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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE !

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THE 23th PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On May 13, 1984, the extraordinary, 23th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel took place, with the participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

Chairman of the session was comrade Salem Jubran, member of the Central Committee.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured on the political situation and the activities towards the elections to the 11th Knesset.

A debate was held which was summed up by the lecturer.

The Central Committee confirmed the lecture, the summing-up and adopted resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 23rd PLENARY SESSION OF THE CC OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The Central Committee states that the Jewish terroristic underground, of which only a part was so far exposed, acted throughout years under the cover-up of top political and military leading circles who all the time denied that any Jewish terroristic underground existed at all. The political aim of this terroristic underground and of the Likud government is a common one: To bring about the expulsion of the Palestinian Arab people from their homeland, to annex the whole occupied territory to Israel, in accordance with the plan of the "Complete Land of Israel" movement. Hence, the repeated attempts, now too, to prevent the exposure of the senior political and military circles which stand behind the underground. The words of the prime minister, Y. Shamir, that the terroristic underground is a marginal phenomenon of a small group and that the whole issue is exaggerated; the declaration of the minister for science and development, Yuval Ne'eman, that the attempted murder of the Palestinian mayor in the West Bank had positive results - must turn on a red light.

The Central Committee states that the hothouse of the Jewish nationalistic terroristic underground is the policy of occupation and annexations, the colonialist settlements in the occupied territories, the atrocious acts of the Israeli authorities in Lebanon and the occupied Palestinian territories. The terror of the underground is a result of the terroristic anti-Arab policy of the Likud government.

The Central Committee calls upon all those who understand the great extent of the danger lying in the continuation of the ruling policy for the democratic freedoms in Israel itself and for the whole future in the region, to act for toppling the Likud government, for a fundamental transformation of the traditional Israeli policy, which in its general lines is common to the Likud and the Alignment (Labour Party and Mapam -IB) for just Israeli-Palestinian peace on the basis of the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories which it occupied since 1967, the establishment of an independent Palestinian State alongside the State of Israel, the dismantling of the colonial settlements in the occupied territories and the punishment with all the rigour of the law to be meted out to the members of the terroristic underground and those who provide a cover for them.

The Central Committee calls upon all the members of the Communist Party of Israel and of the Young Communist League of Israel and their sympathizers, to mobilize all the strength and energy, together with all the components of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), towards the fateful election campaign to the 11th Knesset.

The Central Committee reiterates its call for cooperation in the election campaign of all forces of peace, democracy and equality of rights. Any attempt at putting up a new list of sectarian and selfish circles in opposition to the DFPE list is a severe divisionist act which can only cause joy to the enemies of peace, democracy and progress .

ZO HADEPEKH, May 16, 1984

PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE DFPE IN TEL AVIV:
FOR REMOVING THE LIKUD FROM POWER
AND AGAINST THE POLICY OF THE ALIGNMENT

The DFPE (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality) held on May 21, 1984 in Tel-Aviv a press conference, which was attended by numerous journalists. The first speaker of the Front was comrade Meir Vilner:

"We, the components of the DFPE assess that our parliamentary group in the Knesset has proved its influence and the influence of the force of a parliamentary group which is devoted to the cause of peace and the rights of the working people. Therefore we place at the head of our electoral list the same team which has proved its worth. The other parliamentary groups are compelled to come up with "new faces" because they have completely failed in their policy. But they shamelessly appear with the very same policy and with the very same persons who failed and are failing Israel".

The panel at the press conference comprised also the spokesman of the DFPE, comrade Uzi Burstein, who monitored the conference; comrade Tawfiq Toubi; member of Knesset Charlie Biton (Black Panthers Movement); the head of the local council of Um el-Fahem, Hashem Mahamid; the poet and member of the Druze Initiative Committee, Samih el-Kassem; and Motti Ish-Ya'ir, member of kibbutz Ma'agan Michael, member of the movement "There is a limit" who went to prison for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

The participants presented the list of candidates to the 11th Knesset, which had been one day previously formed by the enlarged leadership of the DFPE. They also presented the platform of the DFPE. The position of the Front towards recent events was made known and questions of the journalists were answered.

Speaking about the Jewish underground organisation in the occupied territories, comrade Meir Vilner emphasized that the DFPE had sounded the alarm already in the past in connection with the activities of that underground organisation and it demands to reveal all facts in full, and in particular those who belong to the political and military top leadership who stand behind the underground organisation.

About the events in the refugee camp Ein el-Hilweh in Lebanon he said that the first version which had been published in the communication media has been found to be correct. According to that version, soldiers of the Israeli army and what is called "civil guards" or "militia", that is to say mercenaries of Israel, entered the camp and made there pogrom: They destroyed houses, arrested persons, murdered and wounded people and confiscated defensive weapons of the inmates of the camp. Such a step means the abandonment of the inmates to such a situation as that which enabled the massacre at Sabra and Shattila.

We consider, said comrade Meir Vilner, as an utmost grave move the compliance of the Israeli government with the request of the CIA to render military assistance in the form of arms and advisers to the fascist underground in Nacaragua, which acts from bases in Honduras. The readiness of the Likud government to do the dirty work reveals the lack of any conscience. Even Saudi Arabia had refused to give such services to the intelligence agency of the United States.

Comrade Meir Vilner pointed out the fact that the DFPE, alone has a program which provides solutions to the problems of Israel. He brought up two examples, in order to prove how what had been at the beginning the position of the Front, alone has become the position of many people. Thus it was with regard to the war in Lebanon: The DFPE was the sole parliamentary group in the Knesset which opposed the war. All the other parliamentary groups supported the war.

Even members of Knesset holding dovish positions did not vote against the war but only abstained from voting.

Afterwards they justified their behaviour by claiming that they did not know that the war would be extended beyond 40 kilometers in Lebanon...

Also in the question of the Camp David accords, the DFPE parliamentary group was the only group which opposed the deal but today many people understand that these accords led to a war. To an interjection of one of the journalists that also Shamir (present prime minister) and Arens (present defence minister) had opposed those accords, Vilner replied that the reason for that was different: They did not want to return back the Sinai peninsula.

Meir Vilner added that the DFPE had pointed out that the Camp David agreements will remove peace further away and pre-

vent comprehensive peace because in accordance with those agreements Israel, Jordan and Egypt would determinate the fate of the Palestinians. The intention of the agreements was to neutralize Egypt and this has indeed opened the way to the war in Lebanon.

THE PLATFORM

Comrade Meir Vilner rejected the solution which is proposed by the Likud and the Alignment regarding Lebanon - the setting-up of a mercenary force, of "militias" or a "South Lebanese army"; Israeli control over the Lebanese ports and patrols in land and air. The meaning of all this is - negation of Lebanese sovereignty and the danger of war with Syria. Therefore the demand of the DFPE is: Unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon. Syria, the speaker stressed, is prepared to an arrangement, according to which Israel will withdraw from Lebanon and will receive guarantees for its security. This has been declared by President Assad. Further the speaker pointed out in connection with this, that the peace plan of the DFPE will bring peace and security to Israel and will guarantee its true independence. Reference is to Israel's return to the frontiers of '67 and the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel. Only such a solution will put an end to the wars between Israel and the Arab peoples.

Further points in the platform of the Front are:

- * The Defence of the Democratic liberties and the struggle against the danger of fascism;
- * Equality of rights of the Arab population in Israel;
- * The abolishment of the discrimination of oriental Jews in Israel;
- * Equal rights for women and opposition to religious coercion.

The DFPE demands that the possibility of civil marriage and divorce shall be laid down in law.

FOR TOPPLING THE LIKUD AND AGAINST A "NATIONAL UNITY"
GOVERNMENT

The DFPE considers the toppling of the Likud regime a vital need for Israel and considers a government of "national unity" of Likud and Alignment a serious danger for Israel.

"We will ask the Alignment if it is prepared to pledge itself not to set up a "national unity" government", said comrade Meir Vilner. He reminded that the parliamentary group of the DFPE had determined the issue of the elections of the president of the State by voting for Herzog, who had been nominated by the Alignment as its candidate. The DFPE also determined in the Knesset that the law for dispersal of the Knesset and holding of early elections was adopted.

Therefore the call of the Front is: "Every vote for the DFPE is a clear vote against the Likud and for a fundamental change of Israeli policy.

Comrade Tawfiq Toubi replied to questions with regard to the "Arab-Jewish list" which is being set up; with regard to the relation towards the "Alternative" group and the contacts with that group, comrade Tawfiq Toubi said:

"The uniqueness of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality lies in its programme which unites the two peoples and which outlines the path to coexistence and equality in this country and of the relations between Israel and the Palestinian people."

"The Front", continued comrade Tawfiq Toubi, "unites and rallies the majority of the Arab population within the State of Israel, which aspires to and struggles for equality of rights and for a life in dignity in its homeland."

The speaker further emphasized:

"Whoever wants to contribute to the realization of these aims, does so in cooperation with the Jewish democratic forces. Therefore, anyone who supports this programme (which is not only the programme of the Communist Party of Israel), must simply act together with the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and within its official framework: in the Knesset and must not choose a path whose meaning is a division of forces and causing harm to the struggle for equality and peace. In addition to this, a serious doubt exists about the possibility that the new list has any prospect because of the great number of votes (estimated as 22 thousand), which is demanded for passing the threshold of votes that is demanded

for participation in the distribution of seats in the Knesset".

"This political adventure will cause joy to anyone who wants to harm the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, will gladden the hearts of the Alignment and the Likud."

Comrade Tawfiq Toubi said that indeed contacts have been taken up with persons of the "Alternative Group", but that the DFPE could not reach with them any agreement under the conditions which they demanded. The acceptance of those demands would have meant the dispersal of the Front for Peace and Equality, and a blow to the position of the Communist Party of Israel, whose strength had served as the basis for establishing the DFPE".

"The DFPE", said comrade T. Toubi aspires to the joining of new forces, the strengthening of the existing basis and framework, but will not enter adventures which would cause harm."

The speaker also pointed out that in the "Alternative" group, there are persons who hold different and even contradictory views on the central issues regarding the solution of the conflict in the region, the Palestinian problem, and the path to attain just peace. Tawfiq Toubi said that this fact will also be taken into account by the voter.

Answering a question concerning the decrease in the number of seats which the DFPE received in the last elections compared with the previous Knesset (from five to four), comrade Toubi said that there was a decrease in the number of voters but not in the influence of the Front and the trust expressed in the Front on part of the public. The cause of the decrease was the belief in the illusion which the Alignment succeeded in instilling in the minds of Jewish as well as Arab circles - the illusion that in order to block the path to the Likud one must vote for the Alignment. Voters, part of whom are also known as supporters of the Communist Party of Israel, were also caught in the net of that illusion.

Motti Ish-Yair added to this that the "Alternative" Group had no social message and does not seriously relate to the class struggle.

Member of Knesset Charlie Biton replied to question concerning Ezer Weizman. He said that the repeated apology by phone from the side of Ezer Weizman is not satisfactory and

that this matter now rests with a lawyer: Weizman must apologize publicly, in the press, and also pay compensation which should be given to some social enterprise.

Kinarti, correspondent of "Davar", asked: "What will be the position of the DFPE if its parliamentary group will be in a position which might determine whether a government of the Alignment or of the Likud will be set up?"

To this question replied M. Vilner that a situation can arise in which the DFPE might tip the scale. We were put into such a situation already in the present Knesset when we voted for Herzog as president of the State, also though we did not sympathize with him. We will be also in opposition to a government of the Alignment, because we are opposed to its policy. We will struggle for a change of the prevailing policy, which in its general lines is held in common by the Likud and the Alignment.

To this Tawfiq Toubi added:

"Let nobody think that we are in his pocket! Our attitude will depend on the concrete political positions of every one.

ZO HADEREKI, MAY 23, 1984

THOROUGH INVESTIGATION MUST BE CARRIED OUT

*By Comrade Meir Vilner
Speech in the Knesset
May 30th 1984*

The committee led by Zorea (general in reserve) was appointed by the war ministry, the army, by those who themselves, together with the SHEENBET (secret service) should have been interrogated. Therefore also the conclusions which have been included in the report of the Zorea committee do indeed reveal a little, but conceal twice as much. Anybody who follows the press and publication that the Zorea committee's reports what in any case could not be concealed. On the other hand, it hides what should have been revealed.

It has been said that the Zorea committee is not the end and that a police-army investigation committee will be established. However, already by now we are told that the police-army committee will not be able to find out more than the Zorea committee. Why? Because it will be impossible to know who dealt the deadly blow at the heads of two Palestinian captives, and thus murdered them. As if this is the main question. In any case it is clear that all those who beat the captives are partners to murder and all those superiors who were present and did not prevent that, are also partners to the crime.

Also in that part of the report which has been published there are contradictions, aimed at obscuring the traces, and not at revealing the whole truth.

Is it just by chance that the truth was not announced immediately? Is it just by chance that at first brazen lies were told by the Israeli army spokesman, just as lies had been told throughout the whole war in Lebanon?

Only under the pressure of the publication abroad and under the pressure of the photos made by photographers, the government was forced to open an investigation by means of the Zorea committee. The newspapers

wrote explicitly that "the foul act would have been dead and buried if the press photographers had not obstinately claimed that in their photos the two were seen alive.

The affair started on April 12, 1984. In the news in the morning broadcast of "Kol Israel" (official Israeli radio station), the Israeli army spokesman informed that "two of the hijackers of the bus were killed and two others were caught".

In later broadcast on that very same morning, the Israeli army spokesman gave a different version. He said that "all the four 'terrorists' (according to his expression) were killed during the extrication of the bus". After a few hours an additional strange correction was published: "the four 'terrorists' died on their way to hospital".

During the next few days the censorship did not permit to publish the photos and did not allow the journalists to ask any questions. At the same time clear photos of the two captives were published in the foreign press. Only on April 26, that is to say after two weeks, the government yielded and the war minister, Moshe Arens set up the Zorea committee. And what happened then? A so-called "gentlemen's agreement" was reached by all the editors of the (Hebrew) dailies and the security system to leave the matter until the Zorea committee would finish its investigation. In other words - it was agreed upon to bury the matter in the committee. The newspaper "hadashot" preferred, as its editor wrote, the right of the public to know, and was closed for two days by an order of the war minister.

We are against such forms of struggle as hijacking of buses or air planes. However, to kill captives in cold blood and brutally, like beasts, this is contemptible and very dangerous. This is a murder in cold blood of unarmed, defenceless persons. Officers hit them from behind on their heads, with rifle butts and pistol butts until they broke their skulls by the blows.

One must also investigate the orders which were given on the spot. Top officials of the army and the government were present. The war minister said afterwards because of some reason: "I was not present". But in the photos which were finally permitted to be published it is clear-

ly visible that the war minister was present at the time when the two captives were taken down from the bus and led away. The photo reveals the truth.

Therefore, also a ministerial responsibility exists. Justice Haim Cohen, a former judge in the Supreme Court said: "In England, for example, the minister would resign in such a case".

What is the background of such an inhuman behaviour, which is liable to develop into a two-edged sword? The background is the policy, the education, the ideology, the anti-Arab nationalist and racist incitement. Who, if not the former prime minister, Menahem Begin, said about the Arabs that "they are two-legged animals"? Who if not the former war minister, Sharon (who is still in the government) called for "ripping off their testicles" Who if not the former army chief-of-staff, Rafoul (Rafael Eitan) said that the Arabs are like "drugged cockroaches in a bottle"? Who, if not himself also said that the only way to know what an Arab thinks is "to split open his head". And who, if not war minister, Moshe Arens, said after the action "The 'terrorists' must know that they will not come out alive from such actions"?

This is the education which means: "A good Arab is a dead Arab".

Is it necessary to mention also the words of Matityahu Drobles, the chairman of the Department for Settling in the Zionist (World) Organisation, who shortly ago (on May 29, 1984) said that "the Arabs around Jerusalem are a cancer"?. This education is not just expressed in words. This education is also expressed by the amnesty given by Rafoul (when he was chief-of-staff) to the murderers of Arabs in cold blood, murderers of innocent persons, only because they were Arabs. Those murderers had been convicted by an Israeli military court.

Jews must especially well know how dangerous is racist nationalism, and here this nationalism moreover is coupled with religious fanaticism. This is the background which endangers the murderous terroristic gangs in the West Bank and what happened to the captives.

In all this lies not only a danger to the Palestinian people. This is a danger to the Israeli people. The danger is fascism in the State of Israel. There is talk

about the "purity of arms" and other high-flown verbiage. It is said: We have pure arms; here is only an exceptional case...

What is all this playing with words? What "purity of arms" was there in the war of Lebanon, the destruction of refugee camps, of whole towns, tens of thousands of killed and wounded and our own victims who have fallen in vain?

It must be pointed out that the behaviour towards the Israeli captives who are in the hands of the PLO is completely different. When the batch of six of our own captives returned, they said unanimously that the attitude towards them had been decent, in accordance with the Geneva Convention and even going beyond that.

By its behaviour, its attempt of obscuring what is happening, the government is liable to sabotage the continuation of the exchange of the captives, in which the families and all of us are interested. In the past, too, the government carried out indecent actions, such as returning liberated Palestinian prisoners-of-war to the concentration camp Al-Ansar and also by wriggling out from carrying out fully the previous agreement, and sending by deceit some of the liberated persons to prison, thus openly defying the International Red Cross.

I believe the words of Miriam Grof, mother of the Israeli captive, Yoske Grof, who said, according to the press: "It frightens me that Israel has gone down to such a level of behaviour. But what is worse, is the attempt at concealing the affair. Immediately, on the next day, the matter should have been published and the culprits should have been brought to court. I hope and believe that our captives are enjoying decent behaviour towards them and that their captors are humane enough and that precisely, these captors will show the Israeli government what democracy is".

In conclusion: If the affair of the murder of the captives is silenced, if it is not dealt with by a state investigation committee thoroughly investigating and finding the persons responsible, including the war minister and the army chief-of-staff, if the educational background and the names of all those who are directly responsible for that dangerous decay which has penetra-

ted Israeli society we must uproot the plague.

ZO HADEREKH, June 7, 1964

THE CHOICE

Interview with Comrade Tawfiq Toubi

Q: It seems that everybody admits that the crisis in all spheres in this country is deep, but many do not connect this with the war of conquests since 1967. What is, in your view, this connection?

A: I doubt that everybody does indeed admit the existence of a deep crisis. This is so because in Israel are circles who have enriched themselves subsequent to the occupation and the crisis: The 100 families who control the banks, the financial companies, trading companies, import and export, the companies of land speculation in the occupied territories - all these see in the occupied territories a market for the activity of capital and a source of cheap labour power in their enterprises. For them there is no crisis; they consider the occupation and its continuation a source of enrichment.

But on the other hand, in the poor areas voices are raised today which demand human housing and vital services instead of the establishment of colonial settlements. This is a sign of the growing consciousness in parts of the Jewish population with regard to the connection between the crisis and the continuation of occupation and wars.

One must not sever the link between the wars and continuation of the occupation, and the degeneration of the democratic and humanitarian values in Israel. Hence the expansion of racism, the appearance of the Jewish terrorist underground among the adherents of "Gush Emunim". This phenomenon resembles the movement of the French fascists at the time of the French colonial rule in Algeria. We have warned against such a development already in the days of the Alignment (Labour Party I'APAM) government, because this danger became apparent immediately when the trend towards perpetuation of occupation started, already before the rise to power of the Likud. Kiryat-Arba (colonial settlement adjacent to the Arab town Hebron - IB) was set up at the time of the Alignment rule. Today it is a hothouse of the terroris-

tic underground. The majority of the colonial settlements of "Gush Emunim" were established already in the days of the governments of Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin...

We want to prevent the development of a situation where Israel will have to pay in order to learn the connection between the occupation and the evils which befall Israeli society consequently upon the continuation of the policy of occupation.

WILL "THE WORLD RECONCILE ITSELF"
AND THIS WILL BE THE END?

Q; In the public the feeling is ever more deepening that a peace settlement will not be achieved in the near future, that the continuation of confiscations in the occupied territories and the continuation of colonial settling - and all these with intensive American backing - will play their part and "finally the world will reconcile itself". Is there any ground for such a feeling?

A: This is the dream of the ruling circles in Israel. The Alignment governments in the past as well as the present Likud government, thought and are thinking that time acts in favour of the policy of occupation, force and ignorance of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people. They believe that the American backing will turn the occupied territories into a part of the State of Israel. They claim that reality liquidates the rights of the Palestinian people with the help of "accomplished facts in the field": About 110 colonial settlements prove, in their opinion, that one half of the land in the West Bank has already been seized and there is no prospect for a solution in the next future... They boost this theory in order to weaken the hands of the Palestinian Arab people and of its Movement for National Liberation - the PLO. Their calculation is that "in order to save what has remained" the Palestinian people will consent to being dragged to such "solutions" as the Camp David accords and the "autonomy" or the formulations of the Reagan plan, whose patrons will be the American imperialists, the Israeli government and Arab reactionary rulers. The French colonialists also thought that a million of colonial settlers will decide the fate of Algeria, but the struggle

of the Algerians decided the issue differently...

Q: But they have in their propaganda a "trump card": They claim that just as the world, including the PLO, recognizes now the border lines of June 4, 1948, as the frontiers, it will in the future, too, reconcile themselves to the idea that the frontier will pass along the river Jordan...

A: The conditions are different and the problems are different, and one cannot compare what happened in '48 with what happened in '67. In '48 on the agenda stood - in accordance with the decision of the UNO the establishment of the State of Israel as an expression of the right to self-determination of the Jewish people in Palestine, and the establishment of a Palestinian-Arab State as the expression of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian-Arab people. The second part of the decision was not carried out, but this situation does not abolish and could not abolish, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

Today, after 17 years of occupation, it is a fact that the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories has not surrendered and not despaired. The Palestinian people continues its struggle. And it is a fact that among them there is not one person having any public status who is prepared to fulfil the part of Quisling.

In spite of the tragedy, in spite of the oppression in the occupied territories, in spite of the tragedy which has befallen the Palestinian people in Lebanon - the Palestinian National Movement continues struggling and succeeds in standing up to all the attempts at liquidating it. Precisely after the '67 war the Palestinian National Movement has succeeded in assuming the leading position among the Palestinian people and an international status as it had not possessed before. The representative organisation of the Palestinians, the PLO, has become its only authorized representative, which is internationally recognized. In such a situation it is impossible to drag down the Palestinian people from the stage of history and it is impossible to strike out from the agenda the question of realization of its right to self determination. The Palestinian people is today ready to accept - as a compromise - the line of June 4 1967 as frontiers of peace, but it does not renounce its prin-

cial and basic right: The establishment of its independent State alongside the State of Israel, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Those who think that by means of "accomplished facts in the field" and of policy of force they will be able to liquidate this right, do not understand the developing historical processes and reference is also to international and regional processes which after all are characterized by the strengthening of the forces of peace, anti-imperialism and socialism. This policy is liable to turn into a boomerang...

In Lebanon the American and Israeli policy of force has suffered a defeat. I do not want to exaggerate but in its importance, influence and results, this is the second biggest defeat in comparison with the defeat of the USA in Vietnam. The peoples of the region and the victims of the aggression have not yet picked the fruits of this defeat. However, also what has happened until now proves that the last word in the region on the cause of the Palestinian people will not be the word of those carrying out the policy of occupation and of annexation. Those who think that they will be able to continue doing now what they did after '48, push towards additional wars, and together with the American imperialists are liable to cause a situation which will endanger the future of Israel.

Q: Perhaps this is the cause of the fact that some people define the convocation of an international conference for the solution of the conflict as "naive" and "not relevant"? Opinions are heard that in fact Israel has only one option.

A: The idea that an international conference is something "naive" and cannot be carried into practice means that an attempt is made again to plant the illusion that American imperialism and its henchmen in the region are able to impose arrangements and "solutions" by means of a policy of force. Those who reject the convocation of an international conference, with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including Israel and the PLO, and also the great powers, the Soviet Union and the USA, in practice oppose the establishment of just peace which will respect the rights of the two peoples in this country. They oppose a solution based on international law, on the decisions of the families of peoples. They delude themselves when they believe that they will be able to wriggle out from such a

solution over a lengthy period, and exchange it for an American hegemony in the region, which will be attained with the help of the rulers of Israel and Arab reactionary forces. They already tried this in Camp David and many thought that this was a "peace" settlement.

To the merit of the Communist Party of Israel it must be said that we were at that time the only ones who said that the Camp David accords are not a peace agreement, but paved the road to wars in the region, because that deal prevents the solution of the Palestinian problem, which was and has remained the root of the conflict. We were right. At that time were in the Knesset such persons as Uri Avneri - then a Member of Knesset - who entreated us to support the Camp David accords because of the "historic responsibility". They claimed that we are losing an historic occasion and that also the Palestinians lose an historic occasion. But our field of vision is comprehensive. We explained that one cannot establish peace without honouring the rights of both peoples and that the Palestinians must be enabled to realize their rights to a State of their own alongside Israel... What were the facts? An additional bloody war in Lebanon. Our forecast proved to have been correct.

In order not to err again, it is important to emphasize again and again that the Reagan plan or anything similar to Camp David contains nothing that can bring peace to the region. These plans are intended to consolidate the American hegemony in the Middle East - a thing which contradicts the interests of the peoples, because it bears within itself a danger of wars. There is no other path to a settlement except the establishment of just peace. The 17 years of occupation do not weaken our belief that the solution will come on the basis of withdrawal from all the occupied territories, the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State and of mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian State which will arise. These fundamental principles are included in the Fez plan of the Arab countries and also the PLO upholds them.

The Palestinian people extends its hand to just peace: In an interview to "Nouvel Observateur" (May 15, '84) Arafat called for mutual recognition between two states. And what was the answer of the Israeli government? It ignores this additional call of the Palestinian people

and continues to rely on the policy of force, on American backing and even on the most deadly arms .

The wide public in Israel is not aware of the dangers lying in a policy which relies on a nuclear option. This problem troubles us, the forces of peace in Israel. How to explain and prove to the public where this policy is leading to. The ruling circles gain from the international tension which enables Israel to profit from USA support of the policy of force of the Israeli government. However, historical experience has proved the opposite. Take as example the establishment of the State of Israel, which was made possible as a result of the decision of the UNO, that is to say on the basis of international agreement. In the same measure the mitigation of international tension is a necessary condition for the solution of just peace, also today. There is no escaping the necessity of an international peace conference, which will lead to a settlement of just and stable peace.

The establishment of just and stable peace will not come without the combination of a change of the correlation of forces in the region and a change of the correlation of forces in Israel itself in favour of peace and coexistence in the region. We do not only hope, but also act in order to assist in the ripening of these factors which are necessary conditions for the achievements of peace. Today, when we are standing before the elections to the Knesset, the task is imposed upon us not only to pull down the Likud government but also to act for the creation of a new balance of forces in this country, which will be able to bring pressure and influence to bear in direction of a change of the official Israeli policy. This is our hope and for this we are acting.

ZO HADEREKH, June 7, 1984

DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

JOINT DECLARATION

BETWEEN THE DELEGATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY AND THE DELEGATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, a delegation of the SED, Central Committee headed by Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED's Central Auditing Commission, stayed in Israel from April 29 to May 8, 1984.

During its visit the delegation was received by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, and Tawfiq Toubi, Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel. It conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee, to the leadership of the Communist Party of Israel.

The delegation of the SED Central Committee conducted an extensive exchange of views and experiences on basic issues of international development and the situation prevailing in the two countries with a delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel composed of; Wolf Ehrlich, chairman of the Central Control Commission of the Party (head of the delegation), George Toubi, secretary of the Central Committee and head of its Foreign Relation Department and Abraham Levenbroun, member of the Central Committee. The talks were held in a friendly atmosphere showed full agreement on all questions discussed.

The representatives of the SED informed the Israeli comrades about the positive development of the German Democratic Republic in its 35th year. They emphasized that Party policy relying on the creative activities of all people, will continue to focus its attention on strengthening the GDR in every way and successfully implementing the resolutions adopted at the 10th party congress on the further construction of an advanced socialist society. Political stability, continuous eco-

conomic growth and the continuation of social policies for the good of the people, the consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the extension of cooperation with the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are the basis for the GDR's effective contribution to safeguarding world peace.

The CPI informed the guest delegation of the effects of war and occupation on the people of Israel: the aggravation of the political, economic, social and moral crisis, the lowering of real wages, the further class struggle and the growing opposition of broader circles of workers and intellectuals to the Lebanese war, on the struggle of the Communist Party of Israel to strengthen the unity of the democratic and peace-loving forces in Israel, in order to reinforce the struggle against the aggression and occupation, for a just solution of the Palestinian problem and a comprehensive and durable peace settlement, against the strategic cooperation with US imperialism, for defending the standard of living and democratic rights of the working people, against the discrimination of the Arab population in Israel and against the shameful ideology and practice of racism.

Both parties evaluate that world peace is extremely threatened by the policy of confrontation and arms building pursued by the most aggressive ruling circles in imperialist countries. The escalation of the nuclear arms race, provoked by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially in the United States, increases the danger of nuclear war with all its catastrophic consequences for mankind, for life on Earth in general.

Both parties are convinced that it is possible to normalize the international situation in line with the proposals put forward by the USSR and the other states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This requires that all attempts by imperialism to achieve military superiority be given up, negotiations on international controversies conducted constructively and with the political determination to achieve positive results, and the peoples' vital interests, the cause of peace and security all over the world fully taken into account.

Both parties second the idea expressed at the International Karl Marx Conference held in Berlin in 1983 that the joint action by communist, social-democratic and socialist parties as well as all forces who are in favour of peace and against war make an important contribution to preventing a nuclear world war unleashed by imperialism. In this context

they praise the activities of the worldwide peace movement which has grown in recent times and comprises the broadest political and social elements.

Both parties are of the opinion that the go-ahead with the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe marks a new stage of the nuclear arms race and has further aggravated the international situation.

They demand a halt to the deployment of the US first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe and the removal of the Pershings-2 and cruise missiles already sited, missiles which do not only threaten European nations. They regard agreements on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments in line with the principle of equality and equal security as a matter of utmost urgency. They expect the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security- Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe to reach constructive conclusions in the spirit of the Helsinki Final act. They are convinced that a turn towards disarmament, detente and peace is possible.

Both parties point to the dangers for world peace emanating from the continued tensions in the Middle East. They condemn the imperialist pursuit of hegemony on the part of the United States which declares this region as a 'zone of vital interest' trying to include it in NATO's sphere of action and interfering in the internal affairs of the states concerned. They demand an end to US military presence in the region. They oppose the adventurous policy of confrontation and arms building pursued by the present US administration which also conjures up the risk of a nuclear world conflagration being sparked off in the Middle East.

Both parties hold the view that it would also be in the interest of the Israeli people if the Israeli government, in agreement with UN resolutions, were to give up its plans and threats of aggression against Syria. They are of one accord in demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon and the cessation of the Israeli unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of that country.

Both parties advocated a Just and peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict demanding the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all territories occupied since June 1967, recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to self determination including their right to establish an independent state, recognizing the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to

their homeland according to UN resolutions and the right of all states in the region to exist, including the state of Israel. They underline their conviction that the Middle East conflict can only be solved through collective effort by convening an international conference with the participation of the USSR, the USA and all interested parties including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

During the SED delegation's stay with the Communist Party of Israel, measures were discussed on further deepening the fraternal relations that have existed for decades between the two parties and are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

During its stay in Israel the SED delegation held meetings with representatives of the United workers Party (MAPAM), the Histadrut (General TU), and Peace Now movement.

The delegation of the SED visited the CPI districts of Tel-Aviv Jaffa, the Triangle, Acre, Nazareth and Haifa and was acquainted with different aspects of the work and struggle of the host party in these districts.

The guest delegation took part in the First of May demonstrations and assemblies in different parts of the country. It was received by the municipal councils of Nazareth and Taibe. It met with leaders of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE).

The delegation of the SED Central Committee thanked the Communist Party of Israel for the cordial hospitality it extended.

ABOUT THE VISIT OF THE DELEGATION OF
THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO ISRAEL

In response to the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel a delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party visited Israel between the 13th-25th May 1984.

The guest delegation was composed of comrades Jordan Kirov, deputy head of the International department of the CC BCP, Marin Banshev, head of a section in the ideological department of the CC and Agel Manshev, senior official of the International department of the CC BCP.

The delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party held talks with a delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel which was composed of comrades George Toubi secretary of the Central Committee and head of the foreign relations department (head of the delegation), Abraham Melamed and Hans Lebrecht members of the Central Committee of the CPI.

The two delegations exchanged views on international developments and specially on questions related to the situation in the Middle East. The delegations of the two parties exchanged informations regarding the developments in their respective countries and discussed questions of mutual interests for both parties.

The talks were held in a warm comaradely atmosphere and full agreement was reached on all questions discussed.

The two delegations expressed the readiness of their respective parties to strengthen still futher their fraternal relations and cooperation.

During its stay in Israel the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party met with comrades Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI and David (Sasha) Khenin member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPI.

The guest delegation visited the party districts of the CPI in Tel-Aviv, Nazareth, Haifa and Acre and was acquainted with different aspects of party activities.

The delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party met with representatives of the Democratic Front for peace and equality and other Jewish and Arab public circles.

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

To Comrade Dimitar Stanishev
CC Bulgarian Communist Party

Dear Comrade Stanishev,

Heartiest greetings and warm congratulations on the occasion of your 60th birthday and for receiving the order-hero of the socialist Labour Bulgaria, the order of Georgi Dimitrov and the order of friendship among peoples-USSR.

We wish you good health and many more years of creative work and success in the service of our common noble cause.

To Comrade William Kashtan
General secretary of the
Communist Party of Canada

Dear Comrade Kashtan,

Heartiest greetings and best wishes on the occasion of your 75th birthday.

We wish you good health and additional achievements in the struggle for the interest of the working people of Canada and for our common noble cause - peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

To the Central Committee of the
Italian Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

Deep condolence for the sudden and untimely death of
Comrade Anrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian
Communist Party.

His death is a great loss to the Italian working people
and to the general struggle for peace and progress.

SUPPLEMENT :

ISRAELI SETTLEMENT POLICY IN
THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP

by DR. JOSEPH ALGAZI

ISRAELI SETTLEMENT POLICY IN THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP

by Dr. Joseph Algazy

The occupation of wide Arab areas in the wake of the war in June 1967, gave the governments of Israel - those headed by the Alignment as well as the Likud - an opportunity to implement plans of territorial expansion and tendencies of Israeli colonization in the territories beyond the "green line" (the boundaries of the State of Israel on the 4th of June 1967 on the eve of the war).

1. The "national unity" government, in which the Alignment and the Likud participated, and which stood behind the June war of 1967, accepted regretfully the fact, that a large population (too large to the minds of Israeli cabinet ministers) remained in the occupied Arab territories. Israeli government leaders did not conceal their opinion, that they would have preferred large territories with few inhabitants. Some stated overtly, that a great opportunity was missed in the June war of 1967 to drive out the Arabs, or at least the majority of Arabs, from the conquered areas. They were not satisfied with those 300.000 displaced Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (mostly refugees from the war of 1948) who became refugees a second time in less than twenty years, on the East Bank of the Jordan; in addition to tens of thousands of refugees from the Gaza Strip who found a refuge in Egypt and the others from the Golan Heights who moved into Syria.

The process of creating conditions to encourage the emigration of inhabitants of the occupied territories continued also after the war and was accelerated, till the Jordanian government closed the Jordan bridges to prevent a mass emigration. In fact, the emigration of Palestinians from the occupied territories to various parts of the world is going on till today - comprising mainly young and educated persons who, besides the pressures brought upon them by the occupa-

tion authorities, hardly find adequate jobs.

The emigration of the Palestinians from the occupied areas fits the tendencies of the Israeli governments to reduce as far as possible the number of Palestinians living in these territories and to annex the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as well as the Gaza Strip - I mean those areas where the independent, sovereign Palestinian State should be established - to the State of Israel. The existence, side by side, of the existing State of Israel (according to the boundaries of the 4th of June, 1967) and of the Palestinian state that is to be founded, provides a just, democratic and realistic solution for the national aspirations of the Palestinian people to implement its right to self-determination. This solution will bring peace to this part of the world, where wars cause much suffering to the inhabitants and endanger world peace.

2. Israel's "national unity" government seized, still before the battles of the June war of 1967 were over, extensive areas, such as parts of East Jerusalem and the area of Latroun, after having evacuated the inhabitants and destroyed their houses. Thus a large area opposite the Western Wall in Jerusalem and the villages of Yalu, Beit Nuba and Emaus near Latroun were destroyed. Qalqilia would have suffered a similar fate, unless the town had been saved, under the pressure of public opinion, in the middle of the demolition.

Shortly after the war, the process of land expropriation and colonization by Israeli settlers started. Since then the process was speeded up and is still carried on. It is obvious, that all activities of Israeli settlement contradict the international law. The Geneva convention of 1949 explicitly prohibits any settlement by the conquering power in the conquered areas. Item 49 of this convention states clearly, that the occupying power shall not transfer and shall not settle parts of its population inside the areas conquered.

Under the Alignment governments, the colonizing effort was concentrated in those areas designated for annexation to the State of Israel: East Jerusalem, The Jordan Valley, Gush Etzion, the Gaza Strip, Pithat Rafiah, Sharm e-Sheikh and the Golan Heights. When the Alignment was in power, in addition to the large-scale Jewish housing projects in Jerusalem, 76 Israeli settlements were set up beyond the "green line", from June 1967 till the middle of 1977: These include 21 settlements in the Jordan Valley, 7 in Gush Etzion, 17 in the Rafah area and the Gaza Strip, 3 in Sharm e-Sheikh, 25 on the Golan Heights, 3 in other areas. About 7000 settlers were brought

to these settlements, most of them engaging in agriculture.

The priorities and preferences of the Alignment governments regarding the location of settlements in the West Bank were decided in accordance with the "Allon Plan". The "Allon Plan" named presently by the Alignment leaders, who are in the opposition, "the territorial compromise" seeks to annex to Israel (in addition to the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights) the West Bank, East Jerusalem and its outskirts in the west, the whole Jordan Valley in the east (an area extending from a point southwest of Beit-Shean to Ein Gedi on the Dead Sea coast; this area is 115 km long and 20 km wide). This plan intends to leave to the Palestinians, in the center, a narrow area (under the rule and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Jordan to prevent the establishment of any Palestinian state), some sausage inside an Israeli military and settlements sandwich that controls also the water resources.

The annexation of East Jerusalem and its outskirts was explained by historical reasons and the desire to annex the Jordan Valley and the Gaza Strip was based on strategical arguments. Referring to the goals of the Jewish settlements in the Jordan Valley, the chairman of the Settlements Department of the Jewish Agency, Ra'anan Weitz (on behalf of the Alignment) declared: "This area should get priority over all others. The strengthening of the (Jewish) settlements there is a historical command and every political settlement must rest on the existence of a full, stable partition wall of Jewish settlements, constituting an integral part of the State of Israel". (Ra'anan Weitz, Peace and Settlement, Blueprint for Rural and Urban Settlement in Israel, Jerusalem 1978).

Former Foreign Minister in the Alignment cabinets, Yigal Allon, declared in 1976: "Demographicly, the future map of Israel must insure the state's Jewish character, even if it will always include a considerable Arab minority enjoying full equality of rights. I'd like Israel to be in firm strategic control of the Golan Heights, even if we come to terms over Judea and Samaria with a view to an Arab solution to the territories densely populated by Palestinian Arabs. We must have control over the Jordan Valley from the hilltops, which are completely desolate, and over the Judean desert down Qiryat Arba east of Hebron. I'd be very glad to see the southern Gaza Strip and the Rafah Approaches become an area pulsating with Jewish life, thus constituting a barrier on the historical road of invasion from the land of the Nile". (Yediot Aharanot, May 14, 1976)

3. Under the Likud governments, the appetite was growing to-

ward an annexation of all the West Bank area (in addition to the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights). The "green line" was erased from more than one map. In the official lexicon, the boundaries between the State of Israel and the occupied territories were blurred, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip became "Districts of Judea, Samaria and Gaza in Eretz-Israel".

The argument for seeking the annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the State of Israel is alleged to be historical: "The source of our right to Eretz-Israel, the moral basis of the Zionist movement and of the State of Israel is the ancient link between the Jewish people and its country, a link that has not ceased for 4000 years. This link starts in the mountains of Samaria and Judea, and through all generations refers mainly to them" - claims the chairman of the Settlement Section of the Jewish Agency, on behalf of the Likud, Matityahu Drobles. (Matityahu Drobles, "Introduction", Viyeshavtem Bah, Settlements of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, Jerusalem, Zionist Organisation, 1983).

What sounds as demographical argument reads: "In Judea and Samaria, the total area exploited for any purpose - building, development projects or farming - is not more than 30% (...) the demographical question that overshadows the horizon of the future generations is not, where will the boundary between Jews and Arabs inside Eretz-Israel be, but which population will fill the vacuum of Judea and Samaria. Will it be filled by the Jewish population who is pressed, almost choking in the hot, moist plain in the west, or perhaps by an overpopulated Arab world rising as a threat from the east?" (id).

What sounds as a security argument reads: "The history of Eretz-Israel teaches us that who sits on the mountain, controls, finally the whole country. In our days, in the area of electronics and computers, (...) the issue of the domination of Judea and Samaria has become again a key issue for the existence of the State of Israel" (id).

However, as a matter of fact, the aspiration for annexing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the State of Israel originates from the desire for territorial expansion at the expense of the other people: "The State of Israel has not been founded and does not exist for the Jews living here. The builders and executors of the Zionist enterprise have always considered themselves as bridgehead of the great Jewish people who is still dispersed in the world. The secret of their strength emanates from the adherence to the basic Zionist idea

from the confidence, that in the course of the future generations, the Jewish people will return home, in our generation or in the generation of our grand-children (...) This enterprise has suffered a severe, ideological and emotional blow by the ruin of the sixteen Jewish settlements in the Yamit area and the Solomon's Gulf (following the agreements between the governments of Israel and Egypt) (...). A great building drive and pioneering effort in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district are necessary to balance the spirit of the Zionist work, and to bring it back to the progressive and creative course, without which it cannot exist". (id)

"The state lands and the uncultivated rocky grounds in Judea and Samaria must be seized immediately, to settle the areas between the centers of the minority populations and also around them, in order to minimize the danger of development of another Arab state in these territories. Being cut off by Jewish settlements, the minority population will find it hard to create a territorial and political unity and continuity.

"There must be no doubt as to our intention to hold forever the territories of Judea and Samaria, otherwise an increasing unrest might arise among the minority population, that will cause repeated attempts to establish an additional Arab State in these areas. The best and most efficient way to remove the slightest doubt about our intention to hold Judea and Samaria forever, is an accelerated colonization drive in these areas". (Matityahu Drobles, Settlement in Judea and Samaria -Strategy, Policy and Programmes, Jerusalem, issued by the World Zionist Organisation, Settlement Section 1980).

4. Since the June war of 1967, the Israeli governments have put their hand on half the area of the West Bank (estimated at five and a half million dunam). The requisitioned areas serve for:

- military purposes: As training grounds, shooting ranges, army camps, etc...; in the West Bank alone this effects an area of over one million dunam;

- housing purposes: The Israeli governments have built in the Arab part of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood a "sanitary belt" of Jewish housing projects and quarters, where about 100,000 Israelis live; in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, rural settlements, including cooperative and collective villages were established under the Alignment rule; urban and communal settlements, which Israeli sociologists call "dormitories for Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv" have been constructed under the

Likud rule.

- agricultural purposes: The State of Israel uses today in the West Bank almost 50,000 dunam of land for agricultural crops that are planned to reach 100,000 dunam.
- pastures
- establishing industrial plants and workshops
- construction of an extensive network of roads

The conclusion: An infrastructure for settlements is established in the short range and the long range.

5. The Israeli governments have settled in East Jerusalem about 100,000 Israelis aside with some 130,000 Arab local inhabitants who live there prior to the 1967-war. 32,000 Israelis settled in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip were about 1.25 million Arab live. Prof. Yuval Ne'eman, Israel's Minister for science and Development, who announced these figures in February 1984, added, that "at the end of the budgetary year there will be 50,000 - 60,000 (Israeli) settlers. The growth will be a result of the completion of apartments whose construction has started in previous years". (Ma'ariv 24.2.1984)

The target set by the Israeli government and the Section for Settlement in the World Zionist Organisation, is, as they say, "to create till 1986 conditions to complete the settling of a Jewish population of 100,000 in Samaria and Judea (the investment will amount to 1.55 milliard dollars) The activities in the said period (1983-1986) will promote the dynamical development during the next 30 years, that will bring the population to be settled all over Samaria, Judea and Jerusalem up to 1.2 millions". (Blueprint for Settlement in Samaria and Judea for the years 1983-1986, Jerusalem, 1983). According to their plans, funds will be invested to develop sources of employment for about 17,300 persons; to build 20,860 housing units; to construct 400 kms roads; to develop infrastructures for electricity, water and communications.

An analysis of the blueprint for Jewish settlement in the West Bank for the next years, that was quoted above, shows, "that about 65% to 75% of these settlers will settle within commuting distance of Jerusalem and the metropolitan area of Tel-Aviv; an extensive road network will cross the West Bank north to south and east to west to link the settlements to each other and to centers within the Green Line; extensive industrial development will be promoted to provide employment for settlers; most settlements will be promoted to

provide employment for settlers; most settlements will be urban and semi-urban. They will be geared to attracting urban populations from Jerusalem and the Tel-Aviv area, by offering suburban housing, in accordance with anticipated demand patterns. Development of Arab settlements will be contained and limited to the controlled growth of those presently in existence. The stated goal of the plan is to achieve a "maximal distribution of a large Jewish population in areas of high settlement importance, with small national input and in a relatively short time". This will be achieved through "achieving the settlement potential of Judea and Samaria and through the integration of the area in the country's system" The latter include physical infrastructure as well as employment, administration, and more." (Annette Hochstein, Metropolitan links between Israel and the West Bank, Jerusalem, The West Bank data base project, october 1983).

At the same time it is worthwhile to pay attention to the following remark: In reality, most of the settlements founded by Gush Emunim (the extremist, militant wing of the Movement for an Undivided Land of Israel) during the last years are inhabited by an average of 15 families only, and therefore, they are nick-named shadow-settlements or "Potyomkin villages".

6. For years Israeli governments have expropriated land in the West Bank under the pretext of "security requirements". Since legal difficulties have arisen (as a result of the opposition in Israel and abroad against requisitioning and settlements), the government uses the trick of requisitioning land by declaring it as "state land property". The Israeli government take advantage of the fact, that a considerable part of the land in the West Bank is not registered at all in the Land Registry Office, even though the peasants have held these lands since generations. The law, that was customary in the West Bank before the Israeli occupation, recognized their right to the unregistered lands, if they cultivated them uninterruptedly for a long time. An editorial in "Ha'aretz" daily (23.3.1981) pointed out: "The military administration officials, encouraged by higher authorities, found a trick that enables them to bypass the limitations set by the Supreme Court regarding the seizure of lands in the Israel-held territories. By means of this trick, tens of thousands of dunams have been seized in the West Bank last year in a way that is doubtful from the legal point of view... Instead issuing orders of seizure and expropriation and to risk a hearing before the High Court of Justice...the administration declares some land as government land... The right of inhabitants who are harmed by a military administrative order

is very limited. Within a very short time they are entitled to appeal against the decision before an appeals commission set up by the military administration. This is not a court tribunal, but a commission whose members are lawyers in the army reserve, subject to military discipline. They are not essentially independent... No reasonable person, in or outside Israel, will regard this procedure as a normal legal instrument, but, on the contrary, will condemn it as a caricature of legality..."

7. In addition to the land requisitioned by the Israeli occupational administration, private entrepreneurs and companies, Israelis and foreigners, purchase land in the West Bank. Land speculators and ex-officers of the Israeli military administration, are involved in the land acquisitions. "The former officers, now dressed as civilians, represent private companies, deal mainly with land purchases from Arabs. Others enter partnership in textile works, food factories and other enterprises belonging to West Bank inhabitants" (Ha'ir, 10.2.1984). Land transactions in the West Bank involve sometimes criminal acts. "The attempt to purchase land in the West Bank, exerting pressure of various kinds on the owners who refuse to sell it, is no new phenomenon. Only a few cases have become known in public, when large-scale acts of forgery and fraud are revealed" (Koteret Rashit, 22.2.1984). In May 1983, a man from the village of Badaya was killed when he was trying to block with his own body a tractor that intruded his land. In February 1984, "unknown persons" tried, in the darkness, to force Mohammed Salah Naufel, an 82 years old man in the neighbourhood of Tulkarem, to sign a bill of sale of his land; the "unknown persons" threatened him with a rifle, tried to handcuff him, caulked his mouth. During the struggle his right hand finger was broken.

8. The government put all water resources in the West Bank under its control. This water is used extensively by the settlements. Other water resources diverted to Israeli areas inside the "green line". In January 1979, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon declared that: "more than a third of Israeli's water comes from Judea and Samaria. It is quite inconceivable that the issue of water, which is intended to serve all the sections of the population, should be in the hands of the Arab population. A joint water network must be established in which Israel will have the decisive authority".

The government puts at the disposal of the settlements an abundance of water, but makes it scarce for the Arab population. The amounts of water which towns and villages in the West

Bank are allowed to use are limited (for drinking, agriculture and industry). They are also limited in the development of the water supplies in the area. Palestinian municipalities are not permitted to replace water pumps or to purchase spareparts for water pumps without the approval of the Israeli authorities.

"The contest between the Arab and the Jewish sectors in the occupied territories over resources is not limited to land; it also involves the availability and control of water. The settlements of the Jordan Valley are by their location in direct competition with the Arab villages for the West Bank's limited resources. In the Jordan Valley the agriculture for both the Arab villages and the Jewish settlements depends upon the availability of irrigation water. As the settlements of the area are based upon agriculture and utilize large areas of land, correspondingly large volumes of water are needed to make agriculture viable in the region. In the Jordan Valley, the total demand for water by the Arab villages is 44 m.cu.m. compared with approximately 36 m.cu.m. of water consumed by the Jewish settlements, of which 30 m.cu.m. is sweet water pumped from boreholes. Within the Jordan Valley, the consumption of water for the irrigation of one dunam of land measures 712 cu.m. for the Arab sector and 1.429 cu.m. for the Jewish sector. These indicators reveal the contrasting levels of intensity of water use between the two population. (...) The military authority has been responsible for the drilling of deep boreholes and installing powerful pumps in all of the West Bank, but predominantly in the Jordan Valley. The authorities have drilled at least 20 deep boreholes at a depth of 300-600 meters, in the Jordan Valley and 10 boreholes in the mountainous region of the West Bank. Some of these boreholes have been drilled in close proximity to the local springs of the Arab populace. The impact of these drillings are, however, only speculative. While it is theoretically possible for such wells and springs to operate side by side without affecting each other, a number of hydrologists have stated that the long-term effects of such a policy may be detrimental to the output of the neighbouring sources. Moreover the authorities have, since 1967 placed a ban (with a few exceptions) on the drilling of new Arab wells for irrigation purposes. Restrictions have been imposed. Restrictions have been imposed such as water meters on the amount of water that can be pumped from pre-1967 wells. The local Arab population is not allowed to pump more than 35 m.cu.m. annually. The Israeli argument is that the Arab sector has sufficient water and that greater efficiency should be made in the utilization of the existing wa-

ter resources. Moreover, the only accessible water is from the deeper aquifer, the drilling of which is likely to be an exorbitant investment and consequently non-viable. These measures are likely to be harmful to the future development of West Bank agriculture, particularly in lieu of fact that 95% of the cultivated land is utilized for dry farming and only 5% is irrigated. In contrast to this, in Israel some 43-45% of the cultivated land is irrigated. In view of the control over the water resources by the Israeli authorities, new investment in irrigation to increase the cultivable area is unlikely to occur. These restrictions are likely to result in a decline in the available cultivable land". (Dr. David Kahan, Agriculture and Water in the West Bank and Gaza, Jerusalem, The West Bank data base project, 1983).

9. The Palestinian population, who was mainly agricultural till the Israeli occupation in June 1967, is passing an accelerated process of proletarianization. In the West Bank a class is created which the sociologists call Peasants Proletariat, living in the village and working in the city. The Gaza Strip has become a kind of "Israeli Soweto". The occupied territories have served, since June 1967, also as an abundant source of cheap labour, a work force who lacks protection and rights. Those who benefit from this situation are the employers as well as the government treasury. The employers remit to the state authorities every month the funds due to cover the social benefits of workers from the occupied areas. These funds are estimated to amount to many milliards of Shekalim. The Histadrut enterprises also deduct from the salary of the workers "organizational fees", even though some Histadrut leaders demand today, in view of the economic crisis, to dismiss first of all these workers.

In 1982 (Sep.-Jan.), 43,500 people from the West Bank were officially employed in Israel. An additional 20,000 were estimated to work there unofficially. Moreover, 15,000 Arabs from East Jerusalem work in West Jerusalem or elsewhere in Israel, following the pattern of their West Bank brethren. In official statistics, they are accounted for as Israelis. There are also an estimated 15,000 people who work for Israeli contractors inside the West Bank. (The number quoted reflect official statistics only). About 90% of the workers commute daily. (...) Overnight stays require permits and are few. However, the Israeli press and the International Labor Organization increasingly report illegal overnight stays as well as phenomena of substandard facilities for those who do not commute, with the related problems of mini-

shanty towns sprouting on beaches, lack of sanitation and hygiene, high crime rate, high accident rate and arrests for illegal stays. This phenomenon is still limited and probably affects mainly Gaza workers, because of commuting distances" (A.Hochstein, op. cit.,)

Officially, 17,500 workers from the Gaza Strip were registered in 1972 as being employed in Israel. This number increased to 22,700 in 1973, to 35,900 in 1981 and amounts today to over 40,000, in addition to another 15,000 who are not officially registered.

Shocking reports were published in the Hebrew Israeli press - we emphasize in the Israeli press - regarding the employment and exploitation of workers from the occupied territories, including children.

"At seven in the morning, at the corner of Japhet and Ehrlich streets, the Jaffa "slave market" where the unorganized Arab workers from the territories meet, unemployment is assuming threatening dimensions. Still before the Jewish 'boss' park his car, the human honeycomb rushes toward the employer, seizes his hands and dress, imploring him "take me". You may be astonished to find among this crowd also many intellectuals - teachers, engineers and computer technicians, who have finished their studies in the Arab countries (they have certificates) and do not find a job in places where they live" ("Rehov Rashi" - 18.11.83)

One of the employers told the journalist:

"Children need not to be registered in the labour office and no national insurance fees are paid for them. Usually they are paid in cash once a week. The younger they are the better, they work and you can give them harder work. They are disciplined and quiet. The children arrive with their older brothers, sometimes with their father. Of course, the little ones are much cheaper. Five hundred Shekel a day. Adults get up to 800 and a skilled worker gets 1500-1800 Shekel a day. They work 9 hours and get half an hour rest. They don't get food". (Meirav Halperin, "Slave-children at the Junction", Ma'ariv 18.11.1983)

10. The West Bank and the Gaza Strip have become Israeli export markets. They export to Israel a cheap labour force without equal social rights, and import Israeli merchandise. The Israeli government limits and controls the import of the West Bank and of the Gaza Strip. The economic dependency of the West Bank on Israel is growing. Still

worse is the situation in the Gaza Strip. The port of this city was paralyzed in the beginning of the occupation. In the last years, the Israeli authorities are obstructing the culture. The labour force is entirely dependent on the Israeli market. Pockets of unemployment emerged last year in the Gaza Strip.

11. Two standards of development and services are created in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip: One - an advanced, privileged standard for the settlers, the other one - frozen and backward, for the Palestinian population.

12. The Israeli administration aggravates the oppression of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (arrests, collective punishments) and deprives it of the elementary human rights: The rights of association and assembly, freedom of expression, the right to protest etc. At the same time, the Jewish settlers are granted the authority to suppress, act as policemen, punish and harass the Palestinian inhabitants. The settlers have become armed militias who get their weapons from the Israeli army. Avraham Ahituv, former head of the security services, has written an article on the issue of "Jewish terror". He stated that the settlements are a psychological incubator for the growth of Jewish terror. (Davar, 19.8.1983). Indeed, during the last year more acts of terrorism have been committed by Jewish terrorist elements against the Palestinian population in the West Bank, against institutes of education and sites of cult.

The prolonged occupation has produced a cancerous tumor in Israel's society: A racist ideology that finds much support among the settlers. Calls to introduce Apartheid and to evacuate the Arabs are voiced in Israel and in the occupied areas.

13. Striving for a change in the demographic and socio-economic character of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Israeli government has created there infrastructures and instruments of integration, of dependency on the State of Israel in economy, water supplies, electricity network, administration and authority. At the same time two mechanisms of relationship have emerged: One - between the State of Israel, as a colonial power of occupation, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as occupied areas and colonies: And the second one - inside the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, between two categories of population with two unequal standards of rights: one - the minority population of Jewish

settlers, dominant, armed, oppressive, privileged, exploiting, enjoying a high income, a hotbed for terrorism and fascism; the second - the majority population, Palestinian who have lived in the region for generations and hundreds of years are deprived of their land, exploited, oppressed and lacking all elementary human and civil rights.

The Israeli government denies to the inhabitants of the West Bank and of the Gaza Strip every legitimacy of a rightful national collective and treats them as a conglomerate of single individuals that must be ruled. The Israeli government seeks to create a new "Israel" reality, that will make it hard for the Palestinian people to implement its right to self determination and will prevent the establishment of its independent, sovereign state; the Palestinian people will live under the conditions of a colony in its homeland, or abandon it. The government creates the conditions of a de jure annexation of the West Bank to the State of Israel.

In conclusion we arrive at the question that preoccupies many: Are all the steps, taken by the Israeli government in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and the new reality created there an irreversible process? The answer to this question is yes and no. The answer will be yes as long as there is somebody who encourages the Israel government or will not prevent it from carrying on its present policy; the answer is yes, under the conditions of massive American aid for Israel, of European indifference, of an intensified antagonism between the two big powers - the United States and the Soviet Union, of a divided Arab world, of an annexationist regime in Israel.

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