the June 1967 war, his contribution in the wars of Israel. In special advertisements in the Hebrew press they published the photo of Matti Peled and under it his military rank - general (in reserve), and played up his military contribution. They promised: With such a personality - a general who can be trusted by the Jewish public from the "security" standpoint- the door may be flung wide open to changes in the Jewish sector, we will rake in the Jewish masses... and the result: An unprecedented failure suffered by those circles - in the Jewish sector. It became clear that we, the DFPE, receive more votes than they did also in the Jewish sector. We too, did not "rake in" the Jewish public, but their election result is most instructive by their failure. Mi'ari-Peled-Avneri have also failed in their second task: To reduce our strength. This was their declared and insolent aim. They declared: We will send back Tawfiq Zayyad to Nazareth let him direct the work in his municipality but let him not be in the Knesset. They did not achieve this aim either.

What will be our attitude towards the "progressive" list? We will continue our ideological and political struggle. It may be assumed that this artificial body which include different and contradictory forces will finally disintegrate. We will conduct the struggle in ways of persuasion. After the elections we can renounce some of the forms which accompany an election campaign. But the ideological and political campaign against that body must be conducted in full

firmness and sharpness. The only aim of that body is to carry out the strategic aim of the Zionist establishment in Israel and of American imperialism - to put an end to the situation where the Communist Party of Israel and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality have the dominant political influence among the Arab population in Israel. This fact has repercussions on the whole Palestinian people and other repercussions. The "progressive" list also aspires to prevent the increase in the influence of our Communist Party and of the DFPE among the Jewish public. This is the strategic aim of the "Progressive list". For this purpose, and only this, it was established.

Therefore the struggle will continue relentlessly. At the same time, there are situations in the Knesset, when we will be compelled sometimes to vote together, and it do happen also with other parliamentary groups, on certain issues, when that is possible. How precisely matters will develop in the Knesset - we must leave to experience.

In an interview to the "Kol Israel" radio, Mi'ari said that the Lebanese war has proved that the Palestinians can rely only on themselves and not on any external factor. This is an anti-Soviet declaration par excellence. This is a provocative declaration: "Reliance only on our own forces". To advise the Palestinian national movement, the Lebanese and Syrian peoples to sever their relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist states - this is a satanic advice in the service of American imperialism and the Zionist establishment in Israel.

In the election campaign to the 11th. Knesset, we have carried out a great ideological and political work whose importance is far beyond its contribution to the election campaign. Thanks to this we succeeded in preventing that the anti-communist propaganda of the Mi'ari-Avneri list would influence many of our voters.

Life has proved that the evaluation of the Nazareth party branch, the Nazareth district committee, the Central Committee of the Party, has been correct regarding the group which has been organized in Nazareth under the name of "Progressive Front", it has been proved that this is a body which is hostile to the communist party. The election campaign to the 11th. Knesset has opened the eyes also of those comrades in Nazareth who had not foreseen the development at that time. Now everybody sees that the anti-communists and the enemies of the Democratic Front



for Peace and Equality in Nazareth were the core, which together with persons of the sort of Uri Avneri, established the anti-communist list of Mi'ari to the 11th. Knesset. They are not acting like possible allies but as enemies of the Communist Party of Israel and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. They have only one aim: To deviate, by means of camouflage and deceit the Arab population in Israel towards the ruling Zionist establishment, and to hinder the increase of the strength of our Party and the DFPE in the Jewish public.

This is the root of the matter. The decisive question in the election campaign was: Is the struggle between the DFPE and the Mi'ari-Avneri list a struggle among peace forces, which are rather different, or was it a struggle against forces which are hostile to the DFPE and the Communist Party, who cover themselves by a similar peace plan.

We have already learned in the previous elections that in order to beat the Arab patriotic forces who are in the DFPE and in order to divide them, our rivals set up lists with political plans which do nothing but throw sand into the eyes.

Thus, in the previous election, to the 10th. Knesset, the Alignment set up an "independent" Arab list, headed by a former police officer, Hanna Haddad. In the platform of that list, all the paragraphs which could "compete" with the DFPE and with our Communist Party were included: An independent Palestinian State; the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories which were occupied since 1967 etc. Now, in the elections to the 11th. Knesset, that same Haddad integrated in the Alignment list whose platform is against a Palestinian State, against the withdrawal to the lines of 1967 etc.

In the last elections, the deceit was more sophisticated; it was taken into account that Haddad had failed in the previous elections. Mohammed Mi'ari who was appointed to head the list, was not known as a collaborator with the authorities, but precisely as a person who cooperated with the DFPE in such institutions as the Committee for Defence of the Arab Lands etc. Mi'ari and Avneri try to obliterate their support of the Camp David accords against the rights of the Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO.

The sole strategic aim of the Mi'ari list is not the

establishment of a Palestinian State, but the undermining of the status of the Communist Party and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality among the Arab population and the prevention of the increase of our influence among the Jewish population. This strategic target includes the endeavours of the Mi'ari-Avneri group to push the PLO towards a split and a change in its anti-imperialist policy towards its integration in the plans of US imperialism. This is a provocative advice which is precisely dangerous because on the surface it is covered with a similar peace programme.

In the election campaign Mi'ari, Peled and Avneri, stubbornly refused to support the convocation of an international conference for the establishment of peace in the Middle East, and this due to their opposition to the participation of the Soviet Union, and also because of the fear that they would lose the support of the Moslem Brothers and the other pro-imperialist reactionary forces.

Now, after the elections and after all the neighbouring Arab States, including pro-imperialist Jordan and Egypt, expressed their support to an international conference - part of the Mi'ari group expressed a hesitant agreement with the idea of such a conference. In the elections they did not agree to say so, in spite of our verbal and written pressure.

But also what they are prepared to say now, in this matter is nothing but deceit. However it is good that we compelled them to say that. However, we must know that tomorrow if there will be developments on the initiative of the USA and with the participation of Jordan and pro-imperialist circles within the PLO - they will be the first to support them.

This is how things stand with regard to the Mi'ari-Avneri group. It does not mean that those who supported the Mi'ari list in the elections agree with such positions or with the strategic aims of Mi'ari-Avneri. We can learn from the experience of the Camp David agreements, when many peace champions in Israel did not understand at the beginning the true meaning of those agreements.

Much intelligence and flexibility are needed in order to make others understand what we understand. But first and foremost we must speak clearly and unequivocally and then we will succeed in explaining to others the damage which the activities of Mi'ari-Avneri inflict on the Pa-



Whoever supports US imperialism and its intrigues in our region does not act for peace. Whoever appears against the Soviet Union and its involvement in the endeavours for establishing peace in our region - does not act for peace.

With their pro-American position, with their poisonous propaganda against the Soviet Union - Mi'ari and Avneri act against the cause of peace in the Middle East and thereby against the Palestinian people whose national rights are ignored by the rulers of the USA and Israel thus the establishment of peace is prevented.

### THE EXPLANATORY CAMPAIGN IN THE ELECTIONS

We conducted an intensive election campaign with means that were poor in comparison with other lists which were elected to the Knesset.

A particularly great share was contributed by the daily "Al-Ittihad". Now we can understand better what our situation would have been if we had no daily paper such as "Al-Ittihad". Times have changed. Competition has intensified. Without a daily paper we would have been in a difficult situation. The election campaign proved this beyond any doubt. Also the correct, resolute and systematic line of "Al-Ittihad" with reference to the Mi'ari list has proved to be correct. This does not mean that in one publication or the other we said no superfluous things, even when that was a quotation from a speaker in some meeting. But in general, the line of explanation of "Al-Ittihad" was correct and successful.

"Zo Haderekh" contributed to our election campaign in accordance with the Party line. Of course, a weekly is not a daily paper. "Zo Haderekh" has contributed to our election campaign a significant share, even though the line could have been more intensive and should have avoided certain errors in formulations.

Regarding publications in the Arabic language, criticism has been levelled against the first leaflet. With regard to publications in Hebrew, the Political Bureau has criticized the slogan: "You don't have to be a communist in order to vote for the DFPE" This formulation may be understood as if saying that a communist is something which might stain somebody. It is correct that one does not

have to be a communist in order to vote for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. But the question is how to formulate this. To turn this into a slogan - is a mistake.

There may be still other remarks regarding the publications in Hebrew and Arabic, but speaking in general, the majority of the publications were successful and brought the message of the DFPE to the wide public.

In our television broadcast in Hebrew and Arabic, efforts were exerted to appear in a more modern form, to create a correct image of the DFPE in the public. Here, too, some remarks may be made but in general it was a fruitful effort.

We must sum up the new experience of the establishment of a special election staff for the election campaign to the 11th. Knesset. We will not dwell on the whole problematics which had developed around that. But in the Political Bureau we reached the conclusion that the whole method of establishing election staffs, as they had been organized, was not correct.

In the elections to the 10th. Knesset there were also proposals in the Central Committee of the Party to set up election staffs. Then we rejected the idea. Now we agreed to try that out. We came to the conclusion that this method has not stood the test. It even caused complications and superfluous tension in the election campaign.

The normal, competent institutions of the Party - the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, were to a large extent neutralized in the election campaign. It is the normal party institutions which should be responsible politically and organizationally on behalf of the party for the election campaign. It is possible to take advice from specialists and experts from inside the party and from outside it. There can also be comrades who may initiate things and contribute largely, but not in a manner such as in the last election campaign, when staffs and committees were set up whose competences were confused.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality must set up an election staff in the election campaigns, in which also members of the Communist Party will participate. The election staff of the DFPE must be the only competent body in the election campaign. All the rest are only for advice and assistance. The decisions on the way and means of ex-

planation and the implementation of the decisions are the task only of the election staff of the DFPE. The communists act in the DFPE staff as an important component of the Front, together with all the other components of the Front, who are ready and can participate practically in conducting the election campaign.

## THE PARTY AND THE FRONT

The establishment of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, its development and achievements have justified itself. The Front is vital. This must be said because someone may think thus: After all, before the existence of the DFPE, there was the list of the Communist Party of Israel and it, too, had four Members of Knesset. What, then has the Front added? Such a thought is not a dialectical, not a historical thought. It transfers conditions of the past to realities of today.

I have mentioned the contribution of the daily "Al-Ittihad". Once it was possible to act without a daily newspaper. Now this is impossible. At the time, when the Palestinian people was in a crisis and embarrassment, we communists were the only ones who showed the way, presented solutions, and inspired hope. The Arab communists were the heroes among their people. Every Palestinian patriot understood that if the position of the communists in 1947-1948 were accepted, the whole development could have been different and perhaps imperialism and the Zionist leadership would not have been able to turn the Palestinian people into a people of refugees.

But meantime a development has taken place in many respects. The Front is very wide in the Arab sector, it unites all the sound and healthy forces of the Palestinian population in Israel. The Front is the framework of all the patriotic forces in the Arab population in Israel. The DFPE is also a front among the Jewish population although in a narrower scope than in the Arab public. The reasons are known. In spite of the fact that this is one country, the objective conditions in the two sectors are different.

But the DFPE is not just a Front. There were and there are fronts of various sorts in the world. The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the state of Israel is a front in which the Communist Party of Israel is the central force, the dominant force. This characterizes it.

This forms its political image. If the Communist Party will not be the dominant factor, the Front will be completely different.

What is the meaning of the fact that the Communist Party is the dominant force in the Front? That means that the Party members in the Front are the central force politically and organisationally. That does not mean that the Party members in the institutions of the Front issue orders to their partners in the Front. The Party members exert efforts in order to carry out the Party line in the Front by way of persuasion, while listening and taking into account the other factors in the Front.

The Party members in the institutions of the Front are the representatives of the Party in the Front and not the representatives of the Front in the Party. In the existing reality, in this sphere there are two deviations. Sometimes there is a feeling that Party members come to the Front and in practice do not take into account that this is a Front and want to do everything by themselves. This is a false and harmful attitude and we must definitely avoid it.

And there are inverse phenomena: The Party is put before facts, whether this happens in the normal work or in an election campaign. "Somebody" decides or adopts resolutions without taking into consideration the fact that the Communist Party is a partner to the matter.

The problem is how to act correctly in the Front. On one hand, how to insure that the Front will be democratic that a true partnership will exist between all the components, and on the other hand to make sure that the Communist Party will not act in self-effacement.

The experience of the elections to the 11th. Knesset proves that in a locality where there was a real local front on a wide basis, we had greater success. In a locality where there is no local front or where a front exists only formally, which does not act as a front throughout the whole year, where the non-Communist members of the Front do not carry out leading duties in the local front together with the Communist - we have succeeded less.

The Political Bureau proposes to the Central Committee to adopt a decision that now, after the elections, it is necessary to reorganize the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. We will propose to the partners in the Front

to set up new national (country-wide) institutions, bring up to date the very structure of the national institutions of the Front.

Not less important is: It is necessary to establish a local front in any place where it is possible at the same time to widen and consolidate the existing local fronts. At every place the Party members must act within the Front. This must not be at the expense of Party work. The Party has many additional tasks.

In conclusion, the line of the Party and of the Front in the election campaign - and this includes the attitude towards the Mi'ari-Peled-Avneri list, was correct.

### INTERNAL PARTY LESSONS

And now to some themes which are worthwhile to be dealt with.

We must pay attention to the fact that our enemies and rivals are attacking our Communist Party not only ideologically and politically. They are attacking the past of the Party, its history. They are attacking the leadership of the Party in the dirtiest possible manner. We must not be passive in face of this form of attack upon the policy of the Party and upon its ideology.

The present leadership of the Party has led the Party out of the hardest crisis to its ideological, political and organisational consolidation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The present leadership has guarded as the apple of the eye the Jewish-Arab unity of the party, its internationalist ideology and policy. It has also succeeded and is succeeding in preserving the unity of the party for a longer time than in the whole history of our Party. When we will hold the 20th. Congress of our Party next year, it will be 20 years since the split in 1965. There has never been such a long period in the history of our Party in which the unity of the Party was not only preserved, but still more forged. Let us not think that these 20 years were "simple", or easy. There were serious tests and not a few difficult and complex situations.

Why do I say this? Because an onslaught is being carried out against our Party from outside. And in the



Party there are comrades with weaknesses. Here and there we hear certain voices which we should not be indifferent towards them.

Towards the 20th. Congress of our Party we will have to deal with many questions. The Political Bureau proposes to hold the 20th. Congress in the first half of June 1985. Therefore we will not dwell today on various aspects of our work, in spite of the fact that such questions have arisen also in the course of the elections to the 11th. Knesset. I am referring to the necessity of strictly keeping the norms of the Party and preventing their violation by comrades. I am referring to the necessity of maintaining the collective leadership of the Party at all levels. I am referring to the strict application of the principles of internal party democracy and the principles of democratic centralism.

One must also speak about the weaknesses which appear among us. We do not cope with the ideological question as we had decided to. If this will continue, we are liable to reach a situation where we will not recognize our Party. There have been years when we reacted immediately and with all the force of persuasion to every attack on Communism, on Marxism-Leninism, on the Soviet Union and the community of the Socialist countries. We did not neglect a single issue in the politico-ideological sphere. The television, radio and press are full of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet poison. This is a poison which distorts many minds. In such a poisoned atmosphere something is liable to penetrate also into our ranks.

It is a fact that in spite of all the failures of the ruling Zionist policy, in spite of the crushing defeat in Lebanon, in spite of the unprecedented economic and social crisis in Israel and in spite of the widest democratic and anti-war struggles, in which the communists took part selflessly and in the front ranks - our Party has not increased its membership in the measure which we had anticipated.

It should be known: Without a Communist Party the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality will not exist; without a strong Communist Party there is no politically and organisationally strong front.

The Political Bureau proposes to the Central Committee to approve these summing-up of the election campaign to

the 11th. Knesset. At the same time, the district and branch organisations of the Party must sum up their own experience and pass on the summing-up to the Central Committee.

We believe that it is necessary to hold a special discussion about the election results in the Triangle district. The comrades worked with self-sacrifice and a revolutionary spirit not less than in other districts. But the results in other districts were better. It is necessary to assess what were the reasons to our success in many places and what were the reasons for the lack of success in other places. Such concrete lessons will help us to organize correctly our work in the future.

To conclude, in order to develop and strengthen our struggle, the first and main condition is to strengthen our Communist Party from inside, first and foremost in the ideological respect. The ideological issue is turning into a central matter. It is vitally necessary to strengthen the Party from inside, ideologically, politically and organisationally, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the organisational basis of democratic centralism. These foundations have not become obsolete at all, but we always apply them in accordance with the period, the concrete historical conditions, the conditions of each country. These principles are firm and abiding. We have already seen Communist Parties who thought differently and where have they reached?

The main efforts of our activity must be carried out among the working class, among all working people. We must exert efforts among workers' parties, despite the ideological differences, and especially among the democratic and doveish forces inside them. Mainly there, we must look for partners and find them.

Till now we concentrated sometimes too much on looking for partners among elements like Mi'ari and Avneri, who have indeed similar formulations with regard to the Palestinian question, but are essentially extreme anti-Communist and anti-Soviet factors, more than various factors in MAPAIM, RATZ and even in the Labour Party, who are not, as known, pro-communist or pro-Soviet. The hostility to Communism and the Soviet Union, on part of factors such as Mi'ari and Avneri leads them to a kind of activity aimed at providing damaging advice to the Palestinian circles, and to the PLO, in direction of collabo-

ration with American imperialism against the Soviet Union as a road which is supposed to bring about American support of the PLO. This was the way of Sadat towards Camp David, which has led to so many disasters, including the Lebanese war.

The expansion of the ranks of the Party depends, first of all on the ideological strengthening of the Party, on raising the level of the ideological struggle, on its activity first and foremost among the workers, and on its organisational strengthening.

Our Communist Party is 65 years old; at the 20th. Congress it will be 66 years old. Without learning from the historical experience of our Communist Party it is impossible to understand properly what is occurring today. This is one of the weaknesses of our Party that the young generation and those of the medium age level do not know much about history of our Party, on the background of the development of the country, which is particular and complex development. There are still subjects, which we have not yet summed up, but many things were summed up and published. However not the entire Party cadre has learned these matters and absorbed them, in order to confront enemies and opponents in the ideological and political struggles. I am speaking about the Jewish cadre as well as about the Arab cadre.

At home meetings in the election campaign, quite often comrades said that they have no information about various themes, especially regarding the history of the Party, also on questions about which we had quite frequently written and spoken. History often influences the present.

The Party as it has acted in the election campaign to the 11th. Knesset quite exceptionally, both in the Arab sector as well as in the Jewish sector, with unusual devotion and unusual enthusiasm. Perhaps because this time there was a special challenge. And also many sympathizers took part in the struggle in the election campaign. The young communists, members of the Young Communist League contributed greatly to this important campaign. The various components of the DFPE and non-party personalities, who supported the DFPE have greatly contributed to our election campaign.

If we evaluate, and justly so, the results of the elections as a success of the DFPE, under the existing cir-

cumstances, this was first and foremost due to the correct political line and the correct tactics of our Communist Party.

However, without the assiduous work of the members and sympathizers, without the correct action of the central and local committees we would not have attained the good results which were attained.

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