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Workers of all Countries, Unite !

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## THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

### 615 DELEGATES AND 16 GUEST DELEGATIONS FROM ABROAD

On the opening evening of the Congress, on December 4, 1985, the "Shavit" Hall in Haifa was filled to capacity already long before the official opening of the Congress. 615 Delegates from the 95 Party branches, from all over the country, shook hands and embraced, enjoying meeting old friends. On the steps sat many youngsters in white blouses and red neckties - members of the Young Communist League of Israel who mobilized themselves to help in the technical work of the Congress and whose devotion and enthusiasm were outstanding.

On the rostrum which had been decorated magnificently with the symbol of the Congress and some slogans, the members of the outgoing Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Party took their seats, together with the heads of 16 guest delegations from Communist and Workers' Parties. Many public personalities were present in the hall, among them Member of Knesset Charlie Biton, the head of the Black Panther Movement and Member of the Leadership of the DFPE (Democratic Front for Freedom and Equality); Aryeh Gurel, Mayor of Haifa; Moshe Wartman, secretary of the Haifa Workers' Council; professor Israel Shahak and writer Mordechay Avi-Shaul - leading members of the League for Human and Civil Rights; Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, Chairman of the Council of Heads of the Arab Local Councils; Hashem Mahmud, mayor of Um-Al-Fahm; heads of numerous local councils; the secretary of the Islamic Congress, Muhammed Zaidan; the head of the Druze Initiative Committee, Sheikh Jamal Ma'adi. Among those present were also prominent the delegation of the National Forces from the Occupied Territories.

Comrade Tawfiq Toubi, the Deputy General Secretary of the Party who opened the congress, welcomed the President of the State, Mr. Haim Herzog, who attended the opening of the Congress and who addressed the audience.

The presence of the President of the State roused much interest in the Congress Hall and also the local and foreign communication media took keen interest in that fact. In the past, too, presidents of the State have been invited to the opening of Congresses of the Party, but had not responded. Thus Mr. Haim Herzog was the first President to attend the Congress of the Communist Party.

When the President entered the hall he was welcomed by the audience that stood up and applauded the President and repeatedly shouted: "Jewish-Arab Brotherhood!"

Then Comrade Tawfiq Toubi presented the guests from the fraternal parties. Again and again the audience enthusiastically welcomed the delegates from the Soviet Union, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania, from Japan and the United States of America, Canada and Italy, from West Germany, Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Cuba and the representatives of the Editorial Board of "Problems of Peace and Socialism"

#### THE APPEARANCE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE

After the opening speech of comrade Tawfiq Toubi the President of the State - Mr. Haim Herzog was asked to deliver his speech.

President Herzog expressed his view mainly on two central issues: The relations between Israel and Soviet Union, and the campaign against racism.

An indirect answer to the speech of the President, who quoted from Gromyko's speech in the UNO in 1947, was included in the speech of comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary of the Party, who delivered to the Congress the Report of the Central Committee of the Party. M. Vilner pointed out that the Soviet representatives in UNO had supported the establishment of the State of Israel as one of two states which must be established on the area of the British mandatory Palestine and that the Soviet Union supported in equal measures the establishment of an independent Arab state and of an independent Jewish state.

#### THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY

Comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Party, delivered the report of the Central Committee of the Party to the Congress. With keen interest the delegates and the guests listened to the deep analysis of the political developments which were included in the report. Comrade Vilner assessed thoroughly the ideological political and organisational work of the party and elaborated explicitly the future tasks of the Party.

## THE GREETINGS OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

With great excitement the audience received the greetings of the Palestinian Communist Party, which was read in Arabic by comrade Tawfiq Zayad, mayor of Nazareth, and in Hebrew by comrade Tamar Gojanski.

The fraternal Party addressed the delegates of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, expressing the high esteem of the Palestinian Communist Party for the CPI's struggle against Israeli aggression in Lebanon, against the acts of oppression in the occupied territories, for defence of democracy and the rights of the workers and against the aggressive and chauvinistic policy which the ruling circles in Israel conduct.

Your Party represents the other pole, holding high the torch of internationalism. We feel the great contribution of your solidarity with the struggle of our people for respecting their national rights, and first of all, their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own state in the lines of June 4, 1967.

Our Party struggles against the Israeli occupation, against acts of oppression.

Our Party struggles for the unity of the PLO and for the abolition of the Amman agreement and against yielding to the solutions of surrender presented by American imperialism and against the relations with the Arab reaction.

Comrades,

We are proud of the friendship between our two Parties. These relations are based on the common principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and our common historical roots. We are united in the struggle for the victory of just peace.

## YOUNG PIONEERS

With stormy applause the audience received the children of the Young Pioneers Movement who floated balloons and laid their blue-red neckties upon the shoulders of the members of the Presidium.

## GREETINGS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES

With enthusiasm the audience received the delegations of the fraternal Parties, who greeted the Congress, expressed their solidarity with the struggles of the Communist Party of Israel and wished it success in the Congress and the continuation of its activity.

Special interest was aroused by the greeting that was sent to the Congress by the chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Yasser Arafat, in which it was said that the PLO will act and struggle for the establishment of an independent Palestinian State on the basis of the UNO resolution.

Greetings were read from the General Secretary of the Histadrut, Israel Kaiser; the secretary of the Peace Council Dan Vishnitzer, the Ratz Party, the chairman of the committee of the Arab Local Councils - Ibrahim Nimr Hussein; the Municipality of Nazareth; the Druze Initiative Committee; the greeting of the Black Panthers Organisation which was brought by Member of Knesset Charlie Biton, the Hashem Mahamid, mayor of Um al-Fahm who transmitted greeting of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

## WHAT WERE THE ISSUES DISCUSSED AT THE CONGRESS?

EXPANSION OF RANKS: The representatives of all branches reported the fact that new members had joined the party since the previous Congress. Pride of place belongs to the Akko District, whose members rose by 64%. In the District of Nazareth the increase was 48%.

THE PARTY PRESS: Special mention was made of the important fact that the Party organ in Arabic "Al-Ittihad" has become a daily newspaper and that also "Zo Haderekh" the organ of the party in Hebrew has very much improved.

## THE ACTIVITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS:

Many delegates spoke about this issue. It was stated that the Party had fulfilled an important role in the development of these organisations and in their activities. But it was also said that more attention should be paid to the Party activity in these organisations.



## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM:

Delegates spoke in the Congress about the activities against racism and about the cooperation with wide circles, among them political factors who themselves are infected with prejudices. This cooperation is taking place in the wide struggle against Kahana and other racists of his sort.

THE ARAB POPULATION: Delegates from Galilee, the Triangle District and the Negev spoke about the continuation of the struggle against the renewed attempts at seizure of lands, enactment of discriminating laws, prevention of Arab local councils from receiving adequate budgets and... demolition of houses.

IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY: Many delegates demanded intensification of the ideological activity. Criticism was leveled against the weakening of the ideological struggle in the period between the two Congresses. Delegates also stressed the necessity to wage a convincing and profound discussion about controversial questions with our ideological rivals.

WORKING CLASS: Comrades from various districts expressed satisfaction at the improvement of the central activity of the Trade Union Department, mentioning facts when they had asked for assistance. Delegates spoke about concrete struggles in various enterprises and about the efforts directed at organising the workers for protest actions against the economic plan of the government. The demand was raised for the intensification of the activity in this domain.

YOUTH: Delegates assessed highly the great contribution of the YCLI to the work of the Party. The most prominent example was, that a half of the new members who joined the Party came from the ranks of the YCLI. It was reported that a significant expansion of the ranks of the YCLI took place in the period between the two Congresses, and the distribution of the YCLI organ in the Arab language, "Al-Ghad", took place and also the achievements of the members of the YCLI in the Committees of Arab secondary school pupils were pointed out. Reference was also made to the work under difficult conditions in the Jewish

sector, including the important activity in the Circle of Youth against Racism. A call was sounded for intensifying the activity among the young people in the Jewish sector.

NEIGHBOURHOODS: A number of delegates spoke about the successful activity in the neighbourhoods, in frameworks such as "Israel - that's Me". It was pointed out that there exists a necessity for drawing conclusions and lessons from this activity and the demand was raised to renew the appearance of the newspaper for the neighbourhoods which had been issued by the Party, as its distribution had been a successful attempt.

THE DFPE: From the speeches of delegates it emerged that in the period between the two Congresses an impressive expansion took place in the work of the DFPE in the country-wide framework and in the activities of the local Democratic Fronts. Some comrades told about the experience of establishing frameworks for young people who support the Front and about the activities of the DFPE for cooperation with other political factors.

UNIVERSITIES: Communist students spoke in the Congress about the struggles for toppling the right wing leadership of the students union in the majority of universities, for eliminating every form of discrimination against Arab students, against the raise of the study fees and for the democratisation of the campuses. These struggles were conducted in the framework of CAMP'US (a front of democratic students), the Committees of Arab Students, and in some other place, such as Tel-Aviv, in a wider scope.

ORGANISATION: Delegates stressed in the Congress the need for strengthening the Party organisation and Party discipline. Certain cases were criticised - instances of breaking discipline, of leaks and other violations of the Party Constitution. Particular indignation was expressed regarding certain cases where individual comrades who had come out in public in contradiction to the Party line, and who did not cease this, also after talks and clarifications. after which conclusions had been drawn. However, it was pointed out that these phenomena do not characterize the Party work and the activity of the general membership of the Party.

THE "PROGRESSIVE" LIST: The decisive majority of the delegates who debated this point paid due tribute to the correct and unequivocal policy which had been taken up towards this organisation immediately after its appearance against the "Progressive" list, but on the other side many delegates expressed their appreciation to the correct general line of the Party, including its press organs - and this under conditions of venomous anti-Communist incitement, including personal incitement which had been conducted by the leaders of the "Progressive" List.

THE CULTURAL ACTIVITY: The lack of activity by the Central Cultural Committee was also a subject of criticism. Stress was laid on the importance of the cultural activity and of the connection between the spreading of progressive culture and the ideological and political confrontation. The experience of activities of various cultural circles, especially of youth, which constitute a force of attraction for youth and young people, who before that had not reached our clubs.

THE ELECTION OF THE PARTY INSTITUTIONS: On December 8, 1985 the closed session of the Congress took place, in which the following institutions of the Party were elected: The Central Control Commission (composed of 7 comrades,) and the Central Committee composed of 35 members and 13 candidates.

In the course of the elections to these institutions, additional candidates, who had not been proposed by the Standing Committee, in accordance with the proposals of the outgoing Central Committee were proposed. The comrades who brought their proposals substantiated them before the delegates. There were delegates who also substantiated their opposition to this or the other candidate. The election of the institutions which took place by secret ballot was a complementation of the democratic procedure of the whole Congress, whose delegates had been elected by secret ballot in the Party branches all over the country.

Comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Party summed up the debate stressing the ideological and organisational unity of the Party.

The chairman of the closing session, comrade Sasha Khenin, thanked the hundreds of members of the Party and of the YCLI who had exerted devoted efforts for enabling a smooth and successful work of the Congress.

The Congress was concluded with the mighty singing of the "International".

ZO HADEREKH, December 11, 1985

OPENING SPEECH OF COMRADE TAWFIQ TOUBI  
Deputy General Secretary of the party.

Dear guests, delegates of the 20th Congress, comrades,

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, I herewith proclaim the opening of the 20th Congress .

I herewith welcome the 615 delegates of our Congress who came from the 95 party branches from all parts of the country.

I herewith welcome our honorable guest, mister President Haim Herzog, public personalities, representatives of organizations, Jews and Arabs who have honored us with their presence.

I herewith welcome our gusts, our brothers from the occupied territories; through you we would like to convey the message of solidarity of our Communist Party with the inhabitants of the occupied territories, with the masses of the Arab Palestinian people, who are struggling courageously against occupation, against oppression and presecutions, arrests and deportations, for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, for the establishment of a just and stable peace. We are confident, dear brothers, that the day is not far away when the sun of freedom and peace will shine for our two peoples.

I herewith welcome with warm Communist greetings our dear guests, the representatives of the fraternal parties from the socialist countries and from the capitalist countries.

Your presence at our Congress is a source of joy and strength for us. This is an expression of solidarity with our Party in its hard struggle, of the internationalist links that are so vital for our international Communist Movement, for its unity in the fateful struggle against imperialism, the oppressor of the peoples, for peace, national liberation democracy, social progress and socialism.

I wish you, dear comrades, a pleasant stay at our Congress and in our country.

Dear Comrades,

Between our 19th and 20th Congress we have lost two members of our Political Bureau, Yehuda Unger and Emile Touma, and a member of the Central Control Commission, Mahmud Husari (Abu El Afu). Their untimely departure from our ranks is a great loss for our Party. Let us honor their memory and the memory of all Party members and sympathisers who have passed away, by a minute of silence.

Comrades,

20 years have passed since the crisis of the split that occurred in our Party on the eve of the 15th Congress, in August 1965. These 20 years symbolize the victory of the Party over the liquidators who tried to hit the Jewish-Arab unity of our Communist Party and to drag it into the swamp of nationalism and anti Sovietism.

Our Party has passed the test, thanks to its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its Jewish-Arab internationalist unity and its principled adherence to the policy of just peace. In spite of the difficult conditions, our Communist Party is a revolutionary force, fighting for the defence of the interests of the masses of the working people, against the oppression and discrimination and for the equal rights of the Arab population; a Jewish-Arab Party, which serves as a light house of hope for the champions of peace among both peoples. Thanks to our principled stand, 20 years ago, defending our Marxist-Leninist way, a revolutionary Party exists in this country, a party that inscribed socialism on its banner; a party that says "no" to aggressive wars and to the occupation and "yes" to the just peace; a party that was the pioneer in the struggle against enhancing the aggressive war in Lebanon and

that played an important role in the popular opposition to this dirty war; the Party of the "Day of Land" that has inscribed on its banner equal rights to the Arab population, a party that says "no" to the erosion of workers' wages "no" to the lowering of the living standards of the popular masses and that shows the right way for social progress.

The events of the last four years, that passed since the 19th Congress, have proved how right we were, when we opposed the Camp David agreements, when we stated that a settlement based on ignoring the right of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their state alongside the State of Israel will lead not to peace but to a war, and thus we warned against the war in Lebanon.

Today we stand again and oppose the policy that is falsely called a "peace process". The imperialist settlement that is woven between the rulers of Israel and King of Jordan under the auspices of the United States is aimed to secure the strategic, regional and global interests of the United States, at the price of trampling underfoot the right to self-determination of the Arab Palestinian people, and therefore it can lead to a new war with all the disasters involved for the popular masses in Israel.

Our 20th Congress presents again the only peace programme that can bring true peace.

In face of the suspicious plans of the "autonomy" or a common Jordanian-Israeli rule and separate suspicious settlements that ignore the right of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination, our 20th Congress stresses that true peace through an International conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including

the PLO as well as the Soviet Union and the United States. This comprehensive, just and stable peace between Israel and the Arab states, will be based on the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied in June 1967, the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel, the sovereignty of the state of Israel, the Palestinian state and of all other states in the region.

For the cause of peace and the future relations between both peoples we call upon the government of Israel to stop the acts of oppression in the occupied territories to put an end to the deportations, expulsions, demolishing of houses and to respect human rights in the occupied territories according to international law.

Our Communist Party is the only party in the country that, because of its deep concern for the security in the region and in the world, is opposed to the strategic agreement between Israel and the United States and demands that the government of Israel stop its services to the American aggressive regional and global policy, violating its independence and endangering its security and its future.

Our Communist Party and with us peace loving public circles in Israel, fully appreciate the consistent Leninist peace policy of the Soviet Union, its efforts to reach international disarmament, coexistence and cooperation, to prevent destructive nuclear world war and to maintain peace all over the world.

We express our full solidarity with the Soviet Communist Party and its Leninist leadership in its relentless efforts to preserve peace in the world and in the Middle East, to promote the achievements



of the socialist society and to strengthen the Soviet Union- this is the interest of peace, peoples' independence and socialism in every country.

Our Communist Party is active against the equipment for Israel with nuclear weapons. We shall do everythings to contribute our share in the fateful struggle for disarmament, for strenghtening peaceful coexistence and prventing a destuctive nuclear world war.

Our Communist Party was the only Party that was opposed to the economic policy of the Assignment-Likud government from its beginning and called the masses of workers to fight against value of wages and raising it, and against the lipuidation of the social services.

In view of the bitter experience of the workers of "ATA", "Vulcan", the Israel Shipyards and dozens of other factories, whose employees were thrown into the street cor have to expect that they will lose their job, as a result of the policy of the government and the employers and in face of the "class peace" of the Histdrut leadership, let us call from out 20th Congress the masses of workers let us struggle in common, Jewish and Arab workers against dismissals and unemployment, against the erosion of wages and the ruin of the system of the cost-of-living allowance, and for making an honorable living and a safe future. More workers understand today, that the struggle for bread and work is linked and interrelated with the struggle for peace..

In view of the expanding racism, the aggravation of the policy of national discrimination, the danger of liquidating the existence of the Arab population their homeland, the renwed attempts to requisition of wide stretches of land in Gallilee and the Negev-we call upon the masses of the Arab population to unite their ranks, to rally with the Jewish democratic forces for defending the land , for

equal rights and ensuring an honorable existence.

We call and struggle for true equality for the Arab population in Israel. For stopping the campaign of their eviction from the land which has been going on since the establishment of the State, for respecting their rights to live and develop in their homeland in dignity and security.

Comrades,

We have come to our 20th Congress, stronger, more united and with important achievements. We have expanded the ranks of the party and the young Communist League. Our Party organ in the Arabic language "Al Ittihad" has become daily.

Between our two congresses we have experienced a hard time. Two election campaigns to the Knesset two election campaigns to the Histadrut (General Federation of Labour), election to the municipal councils, elections to the teachers' union and to some other trade unions. We have waged mass struggles against the war in Lebanon, for equal rights for the Arab population, against racism, we have initiated social campaigns against the economic plan and defended the daily interests of the popular masses. In all these campaigns, we have fulfilled loyally our revolutionary Communist tasks and emerged from them stronger.

An important achievement is the consolidation of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the expansion of the forces acting in its framework on the basis of the joint programme for peace and equality. We extend our hand to all Jewish and Arab forces who accept the platform of the Front, to be partners in its framework. We Communists regard the existence of the Front, its expansion and activity, through mutual respect between all

its members and components, as a paramount contribution to advancing the noble struggle for a democratic Israel, that will maintain equal rights and defend the interests of the popular masses.

We will exert every effort for strengthening and expanding the Democratic front for Peace and Equality.

Comrades,

The Party is and will be facing the most serious tasks and challenges while the double-headed Alignment-Likud government continues its policy which prevents peace, ruins the Israeli society, hits hard the workers and popular masses, intensifies the national discrimination directed against the Arab population.

In order to face successfully these challenges, our Party must extend and strengthen its ranks and improve the standard of its organizational work in all fields of its activity.

May our 20th Congress be a historical milestone in the way of our Party for its further growth, strengthening of its Jewish-Arab unity, and intensification of its activity among the working class, so that we shall be able to face successfully the historical challenges and tasks ahead of us.

- Long live the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel !
- Long live the undefeated Jewish-Arab international unity of our Party !
- Long live the struggle for an Israeli- Palestinian peace, for peace in the Middle East and for peace in the world !
- Long live the international solidarity of the working class! Long live the unity of the International Communist movement!

- Long live the victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism !
- Long live peace, long live Communism!

CONCLUDING SPEECH OF COMRADE MEIR VILNER,  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PARTY

Let us strengthen our party ideologically,  
politically and organisationally, and let us  
expand our ranks!

The debates which have taken place at the 20th Congress, just as the debates which preceded it, prove that in general our Communist Party of Israel is united and firm, ideologically, politically and organisationally. However, we ourselves are not satisfied with the existing situation. Towards the Congress and at the Congress itself, the Central Committee openly and publically pointed out not only the achievements of the Party, not only its ideological, political and organisational strength, but also its shortcomings.

A comrade asked me during one of the intermissions: "What do we want of our Party? After all, our Communist Party of Israel acts in so many spheres; comrades work day and night, act devotedly for the cause of communism. What do we want? That we should be in an ideal situation? There exists no such situation". I told him: True, there are indeed comrades who see only the trees and not the forest. They see this or the other shortcoming, or a political slithering-down of this or the other comrade, and do not see the Party as a whole. We can be proud of our Party! However, we must not shut our eyes or our ears. We must be vigilant, so that the Communist Party of Israel should always be as it is - Marxist-Leninist, internationalist.

We are the most democratic party in the country. I said this in the Report on the opening evening of the Congress. Look, what a Congress we have had: 82 delegates took part in the debates of the Congress plenum. And whoever was unable to speak, could pass on his views in writing and they will be published just like the other speeches of the comrades who spoke. This is a record number of participants in a debate in the Congress plenum in the history of our Party. But it was not only this. The debate was completely free. Also comrades who hold different views from the Party on important issues took part in the debate. We are interested that also incorrect

views should be heard at the Congress, so as to elucidate the problems, and in this way we will strengthen our Party ideologically and politically. We do not want to conceal incorrect opinions and sweep them underneath the carpet.

Our Party received greetings to the Congress from the Central Committee of the Palestinian Communist Party. Our Congress was also greeted by our friends from the occupied Golan heights. These greetings were an expression of the fact that our Communist Party of Israel, the Palestinian Communist Party and our friends who struggle against the occupation in the Golan heights, have one common position and one common struggle, and whoever says something different, does not know about what he speaks.

We have also received a greeting from the chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Yasser Arafat. We received it with good will because today, too, we consider the PLO the sole representative of the Palestinian Arab people, in spite of our having different views about some moves of the leadership. Also Palestinian organisations, such as the Democratic Front, sent its greetings to the Congress; they do not consent to the negative moves of the Fath leadership, but they, too, consider the PLO the sole representative. Only the enemies of peace are interested in having more than one representative of the Palestinian people. They want to shatter the PLO. We, the Communist Party of Israel, in the name of peace, in the name of the interests of both peoples, the Palestinian and the Israeli, we, the Communist Party of Israel, are interested in the restoration of the unity of the PLO on the basis which the Organisation had in the past, on the anti-imperialist basis, on the basis of a correct position, which were expressed in the 16th National Council held in Algiers.

#### A LINK IN THE GREAT POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD

Delegations of fraternal Communist parties take part in our congress. This is a great encouragement for our Party. We, Israeli Communists, consider ourselves a link in the greatest and strongest political movement in the world. Our enemies in Israel are temporarily big. We are temporarily small. The future belongs to us, not to them!

They would like us to change, mainly, one thing and then we would be "kosher" (ritually clean). Do you

believe that this is because our attitude towards zionism? Not at all. This is not the main thing in their eyes. Agudat-Israel, for example, is not zionist, but it is "kosher". What they want mainly is that we should be against the Soviet Union, at least a little bit against the Soviet Union, that we should disassociate ourselves from the Soviet Union. Thereby they admit an important thing. They themselves say not only once that they consider the Soviet Union an enemy, and therefore they established a strategic agreement with the United States against the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union is in the eyes of the imperialists, slave-drivers, oppressors, occupationists and aggressors an enemy, this is a sign that the Soviet Union is the power of freedom and peace, which is the most important thing in the world.

We have already accumulated quite some experience. 20 years ago there were persons, including in the leadership of the Party, who said: In order to gain the Jewish masses, let us be "a little" anti-Soviet... Where are they now: In the waste basket of history. Many comrades who erred or were misled - returned to our Party and all are members with equal rights in the Party.

We wish to thank all the fraternal parties who have sent delegations to our Congress. Thank you very much! You have contributed an important share to our Congress and to the status of our Party in our country.

#### THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION

Our 20th Congress was covered in the Israeli press, radio and television - more so than at previous Congresses - towards the Congress as well as during these days of the Congress. A part of the press and other media of communication, claimed that our policy as well as the policy of the Soviet Union and the international Communist Movement with relation to the Israeli-Arab conflict "must be more balanced". What does that mean - "balanced"? In the Report of our Communist Party to the Congress, in the appearances of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the other fraternal delegations, clear and correct things were said on this subject. If our Communist Party of Israel, the international Communist Movement, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, say: We are for the sovereign existence and the security of the State of Israel, and at the same time

demand this right for an independent state and security for the Palestinian Arab people - is this not balanced? Certainly it is.

It is our rivals who are unbalanced. Our position and that of the entire International Communist Movement is in accordance with the interests of the two peoples, the Israeli people and the Palestinian people. What we propose is the sole realistic and just plan for true peace. As long as this plan is not realised, we will be here for many years to come in wars, and there are even such wars which are liable to be the match that will ignite a world war, destroying all of us, the whole of mankind.

In the press and other communication media a discussion took place about the participation of the President of the State, Mister Haim Herzog in our Congress. Also politicians from various parties discussed the subject. This is the first time that the President of the State came to greet a Congress of the Communist Party of Israel. The fascists raved. It has been said that Madame Geula Cohen got ill because of that. Former FBI agent Kahana (Member of the Israeli Knesset) said that from now on he will not recognize President Herzog as President. I presume that the President will sleep tranquilly. To the credit of the President one can say that he had not recognized Kahana and had not invited him to any talk, when he invited for talks the factions in the Knesset for hearing their proposals and advice on the matter of establishing the government after the elections to the Knesset.

Latterly, prime minister Sh. Peres found it right to declare that "Israel is not hostile to the Soviet Union". What reason is there to play the fool? After all, the State of Israel, its government has signed a strategical alliance with the United States, and it included explicit words which say that its aim is "to block Soviet influence". Thus it is written black on white. All acts prove that this alliance is being realized and not only in the Middle East, but in all parts of the world.

At the Haifa port American warships equipped with nuclear arms pay regular visits. Against who? I hope not against our Communist Party. I suppose that not against us, warships with nuclear equipment are navigated here. I also presume that such vessels do not cast anchor here in order to hurl nuclear bombs on Syria.



Such vessels, as the battleship "New Jersey" which now has dropped anchor in the Haifa harbour, come here in order to use Israel as an American military basis against the Soviet Union with all the existencial dangers stemming from this for the people of Israel, for all the peoples of the region. And what is this ceaseless wild incitement which is waged here. Every day, every hours, brazen lies are unceasingly spread against the Soviet Union. On television anti-Soviet films etc. etc. are frequently beamed. And what is this partnership with racist South Africa, including in the atomic sphere? And what is the partnership with Honduras, together with the USA, against Nicaragua? Almost in every place where there exists an American intervention against the independence and freedom of the peoples, against national liberation movements, one can find Israeli officers and Israeli arms.

We Communists want to defend the people of Israel and warn against the grave results which are to be anticipated from this policy. We see in this policy of the Israeli government and the zionist leadership an anti-national policy.

Our Communist Party of Israel which is the only political force in Israel that consistently fights against the strategic alliance of the State of Israel with American imperialism - is the only force that defends the independence and security of Israel.

This is how things stand and this is the way to explain them, specially in the Jewish sector. We want to emphasize, especially among the Jewish public that when we support the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and when we struggle against the occupation and oppression - we do this not only out of solidarity and for the sake of justice to the Palestinian people. We also wage this struggle because this is the interest of the Jewish people in this country. The establishment of a Palestinian state is not a step against Israel.

The occupation is against Israel. The establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel is in accordance with the interests of the people in Israel. This will lead to peace and security and this will enable the solution of the economical and social problems.

## A POSITION WHICH HELPS THE GOVERNMENT

We act in Israel. There are comrades who sometimes forget this fact. In Israel a war against Syria is being prepared, the PLO is being disqualified, the Palestinian people is being disqualified, they are considered an enemy and not a partner for peace. We hold a different attitude, therefore let us not add flames against Syria and the PLO. There is enough fire here. We act within a certain public, within a certain state.

In this context I wish to refer to a number of things that have been said in the debate in the Congress. Comrade Yossi Alghazi expressed his position in the framework of the "Debating Rostrum" towards the Congress, in "Zo Haderekh" (December 3, 1985) and in his speech in the debate in the Congress he emphasized it in a rather different manner, which is still more sharp. He wrote in the "Debating Rostrum": "The PLO leadership, in fact - the Fateh organisation, the dominant component in the PLO has never crystallized for itself a strategy of struggle for realizing the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people". This is simply untrue. The PLO had elaborated a strategy in the resolutions of the 16th National Council and even before that. The PLO stated in those resolutions the same demands which we are advocating.

Still more grave are the following things which comrade Yossi Alghazi wrote: "The ambiguity continues to characterize also the aims of the struggle of the PLO..." and the statement later in his article that in spite of the change of slogans - "the leaders of Fateh and others have continued expressing their adherence to the original slogans of 'all belongs to me', ignoring the national rights of the Jewish inhabitants of the country. The changing of the slogan of the "complete liberation of Palestine" was not deep enough... the Fateh leadership has not comprehended that the realisation of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people does not contradict the realisation of the right to self-determination of the people in Israel".

Comrades, what comrade Yossi Alghazi says is indeed what the government says. Does the question rally stand like this? Is it true that the PLO is not ready to recognize the right of Israel to exist? Is the PLO responsible for the fact that there is no peace? Indeed, the facts are completely different. Already while

summing up the debate in our 19th Congress I said that if the Israeli government would adopt the peace plan which we propose, we could attain peace within one week. The problem lies in the official Israeli policy, which does not recognize at all the national rights of the Palestinian people. After all, the trouble is not that the PLO does not recognize Israel; the trouble is that the Fateh leadership is prepared today to accept even less than its just demands and to renounce the independence of the Palestinian state and to walk in the furrow that leads to failure, in a furrow where they had not walked before. This is a question of principle. This is a deviation from the main principle of our struggle for peace. This is not propaganda, this is the truth: If there is no peace in the Middle East, if there is no stability, if until now the independent Palestinian state alongside Israel has not been established, if the Israeli people live today like in a military camp - US imperialism and the Israeli government are to be blamed. They are responsible for the absence of peace. If they would change their policy there would be no impediment on part of the Palestinian people and their representative for establishing just peace.

Therefore it is incorrect to say that the PLO (or Fateh) "has not comprehended that the realisation of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people does not contradict the realisation of the right to self-determination of the people in Israel". The PLO is prepared since long for peace with Israel. They are indeed not prepared to recognize Israeli unilaterally. They want mutual recognition.

Objectively the position of comrade Alghazi is a help to the government. The conclusion to be drawn from his speech is that the Palestinians want to liquidate Israel. Such talk serves the Israeli government which acts incessantly against peace and for the liquidation of the national existence of the Palestinian people. The PLO is definitely ready for just peace. All the central trends in the PLO are ready for peace. More than once they declared their readiness to sit together with the representatives of the State of Israel in an international conference. Is'nt this an expression of their readiness to recognize the State of Israel? The government of Israel is the one who is not ready to sit together with the PLO. It is not ready to recognize the PLO as a partner for negotiations and is not ready to recognize

the Palestinians as a nation. No wonder, that our political opponents are using the speech of the delegate Yossi Alghazi in the Congress.

Is it true what Alghazi said? Definitely not! We never provided unreserved support when the Palestinian charter was the dominating program we had not only refrained from supporting it, but we had resolutely opposed it. When the program of the PLO became correct, anti-imperialist and realistic we said that this is a program which is in accordance with the interest of the Palestinian people and with the interest of peace. At the present stage, after the leadership of the PLO has signed the Aman agreement, again we declared our reservations and our criticism, again we declared our disagreement. Thus what comrade Yossi Alghazi has said does not correspond with the facts. In his speech is a kind of slander against the Party. The facts simply contradict his speech.

In the report to the Congress we justly criticized certain phenomena in the Party - we said: Our Party is strong and healthy, but and here there is a but... comrade Yossi Alghazi has not only spoken in the Congress he has not only expressed his ideas in our newspaper, he also appeared with his position which contradicts the position of the Party in the international arena, in the Geneva conference a year ago. There after his speech an impression was created among certain circles, as if there are two trends in our Party. I would like to declare in this Congress that the debate during the Congress and the debate in the Party towards the Congress have proved that there are not two trends in the Communist Party of Israel. There is the Communist Party of Israel, and there is a comrade who is mistaken or who does not understand.

#### NO COMPROMISES IN THE IDEOLOGICAL SPHERE

The same could be said regarding another question. I am glad that two comrades who had lost the way in 1965 appeared in the Congress. They admitted their mistake from the rostrum of the Congress. But one comrade criticized the other. Many comrades who had lost the way or were misled at that time have returned back to the Party and the Party received them with open arms and they are now members with equal rights. Comrade Eliezer Feiler (Shomernik) said that he does not agree with a certain point in the report. This is his right. The question is

if he is right or not? The other comrade Moshe Gauzeh argued with him explained the issue and said part of what I wanted to say.

The subject of the discussion is: "Progressive Zionism." In the report it is said that there is no progressive zionism. But there are zionists who on that or the other matter take up a progressive position and it is possible to cooperate with them in various struggles. Comrade Shomernik said that on definition is arbitrary. First of all to use the word "arbitrary" in this contex is out of place. The question is whether or not our definition is correct. According to comrade Shomernik the meaning of the definition - There is no progressive zionism - is that all zionists are reactionaries. From the ideological point of view - yes - but there are zionists who do not know what zionism is. Let us take for example the Israeli youth. Many among the yough think that zionism is to live in Israel, and he who lives in Israel is a zionist. This is absurd. Zionists and anti zionists live in Israel, and an anti zionist can be a good patriot who cares for the true interests of Israel, while there are numerous zionists and many zionist parties who are liable by their policy to bring disaster upon Israel. Zionist ideology and practice are not, and never were, progressive.

With what can one compare this? There are indeed differences, but on the main point it is possible to compare. Let us take as an example, imperialism. There are imperialists who are ready to take the risk of the destruction of the world, if only socialism would be eliminated. And there are imperialists who out of a realistic assessment of the balance of forces in the world, understand that in a nuclear world war they, too, would be destroyed, and therefore they are in favour of detente in international relations. But, can we say, because one imperialist or the other, has a realistic position regarding the necessity of peaceful coexistence, that there is a progressive imperialism? Of course not. There is no such thing, and there never has been such thing.

Furthermore, there are people who say: Right, there is no progressive zionism but why should we say so? If we will not say that, we will be supported by more people. Comrades, if we will furl our ideological banner, no one will accept us. We had an experience 20 years ago. We want people to trust us but this happens only

when we are sincere, when we are honest, and when nobody will have the impression that we conceal something. We say all what we think and we want people to cooperate with us as Marxists-Leninists without any compromise in the ideological sphere. At the same time we act on the widest possible front. We are ready to act together with everyone for a just cause, for everything we hold in common.

Comrade Shomernik is a comrade who has returned back to the Party and has been accepted with open arms. Because of some reason he has found it correct in his speech at the Congress to say that he is not a "yesman". These words offended comrades. This means that all the other comrades are "yesmen". In our Party we do not need "yesmen". A communist has his own independent views. If he agrees, he says so. If he disagrees he also says so. This is his right and also his duty. No one must set himself above the collective and say I am something special above everybody.

Hence the lesson: Throughout one's whole life one needs to learn.

#### LET US STRICTLY ADHERE TO THE ORGANISATIONAL NORMS

I will refer to yet another appearance, that of comrade Saliba Khamis. Many delegates to the Congress have not understood what he said. I want to say clearly: A comrade who looks for a justification for criticising the Party outside the Party - hits the Party and its basic norms. The Report especially emphasizes that after the 20th Congress one must strictly maintain in every corner of the Party and on every issue - the Leninist norms of the Communist Party Organisation, the democratic centralism. We must in future uproot any activity which transgresses the norms of a Communist Party. With regard to criticism, not only do we not curb criticism, but on the contrary. I am glad that there are comrades who express their opinions also when they do not agree. Let us examine the deliberations at the congress: Every comrade has expressed himself freely. And thus it must be everywhere - in the cells, committees, branches, districts. But after the Party has summed up a political organisational or tactical question, it is impossible for a Party member to act outside the Party against the position of the Party and to conduct a different policy, or a different tactic. Such a behaviour inflicts grave harm on the Party.

Some comrades said that we are working in accordance with "obsolete methods". When you ask the comrade: What do you propose, he replies: "What do you mean? We have to work in accordance with new methods!" And when we ask him: "Still, what do you want, what do you propose?" he replies: "What do you mean? modern period prevails now".

It is clear that we live in a modern period; Once we spoke without any microphone: now there is a battery of microphones; there is television, etc. Also our Party has changed in many aspects. We have heard the Report of the Mandates Committee, and it is very encouraging that comrades below the age of 30 constitute 29% of the Congress delegates. Also the level of education has risen: 32% of the delegates have higher education. Moreover, the whole political level of the Party members in general has very much risen, and this is not precisely dependent on the level of formal education. Already Lenin has said that not once a worker in a factory understands more than a professor in a university. Everything depends on the fact if the comrade has a class approach and a sound proletarian sense. The level has risen and also the Party leadership the Central Committee, the District Committees, and Branch Committees are required to have a higher level of leadership, responsibility and personal example. I agree absolutely with those comrades who have pointed this out. The personal example of the leading comrades influences more than many speeches. I also agree with the comrades who spoke against "bossism". All of us here are equal. No comrade has the right, whatever his rank, to offend a comrade or insult him. All Party members are equal and one must not behave arrogantly to anyone as a "boss". Whoever opposes this, only humiliates himself.

On the other hand, there are comrades, although not many, who do not respect elected Party institutions, and there are also cases of haughty talk and arrogance. Such phenomena are insufferable and must be opposed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Regarding the question of the (Jewish) oriental communities. I wish to tell the Congress: The Communist Party of Israel is the political factor who struggles more than any other factor in the country for the equality of the oriental communities, for the interests of

the inhabitants of the poor quarters and poor small towns. Our Party points out the correct solution, we are wholeheartedly devoted to the struggle for changing the situation in Israel. However, only when this change will occur, it will be possible to solve fundamentally these questions. We, Communists, struggle in this sphere together with our friends, the Black Panthers, and also in the framework of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE). All the others are deceivers and nothing more, because they support a policy and an ideology which have already caused in the first years after the establishment, the inferior status of the members of the oriental communities. The struggle must be waged in a correct manner. We hold the opinion that every communal separatism in the struggle, such as every national separatism, bring only harm. The struggle in Israel must be united, Jewish-Arab and must encompass all the communities.

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Now to the question of membership in the Party: I will not speak this time about the general issue. I only want to say to the comrades in the Party: If there are few female members in the Party (there are many, but not enough; their percentage is too low and in certain places this is especially conspicuous). There is no objective reason, and it is not the women who are to be blamed for this, but in general the male members of the Party are to be blamed for this. The correct approach to the question of the women members is part of our world outlook. It is possible to increase very much the number of female members in the Party, if Party members would not prevent them from joining the Party.

Female members of the Party are active and militant not less than other Party members. In the demonstrations, in the elections campaigns, in all Party activity and in the general democratic activity the female comrades are doing their job. The Movement of Democratic Women, in which female members of the Party are the dominant factor, enjoys in many places mass support. In many cases the female members of the Party are an example to all the Party. Something is not in order in this sphere in the Party, something which I do not speak about it in hard words as I have done in a previous Congress. I would like only to say: Comrades, do help and enable your women to join the Party.



In the debate many young comrades have appeared. Their appearance was fine and added honour to our Party. This proves that we have a young generation to whom we must extend assistance so that they can develop, learn and at the same time it is necessary to warn from arrogant behaviour. Every comrade not only the youngsters must not behave arrogantly. It is necessary to stress that one of the qualities of a Communist is modesty. Quite naturally young people tend to think that they already know everything. Indeed, many things they know better than ourselves, because they approach things in a certain manner, as a part of a certain public. One must listen with much attention to the young people. On the other hand, the young people must behave with due esteem, with due respect - and they do this in general - towards the senior members, who have built up this Party and till this day bear the burden of the revolutionary struggle. And to the older comrades I want to say that they must behave - and they do this in general - with esteem towards our youth, and towards the young generation.

I want to point out especially that comrade Ruth Lubitz has latterly published two books. One deals with 40 years of Israel-USSR friendship, the second, which has come out just now, exactly on the evening of the opening of the Congress, is an autobiographic book named "I have chosen to live in struggle". The history of our Party has not yet been written. However, in the new book of Comrade Ruth Lubitz comrades will be able to learn much about the history of our Party and about the struggle in this country. I am convinced that this book will be a "best-seller" among all members and sympathizers of the Party and also among other circles.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the debate there were also remarks made that sometimes we try to convince the convinced. There is something correct in this statement, but not entirely. What does that mean "to convince the convinced"? Those who raise this point, intend to say that we act for convincing the members and sympathizers. Indeed, this is a very important task and we must carry it out much more and much better. We are obliged to convince and to strengthen, ideologically, and politically and on complicated questions which arise first of all in the Party

cadre, so that they can face any polemics regarding any question. But if we deal only with this, we will do only one half of the work. We are obliged to conduct the ideological struggle also with our friends, also with our partners in the struggles, also with the enemies. After all, we are all convinced that it is vital to expand the ranks of the Party, so that we will have more Communists, Jews and Arabs, in this country.

#### THE WAYS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM

Let us issue an appeal from this Congress against the demolition of houses of the Arab population. Many houses have been built without a licence, but one must ask why? Because the ruling zionist circles in Israel have robbed the majority of their lands. Also on the land which has remained they are not allowed to build. Already almost for 40 years outline plans for the Arab villages are not confirmed. This is a policy of discrimination and national oppression. We, Communists, say: The construction of the houses is legal. The people must live in houses. The policy of discrimination and national oppression towards the Arab population is illegal, immoral and one must fight against it. We, the Communists, will stand at the head of the struggle, just as we always did.

Regarding the question of racism, a discussion took place in the Congress. In this country, racists have grown up. One could not imagine that such a thing would happen among Jews who themselves have suffered so much from racism. One of them is an inhabitant of Haifa, deputy chairman of the Knesset, Meir Cohen-Avidov. He proposes something which the nazis had proposed in another form. The nazis sterilized Jewish women in order not to let them bear children. What does this Israeli racist propose? He proposes to declare the year 1986 a year of childbearing. Very nice! Perhaps there is a lack of people in the country? There are only 150 thousand superfluous persons - the unemployed. He also wants to give prizes: Whoever will bear in this year yet another child - will get for his child a place in a children's home - gratis and still more: 22 years after the baby now born, he will end his military service; then he will be enabled to study gratis at a university. I would not mention these ridiculous things, but Cohen-Avidov adds: These grants will be only for Jewish children, who have done military service. He said this openly: The aim is

to increase the number of Jews and to improve the demographic situation inside Israel. We must condemn this ridiculous and primitive racism of a person who is in the post of deputy chairman of the Knesset. He is a shame for Israel.

There are many racists in Israel. What was the discussion here about? There were some who said that one must struggle not only against the racism of Kahana, since there is also another racism. Certain comrades confused here two things: It is correct that there are racists of the sort which is fostered by Kahana, Cohen-Avidov, Geula Cohen, Druckman, Rafael Eitan and their organisations. One must struggle against their racism with all resoluteness. Their common aim is to expel all the Palestinian people from their homeland. There are some who say this openly, like Kahana, and others who prepare the soil for this without making any noise. The racism of Kahana is of such a sort, that in the struggle against him we have partners, who themselves are infected with another sort of racism. It is legitimate that we have fought and are fighting against the nazi racism of Kahana together with people from the Labour Party and other circles. When Kahana intended to come to Um al-Fahm, Members of Knesset of four parliamentary factions came to prevent him from doing so. By our common activity we do not give them any legitimation, cleaning them from all and every racism. But we must draw a line, stating that their approach is not identical.

I recall what Georgi Dimitroff said 50 years ago, at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in 1935. He adduced the example of the Swedish Communist Party. In Sweden the influence of fascism intensified at a time when it spread all over Europe. The government set up a special fascist gendarmery, in order to hit the workers' movement. The Social-Democratic Party then came out against the establishment of that gendarmery and demanded its dispersal. The Swedish Communist Party, instead of supporting this and struggling together with the Social-Democrate for dispersing the fascist gang that had been set up, took up a sectarian position and claimed that the demand of the Social-Democrats is not sufficient; since it is necessary to disperse the whole capitalist police. Instead of standing together in the struggle, in a broad front, against the gendarmery, demanding its dispersal the Swedish Communists demanded something which cannot be realised before changing the regime.

No example fits exactly any other case but it is similar. We must struggle in the broadest possible front against the racism of the sort of Kahana and his partners. However, we will conduct an ideological and political struggle against any other factor whose views and acts smell of racism. We struggle against the policy of the policy of the "Judaisation of Galilee" and against the renewed campaign for the robbery of additional Arab lands. We also support the struggle of the Arab-Beduin population in the Negev; the authorities have concentrated in the small town Rahat, 20 thousand Arab-Beduids; have confiscated all their lands and are turning them into a cheap labour power for the ruling gentlemen. In Rahat they have set up a nominated local council, without any elections, and the head of the council is a Jew, who does not even live in Rahat. Our Party supports the demand of the Arab-Beduids to let them be agriculturists on their land and to live as they wish.

We also support the struggle of the Arab-Druze population against separating them from the whole Palestinian Arab people. In the official statistics it is written: "Jew" and "non-Jew" - this is as if one would say "human" and "non-human". The name "Arabs" is not mentioned. The statistics point out: Muslims, Christians and Druze. But here in Israel two peoples live: Jews and Arabs. We support the demand to abolish the compulsory mobilisation of the Arab-Druze in the State of Israel, and call for setting free the Arab-Druze "captives of Zion" from prison.

Our Congress adopted a special decision, in which it demanded the setting free from prison of comrade Anatoli Yablonko, a delegate to the Congress who refuses to do his military service in the occupied territories.

#### WE HAVE STOOD THE TEST

Now about the Jewish and Arab cadre in this country. Once I was in France and the Communist Party organized a meeting of several hundreds of activists from among the Jewish population and of comrades active in matters of the Middle East. I was asked the following question: How is it that Jews who were a left, revolutionary force in various countries are not such revolutionaries in Israel, and precisely among the Arab population there are more revolutionary men and women? That was difficult to explain. I explained once, twice - they did'nt understand

Until I told them: You know, let us think. The Arabs who are a national minority in Israel are like the Jewish minority in the capitalist and fascist countries, who suffered from national discrimination. The participants said: Now we understand. Here is also another factor, that our Communist Party is the consistent fighter for realizing the national rights of the palestinian Arab people, of which the Arab population in Israel is a part. This is the reality: We are in one country and act as if we acted in two worlds: In the Arab population we are the dominant current; the Arab population as a whole struggles for equality of rights and for just peace; the decisive majority among them support our positions and know that we are the most loyal factor in the struggle for equality of rights and for just peace.

As against this, in the Jewish population, we swim against the current which is very strong.

In 1965, at the time of the crisis in the Party, 40-50% of the Jewish cadre remained in our Party, in the Jewish-Arab Party. These comrades should be praised, one must wonder how well they stood the severe test.

Well, in the Jewish population the situation is different from that in the Arab population. The conditions are completely different.

The Arab population, and our comrades within it suffer from a policy of oppression, discrimination and humiliation on part of the government. But in respect of the political conditions for action, the conditions are better. We are proud of the fact that the Arab masses, workers, intelligentsia, fellahin and students support the Communist Party and stand in the front ranks of the democratic struggle in Israel. At the same time we are proud of the fact that under the terrible conditions among the Jewish population in Israel we have thousands of Jewish supporters of the Communist Party.

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There are matters which are absolutely justly criticized in the debate, and especially in everything that is connected with the lack of organized national direction in the sphere of culture. Cultural activity is being carried out and even at a wide scope, under the guidance of our comrades among the Arab population. The

most important creative writers among the Arab population are our comrades and sympathizers, and we are proud of the fact that we are in the centre of cultural activity among the Arab population. Among the Jewish population a certain activity is being carried out and is developed on part of comrades, on part of the Party, but it is much narrower. We must - and this is said in the Report - establish after the Congress a central cultural department which, on behalf of the Party will guide, unite, coordinate, improve and develop the cultural work, among the Arab population as well as among the Jewish population and also the activity among the creative intelligentsia. This is an important task which faces the new Central Committee.

On this opportunity, we want, from the rostrum of the Congress, to protest against the oppression of the Palestinian culture in the occupied territories. The oppression is so extreme that it is enough to see in a painting of a Palestinian, the colours of the Palestinian flag, in order to disqualify him. But whoever raves thus against culture, shows that he is weak, that he is afraid. The nazi propaganda minister, Goebbels, said: "When I hear the word 'culture' - I draw my gun". In Israel there are such persons who whenever they hear the words "Palestinian culture" or the word "peace", immediately they draw their guns.

We also protest against the prohibition of the play by Yitzhak La'Or "Efraim returns to the army", which was supposed to be performed in the Haifa Municipal Theatre. The play was forbidden because it contained some criticism against the occupation, the oppression in the occupied territories and against, what the occupation inflicts upon Israeli society. We demand to abolish the censorship: This is a political anti-democratic and nationalist censorship.

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In conclusion, comrades, in another 4 years, in 1989, our Party will celebrate its 70th anniversary. Our Party was established in 1919, and it is one of the oldest parties in the International Communist Movement. The outgoing Central Committee has decided that towards this historic date the Party should start the preparation for writing the history of the Communist Party in this country.

After all what I have said, I would like to say sincerely: We have excellent comrades and and in general we have a Party which one can be proud of. I will conclude with the call:

Long Live the Communist Party of Israel!

Long Live the International Communist Movement!

Let us preserve loyally the Jewish-Arab unity of our Party, its Marxist-Leninist ideology, its internationalist essence!

Let us struggle with all our force in defence of the interests and rights of the workers, for equality of rights and for just peace!

Zo Haderekh, December 12, 1985

THE CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH WERE ELECTED IN THE 20TH  
CONGRESS OF THE PARTY (ACCORDING TO THE ALPHABETICAL  
ORDER)

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Members of the Central Committee

- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Abu Etta Abed-Elhameed | 19. Langer Felecia  |
| 2. Al-Qassem Saleem       | 20. Lubitz ruth     |
| 3. Al-Qassem Sameeh       | 21. Malik Ibraheem  |
| 4. Altman Kalman          | 22. Melamed Abraham |
| 5. Ashour Ali             | 23. Moussa Jamal    |
| 6. Brakha Nessim          | 24. Murcos Nimer    |
| 7. Burstein David (Uzi)   | 25. Naffa Muhamed   |
| 8. Gonen Benjamin         | 26. Naamni Fadel    |
| 9. Gozanski Tamar         | 27. Shbeita Ghazi   |
| 10. Gojanski Yoram        | 28. Shalom Shmuel   |
| 11. Habibi Emile          | 29. Toubi George    |
| 12. Irge Yehoshua         | 30. Toubi Tawfiq    |
| 13. Jubran Salem          | 31. Vilner Meir     |
| 14. Kananeh Asaad Youssif | 32. Zahavi Leon     |
| 15. Karkabi Zahi          | 33. Zayad Tawfiq    |
| 16. Khalifa Menashi       | 34. Zeleg Abraham   |
| 17. Khenin David (Sasha)  | 35. Zisser Moshe    |
| 18. Khoury Samira         |                     |

Candidate members of the Central Committee

- |                      |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Abu El-Heija Adel | 8. Khamis Saliba          |
| 2. Diab Suheil       | 9. Naif Saleem            |
| 3. Gaveesh Yaffa     | 10. Mahameed Muhamed      |
| 4. Ghanadri Sameeh   | 11. Saed Ahmed            |
| 5. Gonen Yukheved    | 12. Toubi Sharoni Zippora |
| 6. Habib Ghassan     | 13. Vilner Doron          |
| 7. Katzab Affraim    |                           |

The Central Control Commission

- |                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Al-Ghazi Miriam | 5. Jurjura Munem      |
| 2. Ehrlich Wolf    | 6. Kanani Tawfiq      |
| 3. Ghattas Kamal   | 7. Levenbraun Abraham |
| 4. Khoury Ramzi    |                       |



THE 1ST PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On December 19, 1985, the first plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel was held with the participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

Comrade Tawfiq Toubi was the chairman of the session.

Comrade Meir Vilner lectured about: The implementation of the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the Party.

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

The Central Committee confirmed the lecture and the summing up and elected the institutions of the Central Committee.

General Secretary: Comrade Meir Vilner was elected to the post of General Secretary of the Party.

Deputy General Secretary: Comrade Tawfiq Toubi was elected to the post of Deputy General Secretary.

The Political Bureau: The following comrades were elected to the Political Bureau:

According to alphabetical order:

- |                         |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1) Burstein (Uzi David  | 2) Gonen Benjamin |
| 3) Gozanski Tamar       | 4) Habibi Emile   |
| 5) Khenin (Sasha) David | 6) Mousa Jamal    |
| 7) Toubi Tawfiq         | 8) Vilner Meir    |
| 9) Zayyad Tawfiq        |                   |

Candidate members of the Political Bureau:

- |                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1) Kananeh Asaad Yousef | 2) Karkabi Zahi |
|-------------------------|-----------------|

The Secretariat: The following comrades were elected to the Secretariat:

- |                   |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Gozanski Yoram | 2) Irge Yehoshua        |
| 3) Jubran Salem   | 4) Khenin (Sasha) David |
| 5) Tqubi George   | 6) Toubi Tawfiq         |
| 7) Vilner Meir    |                         |

The 1st session of the Central Control Commission which was held on Decedmber 18, 1985 elected Comrade Ehrlich Wolf as chairman of the commission and comrade Khoury Ramzi as deputy chairman.

## STOP THE PROVOCATIONS AGAINST SYRIA!

Speech of Meir Vilner  
the Knesset.

Before the war in Lebanon, I stood on this rostrum and warned on behalf of our parliamentary bloc that a war is being prepared, an initiated war in coordination with the Reagan administration.

The majority in the Knesset dropped our motion and a very short time later the war was opened, a war which is still being cursed by the majority of the population.

The motion which we present today is intended to warn that an initiated war is being prepared this time against Syria and of course against Lebanon too.

The shooting down of two Syrian aircraft was only the beginning of the campaign against Syria just like the shooting down of two Syrian helicopters before the war in Lebanon.

Yesterday, defence minister, Yitzhak Rabin, appeared on the television and said that the deployment of the Syrian missiles on Syrian territory close to the Lebanese border, as a reaction to the provocative penetration to Syrian territory and the shooting down of the two aircrafts, carries in its wake the danger of escalating the deterioration and the military confrontation between Syria and Israel. He also explained explicitly how Israel is liable to cause the opening of war. He said that a situation might be created in which Israel is liable to bomb the Lebanese valley, then Syria might try to intercept from its territory the attacking aircrafts and then ... the rest is clear.

Thus we have reached again, just like on the eve of the Lebanese war, a situation in which - a war is looking for a pretext.

What are the political aims of the military threats against Syria? The aims are four:

- (1) To foil the efforts of Syria to bring about a national reconciliation in Lebanon which will put an end to the civil war. The Israeli government and the American administration apprehend that the success of these

efforts will lead to the establishment of a stable government in Lebanon. Such a government will not reconcile with the rude violation of the sovereignty of its country on part of Israel, will firmly oppose the flights of the Israeli airforce over Lebanon, will oppose the Israeli blockade and aggressive acts on the shores of Lebanon. Such a government will also oppose the continuation of the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon and the raids of the Israeli forces towards the North. Therefore, the Israeli government is doing everything in order to prevent stabilization in Lebanon.

- (2) The success of the efforts of Syria to put an end to the civil war in Lebanon will increase its prestige in the Arab world. This is the second reason for the provocative acts on part of the Israeli government which is interested in isolating Syria, in liquidating the Palestinians as a nation and to reach a separate deal with Jordan under US auspices.
- (3) The strategic aim of the governments of Israel and the United States is to topple the regime in Syria, exchange it for a pro-American regime and to set up an aggressive military bloc in the whole region against the Soviet Union. This is an essential part of the USA-Israeli strategic cooperation against the national liberation movements, against the independent states and against the Soviet Union.

The state of Israel has no right whatsoever to carry out espionage flights in Lebanon. This is an open threat, first of all against Syria since the flights are being carried out close to its border and now beyond it.

Moshe Sharet once asked: Are we a state of law or of robbery? Who appointed the government of Israel is a military dictator over the whole region of the Middle East and even over North Africa?

Would we agree if Syria would carry out espionage actions from the air over the whole of Lebanon close to the Israeli border?

Would Israel agree that another state will dictate to it where to deploy or not its missiles on its territory?

- (4) The Israeli government is preparing what it calls in such situations a "preventive war" before Syria will

reach "strategic balance". What is called a "preventive war" is nothing but an initiated aggressive war.

These are the four reasons to the unceasing provocations against Syria.

Members of Knesset,

We warn against the preparations to open a war against Syria. We warn now just as we have warned before the war in Lebanon. In order to prevent the deterioration towards the war, Israel must stop immediately and once for ever the flights of the Israeli air force over Lebanon, the blockade of the Israeli navy on the ports of Lebanon and put an end to the occupation of South Lebanon. These steps carry in their wake the danger of war..

Defence Minister Rabin, Prime minister Peres and his deputy Shamir, instead of acting for preventing the war, they continue with their threats against Syria.

In the interview which was broadcast yesterday on the television, defence minister also said: "The raid on Tunis shows that there is no immunity to the headquarters of the PLO anywhere". What is this? This is an open threat also against Jordan and against other Arab states where Palestinians live.

The defence minister spoke arrogantly and one might say rudely against the UNO forces in Lebanon, he said: Let them get out from here!

We warn by all means, that Syria will not be left alone as you suppose. You must learn from the failure in Lebanon. Do not cause the death in vain of thousands of Israeli, Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian youngsters. We have enough graves of youngsters! We have enough bereaved widows and orphans! The Israeli public can already recognize the lies and when he is being led astray to war.

There is a way to peace, there is a just solution for all sides, but you do not want it. Therefore you are preventing security from our peoples, therefore you have turned Israel into a US satellite. You are destroying the economy and the society in Israel thus causing the spreading of racism and the growing danger of fascism.

We propose a debate in the Knesset in order to warn against the preparation of an aggressive war against Syria.

## MUCH FOG AND ONE RAY OF LIGHT

BY comrade A. Gat

The 15th Congress of the Histadrut which was held from 5th to 7th November 1985 in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv was not only a sea of words and volumes of decisions and 1501 delegates who listened and interrupted, who elected the Histadrut Council and the Executive Committee. There was also contention, even though not between equally strong forces, between the efforts of the heads of the Alignment and the Likud in the Histadrut - on one hand - to produce the impression that they are as it were an opposition to the policy of the government while at the same time they justified the government's measures, and on the other hand the alternative socio-economic and political path which was pointed out by the DFPE FACTION (Faction of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality).

In the sphere of creating an incorrect impression excelled Israel Kaiser, the Histadrut General Secretary, who in his theatrical speech in the opening, and especially in the concluding speech, waged a prolonged polemic with the Likud, while playing down any criticism of the government and shifting the burden of criticism mainly on the period of the rule of the Likud. There was no mention, in the speech of the general secretary, of the war in Lebanon and its terrible cost in lives and socio-economic terms; There was no negation in principle of the economic policy of the Peres-Shamir government; nor did he promise that the Histadrut will stand at the head of the campaign that is vital for the defence of the wages and against dismissals and unemployment.

The task of the Histadrut leadership was precisely defined by the prime minister, Shimon Peres, who in his speech at the Congress lauded Israel Kaiser to the heavens and declared that without him it will be impossible to carry out the package deals and the "plan of the new economy". Indeed, Kaiser and his friends in the Histadrut leadership (of the Labour Party and Mapam) bear a heavy responsibility for spreading the illusion about curing the economy by means of a drastic erosion of the wages, by mass unemployment and sharp restriction of the public services. The speakers of the DFPE faction at the Congress repeated this again and again, but the leaders of the Alignment (Labour Party and Mapam - IB) remained true to what they had written in the proposals for the decisions

of the Preparatory Committee; "The Congress points out the central part of the Histadrut and the contribution of the workers in the struggle for curing the economy, crystallizing the various package deals and the application of the Government's economic programme".

The representative of the Likud at the Congress also elucidated their complete support of the Government's policy, while putting the stress on a wild attack on the ministry of health and the Kupat-Holim (workers' Sick Fund, which cares for 85% of the Israeli population - IB) and the other institutions of the Histadrut, and putting forward proposals whose aim is to abolish the independence of the Histadrut (as far as such still exists). Thus, for example the minister for work and welfare, Moshe Katzav, proposed in his speech at the Congress that the collection of the Histadrut tax (membership fees) should be carried out by the... National Insurance Institute - a sort of "nationalisation" of the Histadrut which is meant to turn the Histadrut into a governmental department.

IT'S FORBIDDEN - SO WHAT?

It is clear that the representatives of the Alignment and the Likud at the Histadrut Congress could not content themselves with expressing their loyalty to the government of "unity" and to its "curative" policy. As they were supposed to represent the workers who had elected them, they also spoke about the horrors of the unemployment, the sharpening crisis in the small development towns and the Kupat-Holim, the distress of the workers who have been turned into social welfare cases, about the lack of government investments in the economic development and the necessity of overcoming the alienation between the Histadrut and its members. Some of the speakers did so only for the sake of impression alone, but there were also delegates from the circles of "national unity" who spoke sincerely about the distress.

When Member of Knesset Ora Namir (Alignment Labour) accused the Histadrut leadership for not having prevented the breakdown of the Ata company, she called for waging a struggle to raise the minimum wage and criticized the norms of behaviour of the leaders of the Hevrat-Ha'ovdim (Histadrut-owned enterprises and various cooperations - IB) her words sounded sincere and her heartache - true. But also Ora Namir did not accuse the government of being responsible for the difficult situation of the workers and

also did not show any way out. There were speakers of the Alignment who spoke in this style: "There must not be any mass unemployment"; the workers must not turn into social welfare cases"; one must not reconcile oneself with the breakdown of the development townlets". That is all-right: "One must not", but if so, what must one do. To this they had no answer.

It is no coincidence that between the speakers of the Alignment and Likud factions at the Congress there was almost not a single chairman of a workers' committee of an industrial enterprise or a big private company. At former congresses the floor was given to members of workers' committee who in their simple language very well described the daily class struggle and demanded of the Histadrut a firm struggle, strikes and militant demonstrations. This time almost only functionaries appeared, on behalf of the Alignment as also of the Likud who concealed behind words of criticism, their support of the government's policy.

#### THE PARTICULAR MISERABLE ISRAELI VERSION

The situation and positions of the Histadrut social-democracy (Labour Party and Mapam) arouse sad thoughts not only when one sees the big gap between its reconciled attitudes and the interests of the working class. Such thoughts also arise when one compares them with their colleagues from other countries.

Guests of the Histadrut congress were in their majority representatives of reformist trade unions which are led by social-democrats who belong to the "Confederation of Free Trade Unions". But when some of them spoke at the Congress, one could not fail to observe how much more reactionary "our own" social-democracy is.

The secretary of the Confederation (a man of dutch extraction) told in his greeting about the chronic crisis existing in the capitalist world, about the disillusion in view of the failure of the United States to extricate itself from the crisis and about the 20 million unemployed in West Europe. There was not a single speaker of the Alignment who hinted at this situation.

The representative of the Trade Unions of Canada, also social-democrat, devoted one half of his speech to

describe the struggle which his organisation wages against the Apartheid and about the disruption of all links between Canada and the racist regime in South Africa. In the speeches of the Alignment's delegates not a single word was said about South Africa.

The reactionary attitude of the Histadrut leadership in the international sphere was expressed also by its completely ignoring (and this includes Mapam) the fateful campaign for nuclear disarmament and for the prevention of the realisation of the "Star War": Opposition to the anti-Soviet incitement which was launched from the rostrum and to the invitation extended to the anti-socialist Polish "Solidarity" organisation to take part in the Congress - was expressed solely by the DFPE faction in the Congress which raised the subject of disarmament of the forthcoming summit conference and the example of the October Revolution (the Congress was closed on November 7), and it was the only faction which protested against the participation of the representative of "Solidarity" (Member of Knesset, comrade Meir Vilner left the hall in the cours of the opening ceremony, when her name was read) and while reading the greeting of the leader of that organisation.

#### SHORTCOMINGS AND AN OPENING TO COOPERATION

The smallest among the four factions at the Congress, the "Ratz" faction was also a story of disappointment. Indeed, there were several among their delegates who criticized the government and the Histadrut leadership, but the dominant line in the appearance of their leaders was - a sharp attack on the Likud and circumvention of the responsibility of the Labour Party for the social distress and abstention from criticism of the government's policy towards the Palestinian people.

In the proposals of the resolutions of "Ratz" the call was sounded for recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, but not one of the speakers of the "Ratz" faction expressed this demand in his speech. Moreover, in continuation of the proposal, "Ratz" joined the Peres initiative and called on the government to "open early, unconditional direct negotiations with the Jordanian government". "Ratz" did not mention the PLO, neither in its proposals for the resolutions nor in the speeches of its delegates.



Also on issues which directly touch on the workers, "Ratz" preferred to toe the line of the Alignment. For instance, "Ratz" did not call for the abolition of the "Emergency law for settlements", and the aim of its proposals was a renewed examination of the policy of the Histadrut, defined in the well-known social-democratic terms of obliteration: "To create real equality in carrying the burden" (which means: imposing the main economic burden on the shoulders of the workers and popular masses - IB).

It must however be pointed out that the "Ratz" delegates supported most of the proposals for resolutions which were presented by the DFPE (just as also the DFPE supported the majority of the proposals of "Ratz" in spite of some shortcomings). This fact is liable to serve as an opening of fruitful cooperation between the two factions in the Executive Committee of the Histadrut. But this on condition that "Ratz" shall not swallow the bait and shall not agree to join of its free will the Alignment and lose its identity.

#### A MOUTHPIECE FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORKERS AND A PLAN FOR THE SOLUTION

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the 66 delegates of the DFPE - Jews and Arabs, were the form which prevented the congress from being a mere water mill, or a puffed-up show of the confrontation between the Alignment and the Likud. The DFPE delegates developed an unceasing activity not only in their militant and uncompromising speeches, but also by their interruptions which disturbed the artificial idyl and vexed many of the leaders of the nationalist consensus. The DFPE delegates embarrassed Shimon Peres (the prime minister) when they cried out: "What's about "Ata"? and "who is to blame for the 150 thousand unemployed?" This drove him at the conclusion of his speech to tell the Alignment crowd: "Don't believe the sceptics of the DFPE..."

The DFPE representatives levelled sharp criticism at the government policy and the Histadrut leadership and pointed out the way-out from the socio-economic crisis - the embarkment on the path of Israeli-Palestinian peace and consistent defence of the workers' rights. In the speeches of the DFPE delegates sincere concern was expressed for the status of the trade unions and of the

Histadrut as a whole, and warning against the grave results that may arise from the fascisation of public life which is liable to lead to the destruction of the trade unions.

The DFPE delegates were the mouthpiece of the aggravating distress of the development townlets and the Arab population, for the problems of the works committees, for the sufferings of women and youth and the crisis in the spheres of health, education and welfare assistance. They were the only force that pointed to the link between politics and economy, between peace and bread, and they called for abandoning the pro-imperialist positions and to extricate themselves and all of us from the dependence on the United States.

The important and unique role of the DFPE in the 15th Congress of the Histadruth was stressed by a member of the Labour Party who fulfilled a central task in that congress who said: "you, the DFPE are a ray of light in this congress".

Zo Haderekh - November 11, 1985

## A TRAP SET FOR AA CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Council of defence has appealed against the severity of the punishment meted out to Anatol Yablonko, a reservist soldier who refuses to serve beyond the green line (the border line of the State of Israel until June 4, 1967). Yablonko had been convicted on December 9, 1965, by a military court to 6 months imprisonment out of which 3 months constitute a suspended prison sentence for a period of two years.

Anatol Yablonko said at his trial that his refusal to serve beyond the green line stems from principled conscientious reasons which are important to him, and not from any aspiration to comfort or personal benefit.

From the trial it emerged, inter alia, that Yablonko had refused, out of reasons of conscience, to serve in the occupied territories and had been sentenced for that already three times in the past to various spells in prison. The last time he was 35 days behind bars because of having refused a three-day service. Over one year ago he was ordered to report to military authorities in Tiberias (in the State of Israel), but when he arrived there, it turned out that he was posted to the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. Yablonko, true to his principles, announced that he is not prepared to serve in the Golan. In contrast to previous cases of refusal, this time he was not arrested and not brought to court. The authorities in charge at that place refused to deal with the problem, although in the past he had been promised that he would be transferred to another unit. Instead of that, again and again they demanded that he should serve in the Golan. When he kept sticking to his refusal, he was left in Tiberias. It should be pointed out that already on the next day Yablonko reported to the liaison office of his unit in Jerusalem. As far as known, he proposed to the persons in charge to bring his case to an end, but the officers present ignored his petition and demanded of him again to go to the Golan heights.

Yablonko has a detailed list of dates which proves that throughout a lengthy period he always reported to his unit in Jerusalem and also kept in touch through the phone with the liaison office, but his problem was not dealt with. Instead of that, about more than one month ago, in the middle of the night, military policemen came to his home and arrested him as... a deserter. On this

background it is difficult not to form the impression that the army, simply set a trap for Yablonko.

After reviewing the case of Anatol Yablonko according to another, less severe paragraph of the law - absence without leave, under the claim that indeed he had reported to reserve service as demanded, but was not present at the place where he had been instructed to be.

At the present trial, advocate Meir Morgensten pointed out that there is no basis for the case since Anatol Yablonko, on his own initiative had contacted his unit, several times, and the military authorities could locate him at any moment, without any difficulty. Council also claimed that punishment against a conscientious objector, who had already in the past proved to be adamant and loyal to his principles, is an ineffective means which even lacked the argument of determent, as reference is due to an event which had happened a long time ago. Moreover, also in his unit endeavours had been made previously to transfer him to another unit. Council requested to take into account the motivation of conscience as a mitigating circumstance; besides, a long time has passed since the event. The army had been able to act against the accused, but had not done so at former dates. Apart from that Anatol Yablonko had been punished also by losing his job.

The court, composed of three judges, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Zvi Gurfinkel, pronounced the punishment, aimed at acting as a deterrent. One of the judges, voiced his minority view that the motive of conscience constitutes a mitigating reason and proposed to impose on the accused two months in prison, from which the 35 days of his arrest should be deducted.

The "There Is a Limit!" group published a statement in which it demanded to set free - their comrade Anatol Yablonko as they consider the allegation a pretext for bringing the full severity of law on the head of the conscientious objector.

Zo Haderekh, December 11, 1985

DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

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

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba

Dear Comrades,

Heartiest fraternal greetings on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

We highly appreciate the heroic and consistent anti imperialist policy of Cuba and its strong support and deep solidarity with the struggle of the people for national liberation, independence, social progress and peace.

We wish the people of Cuba, under the leadership of your party, success in the process of socialist construction.

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To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of your party we extend to you heartiest fraternal greetings.

We highly esteem your adherence and devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and your dedicated struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress.

We wish you every success in your struggle for advancing our common noble cause - peace and socialism.

To comrade Doris Ibarruri  
Madrid - Spain

Dear Comrade,

Unfortunately we are unable to participate in the celebrations of your 90th birthday. Due to the convening of the 20th Congress of our Party.

We highly esteem your legendary anti-fascist struggle a symbole of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Your devoted and heroic anti fascist struggle will always be a source of pride for all communists.

We wish you good health and every success for advancing our common noble cause.

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To the Ambassador of the  
Romanian Socialist Republic  
Comrade Vassilue

Dear Comrade,

We have the pleasure to extend to you and through you to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and to the Romanian people warm fraternal greetings on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of the Romanian republic.

We wish the Romanian people every success in the efforts for advancing the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

We take this opportunity to wish you and the staff of the Embassy in Israel a Happy New Year.



NOVEMBER    DECEMBER 1985

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE - FOREIGN RELATIONS DEPARTMENT  
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