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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE !

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STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

STOP THE MASSACRE IN LEBANON!

WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY OF THE INTERNATIONAL
BORDER!

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel condemns the massacres which are being perpetrated by the Israeli occupation forces in southern Lebanon, in accordance with government orders. Hundreds of Lebanese citizens, among them women, elderly people and children were killed and wounded. Villages have been devastated. Many hundreds have been arrested and thrown into Ansar concentration camp and other concentration camps. Tens of thousands have been driven out of their homes and have been turned into refugees. Others have been forced to escape, fearing that they would be murdered.

The policy of the "iron fist" and the "strong hand" is not a sign of strength, but of weakness. In view of the political and military failure of the aggressive war in Lebanon which had been opened by Israel with the backing of the United States, in view of the fact that the government was compelled to decide to withdraw from the greater part of the occupied territories in Lebanon, the Alignment Likud government attempts to obscure the failure by carrying out acts of horror and a policy of "scorched earth".

The Political Bureau states that these actions of the occupation forces in Lebanon are war crimes against humanity. These atrocities also corrupt the souls of the soldiers and youth and strengthen the fascist forces within Israel.

The Political Bureau calls upon every person in Israel who comprehend the dimension of the dangers which stems from the policy of barbarian oppression which is carried out in Lebanon, to intensify the struggle against these horrible crimes for immediate and unconditional withdrawal to the international border, for putting an end to the intervention in Lebanon and the violation of its sove-

reignty.

The Political Bureau accuses the government also with causing a mounting number of victims among soldiers of the Israeli army in Lebanon, by those monstrous oppression actions. Immediate withdrawal from the whole area of Lebanon in the only way to extract ourselves from the predicament of the Lebanese swamp and for attaining agreements under the auspices of UNO, which will guarantee the security of both Israel and Lebanon, on the basis of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the non-intervention in its internal affairs.

ZO HADEREKH, March 27, 1985.

BANKRUPTS, SKINNERS AND CADGERS

Speech of Comrade Meir Vilner in the Knesset

The state budget for the year 1985 is a budget of misery and unemployment, of robbing the workers, and as against that - of enrichment of the big capitalists, both local and foreign.

In accordance with the new budget, the government will rob the workers, the inhabitants of the poor quarters and poor small towns, the old-age pensioners, invalids and sick people, children and students from poor families.

At the same time this is a budget for preparation of a new war, of continuation of the occupation; a budget which will rob our people the joy of life, and will encourage emigration from the country.

This is also a budget of slavery to the American administration which is holding a whip above the head of Israel and say: "Expand unemployment and cut the public services; otherwise you will get a kick instead of an enlarged aid."

The minister of finance who is travelling to the United States in order to beg for an aid, like any bankrupt, certainly will take with him the box containing the budget books, in order to prove to the bosses in Washington that the government is lowering the living standard of the workers and medium strata.

The proposed budget has a scope of 20 trillion shekel, an amount that is hard to grasp. Therefore it is expressed in dollars: 23 billion and 336 million dollar. The calculation has been made according to a rate of 920 shekels for one dollar. This means that the value of one American cent in 1985 will be - more than 9 shekels. What will be the value of the dollar at the end of the budgetary year? And what will be then the value of one cent - perhaps 20 shekels or more? The expenditure in the budget is clear, but the income is not sure, and as for the cuts, or at least to part of them there will be an opposition. Therefore this is

a deficit budget, just as all the budgets in the past, and it will continue feeding the inflation.

What is decisive in the budget and constitutes the main cause of the severe economic and social crisis is the fact that the greater part of the budget is allocated to the M'oloch of war and occupation and to the re-payment for debts (principal and interest) due to the military spendings and military purchases in previous years. The finance minister said in his speech: "The defence budget for the year 1985/86 amounts to 4 billion dollar and it does not include the re-deployment of the army and its presence in Lebanon. It constitutes about 25% of the amount of the real budget. It contains a decrease of 6% in comparison with the security budget of 1984". But there is a contradiction in this speech. If the defence budget does not include the spendings in Lebanon (which officially are estimated as being 250 million dollar), how is it possible to speak about a decrease in the military budget?

The finance minister speaks about "a decrease" in the military expenditures, but at the same time he declares that "in the year 1985 a considerable increase in direct defence import at the real rate of 40% is foreseen, and it will amount to a sum of more than 2 billion dollar".

The finance minister claims in his speech that the American assistance will cover 60% of the military expenditure. But if one compares the total military expenditure in the budget - the budget of the ministry of defence, the committee of atomic energy, the colonial settlements - the majority of the police budget and the reimbursement of the debts due to the military spendings and military purchases in previous years, then a different picture is seen: The anticipated American military aid (1.8 billion dollar) will cover only 10% of the total military expenditures in the proposed budget.

And if the total military expenditure constitutes three thirds of the budget, what will really remain for the other points? And there will not be any cuts in the military spendings, the civilian spendings - that means state services - will be sharply cut.

The aim of the budget from the social and class aspect is: the lowering of the workers' living standard and also that of the medium strata. The finance minister boasts of the "achievements". Oh, these "achievements"! He says: We

have achieved the decrease of personal consumption by 7.5% in the year 1984. Whose personal consumption has been cut? Only that of a part of the people, especially of the workers, of the poor people. Is that of any importance for rich people if the prices for bread, milk and public transportation are increased by dozens of per cent? In the budget for 1985, the budget of subsidies for basic consumption goods has been cut by 58%. That means the continuation of price rises for these products in the next few months.

The finance minister has said that there will be a decrease also in the public civilian consumption. In simple words, reference here is to a sharp curtailment in the spendings for welfare, health and education. And the great promise is: "Decreasing that part of the income which remains in the hands of the public", as if there is one "public", as if there is no difference between workers and billionaires.

The government plans to collect in the next year 68 billion shekel from the "education tax", and thereby cancel the important achievement of free education. The budget for the Workers' Sick Fund of the Histadrut has been cut and at the same time it is planned to increase the fees of the Histadrut and also to have the Workers' Sick Fund collect from two to twelve dollar for a visit at a Sick Fund doctor.

In the sphere of education the '85 budget plans a sharp increase in the study fees in the universities up to 900 dollars; dismissals of 1,200 teachers and a cut of 9.4% of all the spendings for education. In the period of the rule of the Likud government a law was adopted regarding taxation under conditions of galloping inflation. At that time we warned that the law will exempt the big capitalists from paying taxes. And what has become clear? The big capitalists and companies really did not pay nearly any taxes at all in 1983 and 1984. And now it is alleged that there is no money and therefore it is necessary to cut the welfare services, the national insurance allowances for the aged and for invalids.

MILITARY EXPENDITURES IN THE 1985 BUDGET

Over military spendings	4,300 billion shekel
Payment of debts (principal and interest)	10,922 billion shekel

The finance minister boasts of an additional "achievement". He says: "A decrease has occurred in the real income and wages and the automatic linkage of wages to prices has been severed". Alas! Such "achievements"... In whose favour are these achievements? They are achievements in favour of the big capitalists and a disaster for the workers. The decline of the real wages by 30% since the second half of 1984 has eroded the living standard of the working family, and now the government announces that this tendency will continue.

The finance minister says that by the package deal "a social standard has been broken". All the package deals constitute a big deception of the working class. It is too bad that the Histadrut leadership has consented to the destruction of the system of cost-of-living allowance, to the erosion of the real wage, to mass unemployment, to the demands of the industrialists to raise prices. It is not by chance that the finance minister praises the Histadrut leadership, which has betrayed the workers.

It is not true what the finance minister has said, that the wage-earners have renounced part of their cost-of-living allowance. They were violated, they were forced from above to this renunciation. Neither is it true that the alternative to the erosion of wages would be still worse. The Histadrut is a tremendous power: Neither the government nor the employers would have been able to attack and to decrease the living standard of the workers to such an extent.

One of the most painful violations of the workers' living standard will be carried out by means of the curtailment of the services which are provided by the local councils. In accordance with the new budget, the local councils will be asked to restrict their spendings and at the same time to increase the collection of taxes from the inhabitants by hundreds of per cent. The result will be: Dismissals of numerous workers and the elimination of important municipal services.

And when reference is to the local councils, also in the new budget the discrimination of the Arab local councils continues. In spite of the promises that the situation will be improved, the money which have been allocated in the budgets to the Arab local councils are not transferred to them and they do not receive assistance for the development of vital public institutions which exist in every Jewish loca-

lity.

We denounce the attempt at deviating the anger of the dismissed workers, of the unemployed, in direction of the Arab workers and the practice, in accordance with which the Arab workers are the first to be dismissed.

The finance minister announces that further privileges will be given to the big capitalists and that the subsidies to capital will be increased - first of all to exporters. The finance minister declared that state-owned companies will be sold. This is very dangerous and I am amazed that no one has spoken about it. The finance minister says: "The government of Israel is the owner of industrial and other companies in many economic spheres. The government of Israel will be prepared to sell its holdings - all of them or part of them - in certain companies to suitable investors". What the Likud government had not dared to do, will now be carried out by the government of the Alignment and the Likud.

The sale of government companies to foreign capital is a part of the obligations which the Peres-Shamir government has undertaken towards its overseas bosses. The finance minister has, in his speech, sworn allegiance to the masters in Washington, who pay in money for the blood which our sons shed in Lebanon and in exchange for the global services which Israel provides to the United States.

The finance minister, Y. Modai, travels to the United States like a mendicant, and this after his economic policy has gone bankrupt. The American administration bears responsibility for the destruction of the Israeli economy, because it encourages the Israeli government to wage wars, to continue the occupation and to organize intrigues in the framework of the strategic alliance between the two governments.

The 1985 budget is an additional signpost on the way of the renunciations of the present Israeli government even with regard to the aim which is called "economic independence". This is a budget of continuation of Israel's enslavement to the interests of the United States and of further moving away from any sign of political or economic independence.

The government has presented a budget whose data are not reliable and whose official deficit - half a million dollar

will certainly increase in reality. The government has no plan for extracting the Israeli economy from the economic and social crisis, and there cannot be any such plan as long as the government is not prepared to make the first essential step - an essential curtailment of the military expenditures.

There is an alternative, there is a way out - to stop living by the sword and to establish just and comprehensive peace with all the neighbours, and first and foremost with the Palestinian Arab people, who will live in their independent State alongside the State of Israel. Peace will enable the development of economic and trade relations with the neighbouring states and wide economic relations with the socialist countries. It will enable to raise the living standard of the workers and thereby to enlarge the internal market, reduce the taxation on workers and medium strata and increase it on the big capital; and finally, to ensure full employment and increase of subsidies and allocations for health, education and welfare.

ZO HADEREKH, March 6, 1985

ABOUT THE THREE CRIMES OF THE GOVERNMENT

*Speech of Comrade Tawfiq Toubi
in the Knesset*

On the first day after the opening of the criminal war in Lebanon, our parliamentary group - the DFPE group, tabled a proposal for no-confidence in the government. To our regret, we were then the only ones to vote no-confidence. Today, after the ignominious failure of the war and the great damage which it caused to the Israeli people, in addition to the tragedy which it caused to the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people, which are clearly visible - many of those who had voted for the war, have now expressed their remorse and even self-criticism. Today, the majority of the people in Israel is aware of the fatal error committed by unleashing the war in June 1982.

Our opposition then, which opposed the war from its very first day on, has proved to be correct, patriotic and guided by the interest of peace and security of the peoples of the region.

Today we again table a proposal for no-confidence, and this because the forces of the Israeli army have opened a cruel war of vengeance against the Lebanese people. This war is an attempt at saving the lost prestige of the policy of force, which has gone bankrupt. We call upon the Knesset to condemn this renewed war against the Lebanese people and bring about its cessation.

The Likud and the Alignment have again united and will reject the proposal of no-confidence. We, however, are convinced that the day is not far off when the depth of the crime which is perpetrated and the harm caused today to the Lebanese people, the victim of the policy of the iron fist, will be evident also to the Israeli people. Many of you will again be forced - if they will be honest towards themselves - to make self-criticism for not having, this

time, too, expressed no-confidence in the adventurous policy of force, which today is being waged in Lebanon. Instead of drawing rational conclusions from the failure of the war and withdraw without any further delay, the heads of the government, and in particular the war minister, member of the Labour Party, try to save the Lebanese adventure. Yitzhak Rabin (the war minister -IB) has returned to use the brute force of the army and threatens the Lebanese people that "their life will not be safe if they will not maintain the quiet". But who is the one who violates the quiet and causes the shedding of the blood of Jews and Arabs, if not the Israeli occupation which should have been terminated long ago and every where - in Lebanon and all the Arab territories that have been occupied since June 1967?

We saw on the television two weeks ago the shocking picture of the activity of the iron fist in the village of Jabsheet in southern Lebanon. That was a censored and improved scene from the scenes of the crimes of the renewed war against the Lebanese people. Officers and men testified about cases of massacre, like the murder of 12 young boys on February 15 in a wadi (ravine) at the outskirts of Sidon; like the massacre in the village of Sir al-Garbiyeh on February 23, whose victims were 9 villagers - and all this according to the official version of the Israeli army.

The routine in southern Lebanon is a routine of collective terror against the inhabitants of southern Lebanon, of terrorist acts committed at the time of humiliating searches in the villages; of the killing of tens and perhaps hundreds, so that the villagers will see and be deterred; of the demolition of dozens and perhaps hundreds of homes in the villages, as has happened in Kufr-Salim, Al-Bazuriyeh, in Marakeh and dozens of other villages; curfew imposed on hundreds of thousands of inhabitants; disconnection of electricity; prevention of food distribution; and even prohibition to bring medicines to hospitals, as happened in Tyre. In the detention camp Ansar again there are about 1,700 detainees. Also the responsibility for the criminal explosion in the al-Husseini mosque in the village of Marakeh rests after all upon those who threatens that the life of the Lebanese will not be safe. The UNO forces are witnesses to horrible crimes in the southern villages of Lebanon, and the attempt of the war minister to obscure the severity of the accusations of the UNO forces will not be successful by his calling them "caracasses" (1).

These crimes of collective punishment, of demolition of whole neighbourhoods in villages, and expulsion of thousands of inhabitants will not succeed in suppressing the heroic struggle of the Lebanese people against the occupation, a struggle that will continue as long as a single Israeli soldier will be on Lebanese soil. The continuation of the struggle against the forces of occupation since the beginning of the punitive campaign on the 18th of February speaks for itself. There is no foreign occupier, cruel as he may be who is able to suppress the struggle of a people for national liberation.

The war minister wants quiet? Let him withdraw the army quickly from Lebanon without cunning, without any "strips" held by mercenaries - and then there will be quiet. Whoever puts into action terror in Lebanon is not the sons of the Lebanese people who fight in order to live without occupation but it's the Israeli army of occupation which attempts by a terroristic war against the population, against women and children, to paralyze the just struggle for liberation of the homeland.

And you, representatives of the Labour Party, do you not feel any shame in view of what is being done today in your name against the Lebanese people? We call upon all conscientious persons to force the government of "national unity" to pull out the army from Lebanon - immediately, without waiting for next September, for this is the sole way to stop the killing and for saving the life of human beings - Jews and Arabs.

It is imperative to express no-confidence in the Alignment-Likud government which does not only continue, but also deepens and expands the policy of oppression and eviction and the violation of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories, for its continuing the policy of undermining the establishment of just peace. The hypocrisy of the "game of peace" which is being played before our eyes is not less transparent than the hypocrisy of the talk about the "quality of life" in the occupied territories, in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The prime minister receives emissaries and sends out emissaries and devotedly fulfills his function in the weaving of the intrigue against the solution of the Palestinian question, which is a precondition for a solution of just, comprehensive and stable peace. And at the same time the deputy prime minister and minister of construction and housing, David Levi, declares before the council of the colonial settlers in the occupied territo-

ries that "what will be decisive is the activity in the field", a road that will divide Samaria (zionist term for the northern part of the occupied West Bank -IB) in this fiscal year; three new settlements will be set up in Samaria; the strengthening of the colonial settlements in Judea (zionist term for the southern part of the West Bank -IB) and Samaria and the Gaza Strip will continue; roads will be paved in the area of Drom Katif and development and infrastructure will be continued in the area of the Hebron hills. In spite of the budgetary pressures, this year 1,400 houses will be started to be built in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip.

Moreover, together with these steps of "activity" in the occupied territories, which are opposed to the interest of coexistence with the Palestinian people and to the interest of peace, the war minister and leading personality in the Labour Party, Yitzhak Rabin, sharpens the policy of the iron fist also on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. This policy has been lately demonstrated by the ravings of the forces of occupation in the universities Bir-Zeit and Al-Najah and other educational institutions - acts which must be denounced most severely. The mass administrative arrests on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the renewal of the crime of deportation from the homeland which has been demonstrated by the expulsion of Ali Shahin a public figure who had already undergone a 15 year sentence of imprisonment; the sharpening of the oppressive regime in the prisons; the violation of human rights which has been revealed in the al-Faraa prison, where diseases and epidemics are rife because of the absence of elementary sanitary conditions; and in addition to all this - the aggravation of the economic conditions, with the aim of sowing despair and resignation towards the occupation - all these grave action of oppression, which expose the true face of the government, oblige to express no-confidence in this government.

The second side of the coin of the occupation is the policy which continuously hits the living standard of the working masses, which is carried out in accordance with orders from Washington, which has not stopped demanding the lowering of the living standard as a condition for military and economic aid. The sharp rise of prices prove that the package deals (between government, employers and Histadrut - IB) are one big deal for deceiving the working class. But the leadership of the Histadrut, instead of calling the working class for a struggle against

the encroachments of the government, which from day to day increase the army of the unemployed, collaborates with the government and employers under the cover of idle protests, such as the speeches of Member of Knesset Kaiser (the general secretary of the Histadrut -IB).

No-confidence in the government is today expressed by hundreds of thousands of recipients of allowances (for children, old age pensioners etc. -IB) which are paid to them by the National Insurance Institute. The value of these allowances is not only eroded from month to month, but in addition to this, the government threatens them with new tribulations, additional taxes, cuts in children's allowances and their erosion and with raising the age of reception of women's old age pension (instead of 60 years to 65 years -IB).

No-confidence in the government is today expressed by the hundreds of workers of the "ATA" textile enterprise who have been dismissed after tens of years of labour and are now victims of unemployment and distress; the workers of the Beth-Shemesh enterprise who are threatened with unemployment; the thousands of Arab workers who are today the first victims of the policy of unemployment; the inhabitants of Yeruham (small Jewish town -IB) and other development towns, who suffer from unemployment and misery.

The Prime minister promised three months ago to the heads of the Arab local councils that he will immediately make arrangements for the payment of arrears which the government owes them - an amount of 3 billion shekel. But one month passes after another and it looks as if that promise had never been made. Therefore the Arab local councils have been forced to declare a strike for an unlimited period. Such a government, which abuses the rights of its citizens and leads them astray, certainly deserves no-confidence.

The leadership of the Labour Party has before the elections used strong words against the Likud government. After collaborating with the Likud in the government of "national unity", these two parties carry out today a policy which the Likud itself had not dared to carry out against the popular masses. The leadership of the Labour Party again paves the road to the Likud and pads its return to their one-party rule.

As foreseeable, the Alignment and Likud have rejected the proposal for no-confidence. But we hope that the bells which we ring by tabling our motion for no-confidence will awaken and mobilize the Jewish and Arab public for a struggle for another rule and another policy, which will be for the benefit of peace, for the prosperity of the working people and for equality of rights in Israel.

ZO HADEREKH, March 13, 1985

THE "PROGRESSIVE LIST" AND THE MUBARAK TEST

By Emile Towma

Uri Avneri, one of the leaders of the "Progressive List for Peace", has no problem to appear openly and enthusiastically in support of the Mubarak initiative, whose aim is to bury the Palestinian rights and to split the PLO.

In the "Ha'olam Hazah" weekly of March 6, 1985, U. Avneri devotes a large space for describing the great wonders of the Mubarak initiative, which "is intended to give to every one concerned the demanded minimum", while attempting to present it as a plan which allegedly does not contradict the idea of the convocation of an international peace conference. According to Avneri, the main point in Mubarak's proposal is - "direct negotiations between Israel, Jordan, the PLO and Egypt". Avneri adds: "This can be under American auspices or in the framework of an international conference, with the participation of both Washington and Moscow".

Thus Avneri consciously obscures the main point in the Mubarak initiative: no independent Palestine, no participation of the PLO in the negotiations and no Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories. He does so, in order to cover the abysmal difference between negotiations under American auspices and in accordance with the well-known American plan, which denies the right of the Palestinians to a sovereign national existence - and between negotiations in the framework of an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union and the United States and on the basis of the UNO resolutions, the decisions of Fez and the Soviet peace plan, which were supported by the Palestinian National Council.

Uri Avneri has no problem in praising Shimon Peres ("Peres gave us this week a nice surprise... he meantime left Mubarak to continue the delicate operation"). He says this at a time when the Peres-Shamir-Rabin government aggravates the murderous oppressive actions in Lebanon and

continues adhering to the 4 NO which are held in common by the Alignment and the Likud. (NO to a Palestinian State alongside Israel; NO to the withdrawal of Israel to the frontiers of June 4, 1967; NO to the PLO, NO to the international conference - IB).

As against Uri Avneri, those leaders of the "Progressive List" who are active among the Arab population, have a real problem. — to cover their true positions, which are in accordance with the positions of the official circles of the United States and Israel. But no need to worry, any time they feel a necessity to cover their positions, they open the storeroom of political jugglery and draw from it their rusty tools of slanders.

"Al-Tadamun", the organ of the "Progressive List for Peace", published on March 1, 1985 a demagogical attack against the editor of "Al-Ittihad", Emile Habibi, and against what they call "the Juheina school". The aim of the attack was to cover the support of the leadership of the "Progressive List" to the second edition of Camp David. It should be recalled that Muhammed Mi'ari (the chief Arab representative of the "Progressive List" - IB) had supported the Camp David accords...

The chairman of the "Progressive List", Dr. Rashid Salim, published in the above mentioned number of their organ an article headed: "Emile Habibi hits the legitimate Palestinian institutions and accuses Yasser Arafat with splitting the unity of the PLO". R.Salim refers to the column of E.Habibi, which was published in "Al-Ittihad" of February 22, 1985.

I suggest to the doctor to reread the column in order to find there that Emile Habibi precisely defended Yasser Arafat. But this is not the main point. The main point is the allegation of R.Salim that Emile Habibi "does not dare until now to openly hit the legitimate Palestinian institutions, feeling apprehensions at the bad results from which he suffered in the year 1959, when he stood against the national current expressed by the national leader Gamal Abed Al-Nasser, especially now when the elections to the Histadrut will be held soon."

The hour has come when the doctor and his colleagues should grow up and stop their attempts at driving a wedge between Emile Habibi and his Party. The Communist Party of Israel is not divided into "schools" and its daily new newspaper, "Al-Ittihad", expresses its policy and its pa-

triotic and revolutionary line.

To come to the point: What did really happen in 1959?

In the discussion which broke out in the year 1959, the Communist Party was right, when it rebutted - while using political and ideological arguments - the attack of the late leader, Gamal Abed Al-Nasser, against the communists and the Soviet Union.

It is true that wide circles among the Arab population in Israel did not at that time understand the dangers of that attack to the Arab national liberation movement, and did not support the Communist Party in the elections to the Knesset, which were held in that year. However, Nasser himself comprehended those dangers and stopped his attacks. Nasser himself understood the damage caused by accusing the communists as "traitors" and the Soviet Union as "red imperialism". Therefore Nasser did not only release the Egyptian communists from prison, but entrusted to them senior posts in the information service, consolidated his relations with the Soviet Union, and considered these relations until his untimely death, the corner stone in his foreign policy.

What is important to be stressed, is the fact that in the year 1959 it was not the Communist Party of Israel which stood against the national current. It was Gamal Abed Al-Nasser who, for a short time, stood against the historical current, and afterwards repented.

Doctor Rashid Salim states that Emile Habibi had accused the leadership of the PLO of betrayal. The truth is that no one could find in the articles of Emile Habibi even a single sentence which accuses the PLO with betrayal, or arouses any suspicions against the PLO. There is more to that: That self-same Rashid Salim, who stresses at the beginning of his article the right of any Palestinian to engage in polemics with the Palestinian leadership, tries to deny that right to the Israeli communists.

It is true that we had reservations in relation to the session of the Palestinian National Conference in Amman. We are also convinced that the problem which stands today in the centre of the Arab arena is - the restoration of the national unity in the framework of the PLO, which had been violated by holding the session precisely in Amman. We have also our reservations from the Arafat-Hussein ag-

reement regarding the same points which the Executive Committee of the PLO have expressed its reservation.

However at the same time we support the legitimate Palestinian institutions and consider its proper functioning a means for restoring the unity and the way towards deepening the patriotic and revolutionary attitude of the PLO - the anti-imperialist attitude has the power to foil the common plot of the US imperialism, the Israeli government and Arab reaction.

Our clear attitude towards the problems which are facing the PLO does not constitute a hostile act towards the PLO. Our loyalty to the Palestinian people has priority over our loyalty to anyone of the leadership which we do not call in question. Those who harm the PLO, its patriotic and democratic line and its political practice which is true to the interests of the Palestinian Arab people, are precisely doctor Rashid Salim and his colleagues.

We have not harmed the legitimate leadership when we dissociated ourselves from the Palestinian National Convention and negated the call for establishing a secular democratic state within the borders of mandatory Palestine. We did not harm his leadership when already years ago we called for a solution of the Palestinian problem and the establishment of just peace on the basis of the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories which were occupied in 1967, and for respecting the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own independent State in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip with Arab Jerusalem as its capital.

The historical truth is that the legitimate leadership of the PLO itself reached this solution, and formulated the Arab peace plan, which was decided upon in the Fez summit in the year 1982, and supported the Soviet peace proposals, as stated in the resolutions of the 16th session of the Palestinian National Council.

As we have already pointed out above, the timing of the attack against Emile Habibi is not a coincidence. The article of Rashid Salim which excels in accusations which are wholly invented, was published parallel to the publication of the Mubarak initiative, which calls for "direct negotiations" between an Israeli delegation and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, - without the PLO, and under the auspices of the United States. The various poli-

tical forces in Israel and in the Palestinian arena, in the Arab countries and the world were called upon "to relate to this initiative without fidgeting."

The Communist Party of Israel and the DFPE (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality) rejected from the first moment this liquidationist initiative. MK Meir Vilner defined it at the session of the leadership of the DFPE in Acre (on February 23, 1985) as "a plot against just, comprehensive and stable peace. An initiative which speaks of "peace" without a Palestinian State, without the PLO, without the Israeli withdrawal from all the territories which it occupied in 1967, without the Soviet Union and without an international peace conference - this is not a peace initiative; this is a plan aimed at liquidating the Palestinian problem; at imposing American hegemony over the Middle East and at preparing a war against Syria."

The Palestinian leaders Salah Halaf (Abu-Ayad), Khalil al-Wazir (Abu-Jihad) and others have rejected the Mubarak initiative and thus also acted the Palestinian leaders in the West Bank - Bassam Shaka, Bashir Barghouti and Mamoun El-Sayad. The Soviet Union condemned the Mubarak initiative because that initiative denies the participation of the PLO in the negotiations, and the convocation of an international peace conference.

And what was the position of the "Progressive List"? We have quoted above the clear words said by Uri Avneri in favour of the Mubarak initiative. And how did the organ Al-Tadamun react?

On its front page "Al-Tadamun" published an article which was headed "Beneficial Brevity". In that "Beneficial" article, "Al-Tadamun" states some principles: "Every initiative which...". But it does not mention even with a single word the Mubarak initiative which is now on the agenda.

Afterwards the East-Jerusalem news-paper "Al Fajer" published an interview with MK Muhammed Mi'ari (representative of the "Progressive List" -IB). In the interview Mi'ari was asked: "Do you think that the Mubarak initiative is in accordance with the principles which you have mentioned?" To this he replied: "If it will become clear that that initiative is directed at circumventing the task of the PLO, or if it is directed at eliminating the international conference, then it is an abortive attempt".

It has become clear that public opinion in the world, the rulers of Israel and the USA, and all political forces immediately comprehend the essence of that initiative (and even Uri Avneri took up a clear position), but Mi'ari has not made so far the matter clear to himself: Not only Avneri, but also Mi'ari and his friends hope that the Mubarak initiative will succeed and intend to get integrated in it. In the above mentioned interview Mi'ari favours a "multiplication" of voices in the PLO, in order to hold all the threads and to enable the opening-up of more than one channel of movement". And this is said when the Mubarak initiative is one of the possible channels ("If it will become clear...").

When the "Progressive List" appeared in the political arena, I wrote that it constitutes an American alternative and not a national alternative. But in order to cover their integration in the plot of the United States, the zionist ruling circles and the Arab reaction against the Palestinian people, they appear in the double cloak of "Jewish progressives" and "National Palestinian Arabs".

The test of the Mubarak initiative is only a further proof that I had been correct in my evaluation. "Al-Tadamun" and the leaders of the "Progressive List" may try to find shelter in the legitimate institutions of the PLO; but this will not help them in their attempt at covering their positions.

Before the Palestinian people there is no choice between "channels of movement" and "threads". From its many year long experience the Palestinian people has learned that the only line which serves its national interest is the line of the consistent anti-imperialist struggle and the adherence to the establishment of their independent State, by means of convocation of an international peace conference with the participation of the PLO and Israel, and also of the Soviet Union and the United States.

ZO HADEREKH, March 20, 1985

IN THE CAMPUSES

By Micha Vilner

HAIFA: ACTIONS OF SOLIDARITY

The whole matter started when the directorate of the Haifa University invited the police forces to enter the campus, in order to forcibly disperse a quiet sit-in of approximately one hundred Arab students who protested against the suspension from studies of two of their colleagues: The chairman of the Arab Student Committee, Amir Makhoul, and the member of the Committee, Jafar Farah. The policemen brutally attacked the participants of the sit-in and wounded a part of them; 12 students, among them Amir Makhoul, were arrested.

At the end of last week, the arrest was prolonged until the end of the juridical procedures. The prolongation of arrest because of a transgression of that sort is unprecedented and most serious; in the courts it is usual only in case of suspicion of most severe crimes, such as murder, that arrests are prolonged until the end of juridical procedures. One day after the police attack, all the Arab students held a sit-in strike and in the campus a Jewish-Arab protest meeting was held, demanding the release of the arrested.

On March 21, 1985 a demonstration took place on the road leading to the university, with the participation of hundreds of students and lecturers, and Jewish and Arab public figures from the whole country.

Among the slogans which the demonstrators raised were the following: "Set free the arrested - let them return to studies!" - "Let the directorate stop the staged trials!" - "The introduction of the police is a sign of shame for the directorate!" - "Equality and brotherhood yes discrimination no!" - "Freedom of expression and not freedom of oppression!" - "Stop encroaching upon the chairman of the Arab Student Committee!"

At the rally held after the demonstration spoke Fatin Gatas, member of the secretariat of the National Union of Arab Students, Jafar Farah, member of the Arab Students' Committee in Haifa; Muhammed al-Abdi Nassar, head of the Local Council of Arabeh village, who spoke in the name of the Arab local councils, the student David Cohen; Dr. Hubert Lo Yon, lecturer at the Haifa Technicum, Advocate Amal Khouri, Eitan Altman, representative of "Campus" at the Haifa Technicum ("Campus" is an organisation of democratic students, embracing Jews and Arabs - IB), and Member of Knesset Tawfiq Toubi. All the speakers protested against the behaviour of the University's directorate and the attack of the police on the Arab students. Some of the speakers stressed that they view seriously the fact that precisely at the universities, which are assumed to be the centre of liberty and academic freedom, brutal and anti-democratic means of oppression are being exerted against students from Haifa. MK Tawfiq Toubi, who was the last speaker, said that democracy cannot be divisible and that the occurrences at the Haifa University constitute a danger for the whole Israeli society. All the speakers emphasized that they will continue the struggle till their main demands will be fulfilled. During the speeches, the demonstrators called out: "Joint Jewish-Arab Struggle!".

The Arab Students' Committee in Haifa collected more than one thousand signatures of students and lecturers demanding the return of the suspended students and an investigation of the occurrences which brought upon the police attack. The Committee announced that they will organize further protest actions.

JERUSALEM: SUCCESS OF PROTEST

The wide protest movement, both inside the Jerusalem University and outside of it against the suspension of 5 Arab students because of their "participation in illegal demonstrations in the university premises" was successful and the punishment was abolished.

Reference is to students who interrupted the speech of the representative of the "Lebanese Forces in Israel" Pierre Yazbek, when that Israeli puppet appeared at the Jerusalem University a month ago.

Immediately when the suspension of the five students became known, the students started a protest movement against the punishment. Last Thursday, 21.3.85, lengthy ne-

negotiations were held between the students' dean of the Jerusalem university, Professor Amnon Sela, and representatives of the Arab Students' Committee. While the negotiations with the dean were going on, hundreds of Jewish and Arab students sat opposite the door for five hours, waiting for the results. The dean announced at the end of the negotiations that he abolishes the punishment in exchange of an obligation undertaken by the students "to avoid illegal demonstrations".

It must be mentioned that a week before that the racist Meir Kahana was permitted to appear at the entrance of the university. Following upon a collision which broke out between democratic students and Kahana men, the police decided to bring to court... a number of Arab students.

It should be pointed out that even the directorate of the (Jewish religious) Bar-Ilan University found it correct to prohibit Kahana from entering and demonstrating in the premises of the campus.

TEL-AVIV: AFTER 5 YEARS - A DEMONSTRATION IN THE CAMPUS

After five years, during which democratic students and lecturers at the Tel-Aviv University waged a struggle against the prohibition of holding political demonstrations in the premises of the campus, the prohibition was blown to pieces and on March 12, 1985 a demonstration took place in the campus. The demonstration was organized by a group of the Jewish-Arab "Campus" Organization; by "Forum" - a group of lecturers; the Students' Departments of Mapam and RATZ - TZAVTA and the Committee of the Arab Students.

For the decisive majority of the students the demonstration inside the campus was a new phenomenon and they were amazed at the exit of students from the lecture halls and rooms, marching to the lawn opposite the library building and saw students and lecturers hoisting banners slogan and shouting: "Open Bir-Zeit University!" - "Jewish-Arab brotherhood!" - "How long will you delay the unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon?" - "Disaster after disaster - when will you leave Lebanon?".

There were students who were amazed to see among the demonstrators lecturers who teach them. It was simply unintelligible to them that lecturers who teach history of 1,000 or 2,000 years ago, are also interested in what is happening in 1985 in the region in which they live.

As pointed out by one of the speakers at the demonstration, the representative of "Forum", Dr. Avi Oz, said that a meeting in the open was advantageous because in that way the message is brought not only to a handful of already convinced persons who meet in a hall, but to a much wider public.

Speeches made at the demonstration were very brief, delivered by representatives of the organisations which had initiated it. Michal Schechter of the "Campus" organisation pointed out that the very holding of the demonstration is an important achievement in the struggle for freedom of expression. She protested against the closing-down of the Bir-Zeit University (on the occupied West Bank - IB) and said that the same policy of the "Strong Hand" acts in Lebanon: and the refusal to admit the failure of this policy are leading to the intensification of the oppression in the occupied territories. And this is so in spite of the fact that it has been proved that the "strong hand" does not solve any problem, but only brings about disasters.

The Chairman of the Arab Students' Committee, Ahmed Abu-Hussein, said that the demonstration is the realization of the democratic right to protest against the policy of the strong hand in the occupied territories and Lebanon; He said that it appears that the authorities do not limit themselves to gagging people at Bir-Zeit and they are preparing for spreading that further and further. As an example he cited the brutal police attack against the Arab students in the Haifa University.

The representative of "Tzavta", Shlomo Slutzky, said that the holding of the demonstration constitutes the slaughter of a sacred cow - of the prohibition to hold meetings in the open. He cited other instances of sacred cows which were lately slaughtered: Among them are: "Security", (used for the justification of every warlike action), the colonial settlements, and the "national consensus". He stressed that the present demonstration slaughters the "sacred cow", according to which one cannot wage a common struggle of Jews and Arabs and of the whole peace camp.

Dr. Avi Oz, said that the lesson which the students are receiving is not less important than any lesson given to students in the framework of the usual studies.

This is so because this lesson strengthens the commitment of the students and lecturers towards what is happening outside the limits of the campus, outside the ivory tower. This lesson, he said, is most important in issues like civil freedoms, democracy and political reality.

All the speakers at the meeting demanded immediately to open the Bir-Zeit University. They also called upon the students to show more commitment towards social and political matters of interest.

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stood up firmly to repel and foil the provocations of racist Kahanism.

Our meeting denounces the measures, detentions and trials carried out by the Israeli authorities against the residents of Um- El-Fahem who stood up against Kahana, defended their village and demanded peace and equality. We ask for their release and termination of the vicious police harassments.

Popular solidarity was also revealed in the total strike of Arab local authorities early this month, which was declared against the delay by the government in the transfer of budgetary funds that were already approved. On this occasion, our meeting greets the Arab local authorities, foremostly the National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Councils which struggles for the rights of Arab local councils, equality and progress of the Arab villages.

The meeting declares that behind the smoke-screen of annexing the lands of the Arab villages to the regional Jewish councils on one hand and the closing up of regions under the pretext of military training zones on the other hand, attempts are being made by the authorities in order to expropriate thousands of Arab landowners.

In October 1982, the then minister of interior, Yousef Bourg, issued a decree No. 4416 in which he approved the zoning map according to which the Misgav regional council carries out its authorities and jurisdiction. The approved map had revealed that a total of 237 land parcels, 180,000 Dunams, have been attached to the Misgav sphere of influences. Part of these 30 thousand Dunams are private-owned land, while the remainder benefits the Arab local authorities in Eilaboun, Dier-Hanna, Arabeh, Sakhnin, Kokab, Nahif, Deir-Al-Assad, Shaab, Kaboul, Ebeleen, Kufr Manda, Rameh, Majd El Kroum, Yarka, Judaidah, Julis, Maker, Fassuta and Melia in Northern Galilee.

In face of a general wave of protest, the government decided to reconsider the issue of annexation and to return a part of these lands to the jurisdiction of Arab local councils. Agreements were reached between a number of Arab local councils and the Galilee district commissioner. However, up till now, these agreements have not included all the affected villages, especially the sizeable village of Sakhnin. On the other hand this amendment, which cancels the ministerial decree, has not been

published in the government official gazette.

Our meeting adopted number of resolutions: We demand the implementation of this amendment in the official gazette. Our meeting calls upon the Arab local councils to strongly raise their just demands such as the approval of zoning maps for Arab villages (13 zoning maps are only approved out of more than a 100 since the inception of the state). At the same time we caution against the obstruction of the issue of the "Mal" land (20,000 Dunams), thus stressing the right of the harmed land-owners for receiving suitable compensations.

The issues of jurisdiction of the Arab local councils has become a major issue due to the official policy which aims at depriving our local authorities from their natural areas of jurisdiction. For example, out of a total of 74 parcels of the lands of Melia, only 13 are considered to be under the jurisdiction of its local council, while the rest are under the jurisdiction of Jewish regional councils. The ministry of Interior has attempted to take out hundreds of Dunams away from the jurisdiction of Nazareth and Mash-had and annex them to the jurisdiction of Jewish Upper-Nazareth.

The Committee for Defence of Arab Land in Israel appeals to all Arab local authorities to examine their areas of jurisdiction and to demand the annexation of lands (located adjacent to their villages) to the jurisdiction of their local councils.

Our meeting demands the cancellation of the closing orders over large areas of land in Galilee and the Triangle which were sealed off under the pretext of military training zones. especially when it comes to the fact that the government, the Jewish Agency and the Housing Ministry are setting up settlements and watchtowers over these lands and are denying entrance to them only for their legitimate owners.

The declaration made by the Prime minister Shimon Peres regarding continuing the sealing of zone No. 9 (the Mal lands) increases our doubts that the official authorities do possess the intention to create new facts under the pretext of military training.

In face of the suffocating shortage of land area on which our Arab masses do live and in which in turn re-

sulted from land expropriations and population increase our meeting demands from the Israeli government and Israel's Land authority to allocate suitable land plots to Arab farmers and to expand the zoning areas of Arab villages. The meeting delegates the Secretariat of the Committee for Defence of Arab land to study and carry out the project for: reclaiming uncultivated land, setting up agricultural cooperatives in order to develop Arab agriculture and assist the Arab farmer to stick to his land. The Secretariat has actually begun to study these projects and it appeals to all concerned to participate in financing this project.

This meeting decided to commemorate the 9th. Land Day, which has become a national day for the Arab masses in Israel and abroad, by holding three regional festivals in Sakhnin, Taibeh and Rahat (Negev).-

The meeting has also decided to hold two demonstrations on Land Day (March 30th.), one in the Batouf between Deir Hanna and Sakhnin and the other one in Taibeh which is located in the Triangle.

The meeting calls upon the masses of our people and the local authorities to make out of this memorable day an act of unity of ranks in order to rebuff the assault of Judaization, eviction, Kahanism and racism. This meeting calls upon our brothers in the various regions to work for making this day a day of unity of ranks in defence of land, housing and the right to live here.

Defence of land is an issue of wide mass struggle for equality and democracy in Israel. It is a Jewish-Arab struggle for equal coexistence. The Israeli occupation has generated denial of legitimate right of the Palestinian Arab people, the mounting assault on democratic freedoms, and national discrimination which in turn is a two-edge weapon that with its other edge hits human rights in the Jewish society itself.

From this meeting we here declare that the Arab masses in Israel who aspire for just and lasting peace in the area which necessitates a just solution to the Palestinian problem look with extreme concern to the settlements that attempt to bypass the Palestinian Arab people and which are exemplified by the Hussein and Mubarak initiatives put forward under American hegemony and within the Camp David framework. Our Palestinian Arab masses in Israel do oppose the initiatives put forward by Mubarak, Hussein, Reagan

and Peres which all in all are nothing but a continuation of the Camp David scheme designed to impose the autonomy and American hegemony in the region. Establishing just and stable peace in the region necessitates Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories of June 1967 and recognition of the national just rights of the Palestinian Arab people including their right to self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian State under the leadership of the PLO, the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian Arab people, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

Moved by their concern for establishing peace in our region, our Arab masses in Israel reject the suspicious settlement attempts which adhere to the path of Camp David and the Reagan plan. Our masses emphasize that these attempts will never constitute an alternative to an international peace conference to be held under UN auspices with the participation of the PLO, Israel and all parties concerned, among with the Soviet Union and the United States, as called for by the United Nations.

The massacre at the mosque in the villages of Maraka and Zraria in southern Lebanon has deeply affected our masses. Only the occupation holds the responsibility for these barbaric massacres and for the vicious acts of repression which are being practiced by the Israeli army in southern Lebanon. We in this meeting join our voices to all democratic voices who are demanding the cessation of these crimes and an immediate withdrawal from Lebanon to the international borders and an end to the bloody repression which is being practiced against the residents of South Lebanon.

The meeting also condemns the vicious acts of repression committed by the occupation forces and the "civil rule" in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and also condemns the acts of terror and collective punishments from which the refugee camps and universities are suffering.

The Committee for Defence of Arab land condemns the closing down of the Bir-Zeit university and the terror directed against Al-Najah university and the Dehaisheh refugee camp. These repressive measure constitute the other face of the vicious occupation which at the same time is expanding colonial settlements.

We, the Palestinian Arabs in this country raise our

voice in condemnation of the acts of repression, assassinations and torture of thousands of Arab prisoners in the occupied territories. The year 1984 has been marked by a brave struggle of political prisoners. These days witnessed the strike of the prisoners of Ashqelon jail in protest against the prevailing conditions and in demand for better medical care and human conditions and an end to maltreatment.

From this meeting we voice our solidarity with the prisoners at the jails of Ashqelon, Jinaid and Faraa demanding the satisfaction of their just demands. We also call upon our people to assist them and to hold protest activities regarding their maltreatment,

The meeting protests against police violation of the sanctity of university campuses to suppress Arab students in total violation of democratic freedoms and free expression even in academic domain. We protest the suspension of Arab students from studies at police arrests in the campuses. Five Arab students from the Haifa university are still in detention by court decision and we call for their release and we demand an end to the policy of the iron fist in dealing with the Arabs in Israel.

We in this meeting greet the Jewish democratic forces in Israel who stood together with the just struggle of our Arab masses for Land, better housing and equality. We call upon these forces and upon the peace-loving and conscientious people in Israel to raise their voice in protest against the practices of repression and national discrimination which contradict human rights, democratic principles and equality.

To the Central Committee of the
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Dear Comrades,

We have the pleasure to extend to you our fraternal greetings on the occasion of the 13th. Congress of your Party.

We highly esteem the efforts of your party and people, together with the socialist community directed at defending world peace and at avoiding a nuclear confrontation.

The consolidation and advancing developed socialist upbuilding for the interest of the Hungarian people is in accordance with the general cause of democracy, national independence, social progress and peace.

We wish your congress fruitful work for advancing our common noble ideals.

To the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

It is with deep sorrow that we received the news of the death of Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

His death is a great loss to the Soviet people, to the World Communist Movement and to all peace and progressive forces in the world.

We share your deep grief for the death of the leader who contributed immensely to socialist upbuilding in the USSR and dedicated his life for the noble ideals of peace and socialism.

Kindly convey condolences to the family.

MARCH 85

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