

**INFORMATION BULLETIN  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL**



**3-4/84**

**MARCH - APRIL 1984**



# WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE

<u>CONTENTS</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
* 21st Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel	3
* 22nd Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel	5
* Always innovate while learning constantly from past experience - Speech by Comrade Meir Vilner on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Communist Party of Israel	7
* Press Communiqué issued by the Committee for defence of Arab land	18
* New Edition of old Zionist Dreams: Eretz-Israel (Palestine) without Arabs By Hans Lebrecht	21
* About the visit of the Soviet Peace Delegation in Israel	24
* Documents and Materials	
- To the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party	31
- To the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party	33
- To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay	33
* Supplement:	
A different Israel Reflections of Israeli realities in the political theatre	35

21st. PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL.

On April 2, 1984 the 21st 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 Salim al-Kassem member of the Political Bureau.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured about the tasks of the Party towards the elections to the 11th. Knesset.

A debate was held, and was summed up by the lecturer.

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

The Central Committee decided that the Party shall appear in the elections to the 11th Knesset in the framework of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), which has proved its vitality and great importance as a consistent and militant, Jewish-Arab force for peace and progress.

The Central Committee decided to act for the cooperation of all the forces of peace, equality and democracy on the basis of the platform of the DFPE.

The Central Committee emphasized the special importance of the elections to the 11th. Knesset and called upon all members and sympathizers of the Party, and members of the Young Communist League of Israel to act with all their force and energy in the activity for the success of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality to the 11th. Knesset.

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At the opening of the session, comrade M.Vilner congratulated, on behalf of the Central Committee, comrade Wolf Ehrlich, chairman of the Central Control Commission, on the oc-

occasion of his 75th birthday. He pointed out his important contribution to the politico-ideological development of the Party and its struggles, and wished him good health and many additional years of fruitful activity for the noble ideals of peace and communism.

Comrade M. Vilner congratulated, on behalf of the Central Committee comrade Miriam Alghazi, member of the Central Control Commission on the occasion of her 50th birthday. He pointed out her great devotion to the struggles of our Party the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and wished her good health and continuation of her fruitful work in the service of the lofty aims of the Communist Party.

ZO HADEREKH, April 11, 194

22nd PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On April 20, 1984, the 22nd 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 Abraham Melamed, member of the Central Committee.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured on the political situation and the mobilization of the Party towards the elections to the 11th Knesset, the preparations towards the 20th Congress of the Party which will take place in 1985, and delivered a report about the work of the Political Bureau and the Secretariate.

A debate took place, which was summed up by the lecturer. The Central Committee confirmed the lecture, the report and the summing-up, and adopted resolutions.

STATEMENT TOWARDS THE 1ST OF MAY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel published a statement towards the First of May, the day of international solidarity.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 22ND PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY FROM LEBANON!  
DO NOT ATTACK SYRIA!

The Central Committee states with concern that an additional conspiracy is being hatched between the US administration and the Israeli government, for a military action on part of Israel against the Syrian forces in Lebanon. In view of the failure of the US Israeli aggression in Lebanon, in view of the fact that the US marines and the US warships were forced to leave Beirut and the shores of Lebanon, and in view of the anger which was aroused by the actions of terror organized by the Reagan administration against the peoples of

Central America Nicaragua, El Salvador and others), in view of all this. Washington has decided to use Israel in a wider scope for a military-terrorist intervention in Lebanon, against Syria, in Central America and also in Africa.

The Central Committee calls upon all political circles, who oppose the opening of new aggressive war actions in Lebanon and against Syria, and to the carrying out of the dirty tasks which the Reagan administration imposes on Israel in Central America and Africa, not to be indifferent, to raise the alarm and mobilize public opinion against the new adventurist conspiracies of the Likud government and the Reagan administration

The Central Committee calls for the intensification of the struggle for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon, in order to prevent additional vain sacrifices.

#### TOWARDS THE RENEWAL OF THE LABOUR AGREEMENTS

The Central Committee calls for the intensification of the struggle of the workers for the immediate renewal of the labour agreements, for new agreements about wages and cost-of-living allowance, which will ensure the real wages of the workers and its increase. In view of the erosion of the wages consequent upon the policy of the Likud government, which represents the interests of the big capitalists and which wastes the national resources for wars, occupation and colonial settlements, the Central Committee calls to struggle for:

- \* Raising wages by 30% in addition to the specific demands of the workers in factories and the different branches of economy.

- \* The monthly payment of a 100% cost-of-living allowance.

- \* The enactment of a law for a minimum wage of 60% of the average wage in the economy. -

- \* Guaranteeing full employment.

The Central Committee calls upon the workers to demand from the Executive Committee of the Histadrut (General Federation of Labour) to wage a struggle for the just interests of the working class.

ZO HADEREKH, April 25, 1984

ALWAYS INNOVATE WHILE LEARNING CONSTANTLY FROM PAST EXPERIENCE

*Speech of Comrade Mir Vilner  
on the occasion of the 65th.  
anniversary of the Communist  
Party of Israel.*

This month, 65 years ago the Communist Party in this country was established. The Central Committee has decided to mark this historical date by organizing a meeting with veteran members, who in the course of many years have contributed their energy and strength to the struggles of the Party, to the attainment of its noble aims. We invited to the meeting with the Party's veterans, the members of the Party District Secretariates, the members of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Israel. the members of the Editorial Boards of the Party press and some comrades who head democratic organizations.

The conditions of our work in this country are not easy. Numerous tasks are imposed on us. Tension around us is great and our life is under pressure. Precisely under these circumstances we, communists, are obliged to keep a cool head. Under such circumstances it is especially important to preserve and foster friendship and comradeship, brotherhood of the communist militants, to stand all as one and each one for all.

The experience of the last years strengthens us still more in our sureness of the correctness of our world outlook and our policy. We express the aspirations of the Jewish and Arab working people, the interests of both peoples in our country. If the State of Israel was conducted by our policy, the whole situation would be different. Already a long time would have passed in peace and security, and Israel would already have become the home and homeland of the working people.

Our party has till now twice marked its anniversaries - the 50th and the 60th. At both occasions we made a pioneering research into the history of the Party. At the first occasion we analysed the development since its establishment in 1919



up to 1924. We also drew up general lines for continuation of the development. At the second occasion we evaluated the policy of the Party in the years which immediately preceded the establishment of the State of Israel, at the end of the second world war, and also the 1948 war. At the next stage we will have to analyse and evaluate the period between the years 1925 - 1945. Let us act in such a manner that this work will be accomplished towards the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Party which will take place in the year 1989. Let us also prepare the summing-up of the history of the Party in the State of Israel, from 1948 to 1989. This part in our history is relatively easier, because we have done that at our congresses and also because our generation, of the Party leadership and its basic organisations, know that period from their own experience.

This does not mean that we have already today a comprehensive evaluation of the whole history of our Party. However, in order to write history, one is not only obliged to be equipped with the general lines of development, but also with data and a detailed analysis of the great lights and shadows in the history of our Party. We must do this in order to generalise the historical experience, learn from it and educate according to it. We have done this with reference to two periods, as mentioned above, and we must consider it a vital necessity for our Party to continue this important work until its accomplishment.

#### THE VETERANS AND THE YOUNG

To the veteran comrades, for whom this festive meeting is devoted first and foremost, all respect and appreciation is due. You are worthy of receiving warm feelings, comradely consideration and simple human attention, caring for your health and suitable Party work in any situation.

Among the veterans present there are many who are real heroes. If we had medals for heroism, we would bestow them upon them. What is the heroism of a communist? This heroism is constancy in the revolutionary struggle, ideological and political loyalty, and first and foremost the fact that one can rely upon him in any situation, in every task which the Party imposes on him. Such were the heroes of the anti-imperialist underground movement throughout the period of the British colonialist rule; such are the heroes of the legal period, which in many aspects is no less difficult.

The experience of many Communist Parties shows that among the special tasks which the veterans can fulfill are: passing on experience, steeling the character and personality of the young communists, passing on the tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice of the generations of communists in this country.

Of course, not all the veterans have persevered. A part of them have lost their conscience in the middle of the way, but have found it again. Now they are again members with equal rights and take up important positions in the Party and the democratic organisations.

A few words about the relation of the veterans towards the young communists: Our young generation is not worse than the previous young generation, not worse than we, when we were young. The new young generation is different and cannot be otherwise. The young people search, and justifiedly so, for new methods, new paths which will suit the new conditions the new period.

One must not growl: "Youth today is egoistic; were we such?" Of course among young people, just as among older ones are different types. Our young communists, are in their great majority revolutionaries, convinced communists, ideologically and politically firm, with all their hearts devoted to our ideals. They are the future of our Party's leadership.

Of course, there are among us also other young people, passive ones, tending towards petty bourgeoisism, egoism and arrogant, but these are exceptions.

We evaluate the comrade not in accordance with his age, but in accordance with his character and contribution, in the past and the present, to the struggle of the communist Party. We must get out the greatest possible contribution from the veterans the young people and the medium generation. Our human potential is not big enough to fulfil the numerous tasks. Therefore, under our conditions it is particularly important to help each and every comrade, veteran and young comrade, to contribute his share. We will do this by correct planning and strict upholding of relations of friendship and comradeship.

## PRINCIPLES AND INNOVATIONS

The members of the Party know to evaluate appropriately

the heroic past of our Communist Party which acted and acts under unusual and most complex conditions.

There are comrades who have no correct criteria on that subject. One must understand that the conditions today are different, the period is different. Therefore also the Party applies new solutions, new methods. Together with that one must emphasize that many positions and methods of work of our Party in previous periods, which are not appropriate in our present period, were correct in those periods. Truth is not abstract, absolute, but concrete; under given conditions, at a given time and a given place.

We were and are a link in the internationalist Communist movement, in the movement of the revolutionary working class, whose teaching is the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, whose central slogan is: "Workers of all countries unite!". That is to say: Proletarian internationalism, international solidarity of the working class.

Our doctrine is not a dogma, but a guide to action. Our doctrine is a living doctrine, which renews itself incessantly, in accordance with the changing conditions and the accumulated experience. Such was our doctrine from the start, since the appearance of "The Manifesto of the Communist Party" in 1848. In the preface to the German edition of the Manifesto in 1872; Marx and Engels wrote:

"Despite the fact that the conditions have very much changed in the last half century, the general principles which were developed in this Manifesto, they are valid and are completely correct till this very day. It is possible that this or the other detail needs correction. However, the concrete application of those principles, as explained in the Manifesto itself, will depend at every place and at all times on the existing historical circumstances. Therefore one must not put any special weight on the revolutionary steps which are proposed at the end of the second chapter. Today we would formulate that paragraph in a formulation which would be different in many respects. This platform has today partially become obsolete, following upon the tremendous development of big industry in the course of the last twenty-five years, and especially the party organisation of the working class which has developed parallel, and following upon the practical experience which had been accumulated before that, in the February Revolution, and at an incalculable measure in the Paris Commune, when the proletariat for the first time held political power in their hands. The Commune has proved especially that the working class cannot take into its hands

the state apparatus as it exists and put it in action for their own aims".

Thus, it is not Marxism which is dogmatic but its opponents have a dogmatic attitude towards it.

Our Party can be proud for the fact that, in spite of all the difficulties, in spite of the severe external struggles and the internal crises which took place - it has maintained its ideological and political independence. Our Party has not yielded to the pressures either of the Zionist ideologists or of those of the Arab chauvinist ideology. We applied in our work many innovations. We ceaselessly innovated, in accordance with the objective conditions which have changed in this country and in the world; in accordance with the general interest of the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism. We innovated and will innovate. But we must always be loyal to our principles, and ideals and defend them. Those who made pseudo-innovations by means of abandoning the principles - where are they today?

We must utilize, on one hand, everything positive and efficacious in the experience of our 65- year old struggle. On the other hand, we must avoid repetition of past mistakes and also in order to do this, we must learn from experience.

Not everything that is new, is good. Not all that glitters is gold. There are things which do not glitter and are worth gold. Ingrained habits and past experiences must not disturb innovations, acceptance of non-routine action. Veteran communists must make use of experience, just as they did that more than once in the past, in order to orient themselves in new situations and must analyse new problems. The feeling for the new is vital for advance. Drawing lessons from experience is vital in order to know how to act correctly in new conditions to solve correctly new problems.

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Experience teaches that one must not sweep under the carpet difficult ideological, political or organisational questions, which spring up within the Party or in work with others. One must struggle against them. Otherwise we will not be able to overcome the obstacles, the stumbling blocks on the path to consolidating the Party, strengthen its revolutionary spirit and expand its influence and ranks.

The experience of our Party also teaches that we must not exchange biology for ideology. It is not the age of the com-

rade which determines our attitude towards him, but his loyalty to our ideology and politics, his perseverance in revolutionary duty, his devotion to the ideals of the Party. Moreover: one must not confound sureness in the justness of our path with haughtiness, arrogance, empty bickering, whether within the Party or outside it. Modesty and businesslike attitude are qualities of a communist.

Ideological work means, first of all, always to study, do one's homework, substantiate, listen to another opinion, take it seriously, also when contradicting that opinion.

### JEWISH- ARAB UNITY

In their struggle against our Party, our enemies and rivals make use of their whole arsenal, including the falsification of the history of our Party, Quite a lot of books have already been written about our Communist Party, in Hebrew as well as in Arabic and also in other languages.

Two lines pass like threads of scarlet through the hostile writings about the history of our Party: The one which claims that its history proves the impossibility of Jewish-Arab brotherhood, even of communist brotherhood; and the second line states that our Communist Party acts in accordance with "orders from Moscow". I will not, today, speak about the second line, which is completely refutable. Our relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our attitude towards the Soviet Union, are based upon the Marxist-Leninist ideological partnership, on the principles of the proletarian internationalism and mutual solidarity. This relation of ours towards the Soviet Union stems precisely from our own independent recognition that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of peace, independence of the peoples, and the socialist democracy in the world; that the Soviet Union is the main barrier to a third world war and the main contributor to the revolutionary process in the world. Anti-Sovietism was and remains the main weapon of all the enemies of peace and freedom of the peoples of all the enemies of social progress and socialism. We fought against it and will struggle against it to the end.

I would like to dwell today on the question of the poisoned arrow which is aimed at our Communist Party, its past and present.

The theory, according to which Jews and Arabs cannot live together is an evidently racist theory.

The enemies of the peoples and of progress attempt to inject this theory. As far as they are concerned, also Christians and Muslims, Ashkenazis (European-American Jews) and Sepharadim (oriental Jews) cannot live together

The truth is that everything depends on the social regime, ideology, policy. The nationalist and reactionary point of departure poses at the top the question: to what people religion or community do you belong; and in accordance with that, the attitude is fixed. Our point of departure considers firstly the human being as a human being and inquires whether he is a reactionary or progressive, a democrat or a fascist, a peacemaker or war-monger, an exploited or an exploiter etc...

The truth is that the history of our Party shows that on the basis of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and the internationalist policy of our Party, which expresses the interests of both peoples in our country, the brotherhood and friendship of the Jewish and the Arab Communists in our Party is not only possible but a fact.

Our rivals base themselves in substantiating their abortive assumption, inter alia, upon the crisis in our Party in 1965. They depict it as a struggle between Jews and Arabs. This is a gross falsification which has no connection whatsoever with reality, with the historical facts.

In the report of the Central Committee to our 15th. Congress we said: "The discussion in our Party was not held between Jewish and Arab comrades, as various circles assert erroneously or maliciously. It was held between the Jewish-Arab majority of the Central Committee and members of the Party on one side, and that part which has the minority and tried by every means to bring about a revision of the policy of the Party and lead it to bourgeois Jewish nationalist and opportunist positions, on the other side" ("The 15th. Congress" p.67). This is the historical truth.

We also said in the report to the 15th. Congress: "In Israel there will not be two Communist Parties. The Communist Party of Israel is a revolutionary, free and democratic organisation of the Israeli working class. Its policy is determined by the majority of its members, which is true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism in its creative adaptation to the particular national conditions of Israel" (p.72/3). "In Israel exists one sole Jewish-Arab Communist Party,

whose delegates have met today in the 15th. Congress" (same place). And it was thus that things developed: In Israel exists one sole Jewish-Arab Communist Party.

Our Party is and will always be a Jewish-Arab, Marxist-Leninist Party, and whoever betrayed and whoever will betray will land in the waste basket of history - as experience has shown.

The attempt of our enemies and rivals to say that before 1965, our Party had been better, different, and but since the tag, "Rakach" was stuck to it, it has allegedly changed its essence, its principles, is empty talk. The opposite is true. We continue the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Communist Party of Israel and of the Palestinian Communist Party from which it grew. We continue the policy which is to the interest of both peoples in this country, to the interest of the general cause of peace and progress in our region and the world. We continue being a Jewish-Arab, Marxist-Leninist Party. We will guard, like the apple of our eyes, this policy and this unity, and will struggle against anyone who will attempt to hit it.

#### COMMUNISM AND LOVE OF THE HOMETLAND

In the Jewish public, especially our rivals accuse the Party that by its deep friendly bonds with the Soviet Union, that by our solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for its just national rights, that by our consistent struggle against the policy of discrimination and oppression towards the Arab population in Israel, that by all this, our Party proves that it is not a patriotic party, that it is indifferent to the homeland and the people. In short: its internationalism allegedly arises at the cost of patriotism.

The opposite is true. By our policy we show the path for Israel for establishing just and realistic peace with the neighbouring peoples, including the independent Palestinian state which will arise; for an Israel which live in security and will break out from the vicious circle of war; for an Israel which will maintain relations of friendship, economy and culture with all peoples of the world, with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with the independent and free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and also with the countries of the West like the USA, but on the basis of national independence and neutrality in foreign policy. Thereby an essential change will also occur in the economic

situation of Israel, a road to social progress will be opened up, and in the end to socialism.

Our internationalism and our patriotism are two sides of the same medal. In the history of our Party there are numerous examples, how precisely after joining our Party, people started understanding and feeling deeply the meaning of homeland and the methods of struggle for ensuring a happy future for both our peoples in this country.

An instructive example is the poetess Haya Kadmón, who joined the Communist Party of Israel in 1954.

In her speech at the 13th. Congress of our Party, which was held in 1957, she said:

"The Communist Party taught me to understand the homeland. This is the first Congress which I attend as a Communist... I was bred in this country from my childhood on, but I want to say, in all sincerity and without any pretty phrases that the feeling of homeland I acquired only in the Communist Party".

In continuation of her speech she said: "Also the sense of closeness to the class, to the working class, to the class which creates the material and spiritual values- this sense too was given to me by the Party".

Allow me to quote yet another fragment from the speech at the 13th. Congress, made by the comrade poetess, who to our deep regret died in the prime of her life:

"In the last months, especially after the 20th. Congress, all sorts of trumpets and horns, including some of our own comrades, started commending as a rescuing medicine the slogan of 'the freedom to err and be confused, and the right to confusion'. I wish to say about this a few words because I have the experience of being confused throughout many years until I arrived at the Communist Party. I want to say that this is a very degrading freedom of persons who try to ignore the chains which tie them to the bourgeois regime. I regret very much those years of confusion, the poems which I wrote then..."

It is comprehensive to me that young creative persons exist among us who consider that degrading freedom is the ideal of proving their alleged rational independence... I call upon those comrades who long for 'a little confusion, a little decadence': Look at the vast expanse which the Marxist outlook has opened before you: feel the deep creative breath which marching in the ranks of the proletariat and our revo-



lutionary Party is giving you!" ("The 13th.Congress")

One of the historical lessons of the 65 years of existence of our Party is that correct ideology, correct policy, correct tactics will not succeed if they are not connected with a Leninist organisation whose main principles are; Democratic centralism and collective leadership. Violation of these principles caused us more than once crisis.

Therefore let us guard as the apple of our eyes, the Leninist organisation of our Party, internal party democracy, discipline and democratic centralism. This means: Encouraging the independent thinking of our comrades and of their initiative. And at the same time - maintaining the principle, according to which the majority decides and a lower institution is subject to a higher one.

Let us strengthen the revolutionary spirit in our Party through deepening the ideological and political education, by personal example of devotion and self-sacrifice, by constant concern for a democratic and warm comradesly atmosphere in the Party.

It is very important to see that not only in the future, but also in the present there are results due to our struggle.

Our Party is the only one which shows the path to a good future.

Our Party is the bridge and link with the revolutionary forces in the world, with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with the International Communist Movement.

Our Party is the bridge and the link with the anti-imperialist forces in our region, with the Communist Parties of the Arab countries, and particularly with the nearest fraternal party - the Palestinian Communist Party.

Our origin is from the Palestinian Communist Party since the establishment of our Party in 1919 until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. We speak about two states and of course two Parties. There is no doubt that the socialist future will be common to us in this or the other form.

Our Party approaches its 20th. congress, which will take place in 1985. We all have done a very great work in the last years. These were stormy years in Israel, in the region and the international arena. We will have to sum up and generalise our new experience and map out our road in the future.

Let us prepare for our 20th. Congress by further consolidating and expansion of its ranks, by intensification of our struggle for a fundamental change of Israeli policy, against the policy of wars and occupation, for just peace, for the defence of the rights of the workers and democratic rights, for equality of rights and the widest possible front for the aims of progress.

ZO HADEREKH, MARCH 21, 1984

## PRESS COMMUNIQUE

Issued by the Committee for defence of Arab land

The Committee for Defence of Arab Land has decided this year to hold three central events in commemoration of the 8th anniversary of the "Land's Day". In 'Arraba village in Galilee, in Taibeh village in the Triangle and in Rahat in the Negev.

Many issues are the subject of concern for the Arabs in Israel and they underlie the activities of the Committee for Defence of Arab Land.

We wish to point out the statements of incitement against the Arabs in general, the policy of national discrimination, racist laws adopted by the present Knesset, the strong discrimination against Arab local authorities with regard to financial allocations and development, town planning (where less than 10 planning maps for Arab villages were certified since the inception of the State) - this last issue created the problem of unlicensed house-building in the villages and the demolition of such houses, which constitutes a great threat to many Arab villages. The housing question in the Arab sector, as statistics reveal show that more than 40% of the Arabs live more than 5 persons to a room.

The continuation of Land expropriation covered so far around 68% of the Land belonging to Arabs in Israel. The water for irrigation allotted to Arab farmers does not exceed 1.8% of the total irrigation water reserve for an Arab population comprising 15% of the total population.

Our immediate concern focuses on specific issues in Galilee, the Triangle and the Negev:

### Galilee:

Huge budgets are allocated for the setting up of more lookouts (Mitzpim) in Galilee for so-called potential settling in the future. The Judaization of Galilee brought development to Jewish settlers on the one hand, and a policy of evicting Arabs from their homes on the other.

On Mount Kammun in Galilee 2 "lookouts" were set up, settled by 70 persons, while 2 Arab Beduin-villages nearby on the same mount, comprising about 1000 people face the threat

of expulsion. Some heads of families of the villages are jailed because they refuse to demolish their houses and quit.

The Arab local authorities affected by the annexation of their lands to Misgav Regional Authority are still struggling to reclaim what is due to them to enlarge the areas of their jurisdiction as was concluded by the Interior Committee of the Knesset with the participation of the District Commissioner of the north.

The company called "Yad Yerushalayim" for purchase of the lands of greater Israel, enjoying the support of official circles, conducts hostile actions by placing before itself the challenge of purchasing lands that remain in Arab possession, irrespective of the fact that these Arabs are citizens of the State and that they need as well a living space.

#### The Triangle:

In the Northern Triangle the Wadi 'Ara a road is planned to become a broad high-way with 100m expansion on every side of the road for this purpose. Many Arab villages along this road - in addition to loss of land - shall be transformed to a sort of "Ghettos" without building areas for development, especially as a result also of a settlement project in Wadi 'Ara.

In the bounds of Um El-Fahem village over 4000 dunums of land will be lost for the purpose of afforestation, in addition to about 40000 dunums that are closed areas for military training.

#### The Negev:

The Arab Beduins of the Negev who were evicted from their homes and lands are still living in subhuman conditions in Beduin Semi-villages near Ber-Sheva or somewhere else. In the sixties and seventies Beduins were evicted from the Negev to Lod, Arad and Hebron districts and are still awaiting suitable compensation.

We wish to point out that the policy of eviction of Beduins from large areas in the Negev, and drastic assaults of the "Green Patrols" make their lives miserable.

#### Policy of Intimidation:

The police authorities are carrying arrests and investigations with people regarding the Land's Day. Police officers warned the organizers of the events on this Day (30/3 84) that the police will react with force and promptly if

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In the bounds of Um El-Fahem village over 4000 dunums of land will be lost for the purpose of afforestation, in addition to about 40000 dunums that are closed areas for military training.

#### The Negev:

The Arab Beduins of the Negev who were evicted from their homes and lands are still living in subhuman conditions in Beduin Semi-villages near Ber-Sheva or somewhere else. In the sixties and seventies Beduins were evicted from the Negev to Lod, Arad and Hebron districts and are still awaiting suitable compensation.

We wish to point out that the policy of eviction of Beduins from large areas in the Negev, and drastic assaults of the "Green Patrols" make their lives miserable.

#### Policy of Intimidation:

The police authorities are carrying arrests and investigations with people regarding the Land's Day. Police officers warned the organizers of the events on this Day (30/3 84) that the police will react with force and promptly if

the Palestinian Flag is hoisted during these events.

We consider such warnings as provocative and threatening, in case such irresponsible act of Flag raising takes place.

We reject such threats, which are directed against the Committee for Defence of Arab Land, especially since the position of the Committee on such matters is very clear and known to the authorities. A childish act does not necessitate police action in major force against our meetings. Our aims are clear: Protest against the unjust policy of land expropriation.

We consider it a great mistake if an irresponsible individual act should be used as a cause for police action. We consider that non-intervention of the police contributes to conduct peaceful commemoration of the event in question.

Haifa, 27.3.1984

New Edition of old Zionist Dreams:

ERETZ-ISRAEL (PALESTINE) WITHOUT ARABS

*By Hans Labrecht*

The coordinator for the civil administration (the title given lately for the governor) of the Israeli occupying power in Palestinian Cisjordania, General Ben-Eliezer has resigned. He wants to run in the forthcoming July elections for a Knesset seat. This is undoubtedly his civil right. However not about him I want to write, but about the one who may be appointed as his successor as the omnipotent ruler over the Palestinian inhabitants of occupied Cisjordania.

Without revealing the name of that possible pretender to the post, Tzvi Bar'el, a reporter for the bourgeois daily "Ha'aretz" had this to report (March 30, 1984):

"During a meeting, some years ago, of high-ranking staff-officers, one of the officers now under consideration for receiving the post of the resigning General Ben Eliezer of directing the affairs of the 800 thousand Arab Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank said: 'I think that an Arab who should perish, should be killed without much do-about. I already proposed at an earlier occasion to the General Chief-of Staff to change the standing order for the use of firearms. It should be forbidden to shoot into the air. When we open already fire (upon demonstrating Arabs - H.L.) we should aim at their heads in order to kill...'"

I do not know at the moment whether that gentleman of a ravingly racist in the uniform of a General will be appointed actually as Ben-Eliezer's successor, but even the fact that a high-ranking staff officer is able to utter such things without being punished, and now even being considered to be a candidate for the post of the governor of occupied Cisjordania speaks for itself.

Let us go further and tell what the former terrorist chief and present Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir had to say during a speech he delivered at the opening ceremony of a museum dedicated to the ETZEL and LEHI terrorist organizations of the 30-ies and 40-ies of this century.

But before I quote him I want to remind my readers that Shamir had been at the time, in his quality as operational commander and second man in the echelon of LEHI (Stern-gang)



one of those who negotiated, until the end of 1941, i.e. until more than two years after the outbreak of World War II, and at a time when the Hitlerite mass-murder of Jews was well under way, with the Gestapo butchers' leadership of Nazi Germany. They proposed during these well documented and never denied oral and written negotiations to sabotage the war efforts of Great Britain, which means of course, also of the combined efforts of the armies and navies of the Anti-Hitler Coalition. They promised to help in playing into the hands of the Great-German Reich certain "oil interests" in the Arab Middle East. In return they asked Nazi Germany's support for establishing in Palestine a Jewish State with a Nazi-like totalitarian regime (as is mentioned in a letter confiscated at that time by the British Intelligence, co-signed by Shamir under his former name Zheslinitzky).

And what was it that this same former would-be Nazi-collaborateur said in March of this year 1984 - now in his quality of Prime Minister of Israel?:

"Our ultimate objective is still the same as it had been 40 years ago: to fight for a free Eretz-Israel completely in our hands and in all parts free from foreigners. We fought at that time for this same aim, we still are fighting for it, and we shall fight until it will be reached and secured. Our foremost task of today is to keep the complete Eretz-Israel, to unite it and to replenish it with Jews in order to secure that Eretz-Israel, or any part of it, will never again be in the hands of the enemy". ("Ha'aretz" March 26, 1984)

Mark my words: What Shamir and the likes of him mean by "Eretz-Israel" is a Greater Israel including the Palestinian territories which are, by international standards unlawful conquered and occupied since 1967; "free from foreigners" should be interpreted as meaning free from "Araberrein" Arabs free from the people who live by right on the soil of their ancestral homeland, the land which - according to Shamir and his likes' objectives has to be replenish and "secured" by Jewish colonialist settlers.

An appropriate reply to Shamir's chauvinist-arrogant and racist statement was given by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, Meir Vilner, from the rostrum of an open-air mass-rally attended by many thousands on this year's "Land's Day" in Taibeh. After quoting Shamir's words from the newspaper, M.Vilner said:

"Let us tell Mr. Shamir and all the likes of him: If you continue to pursue these objectives, you will bring disaster not only upon other peoples but in the end upon the Israeli

people as well. If you continue with your policy, the aims of which Shamir explained, it will bring ever more warfare, and streams of blood will be spilled - until, ultimately, Israel will be confronted herself by a disastrous fate.

Therefore, we call upon the Israeli people, upon all their parts and components, to stop this madness. That what Shamir calls Eretz-Israel is Palestine within its old borders (from before 1948). It is a country in which two peoples are living, both of whom have their national right to self-determination and independent statehood: The Israeli people who have already established their state, as well as the Arab people of Palestine who have the same internationally recognized right to their own state in part of their native homeland Palestine.

In contrast to the policy pursued by Shamir and the likes of him, the policy of territorial expansion, of land-robbery and colonialism, of driving the Palestinian people off their ancestral homeland - we, the communists and our frontpartners, together with other forces of peace and democracy, propose a policy that will lead to peaceful co-existence between the Israeli state and the future Palestinian state, to just and stable peace and social progress for both our peoples".

## ABOUT THE VISIT OF THE SOVIET PEACE DELEGATION IN ISRAEL

There were people who tried to hang a sensational sticker to the visit of the Soviet personalities. Others wondered what might be the "real" reason of their mission. But the truth is simple and they declared it immediately on their arrival.

The wish of the delegation of the Soviet Friendship Committee was to take a close look and become acquainted with the Israeli forces of peace and their views, to come to know their problems, to locate what is controversial and to consummate everything they have in common. For this purpose the Soviet Delegation stayed in Israel for a full week filled with meetings, laden with impressions, and at the end left tired out but satisfied. The reason for their satisfaction was explained by them distinctly:

The peace forces in Israel are strengthening. In view of this, cooperation between the peacelovers in Israel and the public circles in the Soviet Union must be widened and made closer.

### THE QUESTION WHICH WAS ASKED AGAIN AND AGAIN

There was one theme which was recurring like a refrain in every meeting and it is really marvellous how the guests found every time the new formulation appropriate to the changing partners. This question was: The renewal of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union.

For instance, the first pictures from their visit: After a press conference and a brief tour in Tel-Aviv, the guests came to a first meeting with activists of the various peace movements in the "Friendship House". This was indeed a meeting with friends. Member of Knesset Ora Namir and Dr. Matti Peled warmly welcomed the guests. Yoram Gozhanski opened the dialogue and immediately the Soviet guests were swept by a downpour of questions, mainly on the issue why the Soviet Union does not renew diplomatic relations with Israel. Why is it that precisely with Israel diplomatic relations are disconnected? Writer Yuri Barabash, the head of the delegation

replied in a restrained and patient manner: "Yes, the absence of relations between our two states is not a normal situation. This does indeed impede mutual contacts". The words of Barabash expressed the feeling of all present. "But", he continued, "the examination of the renewal of the relations does not resemble the examination of the existing relations: If we renewed now the relations, we would give legitimation to the facts which furnished the causes of the suspension of relations - the occupation of Arab territories in the June 1967 war".

At a meeting with the leaders of the "Peace Now" movement there was a person who found an "argument" in favour of the resumption of the relations: "If you will renew the relations with Israel we will beat the right in the elections and then we will be able to wage a consistent peace policy". One of the guests, journalist Alexander Krasnov, replied to this in a jocular form: "If we will renew the relations now, this would be precisely to your detriment because the Likud would say: "Here we have succeeded in bringing about the renewal of relations..." At any event, there was no meeting with any organization of Israeli peace-lovers, where this question was not raised. Therefore it is important that the guests emphasized that in the absence of any official relations it is reasonable and possible to expand contacts in the public sphere. It is necessary to find a common language in spite of the difference of opinions, but all this within the framework of recognition of the importance of the common interest: The struggle for peace in the Middle East and the whole world.

In Tel-Aviv, the members of the Soviet Delegation met with comrades Meir Vilner (General Secretary of the CP of Israel) and Tawfiq Toubi (Deputy General Secretary of the CP of Israel) and exchanged views about the situation in the Middle East, the campaign for peace and unity of the peace forces, and the ways and means for tightening the links between Israeli and Soviet public circles. The members of the delegation were also guests of the editorial board of "Zo Haderekh" (the Hebrew language organ of the CPI), where they heard about the work of the editorial board and the efforts for improving the format of the newspaper.

#### BARABASH MEETS SOME OF HIS TOWNSPEOPLE

What impression did the kibbutz make on them? Yuri Drozdov, head of the Middle East Department in the Soviet Peace Committee, gave expression to this, when answering the questions what was the matter which most aroused his curiosity: The or-

ganisation of labour in the kibbutz. Incidentally, in kibbutz Yad-Hanna, Barabash met Tamar, a woman from his own town, Kharkov and his contemporary. Barabash was excited and together they remembered the streets where they passed their childhood and youth. In Yad-Hanna the guests were received in an intimate and cordial atmosphere. The secretary of this cooperative farm, Eliezer Feiler, told about the kibbutz, a little history, a little about the present. The guests asked many questions. Despite the rainy weather they went out to the fields. They looked at the "green line" (the June 1967 border line).

The next halt was at Taybeh. The differences in the living conditions between this Arab village in Israel and Yad-Hanna were really crying to the heavens. Here the discrimination, national and class distress were visible. The guests felt immediately. A. Krasnov summed up his impressions at the end of the visit: "The discrimination of the Arab population, although we had known about it, still left a hard impact on us by its severity". The head of the Tayibeh Local Council, Abdul Latif Habib, told about the village and its inhabitants, about their grave problems.

In the Friendship House of the village, speeches and greetings were delivered. Yuri Barabash replied in warm words. He explained the aim of the visit of the delegation. The Journalist who accompanied us, listened carefully to the translation, in an attempt to find a different tone with what had been said to the Jewish public. But there was no such thing. He heard the same principled words about the recognition of the rights of both peoples of this country. Inter alia, Barabash told about the traditional preparations in Moscow for the commemoration of the "Land Day". At the table further surprise awaited him: Opposite him the seat was taken by a daughter of Kharkov - Tatyana. She lives here half a year, having married a doctor who had studied in the Soviet Union.

The guests attended a concert of the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra in the Palace of Culture (Tel-Aviv). Professor Wilhelm Gruner said afterwards that the thing that most impressed him during the visit, was the performance of that orchestra. In the intermission the guests met with the conductor, Zubin Mehta and the solist Shlomo Mintz. Zubin Mehta seemed to be interested in one thing: To travel with his orchestra to the Soviet Union. He knew that he would meet there a good public. Therefore he even had learned to say the Russian word for "success". At the exit door pro-

fessor W.Gruner was held up by an elderly hall porter, the possessor of a mighty pair of whiskers of the sort, the hall porters in Tzarist Russia used to flaunt. He greeted the delegation in vivid Russian and asked Yuri Barabash about his hometown. Again it turned out that the Soviet guest met somebody from his town.

"What's going on here? On one day three Kharkov people!-What a small world!" said Barabash. It seemed to me that beside the casual personal meetings with people from his town, Barabash had yet another relationship. During his visit he found much evidence of the close relationship which exists between Russian and Soviet culture on one hand and Israeli culture on the other hand. Soviet people are not strangers here. This fact was obvious in the private library of Mordechai Namir, the late husband of Member of Knesset Ora Namir. She showed the guests books which were translated from Russian into Hebrew. Special interest was aroused by Shlonsky's translations of Pushkin and Gafonov's translation of Gota Rutalevi.

This sense of cultural proximity was prominent at the meeting of the delegation at the home of Ora Namir with an impressive range of artists and critics of the Israeli theatre.

Professor Gruner had a professional meeting in Bellinson Hospital. Prof. Gruner, who is a phrenologist was invited on the initiative of professor Stoupel who guided prof. Gruner and translated for him. Other physicians, among them the Deputy Director General of the hospital, Dr. Itzhak Mor, were very glad at the meeting and the occasion to exchange experiences with the Soviet specialist.

Dr. Gruner astonished his colleagues with his expert knowledge of scientific publications in Israel in the sphere of his speciality. As editor of the urological section in the Soviet information periodical concerning scientific translations, he knows the work of the Israeli doctors. "You see", he said, "our relation towards Israel is businesslike".

## JARRING TONES

However, there were also meetings where tone jarring on the ears intruded into the dialogue. For example, Alexander Krasnov could not understand how Haika Grossman, a partisan who fought against the nazis and stressed the part of the Soviet Union in saving the Jewish survivors and in the establishment of the State of Israel - how could she speak in her

meeting with the delegation about an alleged "antisemitism in the Soviet Union" and let herself being led astray by anti-Soviet libels. "There are successful and less successful publications", he said, "in every place there are stupid, but to speak about antisemitism?!"

In this respect, particularly painful was a meeting with writers. The writers who took part in the meeting were: Natan Yonatan, Aaron Meged, Benzion Tomer, Moshe Dor, Hanoch Bartov and several others. After some customary courteous words came a long list of complaints. At first sight, those were the same things which had been talked about in other meetings: Hebrew literature in the Soviet Union, resumption of diplomatic relations, Yossif Beigoun and Ida Nudel. But the tone was different - aggressive, a tone of affront.

The bitter taste of that meeting was dissolved by the dinner and the warm, friendly atmosphere which prevailed in the meeting between the Soviet delegation and the Israeli Peace Committee.

#### A TOUR OF THE COUNTRY

Red Nazareth received the delegation without any reservations, with an "Ahalan wa sahalan!" (Arabic greetin of welcome) which came from the heart. Here the guests inhaled the aroma of the history of this country and sensed the latest topical problems: The racist activities of the "Mena" movement (an organisation, whose aim is to drive out the few Arab inhabitants of Upper Nazareth (Nazareth Ilit) and the struggle waged against those actions by the Jewish-Arab Committee against Racism; about the miserable allocations which the state budget gives to Nazareth about the robbery of land owned by the Arab inhabitants. In the evening Nazareth welcomed its guests at a jubilant mass meeting. The most stormy applause was received by Alexander Krasnov who, to the joy of the masses, spoke in Arabic.

In Haifa the guests met the activists of the Friendship Movement Israel-USSR, lecturers of the Haifa University and members of the editorial board of "Al-Ittihad", the organ of the CPI in Arabic.

#### THE FRIENDLY MEETINGS VEXED SOMEBODY

This inundation of meetings was covered by the Israeli

press, radio and television. The guests were recognised at the Palace of Culture, the consumers' cooperative etc. this vexed somebody, namely those anti-Soviet circles who oppose any improvement of relations with the Soviet Union. Thus they entered the scene: At the visit in the "Habimah" theatre the delegation was attacked by a band of hysterical women, who did not know any Hebrew, the so-called "Group of 35" - anti-Sovietists imported from the USA and Britain. These demonstrators and their accompanying accomplices tried to create disturbances on two other occasions. But their attempts to upset the visit failed.

This visit broke yet another part in the wall of hostility which the anti-Soviet circles have set up between the peoples of Israel and the Soviet Union. The most tangible proof of this was given when the delegation visited the Knesset. Members of Knesset of various parliamentary groups established a public committee who invited the delegation to this country, received the guests solemnly, despite the fact that the day was one of great upheaval: the eve of the decisive voting about the early elections to the Knesset.

The meeting was opened and conducted by Member of Knesset, comrade Tawfiq Toubi. After him spoke Members of Knesset Ora Namir, Yossi Sarid, Shulamit Aloni, Dov Zakin. The last speaker was MK comrade Meir Vilner. The central chord in the dialogue with the Members of Knesset was the wish to come to a mutual understanding, which originates in the recognition that peace is on the order of the day. This was an event which echoed loudly in the foyers of the Knesset.

The wide range of meetings with the activists of the Committee of Solidarity with the Bir-Zeit University, which took place in Jerusalem (the Bir-Zeit University in the occupied West Bank is subjected to constant and most brutal harassment by the military authorities) and an evening of saying good-bye arranged by the committee for the Improvement of Relations with the Soviet Union, in Tel-Aviv. On both occasions, there prevailed an atmosphere of partnership in the struggle for peace, the recognition that peace in the Middle East is part of the world struggle for saving mankind from a nuclear war.

This was a dense week of encounters and impressions. But the Soviet guests stated that they found here what they had been looking for. They came to know, as Yuri Barabash said, that a certain move in Israeli public opinion has taken place. According to what he said, the peace forces have become more active consequently upon the war in Lebanon and this rise to the hope



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for prospects of peace in the Middle East.

"ZO HADEREKH", March 28, 1984

## DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

Letters and Cables sent by  
the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Israel

To the Central Committee of  
the Iraqi Communist Party

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Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel and in the name of all Israeli communists, Jews and Arabs, we have the pleasure to extend to you and through you to all Iraqi communists heartiest fraternal greetings on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of your heroic party.

Since its inception the Iraqi Communist Party has been a faithful contingent of the International Communist Movement and a firm adherent to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

All through the long and stormy years of its struggle, the Iraqi Communist Party has proved to be a dedicated and staunch fighter against imperialism, for national independence, for the vital interests of the working class and popular masses, for democracy, social progress and peace.

During fifty years of multifarious struggle, the Iraqi Communist Party has experienced illegality and fascist terror and has offered great sacrifices, but it was never brought down to its knees. On the contrary, you have under all circumstances held high, devotedly and courageously the patriotic and internationalist banner, and thus gained the sympathy respect and support of all progressive anti-imperialist and patriotic forces in Iraq, in the Middle East and the world over.

Nowadays the communists in Iraq are being subjected to severe repressive measures, to acts of terror, persecution and oppression. This campaign of terror and repression plays directly into the hand of imperialism and its zionist and reactionary Arab stooges who are exerting feverish efforts directed against the independence and freedom of the Arab peoples and against the just national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. This campaign of terror serves the aggressive zionist ruling circles in Israel.

We highly appreciate your principled internationalist policy for resolving the national question in your country - based on the right of nations to self-determination - by advocating autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan.

We highly esteem the struggle of your party for putting an end to the tragic war between your country and Iran, a war which has taken a heavy toll in human life and caused a huge waste of the potentials and resources of the two countries. This tragic war is being exploited by imperialism in order to advance its treacherous evil aims in the region.

We highly evaluate the contribution of your party for consolidating the unity of the international communist and working class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Dear comrades,

Our communist party is leading a fateful struggle against the pro-imperialist reactionary and aggressive policy of the zionist ruling circles in Israel, for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon, against threats and plans to start a new aggression against Syria in coordination with US imperialism, and for putting an end to the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories which were occupied in the aggressive war in June 1967, for realizing the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state in the West Bank including the Arab part of Jerusalem and the Gaza strip under the leadership of the PLO, for solving the refugee problem according to the United Nations resolutions for a just, comprehensive and stable peace in the Middle East.

The Communist Party of Israel, loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is waging a resolute struggle against zionist ideology and practice and against the campaign of slanders and incitement against the Soviet Union. We are

fighting for defending the vital interests of the working class and the popular masses, against the shameful policy of discrimination and oppression directed against the Arab population in Israel and for equality of rights.

Dear comrades,

We Israeli communists who have always followed your heroic struggle with keen interest, take this opportunity of the Golden Jubilee of your party to express our deep feelings of solidarity and admiration.

We wish you every success in your difficult and complicated struggle. We are confident that your party will come out victorious.

\* \* \*

To the Central Committee of the  
Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

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Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary from Nazi yoke, we have the pleasure to extend to you and to the Hungarian people heartiest fraternal greetings.

We wish the Hungarian people under the leadership of your party, additional achievements in socialist construction and in struggle for world peace.

\* \* \*

To the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Uruguay

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To comrade Rodney Arismendi  
First Secretary of the Central Committee

Dear Comrade,

On the occasion of your 70th. birthday, we have the pleasure to extend to you heartiest fraternal greetings.

We highly esteem your leading role in intensifying the struggle of your party for defending the interests of the working class and the popular masses in your country, for peace, democracy and social progress.

We highly appreciate your adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and for consolidating the unity of the International Communist and Workers movement.

Dear comrade Aricmendi,

We wish you many more years of creative work and fruitful struggle for advancing our common noble cause - peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

SUPPLEMENT:

A DIFFERENT ISRAEL

Reflections of Israeli realities in the political theatre



## A DIFFERENT ISRAEL

Reflections of Israeli realities in the political theatre

*By Yaron Becker*

"A person must examine himself every morning in the mirror in order to see whether the horn in his forehead is not beginning to grow". This quotation from A.B.Yehoshua (Israeli writer - 19) can unquestionably serve as a motto for the political theatre in Israel today.

The political theatre is a phenomenon which is deeply cemented in our way of life, and this is so, thanks to the abundance of performances containing a topical message. Therefore it is worthwhile to dwell on the message which the political theatre carries over to its audience. I do not refer to a unified and well-defined message, but to some motifs-issues which again appear in plays which have recently been brought onto the stage, especially since the beginning of the war in Lebanon, that is to say, approximately during two theatrical seasons.

The above quoted words of A.B.Yehoshua hint at the processes of transformation into the rhinoceros type and the dehumanisation of Israeli society, and their reflection on the stage. The political theatre serves as a mirror, which reflects the dangerous processes that destroy any good particle in the body of Israeli society. This is its great merit and this is the reason for the big noise which the political theatre arouses among all sorts of watchdogs of the "national consensus", who attempt to put into action, at an increasing frequency, the scissors of the censor (reference is to the plays "The Patriot", "Jewish Soul", "The Wooden Pillar", besides the constant intervention in everything related to Arab plays in Israel, and particularly in the occupied territories, where the military authorities go "full steam ahead" in censoring the theatre and also literature).

Geula Cohen and all the other semi-fascists - and also full-fledged fascists, are angry at the mirror because it reflects with ever growing precision the reality in which we are living. This mirror reflects the truths about the hopeless war in Lebanon, the continuation of the occupation and oppression perpetrated against the population of the occupied territories; and other facts which are extremely unpleasant for the nationalist Establishment.

The Israeli theatre has attained this ability of expression as the result of a prolonged process of the development of the political theatre in this country, which began with the play "You, I and the Next War" by Hanoch Levin, which was performed in the summer of 1967, immediately after the June war.

In this article I intend to deal with some of the themes of the political theatre, which again and again are put on stage. Let us see what annoys so much the knights of "the national morality".

#### YET AND YET ANOTHER COW

"The Patriot" of Hanoch Levin, which was stage-directed by Oded Kotler in the Neve-Tzedek Theatre, is a par-excellence example how "holy cows" are slaughtered in the Israel theatre. The hero of that play is a character which to a certain measure reflects the archetype of the nationalist Israeli petty bourgeois.

That type is treated here mercilessly. He is exposed in all his absurdity, cupidity and his aspiration to leave to Brooklyn - his desired destination, even at the price of spitting at the face of his own mother. This "patriot", who smuggles diamonds into New-York, is prepared to lick the American jackboot with avidity, but forces the Palestinian to lick his own boots. In its totality this is a successful and palpable synthesis of the common Israeli petty bourgeois, a miserable figure armed (when serving his term in the army reserve), who balances his fears and frustrations by letting them loose through oppressing the Palestinian, by giving free rein to his nationalist instincts. What is left to him, is the dream of a shop in San-Francisco and this constitutes his impetus in life. In Israel there are large numbers of such "patriots" who are liable to be easily trapped by fascist

propaganda.

However, it would be an optical illusion to see in the "Patriot" the stimulus of the rhinoceros-metamorphosis and fascination. He himself, with his constant frantic, restlessness and the fear which rocks him, is a victim of those processes. But he is definitely the type which represents the individual among the mass that flocks to fascist moods; such people are liable to serve as a mass basis for fascism in this country. Hanoch Levin deals, this time, not cruelly with his petty bourgeois hero as in his previous plays. As against this, the socio-political background is treated in an energetic manner.

H. Levin derides the Israeli megalomania, which is the opposite side of the servility to the masters in Washington. According to Levin, the Israeli army "puts things in order" in - Chile; burns the atomic installations in Kazakhstan and "lands in Albania, so that the children in Netanya (Israeli town) will not have to sleep in air raid shelters". And the main task of the Israeli foreign minister is servility to the American administration.

The censorship was very angry at that drama. The poetess Dahlia Ravikovitch aptly formulated the motifs of that anger: "They are ready to reconcile themselves to the murder of an Arab child in the West Bank, but cannot bear seeing this on the stage".

The fascistoidic typus (according to the definition of professor Yeshayahu Leiboviz) is to be found in the play "Tashmad" by Shmuel Masfari, which was also staged by the Neve-Tzedek theatre. Here the heroine herself represents the mass of the foolishly pious, which is dragged after the "Gush-Emunim" (extreme nationalist and fanatically religious organisation - IB). She oscillates between "yearning for redemption" and "pre-Messianic tribulations", after the manner of Naomi Shemer (reactionary Israeli writer of lyrics and composer of her own work - IB), and the incense of "gun and soil". The heroine of this play, just like the hero of "Patriot", tries to cover up her emptiness by the vain conjuring tricks of "turning back to religion" and "purification".

Two other types of "patriots, also frustrated persons, are to be found in the plays of Yossi Hadar which have been latterly performed in the last season. In "shellshock" (in the Municipal Theatre, Haifa), directed by Gedalya Besser, appears a "patriotic parent", an army psychiatrist, who attempts to treat a group of shellshocked soldiers.

He is convinced that war is a source of strength, of the "together"; that it builds the Israeli social experience. But soon it turns out that he speaks thus to his patients because he himself badly wants war as a remedy for shellshock: He himself had passed through that traumatic experience in the Suez-Sinai war.

In "Bunker" by Haim Marin, staged at the "Habima" theatre, directed by the playwright, the poison of war is diffused by a different type, Kateena, a secondary school teacher. Such an average type of preacher of "sovereignty" and "holding ourselves upright", after "two thousand years" is not rare in our secondary schools.

Interesting and indicative is the type of the "idealistic patriot" in "Airmen" by Yossi Hadar. This play was staged at the Neve-Tzedek theatre. Natek is a fighter pilot who was thrown out of the air force because of what he calls "a trifling matter". He had emptied his bomb load "by accident" not over a military target, but above just some Arab town. It so sounds queer that for such "a trivial error" he was dismissed from service. Because in Lebanon...yes, yes, but that had not happened in Lebanon, that had happened already in Suez-Sinai war and at that time such a thing had not yet become the "standard". This Natek appears now in a squadron (according to instructions of some committee of inquiry - about which later one ) and tries to tear out the evil weakness, of intellectual flabbiness which leads the airmen to read poems by Yehuda Amichai (Israeli poet who has written a number of anti war poems - IB). This "battle-tried wolf" claims all the while that the time has come when the Israeli army should become a "professional" army and the hint is clear: killing is a professional work and not some kind of hobby. He, of course speaks in the name of the ideals of "national security" and in the name of Naharia, a town which had been shelled by Katyushas. Perhaps because of these "ideals" he is an agent for weapon producers and has close ties with American arms corporations. This type who fosters his airmen like "excellent horses", is not just an incited petty bourgeois like the other "patriots" whom we have seen on stage. He is close to the focus of those turning into rhinoceroses, or in other words, the focus of fascisation. He belongs to its creators.

Thanks to the plays which I have mentioned, and to others which have been recently put on stage, the average nationalist type is being turned into an ever more ridiculous and shameful type. The thin plaster of the nationalist catchwords drops and the Israeli onlooker is put face to face with the

crucial questions of his existence.

## TURNING INTO RHINOCEROSES

There is no doubt that at the basis of the questions which the theatre has posed, stands the anti-war protest, the unwillingness of the young generation to die in a war whose end is not to be seen. This is the basic motive force; it is also accompanied by the general feeling that the incessant war caused the Israeli society to turn into a rhinoceros. This feeling has become a motive force of energetic moral protest, which has taken hold of wide circles of the Israeli public. The memory of fascism is still fresh in the hearts of many and the atrocities in Beirut, in Sabra and Shattila have again brought the nightmare to the fore. Thus it is no accident that precisely in the days of the bombings in Beirut, the drama "Good" of S. Taylor) enjoyed an unusual success.

This play tells the story of a decent German burgher, Dr. Halder, who has turned into a rhinoceros and become a Nazi. I believe that this was the first time in the Israeli theatre that the onlooker identified certain figures in Israeli society not with the Jewish victim, but with the Nazi hangman, and got very much frightened. Many of the onlookers sensed what is liable to happen to us here and now in this country, if no dike will be set up to stop the Israeli process of turning into rhinoceroes.

This apprehension has also found its expression in the original, local theatre. Natek from the play "Airmen", who was set up by us as an example of a "patriot", has been given the task to investigate a certain affair. Rubik (a pilot, born and bred in a kibbutz) has not returned from his task above in Beirut. He fell with his plane into the sea, and thus "many, many dollars of the Israeli people" have fallen into the sea, as Natek says. Rubik, so it is thought, has committed suicide because he had grasped the meaning of the plan of operation "Dry Land". He understood that the aim of that plan is to annihilate whole streets in Beirut: It did not stand to reason that the command posts of Fateh should be located in such a symmetrical order, Rubik thinks to himself, in houses number 1,5,15 etc. And then, in the same order in the adjacent street. He grasped that here was the evil intent to raze the town to the ground.

The dilemma of Rubik was not an imagination. It has also been told that at the time of war in Lebanon, the pilots did not receive defined targets but checker squares on the map, which must be "covered" by the bombs. It was also told that there were pilots who refused to "cover" those "checker squares" and released their bomb loads over the sea.

The suicide of Rubik dealt a heavy blow to his good friend Giddi. He, too, is living through a crisis. The human instincts which he harbours in his heart, arise against the unjustified acts of murder against the civil population. But Natek, the "patriot", the "idealist" of the air force, succeeds in convincing Giddi that what is demanded of him is, after all, nothing but to be "professional": "The army is a profession, not a kindergarten: one must put an end to the "feelings of falling down", whenever such a feeling arises consequent on any "errors" (he means the hitting at the civilian population). Giddi must choose between his love of flying and the reconciliation with what he must expect (Natek calls this "learning to swim") on the one hand and the protest on the other hand, against the dulling of sensitivities, against the loss of human image which he possesses. Natek, the "Idealist", causes him to swallow his tears, to bury deeply the nightmares which haunt him in the nights: "Cubes, houses, more houses, what to pull down, what to raze to the ground". He silences the voice of his conscience and the audience in the hall feels very well that Giddi reconciliates himself to war crimes, that he embarks on an utmost dangerous road, that he turns into a rhinoceros.

The "fascistoid" type, the archetype of the occupier and colonial settler, is Leibo in the drama "Tashmad". This knave relies only on brute force. His friends call him "Tarzan". "You believe in God" says Leibo to his chassidic friend (Chassidism is a sect in Judaism - IB) "I believe in the soil. There will be no Talmud, there will be a gun. Instead of the Bible - a gun". This is the essence of the beliefs of that villager, who is considered by his friends as the embodiment of "the new Jew", the man of the fist, the "Aryan", the real "blond beast". He, too, like Natek in "The Airmen", belongs to the "elite race" which has been bred in this country by various sorts of chauvinists.

This motif of turning into rhinoceroses is contained in almost all the political plays, in "They", in "Ceremony of Conferring the Medal", "Platoon 3, Section 1" and still other plays.

I see in this a very positive phenomenon. This is the voice of conscience of the different Israel, which feels apprehension at the dehumanization, the slithering down toward a fascist regime, a regime which without any compunction sends his sons to death.

The anti-war protest is connected with an individual act of refusing orders. To refuse or not to refuse - this is the question today. Rubik refuses to fly, but he dives into the sea. Giddi has indeed learned "to swim". But Yitzhak Zikherman has refused to get out of the "Bunker" in the drama with this name, by Haim Merin, staged by "Habimah". It is not clear what the decisive reason of his decision is: fear of death or absence of sufficient motivation which could justify risking his life. We know only this: He does not go into action. Here the nationalistic education inculcated by his teacher Katina is of no avail. The preaching about his being "the new Jew", the "strong Jew" as the antithesis of the Jews who had been humiliated for generations is of no avail. Nor are the proddings of his father of any avail. (His father, a survivor of the Nazi holocaust, had prescribed for his son to be "the avenger", to make the "goyim" (non-Jews) suffer for the outrage of the holocaust. Yitzhak Zikherman does not move. He refuses to sacrifice himself on the altar of the mystical, megalomaniac dreams of his father. He does not reconcile himself to the idea of the sacrifice of the biblical Yitzhak by his father Abraham. Incidentally, the motif of Yitzhak's sacrifice appears also in the "Airman". There, Rubik is the only son of a mother who had survived the holocaust.

The idea of the sacrifice made its first appearance already in the play of Hanokh Levin "Queen of the Bathroom". The recurrence of this motif in Israeli playwrighting is an expression of the refusal on part of young people to die in a war in the name of nationalist myths which the generation of the fathers has fostered.

Also Yehoshua Levi refuses orders. Levi is the driver of an ammunition truck, who has deserted the campaign (in the play "Shellshock"). He defends his right to be afraid. Perhaps someone will on some of these days draw the correct conclusion from the fear of death, from his unwillingness to get cured of his shellshock - thinks Yehoshua Levi. Who is the madman here? The one who goes into endless battle or the one who refuses? This is the ever repeated question in "The Airmen", the "Bunker" and "Tashmad". There the whole group

blow themselves up: AS AN ACT OF PROTEST AGAINST THE EVACUATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

### MESSIAH OR SATAN

In these dramas there is also the recurring pondering over the image of Israel; where it is heading. Who will emerge resurrected from the incessant wars - the Messiah or Satan. Or perhaps, as seen by the playwright Shmuel Hasfari, the "Messiah" will appear raising his hand in the fascist greeting? The link between war and occupation and the fascist raising of the hand is clear in the scene. What is this state - a miserable servant of Uncle Sam, as presented in "The Patriot" or perhaps a military state in the spirit of the teachings of Yaakov Frank, "Live by your sword" as presented in "Tachmad"? These are crucial questions which deal not only with topical political problems, but also with questions which have a deeper ideological character.

Such an ideological drama is that of Yehoshua Sobol, "Jewish soul", staged by the Haifa Municipal Theatre. In this play, Otto Weininger is resurrected, in order to level criticism on the Zionism of 1982, in distinctly Zionist terminology and conceptions. This is the closed circuit of the ideological oscillations of Sobol, which touch upon the ideological roots of Zionism. Otto Weininger, the hero of the drama, negated Zionism from positions which were nihilistic par excellence, and contained a mixture of Nietzscheism, psychoanalysis, antisemitism and petty bourgeois despair. Yehoshua Sobol utilises Weininger's criticism in order to claim that the Zionism practice today is a failure.

The ideas of Weininger sound like a real prophecy, when one accepts Sobol's identification (which is based upon the Zionist conception) between Zionism and national liberation, as against the identification of Judaism and national degeneration. Weininger says (according to the text of Sobol): "Zionism aspired to something that is absolutely opposed to Judaism. One had to overcome and beat Judaism from inside and get rid of it once and for all, in order to enable the realisation of Zionism. You did not do at all". What wonder that Judaism has beaten Zionism and that its victory leads you to destruction."

After all that, one must, of course, ask why Yehoshua Sobol had to take recourse to Otto Weininger in order to criticize Zionism. Why was it necessary to turn Weininger's sick soul into a symbol of the "Jewish soul", while he in



fact is a clear example of the tragedy of the petty bourgeois and paranoiac (whatever his national origin), who has severed any connection with his environment?

The drama of Sobol - in spite of its erroneous attitude, which in my opinion is definitely Zionistic and where he refers to "Goles" Judaism (the diaspora type of Jew, despised by Zionist theory and usage - IB), expresses frustration and disappointment with the Zionist ideology and Establishment. This is an important step because it compels the onlooker to go through a serious ideological soulsearching, to get down to the basic questions of Israeli society.

Another drama, "The Revelation on Mt. Sinai at six o'clock" by Samuel Hanafri, played by the Jerusalem Khan Theatre, also poses a distinctly ideological question. This time the religious ideology is examined, amid finding fault with the religious Establishment, by accusing this Establishment of striving to turn religion into an axe to grind.

#### BETWEEN "THEY" AND "US"

There is yet another theme without which one cannot sum up the central themes which appear in the Israeli political theatre - the Palestinian-Arab theme. This theme appears in connection with the occupation of the conquered territories and the oppression and humiliation of the Palestinians. This appears in "The Patriot", the "Punker" and others. To my view, this appears in the most interesting form in "They", which was staged in the Neve Tzedek Theatre. The play was written by a team of Jewish and Arab actors and was directed by A. Tchaikin. This drama at first sight does not present more than a Jewish-Arab dialogue. But in reality, this is a fascinating meeting of different moods, which exist in the two sides and by Jews on the other side. The Arab actors succeed in expressing the great evil done to the Palestinians and also their national pride; the shock which they experienced following upon bombings of Beirut, the anxiousness about their relatives there, and their compatriots in general; also the fear about the fate of their Jewish friends who were mobilized to the war in Lebanon and who are liable to get killed. This drama reflects the strong will of the Palestinians to have a state of their own and also the figure of the Arab citizen of Israel who belongs to Israeli society and fulfills in it a vital task.

The Arab theme in our theatre is worthy of being dealt with separately. Here we deem it sufficient to make some

remarks about several aspects of this theme. It is possible to speak today about a quite variegated shaping of the figure of the Arab on the stage back. There is the Arab boy of Haifa, by the name of Na'im (in "Na'im", Haifa Municipal Theatre) who gropes for his place in Israeli society. And there is an Arab child from the refugee camp Balatta in the occupied West Bank, who rejects the candy offered to him because he yearns for a gun ("They"). There is a respected Arab lawyer, whose intrinsic pride and dignity cannot be broken by any humiliation by the military government personnel ("Platoon 1 Section 3"). There are Palestinian fighters ("Refuge", staged by the Jerusalem Khan Theatre), who demonstrate before the Israeli onlooker the type of the Palestinian who is ready to sacrifice his life for his national ideals, and there is the figure of an Arab who is so abused as to become a graceless caricature (in "The Patriot"). Thus, there is a great variety and the view is not stereotypic. What is important is that a number of plays succeeded in showing in its concrete form the violation of human dignity, the depth of humiliation to which the Arab population is subjected in the occupied territories and in Israel. Incidentally, it can be seen clearly how this violation ruins the soul of the humiliators. In "Platoon 1, Section 3" (Dalik Volnitz in the Neve Tzedek theatre) Makram Khoury successfully and particularly sharply concretises the moral superiority of the Palestinian who is persecuted by the military government.

In the other side, the Jewish side, different attitudes towards the conflict are expressed: Ranging from the colonialist settler woman up to the professor Leibovitz, who raises the peaceloving Israel's voice of conscience. In this drama the path meanders from "They" to "Us". It points out that in spite of the tragic confrontation, in spite of the bloody conflict, there is something basic which propels both sides towards the recognition of the necessity of a common existence. This is the outcry: "There has been enough of killing and being killed". The Neve Tzedek Theatre also organized a "Week of the Palestinian Theatre". The Palestinian ensemble from the occupied West Bank, "Al Hakawati", presented a number of plays to the Israeli public which very well shows what is going on in the occupied territories and in the psyche of the inhabitants.

"ARAKHID", 1- 1984



**MARCH-APRIL 84**

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