

**INFORMATION BULLETIN  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL**



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## XIITH PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On March 3, 1974 the 12th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel convened, with the participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade Ali Ashour, Member of the Central Committee.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured on the attitude of the Party to the establishment of the new government. The discussion was summed up by the lecturer.

The Central Committee endorsed the lecture and the summation, and adopted the corresponding resolution.

At the beginning of the meeting Comrade Meir Vilner congratulated, on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Wolf Ehrlich, Chairman of the Central Control Commission, on the occasion of his 65th birthday.

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### On The Government Crisis

The Central Committee assesses that the principal task now before Israel is to reach just and stable peace, bring about an accord on the separation of forces with Syria, and ensure the success of the Peace Conference in Geneva.

The Central Committee considers the call to establish a government of national emergency with the extreme right "Likud" - is intended to sabotage the efforts of peace, and the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, in accordance with which the Geneva Conference was convened by the Soviet Union and the United States under the auspices of the UNO, to establish peace, guaranteeing the rights of all the peoples and states in our region.

Therefore the Communist Party of Israel continues to oppose categorically the establishment of a government of national emergency with the participation of the extreme right. A national emergency government will be a government of national disaster, foiling the Geneva Peace Conference and liable to lead to a new sanguinary war.

The Central Committee assesses, that the government crisis the fruit of the failure of traditional government policy, which, in its essential, was common to the Alignment and the Likud. It is the failure of the policy of positions of strength, of territorial annexations and negation of the Palestine Arab people, supported by the American capitalists and arms manufacturers.

The Central Committee states that there is no way out from the crisis if political activity remains within the framework of the policy which has gone bankrupt, which stands in complete contradiction to the development and correlation of forces in the world and the Middle East.

The Central Committee considers that the way out, under the existing conditions, is through the establishment of a government headed by the Alignment, which shall pursue a new, realistic policy, draw clear borderlines between their own policy and that of the Likud and the other hawks, over the fateful questions of peace, of democracy and the social sphere.

The Central Committee addresses all sections of the workers' movement, all democratic forces and champions of peace, to rally in the struggle against the establishment of a government of national unity in order to ensure the success of the Peace Conference in Geneva, and turn a new page of peace and security in the life of both the Israeli and Arab peoples.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF THE GOVERNMENT CONTRADICT ITS DECLARATIONS ABOUT PEACE

Speech of Comrade Meir Vilner in the Knesset -  
(March 10, 1974)

The debate on the establishment of the new government is held under unusual conditions, such as never before in the whole history of the State of Israel. We are going to choose a government after the great disaster of the October war, two days before the list of the fallen soldiers of that war will be published, in an atmosphere of gloom and of apprehension as to the future, when from the heart of many people the cry bursts out: No more wars! No more thousands of dead and wounded! No more widows, orphans and bereft parents! We are crying out for peace!

This is the central question. Therefore, when you again hear boastful speeches, divorced from life and from the true aspirations of the people, you reach the conclusion that it is really a tragedy that the Israeli people have not chosen a better parliament, a more realistic one, which could have chosen a really new government of peace, national independence and social progress.

What is the policy proposed today to parliament and to the people by the prime minister in her speech and in the principles laid before us?

The principles say: "The central objective of the Israeli government in the next four years is to act for achieving

a stable peace with each of the neighbouring states. The efforts of the government will be directed to exhaust the opportunities and prospects inherent in the Peace Conference convened in Geneva".

This is indeed a lofty aim which expresses the aspiration of the masses of the Israeli people, the true national interests of Israel. However to this noble objective, conditions are attached which foil it from the outset and which are liable to bring upon the Israeli people a new war disaster.

#### A NEW GOVERNMENT AND OLD DECLARATIONS

The principles of the government say that the government will not agree to withdraw to the lines of June 4, 1967, that the government will work "for the intensification of the establishment of security strongpoints and stable settlements, both urban and rural, on the soil of the fatherland" (that is in the occupied territories - I.B.), that the government will work "for developing Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, for the strengthening of its unity, the existence of its integrity".

The government thus commits itself to continue creating faits accomplis in the occupied territories and demands territorial annexations as conditions for peace.

The prime minister declared that Israel demands "defensible frontiers", stressing that the lines of June 4 are not defensible.

All this theory on defensible frontiers is nothing but camouflage for the striving for territorial expansion. Was the Suez line, the Bar-Lev line defensible? It was proved that not. And the Golan Heights - were they defensible? It is well known that they are not. For the safety of borders does not depend on their geographical or even topographical location, but on their being recognized by Israel's neighbours as the frontiers of Israel. Any attempt at imposing territorial annexations on the basis of the military occupation is just sabotage of the peace efforts.

But only territorial annexations are demanded by the new government as condition for peace. The new government,



just as the preceding one, continues denying the national rights of the Palestine Arab people. The prime minister declared today that "Israel negates the establishment of an additional separate Arab state to the west of the Jordan river". In other words: The Israeli government opposes the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, divorced from Jordan, if the Palestine Arab people should decide on establishing it in accordance with their right to self-determination. This is a grave position, stating that Israel has the right to intervene in what might happen in an area outside the State of Israel after signing the peace treaties with the Arab states.

How is it possible to take up such positions, to demand territorial annexations and to deny the right of the Palestine Arab people to establish an independent state and simultaneously declare that the objective of the Israeli government is establishing peace? These are mutually contradicting.

We warn: Let no one delude himself: the choice is not between annexations and peace. In any case there will be no annexations. The time has passed when it was possible to forcibly annex territories of other states. The choice lies between peace without annexations, the recognition of the rights of all the peoples and states in our region and a new war, which is liable to imperil Israel and world peace.

Being interrupted by a question, in whose name he was giving that warning, Comrade M. Vilner replied:

In the name of the bitter experience we have undergone.

#### OUR POSITION TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT - ACCORDING TO ITS RELATION TOWARD WAR AND PEACE

In accordance with the government's position toward the fateful and decisive question of war and peace, we determine our own position toward the government. Peace will to a great degree determine the feasibility of solving the grave social questions of Israel, the decrease of the immense military budget, the turning of big resources to development, housing, to educational and health services, to the liquidation of the slums, to concern for the released soldiers, the wounded and the thousands of families of the fallen.

The government did not draw any fundamental conclusions from the October 1973 war. It wishes to continue its old policy with slight alterations, which do not alter the fallacious political and military conceptions which brought upon the Israeli people the disaster of the October war and which were essentially held in common by the (ruling) Alignment and the (extreme right) "Likud". That policy suffered inevitable defeat. It is detached from reality and from the correlation of forces in the world and in the region. It was built upon positions of strength, leaning on American power. That policy cannot be repaired, reconstructed or repainted. That fallacious policy must be abandoned if peace and security are desired, if one does not wish to miss the historic opportunity now existing, to achieve a just and durable peace for the good of all the peoples.

After the elections, in view of the correlation of forces in parliament, we proposed the establishment of a government headed by the Alignment, which would pursue a realistic policy of peace, which would act for the success of the Geneva Conference. The government would also act in the interest of the working people and for the preservation of the democratic freedoms, and put an end to the scandal of restriction orders against communists and other champions of peace, orders which are operative till this day.

We said that the main lesson of the October war is that the foundations of the policy of the government and of the "Likud" alike have broken down. We said that the problem is not this or that military blunder, but the very conceptions themselves, both political and military, that are divorced from reality and lacking any perspective. Life has proved that we were right and foresaw the future.

When some short while ago, a minority government of the Alignment and the Independent Liberals was to be established, resulting from the pressure of the extremists within the National-Religious Party, we were prepared to lend a hand in order to foil the attempts of the extreme right "Likud" and their toadies, to prevent the establishment of a government. The aim of "Likud" was to deepen the crisis, to delay the negotiations on an agreement with Syria about the separation of forces, to wreck the Geneva Conference even before it has entered the stage of deliberations on the fundamental questions of peace. Isolating the "Likud" and the hawks in other parties is a vital interest of the Israeli people.

The extreme right "Likud" is a danger for the State of Israel, its integrity and security. It is a positive fact that the extreme right "Likud", the hawks in the National-Religious Party and their hangers-on in the Labour Party, such as Dayan and Aharon Yariv, did not succeed in imposing on the state a "national emergency government", which would have blocked the road toward peace. However, the continuation of the previous policy within the framework of a coalition, the same as before - the same parties and even the same chief personalities - this too will block the road toward peace.

Within the framework of the policy of annexations and denial of the rights of the Palestine Arab people, there can be no stability of authority. The policy of the Alignment and the government has paved the road to strengthening the forces of the extreme right. The danger of the "Likud" and their henchmen taking power into their hands can be curbed, can be rebuffed, if the government will take steps leading to peace, if it will act for solving the difficult social questions.

For what is the root of the governmental crisis? The root of the crisis lies in the crisis of the traditional Israeli policy. This is a policy - hopeless in our day and time. This is a policy of serving the Washington rulers against the Arab national liberation movement and against the Soviet Union. This is a policy which has suffered complete failure and this is why there is no peace.

#### The dangers inherent in the old line

The principles of the new government announced today in parliament by the prime minister, prove that there is no fundamental change in government policy. The prime minister pointed out that the government will go to the Geneva Conference and labelled the separation of forces agreed upon with Egypt as positive. So far so good. These steps were taken by the outgoing government only under pressure; the great danger now lies in the perilous delaying tactics of government, liable to lead to a new war conflagration.

The new minister - who was very near to becoming the war minister - Yitzhak Rabin, said in an interview published in "Davar" on February 22, 1974, that "the third option was to make a provisional arrangement, i.e. a separation of forces including any determination of the overall

settlement. Its main objective is to gain time. This interval is important for yet another reason. If we come to political deliberations in the summer of 1974, it is very probable that we will find ourselves in an easier position in the USA with respect to the crystallization of more aggressive positions toward the Soviet Union, in direction of greater hesitation to an approachment to the Russians, of more suspiciousness toward the latter's fundamental intentions. Apart from that, there are elections to the Congress and of a third of the senators in November 1974, and this is not a time when America will collide with us in fixing easier comprehensive terms for the settlement".

This is the allegedly sophisticated philosophy of the new minister Yitzhak Rabin, who expresses the attitude of the government.

According to him, the accord about the separation of the forces was not made in order to prevent a conflagration and to create easier conditions for the success of the Geneva Peace Conference, but in order to gain time, perhaps until the next war.

All these calculations revealed a lack of political realism. As though there were no fundamental reasons for changes in U.S. policy, as it had been expressed until now. As though changes in the world and the region to the detriment of the Washington rulers did not force them to pursue a new tactic after the failure of the policy attempting to impose Washington's wishes on the Middle East with the assistance of Israel.

U.S. policy in our region is isolated in the world and within NATO itself. If we interpret the speech of the minister-designate, Yitzhak Rabin, the government constructs its foreign policy on the ruin of peaceful coexistence, on aggravating international tension, particularly between the USA and the Soviet Union, on an intensification of the danger of world war.

This philosophy, underlying the policy of the government, contradicts completely the true national interests of the Israeli people, which can expect only disasters if there should be a world war or if the international situation should deteriorate.

THE SOLUTION DOES NOT LIE IN EMIGRATION BUT IN  
STRUGGLE

Gentlemen, be a bit more realistic, if the fate of the Israeli people is dear to you. The atmosphere in our country is turbid. Despair, helplessness and disappointment are wide-spread. Charismatic and non-charismatic gods were demolished. So far so good. The way out cannot be despair and leaving of the country. The stream of emigration from the country is growing from day to day, and among the emigrants are not a few young people born in the country. They do not want to die, they do not want to suffer the growing poverty. They wish to live in peace and security in human circumstances of life. This is a natural instinct. But we say to them that the solution is not in leaving the field of struggle, but in the struggle for changing Israeli reality, in establishing peace and in changing the social regime in Israel. The international development is favourable to this.

Every time the government try to put obstacles on the path to peace, they intensify the incitement against the Soviet Union, using falsification of its policy. The Soviet Union contributes an enormous share to peace in our region.

Gentlemen, is it not true that Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon - all the neighbours of Israel - are ready for a just and stable peace with the State of Israel on the basis of implementing the resolutions of the Security Council which include recognition of the right to sovereign existence of the State of Israel and conclusion of stable peace treaties with it? Was it not the Soviet Union which has contributed greatly toward that development? And here is no contradiction at all with the recognition of the principle that a people under foreign military occupation has the right to use all means in order to free themselves from occupation. What prevents peace is the occupation, is the denial of the rights of the Palestine Arab people.

Within the Palestine national liberation movement positive changes are occurring, and it would only benefit peace if the representative of the Palestine Arab people - the Palestine Liberation Organization - would join the Geneva Conference, convened on the basis of the Security Council resolutions.

IT IS POSSIBLE TO IMPLEMENT A PLAN FOR JUST  
AND REAL PEACE

Members of parliament, I wish to conclude by saying that our parliamentary faction has decided to vote against the government. We will vote against the government because its principles contradict the cause of peace, because it continues the policy of brutal oppression in the occupied areas, because its social policy is directed against the workers and toilers, because it tramples underfoot the democratic freedoms within Israel, because it continues its policy of discriminating and oppressing the Arab population in Israel, because the policy of communal discrimination continues.

At the same time we declare that if the government will bring before parliament for ratification positive issues such an agreement with Syria about a separation of forces, we will support it, just as we supported the agreement on the separation of forces with Egypt. We will support any step serving peace, democracy and the right of the toilers; we will oppose anything to their detriment.

And a last word: Our parliamentary faction believes that today, more than ever before, it is necessary to realize a realistic programme for stable peace, based on ensuring the rights of the State of Israel, the Arab states and the Palestine Arab people, a peace programme based on the following points: Withdrawal from the areas occupied in 1967; recognition of the right to sovereign existence and territorial integrity of the State of Israel and the Arab states; respecting the national rights of the Palestine Arab people; guaranteeing free navigation for Israel as for all states, in the Suez Canal and the Tiran Straits.

The peace accords shall include special arrangements for security, such as: demilitarized zones, introduction of UNO forces which no side can remove of its own accord.

The peace accords shall include effective international guarantees, under the auspices of UNO and with the participation of the great powers.

We call for a front of all peace forces, irrespective of ideological differences, for cooperation and coordination of action among all forces of political realism.

Never before has there been a period so decisive for the destiny of the State of Israel. Let us be equal to the height of historic responsibility.

## INTENSIFICATION OF OPPRESSION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Speech of Comrade Tawfiq Toubi in the Knesset on  
February 11, 1974.

Comrade T. Toubi earlier proposed to put on the Knesset agenda the subject of the Intensification of Oppression in the Occupied Territories. Notwithstanding this fact, the Chairman of the Knesset, changed the subject to read instead: "Activities of the Authorities in the Administered Territories" !!

Comrade T. Toubi insisted on the characterisation of subject as stated in his own proposal and then enumerated the reasons for his motion:

Instead of drawing the necessary lessons from the October war, instead of reaching the realistic conclusion that it is impossible to continue for long the occupation of the Arab territories occupied in June 1967: the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, instead of relinquishing the bankrupt policy of perpetuating the occupation and negating the rights of the Palestine Arab people, and begin preparing the soil for a relinquishing of understanding and cooperation, instead of all this, the Israeli authorities are aggravating the policy of oppression and persecution against the population of the occupied areas and poisoning still more the relations between the two peoples.

In the month of December 1973, the authorities renewed the process of expelling inhabitants from the occupied territories and particularly public figures, thus evolving a tide of widest protest all over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. On December 10, 1973 eight public figures from the West Bank were deported: Abdul Jawad Salah, the mayor of al-Bireh; Jireis Oudeh, a teacher from al-Bireh; Damin Hsein Oudeh, of the trade union leadership in Ramallah, the physician Dr. Walid Kamhawi; advocate Hussein Jacob; Arabi Moussa Awad and Shaker Muhammed abul Hijleh - the last four all from Nablus, and advocate Abdul Mihsen abu Mayzer of Jerusalem.

The deportation which contradicts international law, and the elementary human rights was carried out, cynically

enough, on the International Day of Human Rights, the Day Commemorating the Adoption of the Charter of Human Rights by the UNO. This was a cruel act as these persons were taken in the dark of night from their homes, torn from their families and deported by force to Jordan via the desert in Wadi Arabeh, while the Israeli soliders fired after them, threatening to shoot them if they do not proceed into Jordanian territory.

The Israeli authorities are talking a great deal these days about the Geneva Convention, but to expel from his homeland even one who had committed a crime, contradicts the spirit and text of the Geneva Convention. This brutal act, frequently repeated, empties, Israeli government leaders talk about the Geneva Convantion, of all moral validity.

The inhuman expulsion of these public figures from their homeland has evoked a wide tide of protest in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, where women, students and workers demonstrated and protested in public against this violation of elementary human rights. All the mayors and heads of local councils in the West Bank condemned this grave act and demanded the return of the deported persons.

The authorities threaten with expulsion to Jordan more persons, such as: Youssef Nasri Nasir and Jamil Hamed, the proprietors of the newspaper "Al Fajer" published in Arab Jerusalem. And only a temporary order nisi of the Supreme Court delayed the carrying out of the expected deportation. But the public in the West Bank was shocked last week by the kidnapping of Mr Youssef Nasir from his home by unknown persons and his complete disappearance under suspicious circumstances. No one can relieve the authorities from responsibiliyt for this grave event.

The occupation authorities ordered in December the closing of the Bit-Zeit College, something they had not dared do in the course of all the years of occupation. Dozens of pupils and students were thrown into prison. Do the representatives of the government think that such deeds are committed without releasing reactions in the world?

In December the occupation renewed demolishing houses. On December 9, five houses were demolished in the Jenin area. Houses were also demolished in the neighbourhood of Hebron and Nablus. Wide-spread administrative



detentions were carried out in various places. In January more than 200 residents of Nablus were detained and many of them are still under arrest, and their families do not even know what is happening to their sons.

For instance: On January 5, Wajdi Kamhawi, 25, and Bassat Abdul Razak Amireh, 20, of Nablus were detained. Their families turned to the authorities for information about their destiny, the representatives of the town demanded to know where the detained are, but all in vain. Their defence counsel who requested to visit them, was refused permission till this day, and no requests helped. Even the cable sent by Member of Knesset Tawfiq Toubi to the War Minister asking him to deign and divulge information about the detainees' fate, where the detainees are being kept - has been left after two weeks without any reply.

Heavy apprehension exists that these detainees and numerous others are undergoing days of hard physical torture, and this apprehension is based on bitter experience. The tragic case of the student Farid Tashtoush, who died last summer in the torture chambers of the Nablus prison stands before the residents of Nablus as a horrid symbol. The crime against Farid Tashtoush and other victims of the policy of occupation are a sign of shame for the occupation authorities and an alarm signal.

Hadije abu- Arqoub, the young widow from the village of Durra in the Hebron district, was detained at the end of December and since then she has been undergoing various ordeals of physical torture and threats of being raped and had hair pulled out, in order to make her confess acts which she had not committed. Until now there is no indictment against her neither has been any trial, and no one of her family can meet her. These are recent examples of deeds carried out by the executors of the policy of occupation and oppression who ignore the wishes of the Palestine Arab people. Will the Knesset keep silent in the face of these crimes?

Anyone following the measures of the authorities in the occupied territories knows that these actions of oppression are intended to prevent the masses of the Palestine Arab people in the occupied areas from revealing their position and raising their voice for their elementary right to self-

determination, at a time when the Middle East crisis is on the agenda of the Geneva Conference, subsequent to the October war; to prevent them from expressing their identification with those whom they consider to be their competent representatives to speak on their behalf, i.e. the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was recognized by the Arab Summit Conference as the authorized representative of the Palestine Arab people.

The occupation authorities reacted by intensifying oppression and pressures against the manifestations of identification with the decisions of the Arab Summit Conference in Algiers, which took up a position in favour of a just peaceful solution based on the implementation of the Security Council resolutions and respect to the legitimate rights of the Palestine Arab people.

The purpose of the intensified oppressive act is to buttress the shaken position of King Hussein among the population of the occupied areas, to strengthen the positions of his henchmen, to prevent the Palestine Arab people in the occupied areas from determining freely their destiny and future, and attempt imposing arrangements contradicting their wishes, at a time when the hour strikes when the Israeli regime of occupation in these areas comes to an end.

The invitation of personalities and public representatives such as directors of schools, trade union leaders, or members of the Supreme Moslem Council in Jerusalem, to meet representatives of the authorities, in order to threatening them with arrest and deportation because they had expressed their support of the decisions of the Arab Summit Conference, specifically with respect to the representation of the Palestine Arab people - is a new peak of terror against the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

Political censorship of the Arab press appearing in Jerusalem has been aggravated to such a degree as even disqualifying criticism of King Hussein and his regime. The kidnapping and disappearance of Youssef Nasri Nasir, the editor of the Arab Jerusalemite "Al-Fajar". is apparently connected with this.

Lately the activities of overt and covert pressure and intimidation, against personalities from the occupied

areas have been intensified, in order to prevent their participation in the Palestine National Conference which is to convene this month in Cairo. This session is destined to clarify the participation of representatives of the Palestine Arab people in the Geneva Conference. The representatives of the authorities have threatened anyone daring to take part in it, with arrest and deportation. The occupation authorities are for "open bridges", but now it becomes clear that anyone who visits King Hussein, who expresses loyalty to him and sits in the Jordanian senate, enjoys the good wishes of the Israeli government's representatives. But whoever wants to take part in political deliberations about the Palestinian participation in the Geneva Conference for advancing the solution based on just peace - commits a crime. This is crude political intervention intended again to prevent the Palestine Arab people from exercising their natural right to determine their future and destiny. This is opposed to the interest of peace and the interest of the Israeli people. These activities of oppression, wide detentions, demolishing of houses, expulsion from the homeland, tortures in jails, pressure and threats against public figures, cause great suffering to the families, parents, sons, wives and to the people's masses, but they are not capable of breaking the strength of a people whose insistence upon exercising their legitimate rights, and whose resistance to the occupation has been strengthened by the years of occupation,

The Israeli government continues, in contradiction to all reason, to ignore the repeated resolutions of the UNO institutions, and international organizations, which condemn its violations of international law and the Geneva Convention; its trampling underfoot of human rights in the occupied territories; its encroachment upon the rights of the individual and the people. But they ought to learn from bitter experience. The war minister and other ministers ought to learn from the failure of their policy which led to the October war and its human sacrifice. They will be forced to withdraw from the (West) Bank and also from the (Golan) Heights and from the (Gaza) Strip too. Do not condemn the people to pay with more sacrifice, do not deepen the enmity and hatred by cruel oppressive activities. Leave room for the healing of wounds and for building bridges to understanding and cooperation. The Israeli people will have to live together, for a long time, not with Hussein,

but with the Palestine Arab people, who will be free and realize their rights.

Not for long will the tactics of dodging issues be of any avail. As long as one does not take into consideration the legitimate rights of the Palestine people, their right to self-determination, there will be no peace and quiet, there will be no stable and just peace.

We call upon the government to stop the oppressive measures - detentions, expulsions, house demolition and threats. The detainees must be released and the sons must be returned to their families. The Israeli government must respect human rights and international conventions in the occupied territories in the interests of peace and the future of relations between the two peoples. For this purpose we propose a debate on this theme in the Knesset.

( Zo Haderekh, Feb. 13, 1974.)

## LAWS OF OCCUPATION CONTRADICT THE GENEVA CONVENTION

Speech of Communist M.K. Tawfiq Zayad in the Knesset debate on the prolongation of the validity of the Emergency Regulations in the occupied territories.

At the beginning of his speech, in the debate on the prolongation of the validity of the Emergency Regulations in the occupied areas, held on January 28, 1974 in the Knesset, Member of Knesset Tawfiq Zayad said:

In accordance with the tradition of this House, I welcome Member of Knesset Nof, who preceded me. I hope that he be influenced to the better, by the new wind blowing in our region.

Member of Knesset Nof (of the Free Centre, one of the parties making up the extreme right bloc "Likud" - IB) is, as I have heard, also an artist, a composer. This gladdens me. I wish that he exert his best efforts for mutual understanding, just peace and brotherhood of peoples - together with Arab artists in this country.

### In the occupied territory there is no law nor administration of justice

Mister chairman, the law for prolonging the validity of the Emergency Regulations (in the areas administered by the Israeli army in our jurisdiction in criminal affairs and judicial assistance), which is presented for renewal every year since 1967, is part of the legislative system and judicial and administrative process intended to uphold the regime of occupation in the Arab areas occupied in June 1967, and assist in its perpetuating. Offering judicial assistance, as stipulated by this law within the framework of the military courts in the occupied territories, was not intended to maintain law and life, but implement a policy of oppression and deny the legal rights of the population in the occupied areas.

We, Communists, opposing the occupation and the activities of the occupation authorities intended to perpetuate it, and aspiring to end the regime of occupation to further

just peace and good neighbourly relations between the two peoples; rejected the proposed law in the past and do so today, and thus propose to return it to the government.

The Israeli occupation authorities and the representatives of the Israeli government speak boastingly about law and order and the administration of justice in the occupied territories. But the entire system of military administration of justice, and all legislation covering the occupied territories have only one purpose and object - to maintain a regime of oppression and negate the right of the Palestine Arab people in the occupied territories, to live freely in their homeland and build it in accordance with their wishes.

We heard a lot of statements by government spokesmen, in the days following the October war, about the Geneva Convention. We support observance of the Geneva Convention by all sides. However how did the Israeli government act in the occupied areas and how did it respect the Geneva Convention, approved on August 12, 1949, with respect to the defence of civilians in wartime?

#### In contradiction to the Geneva Convention

At the beginning of the occupation, Proclamation Number 3 was published, stating that an order on security instructions was becoming operative. Paragraph 35 of the order determined the following matters: "A military court and an administrative body of military court will observe the instructions of the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 concerning protection of civilians in wartime in everything connected with judicial processes. The proclamation stressed that whenever there is a contradiction between this order and the Convention, the instructions of the Convention are preferable".

But at a later stage, by Order Number 144 of the Command of the Israeli armed forces, in the area of the West Bank, published on December 29, 1967, that paragraph was cancelled and since then the military courts do not accept any pleas for the protection of civilians, brought to the military courts on the basis of the Geneva convention.

Paragraph 31 of the Convention lays down: "No pressure,

neither psychological nor physical, is to be used against the protected civilians, particularly, to extract information from them or from a third party". However the prisons and jails are filled with innumerable stories about tortures and there have been cases of torture to death. Many prisoners and detainees have become victims of physical or psychological incapacity as the result of those tortures. The recent death of Farid Tashtoush, a student from Nablus, in detention, last July, is a heavy indictment of the occupation authorities.

Paragraph 50 of the Convention states - I quote: "No collective punishment whatsoever must be imposed on the inhabitants, either in the form of money or any other form, because of acts of individuals, for which the inhabitants ought not to be regarded as responsible as a group". But collective, environmental punishment has been, all the time, an inseparable part of daily life in the occupied areas. The list of such punishments is as long as the night of occupation.

Paragraph 53 of the Convention lays down: "The occupying power is forbidden to confiscate real estate or destroy movable property belonging to an individual, a group or state". But the occupation authorities ignored the instructions of this paragraph of the convention and confiscated land, and closed some to their proprietors, in the Gaza Strip, in the Rafah area, in the Latrun area, in the area of Hebron, Bethlehem, Nablus and the Jordan Valley. All this for colonialist settlement and for creating accomplished facts. In contradiction to the instruction of this paragraph, thousands of houses were demolished in the Gaza Strip, in the West Bank and in the Golan Heights, and the number of houses demolished is estimated at more than 17 thousand.

Paragraph 49 of the Convention determines: "Coercive transfer of individuals or masses, of protected persons and their expulsion are prohibited, whatever the motive". In spite of this paragraph peaceful citizens were expelled in order to realize the sanctity of the occupation authorities' concept: "A maximum of territory with a minimum of population". Since hundreds of thousands were expelled from the occupied areas, in the course of years since occupation, a great number of them have been turned into refugees for the second time in their

lifetime. These expulsions constitute a means of punishment against patriotic and popular leaders. In spite of the above paragraph, leaders, public figures, students, intellectuals, workers' leaders, thousands of detainees and convicted persons were, at the end of their detention, expelled from their homeland into the desert, thus endangering their lives. The most recent, glaring example is the deportation of the eight patriotic leaders on October 10, 1973. This act of expulsion is a link in the long chain of expulsions. The reaction was a broad popular protest movement against the occupation, involving all the towns and villages in the occupied territories.

#### The Palestine Arab People are United

The truth, proved day after day by recent intensification of the mass struggles, is that the Palestine Arab people as a whole are united - this includes all patriotic and popular institutions and forces - under the leadership of their Patriotic Democratic Front, in striving to free themselves from the yoke of occupation.

It is time to understand that the Palestine Arab people is the legitimate and sole proprietor of their occupied land. They are the nearest neighbouring people to the Israeli people, and an understanding with them is the supreme national interest of the Israeli people. The understanding and accord with them cannot be but only on the basis of recognition of their legitimate rights, and first and foremost their right to rid themselves of the occupation and realize their right to self-determination and the right of the refugees to return or to receive compensations, in accordance with U.N.O. resolutions. It is impossible to build the future of one people on the ruins of another.



## HOW CAN WE SPEED UP THE RETURN OF THE PRISONERS FROM SYRIA

Speech of Comrade A. Levenbraun in the Knesset

The problem of our prisoners in Syria is a painful one and occupies the thoughts of all citizens of the State of Israel. All of us would like to see them returning home. The question is what is the best way, the most correct one, to speed up their return.

The problem of prisoners-of-war, besides being a humanitarian one, is a result of the last war. It can find its solution within the framework of the efforts for a solution capable of achieving just and durable peace in our region, in accordance with the latest resolution of the Security Council, and through deliberations in the Geneva Conference.

The attempt to exploit the problem of the prisoners-of-war in Syria, in order to negate the cease-fire agreements, and oppose any step which could bring about an advance in the Geneva talks, only undermines acceleration the prisoners' release. The latest declaration of the prime minister, that the Golan Heights are a part of the State of Israel does not contribute anything to bring peace closer, but intensifies the tension at the frontiers, causes additional victims and makes the solution of the problem of the prisoners more difficult. Whoever wishes sincerely for a solution of the prisoners-of-war problem, cannot divorce it from the problem of peace in the region. No one has a monopoly over patriotism and loyalty. The best patriotism is the concern for peace. Not those who want to kill more Arabs and who want more territories are patriots.

One must carry out acts which are conducive to the prisoners-of-war's release.

("Zo-Haderekh", Feb. 20, 1974).

## THE INFLATED MILITARY BUDGET INDICATES THE DANGER OF A NEW WAR

Speech by Comrade Abraham Levenbraun in the Knesset during the debate on the supplementary budget.

The bill on the supplementary budget proposed by the finance minister, proves first of all the unstable situation of the Israeli state and economy. If in the last months of the budgetary year it is necessary to propose a supplementary budget of 11,323 million liras, an addition totalling more than 50% of the original budget, then the situation is very unhealthy, and proves the failure of government policy in all spheres, both the political and economic.

The budget is an instrument of government policy, and this holds true for the supplementary budget, which expresses too the continuation of the policy whose failure was proved in the October war. The very same lines which characterized the original budget appear also in the supplementary budget, in still sharper form: Immense amounts for military expenditures, an increased tax burden, reduced services, and in addition: restriction of subsidies for stabilizing prices of the most vital commodities. Out of the supplementary budget of 11,323 million liras (approximately 2,510 US \$ -IB), 9,288 million liras are earmarked for military expenditure, while the other ministries - housing, national insurance and others - are to receive the leftover. The education budget was reduced by 128 million liras, curtailing by this sum state participation in higher education. Apparently there is no need any more for higher education...

Comrade Levenbraun spoke also about the favours granted to the capitalists, at a time when a heavier yoke is being put on the workers, and pointed out working class opposition to the cancellation of subsidies.

The finance minister tries to explain this situation by underlying the price of the war. He puts things in such a way as if the workers were to blame for the war and

therefore have to pay its price. The people do not have to be told how great the price of war is; they feel it in their bones, in every sense of the word. The truth is that it is government policy which is to blame for our sinking into war and the people are now called upon to pay the price of the failure of the government policy.

#### Only in peace is there security

We are today at the end of the first stage in the process of implementing the agreement on the separation of forces, and there are prospects for advancing towards a settlement based on just peace in the region, if the Israeli government implements Security Council resolution 338.

The supplementary budget and the preparations for the new 1974/75 budget prove that this government has not learned anything from the experiences of the latest political events. Continuation of the inflated military budget arouses apprehension that there are people who wish to create a new status quo and try to perpetuate it. We warn against such a policy for it is liable to lead us to new wars. If the government wants peace, and according to the war minister, the Egyptians want peace, why is such a big budget for military expenditures necessary? These amounts are necessary not only to pay the price of the last war. They are earmarked for additional purchases at a much bigger scale than in the past.

Members of Knesset, if the issue is the security of Israel, it has been proved that it does not depend on the quantity of arms or their type held in Israel's hands. Only peace can ensure security. And today there is a real prospect for achieving a just and stable peace in our region: Peace can be achieved only by the full implementation of Security Council resolution 338 which also includes Security Council resolution 242.

This is the road to peace in our region. No sophistry and attempts at stopping in the middle of the road can be of any avail, bring peace or decrease the gigantic military expenditures.

Since the supplementary budget does not reflect any change in the policy of the government towards peace and ensuring the people's prosperity, we propose to return the proposed budget to the government.

## GOVERNMENT ASSISTS CAPITALISTS IN ACCUMULATING PROFITS

Speech of M.K. Meir Vilner in the Knesset on January 30,  
1 9 7 4

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The Knesset adopted with a narrow majority of 39 against 34 votes, 4 abstaining, the proposal to transfer to committee the bill for prolonging the validity of the Emergency Regulations (supervision of commodities and services).

The Communist parliamentary faction abstained. Member of Knesset, Comrade Meir Vilner explained this abstention, he said:

The regulation being moved concerns the supervision of commodities and services. I wish to quote accurately the essential paragraph, so that it becomes clear to what degree it is formal and unoperative: "No one, in carrying out his business, shall hoard any commodity under supervision, conceal it, delay its marketing or refuse unreasonably to sell any commodity under supervision which he has in stock, whether or not any price has been set for it". The explanation accompanying the regulation, says that its purpose is, *inter alia*, "to prohibit hoarding commodities, and preventing them from reaching the market".

It has been proved these days that the government, and the minister of commerce and industry, do not only abstain from carrying out this regulation, but are giving a free hand to help those accumulating additional profits. At a time when prices for the most vital commodities have been drastically raised, the government assists the wholesale dealers, importers, suppliers, the millionaires - in accumulating profits. The problem is that the government wittingly and out of conscious impotence, has enabled, these days, the richest ones to accumulate profits, at a time when the wide masses are suffering from drastic price rises.

### The Social Policy of "Hawks"

In the context of this policy of enabling the richest

people to make these "emergency" profits, I want to say that this word "subsidies" is a false expression.

The government has never given any subsidies to the public, for this is not the money of the government, this is the money of the public, of the taxpayer, this is the money taken from the toilers, from the masses, from all the popular strata, by means of direct and indirect taxes. Therefore where is the favour? This was part of the economic calculation to rob the poor still more.

To our great regret, one can say that the public considers - and rightly so - that the differences between the economic and social policy of the Alignment (ruling bloc of parties - IB) and the "Likud" (extreme right bloc - IB) are narrowing, if they exist at all. Ministers Bar-Lev, Sapir and others, who politically are defined as "doves", socially, or better said, anti-socially, compliment the "hawks".

The war, which was not necessary, cost according to one version, 22 thousand million Israeli liras - till now. Other say much more. (Meantime, the finance minister P. Sapir, announced that the war cost 30 thousand million liras - IB). The US government, which had a hand in all the wars, participates, partly by grants, and partly by donations. But many thousands of millions must be paid by the working class and by the broad strata of the people. And at the same time war profits are accumulated. A calculation made in the press - and not denied - shows that the war ministry alone ordered during 2 years, equipment and various kinds of services (including construction I.B) in the country, amounting to 10 thousand million liras. It has been reckoned, and I accept the calculation made by those economists, that the average profit rate is 20%, that is to say the profit reaches 2,000 million liras. This does not reach the pocket of the public, but that of a relatively very small number of millionaires, who are increasing their capital, their profits, and in simple language their war profits.

### Solidarity with the Struggles of

#### Seamen, Panthers and Women

At the same time, in addition to the anti-worker and anti-social steps of the government, perhaps the gravest one

ever taken, was that the passenger branch of the Israeli merchant navy is being liquidated, in order to save some millions, but consequently about 250 families would be deprived of their livelihood. We express solidarity with the seamen who held a three-day protest-strike. We also understand and are in solidarity with all the actions taken by workers' committees, by Black Panthers, by the Movement of Democratic Women and other organizations, against the pernicious increase of prices, and the policy of the government in these spheres.

I wish to express appreciation of the fact that there have been Members of Knesset belonging to the Alignment, who dared, perhaps for the first time, to vote against the proposed supplementary budget, proposed by the government yesterday. This shows that the anger in the public is so great that Members of Knesset were found who could not vote otherwise. Of course this does not mean that I identify myself with them in everything. It is important that additional steps be taken in the direction of social progress, in the direction of peace, and that more Members of Knesset and personalities dare consider, first and foremost, the interests of the people, the interest of the State of Israel, and not to toe the line of the government, which leads to misfortunes of war and robs the working masses.

### Vigilance of the Public

#### Must not Be Lulled

We really should not adopt decisions about such fictitious regulations of supervision of the stock etc., as if there is anyone to supervise. We should adopt a fundamental decision: if the government moving towards peace or towards a new war. If towards peace - it will be possible to decrease considerably the military budget.

We propose, therefore, no fictitious regulations, pretending that there is anyone to supervise. Yes, perhaps there is supervision of the workers' wages. There is concern that the prices may rise. But there is

no tax for war profits. This really cries to heaven, that on the one side the poor are made poorer, the real wage of the workers decreases, and at the same time the rich are getting still richer. And all this is managed by the government.

Therefore I propose not to adopt these emergency regulations. First of all, in order to supervise - there is no need to have any emergency regulations; this ought to be a normal provision of the law. Secondly, I propose not to create in the public the impression as if the ministry of

commerce and industry supervises the wholesale dealers, the importers, and impedes them.

The opposite is true: it helps them. And any such regulation comes only to lull the vigilance of the consumers, of the workers and housewives, of anyone who suffers from government policy.

("Zo Haderekh, FEB. 6, 1974).

## WHO IS TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF THE WAR ?

*By Hans Lebrecht*

"The estimated defence budget for this year and the next (1973/74 and 1974/75) is 14,000 million IL (Israeli lira- 4.20 IL=One U.S dollar). But the Yom Kippur War (October 1973) has added IL 20,000 million to this figure - and even this does not represent the whole cost of the war" - Minister of Finance, Pinhas Sapir, informed the HISTADRUT Executive Board on January 24, 1974.

The figure of IL/20,000 m. does not include the 2.200 m. dollar, the U.S.A. government has decided to contribute to the Israeli war effort (this sum will remain in the U.S.A. and fill the pockets of armament kings with whom Senator Jackson and his like are allied). It does not include also the sum Sapir hopes to raise through Zionist channels. In all, the true figure of the cost of the 19 days fighting in October and the loss in production of Israeli economy (estimated at IL 40 m. a day through October/November 1973 and about IL 25 m. daily in December 1973/January 1974) caused by lack of manpower due to the workers being drafted in the army, is over 30,000 m. Israeli lira ( 7,150 m. dollar) the figure given to the U.S.A. Senate when being asked to approve the 2.200 m. dollar grant and credit.

Sapir's figure of IL 20,000 million represents probably the sum he and his government intend to squeeze out of the Israeli economy in addition to the huge amount of funds already overloading the taxpayer. And sure enough, the additional taxes and resources for the state coffers will also in future not be taken from the ever rising profits of the banks or foreign and local monopoly capital. As an example, one of the last bills passed by the outgoing Knesset in December 1973 (i.e. after the October war) gave further preference to capital investment by tax relief for the next 10 - 20 years. In January of this year, the government resolved to add more incentives to exporters.

While Sapir called upon the popular masses to tighten their belt and decrease "private consumption", the first published financial bank and investment companies sheets for the year 1973 show rising profits. It seems quite



true to agree with the young publicist Y. Gefen, who wrote from the Suez front in October, that "the only thing that remained from the 'Bar-Lev-Line' are the villas the construction contractors built somewhere far from the front". (The Bar-Lev-Line was the Israeli defence fortifications along the Suez canal whose erection cost the Israeli taxpayer 1,500 m. IL. it was captured by the Egyptian army in six hours).

The "General Mortgage Bank" (a subsidiary of Bank Leumi LjIsrael" had in 1973 an operational profit of 28 p.c. above the one in 1972. It increased its profit per paid share to 34 p.c. and registered a cash dividend of 17 p.c. Another subsidiary of the "Bank Leumi", the "Bank Leumi Investment Co.", increased its investments by 50 p.c. and its share capital and reserves by 61 p.c. and the profit per share rose from 21 p.c. to 23 p.c.. The industrial bank "Otzar Hata'assiya" had, after doubling its capital reserves (which are in reality also profits) in 1973 a 32 p.c. profit, after taxes paid, above the previous year, etc. etc. This is not to speak about those big profiteers who pocketed millions on the big price hike of basic vital foodstuffs. The government has not initiated a more just sharing of the burden of war costs. The opposite is true. The enormous military expenditure only deepens the economic and social polarization. The poor people get poorer, the rich get richer.

The first account presented to the popular masses while the war in October was still on, had been the obligatory and "voluntary" war-loans, together 2,000 m.IL.. In November of last year the purchase tax was raised to cover a long list of consumer goods adding to the inflationary price increase. The price index rose officially during the year 1973 by 26.6 p.c.. But the real estimate to 33 p.c..

### The big shock: Price Explosion

Three days after P. Sapir gave the preliminary estimate of the war costs, he announced a cut of one billion IL in basic food subsidies. Thus he announced an increase by 30 - 70 p.c. in basic food prices. The price of standard bread rose from 35 to 55 Ag., milk from 64 Ag./liter to IL 1.-, sugar from IL 1.14 to IL 2.-, eggs from 16 Ag. to 26 on the average, butter from 80 Ag. to IL 1.20., rice, which rose in November 1973 from IL 1.80 the kilogram to IL 3. reached 3.90, etc. etc..

The price of petrol which had been until November last 82 Ag. the liter (about IL 3.50 a gallon) rose first to IL 1.14 a liter and later to IL 1.70 (about IL 7 a gallon). Certainly the steep rise of petrol, and other fuel, prices would prompt higher fares in public transport (P. Sapir already announced about 50 p.c. rise) and increased prices of other consumer goods.

Without any deliberation with the workers representatives - even not with official HISTADRUT leadership - Sapir stated that his government has decided to compensate the wage earners and large sized families in the form of an additional of IL 10.- for each child, after the third... This was ridiculous and has been rejected outright by the working people, and even the pro-government HISTADRUT leaders had been forced to denounce Sapir for his arbitrary step.

The popular masses did not swallow the bitter pill of robbery of their earnings which encroached on the very bread of their children. On the same day, Sapir announced the steep price increases, many thousands demonstrated, and blocked all streets around the Central Bus Station of Tel-Aviv. Police and Border Guards attacked brutally the huge crowds, using batons and tear gas to disperse them. Many were injured and eight leaders of the "Black Panther" movement were arrested.

Protest rallies and demonstrations were held all over the country. At a special meeting of the HISTADRUT Executive more than a hundred representatives of workers' committees took part expressing - in spite of the "Labour"-Alignment leaders' opposition - the workers' resolve to struggle for the abolition of this latest robbery or get real compensa-

tion . They demanded of the HISTADRUT to organize a general strike, at least for one day, as protest, and in case this does not avail, for a longer period.

Yehoshua Irge, the head of the communist faction in the Executive told the meeting that the price avalanche-- as the war which caused it - could have been avoided, had the government followed another policy. The working people will never sit idly on the fence, while the bread is taken away from the hungry mouths of their children, while again tens of thousands of families of working people are added to those already living in poverty and dire need and the bourgeoisie and war profiteers get more subsidies and profits. The workers will rise and fight for their right to live decently.

#### The New War Budget

At the same time (on January 29, 1974), P. Sapir tabled his additional budget of 13,000 million IL before the Knesset. The supplementary budget to the (1973/74) state budget was increased by 60 per cent - from about IL 20,000 to 33,000 million (7,750 m. dollar).

Replying to the debate on this additional budget, Sapir stressed that nearly the whole sum goes to the military budget thus becoming two and a half times larger than in the original budget for 1973/74 and represents nearly 70 p.c. of the budget, and about 40 p.c. of the Gross National Product. (For comparison: Military spending in the U.S.A. 29,p.c. or 6 p.c. of GNP, and 9.1 p.c. of overall budget in the Soviet Union, representing 4.1 p. of GNP).

Even then Sapir told the Knesset that this supplementary budget is only a first installment of the cost of the October war. And true enough, when the draft state budget for 1974/75 was made public it reached IL 36 m. "defense" claiming 60 p.c.. Sapir stated too, that the state balance of payment shows this year a 2.5 billion dollar deficit as compared with 1.75 m. dollar in 1972 . The per capita foreign debt in Israel had been at the end of 1973 - 1,700 dollar, by far the largest in the world. While in 1972 the state of Israel spent 662 million dollar for military purchases abroad, the amount in 1973 was 1.500 m. dollar and the estimate for 1974 is 1.800 m..

If the dependence of Israel on U.S. monopoly capital had increased after the June 1967 war, the same was true, to a much greater extent, in the wake of the last October's war. The dependence is not only political - on the White House in Washington, but more so economic on big business, on the big Wall street empires, like Rockefeller's "Chase Manhattan Bank", the Sam Rothberg group, which reign over many U.S.A. monopoly concerns, and the armament octopuses, where the rabid reactionary Senator Jackson is a big boss (one of its enterprises is building the "Phantom" jets...)

Sapir announced too, that the economic policy for the coming year 1974/75 should aim at providing further funds for "defense", since even if there is no outburst of a new war - which is not certain according to his estimates - Israel has to be ready for all possibilities. In other words, the government does not intend yet to depart from its policy of territorial annexations. It is more clear than ever before, that if the Israeli government gives up all territorial claims for Arab lands, now under occupation, there will not be another war. And vice versa, if it intends to keep them, or some of them, the alternative is a new outbreak of bloodshed. Sapir's words mean, therefore, that the government has not yet given up its illusory plans and continues upbuilding its military strength for the purpose of dictating its terms to the Arab neighbours and negating the national rights of the Arab Palestine people.

Therefore, the struggle for a fundamental change of policy and the struggle against the massive onslaught of big monopoly capital and the government on the working class, are two sides of the same coin.

The Communist Party of Israel is calling upon all working people, on all forces and fighting groupings to unite. "Black Panthers" from the poverty stricken areas in towns, Workers' committees and trade unionists from different shades of political affiliation join with communists in "Action Committees" in order to organise further common protest rallies and demonstrations aimed at the abolition of the latest price hike, or receiving real compensations.

The demands put forward by the HISTADRUT faction of the Communist Party of Israel are becoming generally accepted by the working masses and their "Action Committees". They

are: Abolition of cuts in subsidies of basic foodstuff and the reinstatement of former prices. If the government does not agree, the HISTADRUT should organize a general strike; demand wage increase of 25 p.c.; minimum wages of 750 IL; increased c.o.l. allowances automatically in accordance with price index; etc. etc.

True to their social status as belonging to the innermost government circles, the trade union bosses of the HISTADRUT leadership try to prevent any real struggle in defence of the working masses' living conditions. This time, realizing that open opposition to protest actions demanded by the workers and employees will not be accepted by anyone but the employers, the big "Labour" Party bosses in the HISTADRUT - joined by their rightwing LIKUD "opposition" - pose as advocates trying to convince Sapir to add a little to the compensation given for the latest big price increase. But this is not the real issue and it seems that this time they will not be able to stem the public indignation caused by the blow below the belt dealt by Sapir to the working masses and their families.

Therefore it may well be assumed, that we in Israel face a big upsurge in the trade union struggle.

XIITH CONGRESS OF HISTADRUT CHARACTERISED BY  
OPPOSITION TO ANTI-WORKER GOVERNMENT POLICY  
AND TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP

By Rina Noj

The 12th Congress of the Histadrut (Trade Union Federation) convening between March 11 and 13-3, 1974, expressed the deep crisis of confidence of the members of the Histadrut towards its leadership, which has turned into an executive branch of the government, burdening the toilers' shoulders with all the weight of its political and economic blunders.

The solemn opening - with 1,501 delegates, and local and foreign guests participating - was opened with a commemoration of the fallen in the October 1973 war. Immediately afterwards, when the acting general secretary of the Histadrut, Y. Meshel, congratulated G. Meir on establishing her government, the storm broke out with the members of the "Black Panthers" faction, shouting: "Golda Resign".

A further storm exploded when a representative of the USA trade unions, Michael Man, who delivered his address in the arrogant tone of "the boss", attacked the Soviet Union slandering it for alleged "imperialist trends". Energetic reaction to this was expressed by the Communist faction, with the support of part of "Moked" faction. They shouted "Yankee, go home!" "What did you do in Vietnam?"

The opening speech of the acting general secretary, Y. Meshel, too, was punctured with ceaseless shouts of "Panthers" and "Moked": "Ben-Aharon, Ben-Aharon!" so that he was forced to shorten his speech. (Ben-Aharon was the general secretary of the Histadrut, who because of his opposition to the leadership of his party - the Labour Party - on important points, was compelled to resign - IB).

From the speech of Comrade D. Khenin

In the debate on proposals for the agenda, the communist representative, Comrade David Khenin, proposed two points:  
1. To abolish government decision curtailing the subsidies and hiking prices for vital commodities and services;

2. The task of the Histadrut in the struggle for establishing just and stable peace between Israel and the Arab states, for ensuring the success of the Geneva Conference.

Substantiating these proposals, Comrade Khenin said:

The government decision in February curtailing subsidies for fundamental commodities, which constitute the main expenditures in the budget of a working family, and particularly families with small income and numerous children, hit the working class hard. That decision led to the increased prices of vital commodities by 50 to 80% and even more. Prices of such basic commodities as bread, milk and milk products, of sugar, salad oil, rice, eggs and others, were raised. Fares of public transport also rose considerably. Now municipal taxes have been hiked subsequent to raising electricity rates and fuel prices at the beginning of the year, and at a time when even according to official data the prices had risen in the previous year by more than 25%.

Government economic policy caused a sharp lowering of the worker's real wage and brought tens of thousands of families more to the threshold of poverty, and this is in addition to the three quarters of a million persons whose poverty has been aggravated.

As against this, we witnessed the ceaseless enrichment of the big capitalists, both foreign and local. At a time when the working class is being hit hard, the government gives millions of liras, in the form of grants or loans at easy terms, to corporations, "approved" enterprises and exporters. And this, in addition to the big profits raked in by them at the expense of the toilers.

A typical example is the rise of profits by the banks, which rose by more than 50% in 1973, as compared with 1972.

Government steps roused anger and protest among the working class and slum inhabitants, who expressed this by protest strikes organized by workers' committees (in industrial enterprises - IB), supported in several places by workers' councils (locally elected Histadrut bodies - IB), demonstrations of workers and slum inhabitants, and women's delegations.

The price hike continues to run riot. We propose to the Histadrut Congress to hold a special debate on this subject; adopt decisions demanding of the government to cancel its resolution to curtail subsidies for vital commodities; decide immediate negotiations for one-year collective agreements and demand raising the basic wage by 25% and payment of a cost-of-living allowance reflecting reality, with every price hike of three points.

For this purpose it is necessary to amend the state budget and alter the policy of taxation, by raising considerably the taxes on war profits, and on big foreign and local capitalist corporations.

Comrades, congress delegates,

The last war shocked severely the people. Bereavement; orphanhood; pain, and sorrow have come to thousands of families. In addition there is the heavy burden of the military expenditures which has risen sky-high and reached more than 16,000 million liras, i.e. 49% of the Gross National Product.

The question arises: Was it possible to avoid this misfortune. We are certain that it was possible to avoid it by pursuing a different policy, a policy based on implementing the Security Council resolution 242 in all its parts, ensuring the rights of all the states and peoples in our region. This would have made possible channelling many thousands of million liras instead of wasting them on inflated military expenditures, to solving the problems of distress, liquidating slums, housing tens of thousands of young couples and other vital services.

Now there exists an historic opportunity for both the Israeli people and the Arab peoples to achieve a turning in the relations between them and to achieve the longed-for peace. It is now the urgent task to reach a settlement for the separation of forces with Syria and continuation of the work of the Peace Conference in Geneva.

The basic trend in international policy is the relaxation of tension in the world, the consolidation of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations among states of different social regimes, for liquidation of hotbeds of war and tension, imperilling peace and the entire mankind. Life proves that



their exists the possibility to solve the most complex problems. The latest relevant example - the relations between Pakistan and Bangla-Desh. As known, two years ago the Pakistani army organized a horrible massacre against the population of Bangla-Desh; the president of Bangla-Desh was arrested by the Pakistani government, whose vice president at that time was the present prime minister of Pakistan - but today we witness the establishment of diplomatic relations between these two states. From all this one can learn the old lesson that the international balance of forces, in the world changed in favour of the forces of peace, national independence and socialism.

The lesson to be drawn is that in our day a policy from positions of strength is doomed to complete failure.

The lesson for our region is that it is impossible to maintain the state of status quo. The achievement of peace and security, the achievement of recognition, by the Arab states and peoples, of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Israel and the institution of normal relations with her, oblige the Israeli government to follow a policy favouring peace to territorial annexations, the withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the June 1967 war, and recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestine Arab people. All this obliges the full implementation of the Security Council resolution 338.

[Here the delegates of the "Likud" (extreme right bloc - IB) started shouting wildly: "Shame on you!"] but comrade Khenin continued, his voice rising above the tumult: The people has paid for the policy of occupation and annexations! The people has paid enough with its blood and its sons! The policy of annexations is hopeless!

#### Violations of democracy by the chairman

In the debate on the agenda, the chairman, A. Becker, behaved in a glaringly anti-democratic manner, which roused the fury of the delegates since it gave backing to the fascist positions of the "Likud".

His responses to the interruptions by the delegates of "Likud", during the speech of comrade D. Khenin, which practically justified the thugs' interruptions, aroused the resolute reaction of the communist delegates, against the chairman.

The speech of Shalom Cohen, representative of the "Black Panthers", described the grave problem of the distress of the poor strats. He attacked shelving the Katz Committee Report on distress, but was rudely interrupted by A. Becker, who stopped him and "dictated" to him what he ought to say...

Numerous delegates shouted at the chairman: "Let him speak!" And thus Shalom Cohen was enabled to continue his speech.

Another scandalous affair occurred in the same session around another report practically shelved - the report of the outgoing General Secretary of the Histadrut - Y. Ben-Aharon, who was not allowed to bring his report before the congress, in contradiction to every accepted norm in the Histadrut.

The proposal of "Moked" faction, to invite Ben-Aharon to report to the Congress about his experiences and conclusions during the period of his office, gained the support of the Communist Faction, the "Panthers", MERI, the Left Union, of a considerable part of the Alignment, and among the secretaries of workers' committees. Among the members of the presidium of the Congress several supported the proposal.

The wide support to the proposal frightened the leaders of the Alignment, and before counting the votes, A. Becker shouted nervously. A further anti-democratic step was undertaken by Becker, when he interrupted voting in order to read an announcement on behalf of the Alignment (which at the end of the Congress was found out to be an entirely false statement! -IB). With the help of that announcement he hoped to increase the number of those voting against the proposal to invite Ben-Aharon to read his report.

In spite of the pressures (the Alignment was obliged to vote a second time), only 427 delegates voted against the proposal (that is only one third of the 1,501 delegates), 185 voted in favour and, 62 abstained, while a considerable majority of delegates - 827 - did not vote at all!

"Likud" - dirt!

A further positive phenomenon, conspicuous in the course of the Congress was the isolation of the "Likud", in spite of their attempts to dominate the Congress. This isolation was greatly helped by the ... "Likud" itself, whose delegates revealed the true face of their faction, masked by their social demagogy.

Thus when the proposal of the "Panthers" calling for discussing shelving the Katz Report about distress, came to the vote "Likud" voted against! (Katz, a member of the Alignment had resigned from his post as Director of the National Insurance - IB).

The "Panthers" shouted: Where is the "Likud" with its slogans about "Families with many children?" and added: "Likud - dirt!"

As against this it was sad to see the representative of MAPAM - a member of the Central Council of the Histadrut and a new Member of Knesset, Y. Efrat, strongly attacking the "Panthers", calling them: a marginal group, behaving violently and in the manner of hooligans. When Efrat tried to balance his speech, saying something also against "Likud", he was attacked from the opposite side too.

Apart from the speech of the principal speaker of the Communist Faction, other delegates of the Communist Faction, too, spoke from the rostrum, speaking on specific issues, with which these comrades are involved.

( "ZO HADEREKH", March 13, 1974).

# GENERAL - KING - DICTATOR

*By Yehuda Ungar*

The 20th century is, inter alia, the century in which more and more kings are being hauled down from the stage of history. Today one can count on the fingers of one's hands the kings who still remain.

However it looks as if in Israel we are witnessing an opposite process. Here - a new king has arisen: Arik I.

Similar to the kings, whose names are recalled from the recesses of history, who did not rule only over their countries, "our" king too has added to his title "King of Israel" an additional title: "King of Africa". Probably he will be remembered by the historians of the future as "Arik the First, King of Israel and Africa".

One could continue in this spirit of fun, if the matter was not so serious. We mean of course Arik Sharon, the reserve general, who burst like a whirlwind into the political arena of our country. What is most perilous in this phenomenon is not mainly his unrestrained ambition and his wish to stand at all times in the floodlight centre of publicity and mass media, but that he is being helped in this activity by the press, the radio and television without whom Sharon would not have succeeded in conducting the "Arik Festival" which by now already lasts longer than the famous carnivals of Brazil.

And it is not only the mass media which are assisting him. There are also public bodies who help him directly - such as his own creation, the "Likud" (block of extreme right parties - IB), while at the same time official elements, such as the war minister, and the Attorney General indirectly pave his path.

## Methodical Violation of Orders

To the "credit" of Sharon it should be said that he almost does not hide at all his militarist-dictatorial-anti-democratic intentions. He does not only not dissociate himself from being called "king", enjoying it and other expressions of fawning directed at himself, but he also behaves in public as beehoves the holder of such "high rank". In his capacity of a military commander he

behaved in accordance with the principle laid down by another king, Louis XIV of France "L'etat c'est moi!"

Here we have A. Sharon's own testimony as to the criteria, according to which he used to decide whether or no: he ought to carry out any order (Interview in "Ma'ariv", Jan. 25, 1974):

"My attitude to any order I receive is appraised on the basis of three values. The first and supreme value is the good of the State. The second: obligation towards my subordinates. The third obligation towards my superiors. This order of priority I would not change under any circumstance".

This means Sharon used not only to consider, on receiving any order, whether he ought to carry it out at all, (and he explicitly admits not having fulfilled orders and instructions, and at times, having carried them out in accordance with his own light), but he also determined the criteria for this (since his three "values" do not appear in any standing orders of the Israeli army). Furthermore he took it upon himself to determine what is the good of the State.

In connection with this one ought to remember that reference is to a divisional commander, who can receive orders only from the commander of the front or the chief-of staff, and that, generally, such orders are in accordance with instructions from the war minister or even from the entire government.

As stated above, for Arik the state - is himself.

#### Cover Given by the Government

Let us not assume that these traits of Sharon have only been revealed just now. The journalist Eliahu Aggers wrote about him in his article in "Davar" ("The accuser turned into accused", Jan. 27, 1973.):

"Whoever follows the military career of Arik Sharon, a very meritorious commander, sees that he is used to breach orders. Now he announces that his lack of discipline springs from a world outlook. One recalls the superfluous battle on the Mitle Pass, in Operation 'Kaddesh' in 1956, (this is the Israeli code name for the Anglo-French-Israeli

attack on Sinai-Suez, following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt - IB), which was joined by Arik Sharon, in contradiction to the orders of the chief-of-staff of that time, Moshe Dayan. About this Dayan writes in his 'Diary of the Sinai Operation': 'For the erroneous considerations and faults the paratroop unit paid the price of blood in full'. One also recalls the "anomalities" when he was a commander on the southern front, here the chief-of-staff, the commander of the southern front and the officers in Arik Sharon's division, at the time of the Yom-Kippurim War (October 1973 War) have something to say on the issue of the price in blood paid in this war for the faults committed by Arik".

That is to say, these things were known to the supreme army command and the government at least since 1956, according to Aggers, and in fact even before (during the action in Kibiye, in 1953). If this is so, the question arises: Why was nothing done to restrain him? Was Sharon at any time propelled before a court martial because of his violations of orders, among which there are such, which caused hundreds of innocent victims, women and children? Every soldier and officer would have long since had to face a trial for much simpler trespasses of discipline.

And not only this. On the contrary Sharon was every time promoted to a higher rank, until he reached the rank of aluf (Lieutenant-General). He was in the course of years given tasks in the general staff, appointed commander of front etc. How can this be explained with reference to an officer who methodically violates orders. How can he be given such important positions?

The explanation is that as long as Arik Sharon served the declared objectives of the aggressive government policy against the neighbouring Arab countries and against the population in the occupied territories, his violations and "anomalies" entered the general bill and were completely covered up by the government, and in particular, by M. Dayan. In this context it must not be forgotten that in the course of many years, A. Sharon, while a senior officer, was enrolled as a member in Mapai (the forerunner of the present-day ruling Labour Party -IB), in its branch in the village of Mallal, (Ha'olam Haze", July 18, 1973).

Only after he openly crossed over to the extreme right, joining Gahal in 1969 (apparently before that he had secretly tied himself to the rightist Liberal Party), he began losing favour in the eyes of the state leaders. Now G. Meir too is ready to condemn "the ideology of discipline violation" of Sharon. But even now the government Attorney General, M. Shamgar, finds it necessary to recommend that he ought not to be brought to trial for the grave violations of discipline in the last war.

#### 400 Dead, 20 Tanks with Their Crews -

##### Cost of Violations of Orders

About these violations many details have been lately published in the press. "Davar" wrote in its editorial on Jan. 27, 1974, that senior army officers abstain from "disclosing the losses in the operation carried out by Lieut. - General Sharon with his unsuccessful and contradicting orders. This operation is now being investigated.

The main revelations were published in a series of articles of the French journalist Eric Rouleau, the correspondent of "Le Monde", who visited Israel recently. This journalist, who got his information, according to all signs, from authoritative sources, wrote, inter alia, that Sharon, in contradiction to an order of his superiors, opened on October 10, 1973 an attack in the Suez Canal area, which ended with the loss of 20 Israeli tanks with their crews.

And in another military action, after the crossing of the Canal by Israeli forces, Sharon carried out the order only partially, and just as he saw fit, attempting to speed forward in the direction of Cairo without ensuring his rear, an action which led - according to E. Rouleau's description - to the surrounding of the force, commanded by Sharon, and compelled the men of another unit (under Lieut. Gen. Adan) "to fight 40 hours more in order to reopen the breach and attack in the direction of Suez (the town of Suez -IB). The price of this operation was particularly high: It is claimed that the cost was 400 dead".

It has been published that the front commander at that time, Sh. Gonen (Gorodish), who was Sharon's direct superior, demanded twice to court-martial him, even during

the war, because of his grave violation of orders during fighting, but M. Dayan prevented this. Instead, Sh. Gonen was later transferred to another command.

We, Communists, say that the last war could have been prevented, if the Israeli government had conducted a policy of peace during the preceding years, and thus thousands of victims - dead and wounded - could have been saved. Certainly, even now after the war for which the Israel government was responsible broke out, the unnecessary victims, who fell as the result of Sharon's violations of orders, in the above mentioned publications, could have been avoided.

Can there be a graven indictment against a military commander than that of causing the unnecessary death of hundreds of his soldiers?

One could have thought that A. Sharon would have tried to refute these publications but he did not. He does not deny them neither does he deny the numerous victims. He only accuses others for being late in sending him reinforcements etc.

### The Danger

When such a type as Lieutenant-General (reserve) A. Sharon enters the political arena, the democratic freedoms in Israel are in danger. Sharon has indeed expressed, in his interviews with the press, opposition to a military dictatorship. However in view of his military past, in view of the fact that he did not hesitate to carry out adventurist actions, imperilling and sacrificing the lives of hundreds of humans - including his own subordinates - committing serious violations of discipline and breaching instructions, his declaration cannot be trusted.

"Anybody can judge, on the basis of Sharon's own testimony, the credibility of such a promise - wrote "Davar" in its above mentioned editorial, reacting to Sharon's utterings.

When such a person as Sharon enters the political arena, there is a danger of militarization of political life. The extreme right which is concentrated in the "Likud", attempts to make use of Sharon's appearance in order to



intensify their influence, and take possession of power. On the other hand, the policy of the Alignment (ruling bloc of Labour Party and Mapam - IB), contributes, in practice to this tendency.

Therefore the dangers exist. And it is good that at least now with Sharon revealing his cards, wider circles recognise this, and in the press articles warn against the danger.

The democratic forces in our country must vigilantly watch A. Sharon and the circles siding with him, so as to foil the violation of the foundations of Israeli democracy.

("Zo Haderekh", Feb. 6, 1974).

## THE "SUPERSTAR GENERAL" DOES NOT CARE

*By Hans Lebrecht*

"The State of Israel will commit the greatest folly if it renounces its independence and return the oil fields in Sinai" - said the "superstar general", Arik Sharon, in one of the interviews with which he is flooding the press.

This of course means that Sharon proposes not to "renounce" the oil in Sinai - nor Sinai itself. He is certainly prepared to occupy again lands in the African continent. This general does not care what will happen afterwards; he violated frequently the orders of his superiors - beginning with the operation of Unit 101 in Kibiye (1953) up to the expulsion of the bedouins in the Rafeh approaches (1972). What does Sharon care if some more hundreds of Israeli victims are added to the account of his "blunders", besides those already scored on his account. What does Sharon care if in the course of his "blunders" some additional thousands of fellahin, bedouins and ..... soldiers are murdered (as in Sinai in June 1967) or that further hundreds of thousands are driven out from their homes and land?

There are newspapers and newspapermen who compare Sharon to the greatest military leaders in the world. By chance - or perhaps not by chance - they "forget" that those generals and marshals whom Sharon resembles, namely Hindenburg, Ludendorff and all other creatures of Prussian militarism, teachers of a generation of military leaders and occupants, who caused the European peoples the loss of tens of millions of lives, failed in the end, thanks to the heroism of the peoples who fought for their freedom.

## DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

The following letters and cables were sent by the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel:

### To the Communist Party of the Communist Party of Austria

On behalf of all Israeli Communists we extend our heartiest fraternal greetings to your XXII Congress.

With great interest we studied the theses to the Congress and wish it successful work in advancing the Communist Party of Austria and rallying the working masses under the banner of united struggle against monopol capital and towards realizing the socialist perspectives. We appreciate your proletarian internationalism and Austrian patriotism, contributing to the marxist-leninist unity of the international communist movement. We hail your struggle against anti-Sovietism, realizing that this is a difficult, but very important task in your country too.

We Israeli communists - Jews and Arabs - are struggling for a just and stable peace in the Middle East by implementing the Security Council resolutions and ensuring success to the Geneva Conference on peace in the Middle East.

Our Party had a great success in the parliamentary elections which took place on December 31, 1973, achieving more than 53000 votes - 36% above the 1969 elections - and four deputies - one more than before - in the Knesset. After the new outbreak of war in October 1967 ever more people in Israel came to realize that there cannot be peace and security as long as Israel continues to occupy territories of neighbouring states, seized in the June 1967 war and does not recognize the just national rights of the Palestine people.

We Israeli communists strive for uniting all peace forces in our country in the struggle against government policy and rightwing pressure, putting obstacles in the way to a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict, a solution guaranteeing the rights of all nations and states concerned, the Arab Palestine people's and Israel's ones included.

We Israeli communists defend the interests of the working masses of our country, calling them to unite their ranks in the struggle against the onslaught of foreign and home monopol capital and government upon their wages, living standard and democratic rights, against inflated war budgets and price explosion as a result of the enormous war expenditures and increased profits.

Dear Comrades, once again we most ardently wish your Congress and your Party further success.

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To the Central Committee of the Guadeloupean Communist Party

Heartiest congratulations on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the communist movement in your homeland, wishing the Guadeloupean communists and working people further success in the anti-imperialist struggle against foreign monopol capital, for democracy and social progress.

\*

To Comrade Alexey KOSYGIN, Chairman Council of Ministers of the USSR

Heartiest congratulations on the occasion of your 70th birthday. We appreciate highly your great contribution to the noble cause of the communist upbuilding of the Soviet Union, to strengthening world peace and to the unity of the socialist camp. We wish you many more years of good health and fruitful activity for the benefit of the Soviet people and all mankind.

\*

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark

We extend to you and all Danish communists and working people our fraternal congratulations on the great electoral success, especially in the capital Copenhagen.

This success proves the strengthened positions of the Communist Party of Denmark thanks to its staunch fight in the interest of the working masses, for peace and social progress.

The members of the Communist faction in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) sent the following protest cable to the Greece Prime Minister:

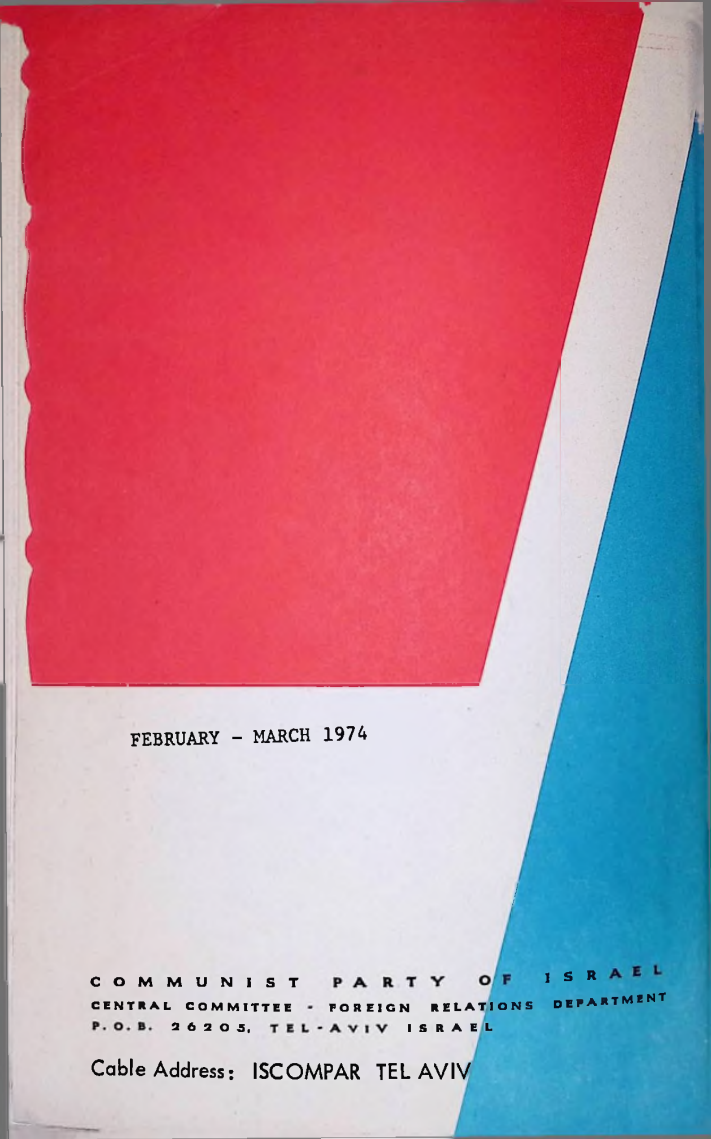
VEHEMENTLY PROTEST ARBITRARY ARREST OF COMMUNISTS AND OTHER DEMOCRATS. DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND RESTORATION OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOM IN GREECE

(Signed by: MK's Meir Vilner, Tawfiq Toubi,  
Abraham Levenbraun, Tawfiq Zayad.)

\*

The following fraternal parties have sent messages of congratulations to the CC of the CP of Israel on the occasion of the electoral success in the 31st December, 1973, elections to the 8th Knesset and local councils:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
The Bulgarian Communist Party  
The Romanian Communist Party  
The Communist Party of India  
The Italian Communist Party  
The French Communist Party  
The Communist Party of Venezuela



FEBRUARY - MARCH 1974

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