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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE !

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THE 24th PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

On August 3, 1984 the 24th Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel took place, with the participation of the members of the Central Control Commission.

Comrade David (Sasha) Khenin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, was the chairman of the session.

Comrade Meir Vilner, the General Secretary, lectured about the subject: The results of the elections to the 11th Knesset and the political situation.

A debate took place which was summed up by the lecturer.

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

RESOLUTIONS

The Central Committee assesses that the results of the elections to the 11th Knesset point at the strengthening of the extreme right and express changes of utmost anxiety for Israeli society. Nationalism and racism have since ever been the fundamental lines of the ideology and policy of the ruling zionist circles in Israel. However, since the aggressive war in June 1967 with the American backing - a qualitative deterioration occurred in Israeli society, which attained dangerous dimensions.

The occupation which by now has been continuing for 17 years, the cruel and fascist colonialist methods of oppression of the Palestinian people, the trampling underfoot of the elementary human rights, and finally the war in Lebanon and the turning of the south of Lebanon into an additional Israeli-occupied territory - constitute the background for the growth of Jewish terrorist racist-fascist organisations. The fusion of extreme

nationalism and religious fanaticism characterises the racism of which Kahana gang is nothing but the top of its iceberg.

The very fact that in spite of the failure of the war in Lebanon and the deep economic and social crisis, the Likud has maintained its main force and the extreme right has even strengthened - is what characterises the negative development.

The Central Committee points out that in spite of all the failures of the Likud government, the Alignment has not only not increased its force, but has even lost three seats in the Knesset, which passed into the hands of parties that are indeed more moderate than it ("Ratz" and "Shinui"), but this does not balance the overall picture.

For this negative development, the Alignment leadership bears, together with the Likud, full responsibility. The policy of the Alignment in regard to the central problem - the Palestinian problem - is not different than that of the Likud. In the question of Lebanon there is no difference between them. Also in the socio-economic sphere, the Alignment has no alternative policy to that of the Likud, which directly represents the big capitalists in Israel - the enemies of the workers. In foreign policy, the Likud as well as the Alignment are partners to the strategic alliance with American imperialism, abandon the independence of Israel, are prepared to carry out for it any task, even the filthiest one, in all parts of the world, against the Soviet Union, the independent states and movements for national and social liberation. Therefore the Alignment did not attack in the election campaign the political foundations of the Likud government, but competed with it in nationalism and rightist positions even in the economic and social spheres.

The Central Committee assesses that the negotiations which are being held between the Alignment and the Likud about the establishment of a government of "national unity" do not only originate in the outcome of the elections, which did not give a majority to any party, but that it is chiefly a result of their common policy, while the secondary differences are evaded. A Likud-Alignment government or an Alignment-Likud government will block the road to peace and to real solution of the economic and social problems. Moreover, it is liable to in-

tensify the feelings of despair in the public and prepare the ground for a fascist dictatorship.

The Central Committee states that the interest of peace and democracy, the interest of the workers and the majority of the people's strata demands the prevention of the continuation of the Likud rule and its fascist and fanatically religious allies and the prevention of the establishment of a government of "national unity". One must block every path to the realisation of these two possibilities.

The Central Committee assesses that under the present conditions one must struggle and demand of the Alignment to establish a government which will rely on the forces that oppose the policy of the Likud and which will be prepared to act in direction of a change of the prevailing policy, for peace, democracy, equality of rights and social progress.

Such a government is obliged: 1) to immediately and unconditionally pull out the Israeli forces from the whole territory of Lebanon; 2) to lend a hand to the convocation of an international conference for the establishment of peace in the Middle East, in accordance with the decisions of the UNO General Assembly and the new peace initiative of the Soviet Union; 3) to proclaim the principle of two states for two peoples - Israel and Palestine; 4) to wage a new economic policy by changing the general policy, which would enable a drastic curtailment of the military spendings, the abolition of all the spendings for the colonial settlements in the occupied territories and an essential increase of the budgets for the health, education, welfare and culture budgets.

Also, the privileges of the big capitalists must be annulled and the interests of the workers and medium strata must be advanced; 5) to ensure national and civil equality to the Arab population in Israel, in all spheres, including avoidance of any confiscation of lands and to abolish the discrimination of the Arab local councils; 6) to eliminate the communal discrimination and take fundamental measures for the solution of the problems of the poor neighbourhoods and the distressed small towns; 7) to guarantee the equality of rights of women in all spheres; 8) to end the religious coercion and ensure freedom of religious worship and freedom of conscience; 9) to defend the democratic liberties and

widen them; to promulgate a law against racism and racist organisations; to abolish the strategic accord with the USA and conduct a policy of national independence and non-alignment in foreign policy, while supporting the efforts exerted for the consolidation of peace in the world and the prevention of a nuclear holocaust.

Under the prevailing circumstances, the results of the elections with regard to the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) are a success. These were conditions of utmost difficulties for the DFPE. All the communication media conducted propaganda against the DFPE, against the Communist Party of Israel and against the Soviet Union. With the purpose of weakening the DFPE a special list was set up, called the "Progressive List for Peace". This is a list whose various components, who hold different and contradictory views, are united only by one aim: to break the decisive influence of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality among the Arab population in Israel and to prevent the increase of its influence among the Jewish public. This is a pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet list par excellence. The above mentioned strategic aim also corresponds with the strategic aim of NATO, and in particular with the American administration and the reactionary forces in Israel and the Arab world. Therefore it is not by any coincidence that the "Progressive List" was supported on part of circles in the Alignment and in the Likud and on part of extreme religious circles, such as the "Muslim Brothers" and others.

Thanks to the correct policy of the Communist Party of Israel and of the DFPE, thanks to the enormous efforts and the great dedication of the members of the Party and the Communist Youth, of the sympathisers, of members of other bodies which compose the DFPE, Jews and Arabs, the forces which tried to break the strength of the DFPE failed.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, in the elections to the 11th Knesset, maintained its full relative strength (3.4 per cent of all votes; increased the number of its voters to 70 thousand and preserved its full representation in the Knesset (4 seats)).

The Central Committee points out the historic task, which the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality fulfilled in rallying all the patriotic forces among the

Arab population and the consistent Jewish forces in the big campaign for our two peoples against the ruling policy in Israel and for a better future of just peace, equality of rights, democracy and social progress.

FOR UPROOTING RACISM AND ITS SOURCES

The Central Committee points out with concern the intensification and expansion of racism in Israel, which enjoys the overt support from the side of parties and organisations and which poisons parts of the youth. Violent racism found its expression in the organisation of the Jewish terror, which carried out pogroms and acts of murder of Palestinians in the occupied territories and attempted several times to blow up mosques which are holy to the Islam, in Jerusalem and other places.

What gives rise to utmost concern is the identification of wide circles - nationalist extremists and religious fanatics - with the ideology and acts of the fascist terror groups.

The Kahana gang, which calls for expelling the Palestinian people from its homeland, from the occupied territories and also from Israel, declares openly things with which other extremist parties and circles are in agreement, but do not agree with the open "tactics" and hooliganism of Kahana.

Therefore, racism and the danger of fascism are not only to be awaited from the side of Kahana, but mainly from the side of the extremist circles of the "Complete Land of Israel", the "Techiya-Tsomet Party" at whose head stand the racists Yuval Ne'eman and Pafael Eytan; from the side of "Morasha", at whose head stands the religious-racist fanatic Druckman, from the side of racist militarists, such as Ariel Sharon and others of that ilk.

The Central Committee calls for enacting a law against racism and against racist organisation, which will prevent gangs, such as that of Kahana to threaten a whole people and to organise pogroms among its members.

The Central Committee calls for widest unity of action against racism and against the danger of fascism, for standing at the side of the Palestinian Arab people in

the occupied territories and at the side of the Arab population in Israel, in order to have Jews and Arabs rebut together the racist gangsterism.

FOR FOILING THE INTENTION TO LOWER THE LIVING
STANDARD OF THE WORKERS AND THE CREATION OF MASS
UNEMPLOYMENT

The Central Committee warns against the design which is being hatched by the Likud and the other parties which represent big capital, to lower the living standard of the workers, to hit the real wages and the rights of the workers, to hit the savings of the wide public. Partners to this design are also the leadership of the Alignment. A design is being hatched to impose heavy burdens on the workers and medium strata, to curtail the public services and to cause mass unemployment. These anti-workers and anti-popular measures will not solve any economic or social problems at all. They will only cause a further grave deterioration in the economic and social situation and the intensification of the danger of fascism on this background.

The severe economic and social crisis does not stem from the wage of the workers or their allegedly high living standard. The main cause of the accelerated inflation, the immense foreign and domestic debts and the intensifying dependence of Israel on Washington lies in the tremendous military expenditures which originate in the policy of wars, conquests and colonial settlements. 73 per cent of the state budget are devoted to these ends and to the reimbursement of debts and interest from previous military spendings.

Hence the conclusion:

The road to curing the economy is not through tribulations brought on the workers and the medium strata, not through lowering the living standard of the popular masses, as the American administration and the Israeli capitalists demand, but through the political change in direction of peace with the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab states.

A policy which will seriously curtail the military spendings for the war in Lebanon and the colonial settlements is the main road for the development and growth of the economy, for advancing economic relations with the socialist

states and the Arab states - and this is liable to bring about an essential change in the whole economic situation of Israel, to a rise in the living standard of the workers, to the expansion of the public services and full employment.

FOR A RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET PEACE INITIATIVE !

The Central Committee welcomes the new initiative of the Soviet Union for the establishment of comprehensive just and stable peace in the Middle East. The peace plan which is contained in the Soviet proposal and the road to its being achieved are the only realistic and just ones. They conform with the decisions of the UNO General Assembly and the position of the consistent peace forces in Israel, the Communist Party of Israel, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and various groups and personalities.

The new peace initiative of the Soviet Union, which is a continuation, development and detailisation of previous Soviet peace initiatives with regard to the Middle East originate, as pointed out by the official proposal of the Soviet Union's government of the end of July this year, in the concern in view of the continuation of the explosive situation in the Middle East and the aspiration for assisting in the establishment of peace in the Middle East, for the benefit of the states and peoples of the region.

The Central Committee points out with satisfaction that the PLO and the neighbouring Arab states have welcomed the new Soviet initiative. As against that, the governments of the USA and Israel have rejected it.

The Central Committee states that the rejection of the Soviet peace initiative by the Likud government and the leadership of the Alignment, just as their rejection of the initiative of the General Secretary of the UNO, Perez De Cavier prove again that they are not interested in Israeli- Palestinian peace and in comprehensive peace in the Middle East, but in the continuation of the conquests and the negation of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, in accordance with the Camp David deal and the Reagan plan. They build their perilous policy on the military, economic and political backing of Washington. The Central Committee emphasises that the po-

lity of the American administration, which strives for imposing a "pax americana" on the peoples of the regions, with the assistance of the ruling circles in Israel and the Arab reaction, which wants to turn the Middle East into an American military base against the Soviet Union, against the independent states in the region and against the Palestinian Arab people - prevents the establishment of peace.

The Soviet Union - as against that - does not propose a "pax sovietica" instead of a "pax americana", but draws up a serious peace plan, taking into consideration the interests of all the peoples in the region, including Israel and the Palestinian Arab people and the interest of international peace and security. Therefore the Soviet Union proposes to convoke an international conference with the participation of all the sides involved in the conflict, including Israel, the PLO - the exclusive representative of the Palestinian people - the states adjacent to Israel: Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, and also the Soviet Union and the United States together. The new Soviet plan also proposes, in accordance with the UNO decisions, to establish an independent Palestinian State alongside the State of Israel in the territories which were conquered by Israel in 1967 and also effective international guarantees for the peace settlement.

The Central Committee stresses that the solution of the crisis in the Middle East cannot be without and against the Palestinian Arab people and its representative, the PLO and cannot be without and against the Soviet Union. The Lebanese war which was kindled by the American-Israeli partnership is an additional tangible proof of this.

The Central Committee decides to bring the new Soviet peace proposal before the wide public in Israel and to call upon anyone who is interested in peace to support it and to demand of the Israeli government to respond to it as the only road for getting out of the impasse of war, and for achieving peace .

ZO HADEREKH, August 8, 1984

PLATFORM

OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY (DFPE)
(THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL, THE BLACK PANTHERS
ORGANISATION, DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF NAZARETH, ISRAELI
SOCIALIST LEFT (SHASSI), HEADS OF ARAB LOCAL COUNCILS,
DRUZE INITIATIVE COMMITTEE, JEWISH AND ARAB PUBLIC CIRCLES)

For the Elections to the 11th Knesset
on July 23 1984

The elections to the 11th Knesset will take place in a new situation in Israel, which has been created in consequence of the Lebanese war. The aggressive war which was initiated by the Likud government and the Reagan administration against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples has suffered a defeat. It was clearly proved that the Likud is the enemy of peace, democracy and the rights of the working people. It has intensified the national oppression and encouraged manifestations of racism. This rule of the big capitalists and the adherents of the "Complete Land of Israel" has brought a disaster upon Israel and caused a deep political, economic, social and moral crisis. Therefore it is vitally necessary to defeat the Likud in the elections to the 11th Knesset. The continuation of the Likud rule bears within itself the danger of a new war against Syria - the danger of fascism and a still graver attack upon the interests and rights of the workers and the medium strata.

The Alignment, with all the existing differences, also bears responsibility for the severe all-sided crisis. The leadership of the Alignment supported the Lebanese war and therefore is responsible, together with the Likud government for destructive consequences. Moreover, the 29 years of the Alignment rule have proved that the policy of the Alignment leadership, too, is to the detriment of peace, democracy and the interests of the workers. The rule of the Alignment launched a policy of discrimination, national oppression and confiscation of lands and it is also responsible for the victims of the Land Day on the 30th of March 1976. The policy of the leadership of the

Alignment also led to wars and prevented the achievement of the desired peace. This policy of the Alignment have not undergone any changes; therefore the Alignment does not offer an alternative policy. Hence one must struggle against the Alignment, too.

What is most necessary is to topple the Likud government. However, there must not be any repetition of the policy of the Alignment. Israel needs not only a change of government but a fundamental change of the whole policy, which is in its general outlines common both to the Likud and the Alignment.

Throughout the 36 years of the existence of the State of Israel the people has experienced the Alignment rule as well as the Likud rule. It was proved that both, in spite of the difference between them, have dragged Israel into war and constant bloodshed, that they block the road to real peace.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality provides an alternative policy which totally differs from the policy of the Likud and the Alignment. Only the policy of the DFPE is able to solve the severe problems of Israel, to bring about peace and security. Only the policy of the DFPE can guarantee real independence to Israel, bring national and communal equality of rights, equality of women's rights, advancement of the interests and rights of the working people and the medium strata, and ensure human rights.

The Parliamentary Group of the DFPE was the only parliamentary group which presented a motion of no-confidence in the Likud government because it started the war in Lebanon and which voted against the war. All the other parliamentary groups supported the aggressive war and share the responsibility for its destructive results.

It has been proved beyond any doubt that without the solution of the central problem of the Israeli-Arab conflict - the Palestinian problem - it is impossible to put an end to wars and absence of security.

The Camp David accords which were formulated without the participation of the Palestinian people and its sole authoritative representative - the PLO - and depriving it of its right to self determination and establishment of an independent state of its own, have not only not brought nearer the comprehensive, just and stable peace

but have removed it still further. They have not only failed to remove the danger of war but have caused the war in Lebanon.

At the root of evil lie the six "NO" which are common to the Likud, the Alignment and the other parties of the "national consensus": NO to the withdrawal from the Arab territories which Israel has occupied since 1967; NO to the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self determination and the establishment of their independent State alongside the State of Israel; NO to the abolition of the annexation of occupied eastern Jerusalem; NO to the unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon and ceasing intervention in the sovereign state; NO to the cessation of service to the global strategy of a foreign power - the USA - in contradiction to the true interest of Israel.

It is these six NO which prevent peace and security, abandon the independence of Israel and cause economic and social destruction. It is also they which bear the threat of incessant wars and are liable to imperil the whole future of the State of Israel.

The "Egyptian option" of the Likud, under the American auspices, which is contained in the Camp David deal has reached an impasse. The "Jordanian option" of the Alignment is a still-born child. The only feasible option is the Palestinian option - Israeli-Palestinian peace.

It has been proved clearly that as long as there is no freedom and security for the Palestinian people, there is no freedom and security for the Israeli people. The Israeli Palestinian people is the key to comprehensive peace and security, for considerable diminution of military expenditures, the solution of the severe economic and social problems of Israel. It has been proved clearly that every attempt at imposing a "pax americana", that is to say American domination over the Middle East, is doomed to failure. The defeat of the Israeli-American war in Lebanon is an additional proof to this, that in the real balance of power in the world, the Middle East conflict can be only and solely solved in the framework of collective international efforts on part of the Soviet Union, the USA and other states. It has been proved that just as it is impossible to attain real peace and security without the Palestinian people and its representative, the PLO, it is impossible to achieve this without and against the Soviet Union.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) is the most consistent force in the struggle for peace, democracy, equality of rights and social progress.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) unites within itself Jews and Arabs, organisations, circles and personalities holding different ideological views, who struggle in common on the basis of a common platform, which is the only alternative able to solve the problems of Israel.

In the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) participate: The Communist Party of Israel, the Black Panthers Organisation, the Nazareth Democratic Front, the Israeli Socialist Left (Shassi), heads of Arab Local Councils, local democratic fronts, the Druze Initiative Committee, and Jewish and Arab public figures.

Strengthening the parliamentary group of the DFPE in the Knesset is the surest way for blocking the Likud, for exerting influence in the direction of a change in the policy of the Alignment, for creating relations of forces which will bring about changes in the official policy of Israel for the benefit of peace, social progress and equality of rights.

The realisation of the platform of the DFPE will provide peace and security for Israel, will ensure real independence, wide democracy, equality of rights for the Arab population in Israel, abolition of communal discrimination and discrimination of women.

The realisation of the platform of the DFPE will open before our peoples the road to economic prosperity and social progress, to devoting maximum of resources for the development of educational and health services, culture and science, and will bestow on Israel an honourable status in the family of the peoples of the world.

The realisation of the platform of the DFPE will bring to our peoples joy of life, security and the ability to live a different life. Thus there is a choice!

I. JUST PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES

Peace will be based on the respect of rights of all the peoples and states in our region, including Israel and

the Palestinian Arab people, in accordance with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the UNO which were adopted after the June 1967 war.

Peace will be based upon the following foundations;

Israeli's withdrawal from the territories which it has occupied since the June 1967 war. The lines of June 4, 1967 shall be recognised and secure frontiers of peace between the State of Israel and the Arab States.

Recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self determination and the establishment of an independent State of their own in the West Bank, including eastern Jerusalem, and the Gaza strip alongside the State of Israel.

A just solution of the question of the Palestinian refugees, in accordance with the decision of the UNO, which will recognise their right to choose between returning to their homeland or receiving compensations.

Respecting the rights of the State of Israel and the Arab States to sovereign existence and development under conditions of peace and security.

Within the framework of the peace settlement, western Jerusalem will be recognised as the capital of the State of Israel and eastern Jerusalem as the capital of the independent Palestinian State. There is room for mutually accepted arrangements which will ensure cooperation between the two capitals within the municipal sphere with free access to the holy places, free movement between the two parts of the city etc.

In order to establish peace, an international conference must be convoked under the auspices of the UNO, with the participation of all parties involved in the conflict including Israel, the PLO - as the accepted and recognised representative of the Palestinian Arab people - and also the Soviet Union, USA and other interested states.

The peace agreements will be anchored in treaties.

Under the conditions prevailing in the Middle East and in view of the sediment of wars and lack of mutual trust international guarantees may be effectively assist in ensuring the implementation of the peace settlement.

For advancing the cause of peace we will struggle:

For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon and the cessation of intervention in that country; for the immediate cessation of all acts of oppression in the occupied territories, the trampling underfoot of human rights, imprisonment and administrative arrests, tortures in prison, deportation, demolition of houses and collective punishment, murder of demonstrators, strikers and prisoners.

For exposure of the persons who attempted the assassination of the mayors in the West Bank and those standing behind them, for enabling the return back of the mayors and exiled public personalities to their homeland.

For the dismantlement of all the colonial settlements in the occupied territories.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality will struggle for a policy of national independence and neutrality in foreign policy, which means:

Support of peaceful coexistence between states of different social regimes. Consolidation of detente in the international relations throughout the whole world.

Support the struggle for putting an end to the arms race and for disarmament.

Israel's signature to the international convention for non-proliferation of nuclear arms and action for keeping the Middle East clean from this lethal weapon.

Opposition to Israel's joining any military bloc, and against the policy of integrating Israel in the American war strategy and the establishment of American military bases on the soil of Israel.

Cessation of cooperation of the Israeli government with states dominated by fascist regimes in Latin America and with the racist regime in South Africa.

Support of the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, true independence and against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms.

II. THE DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

For ensuring the living standard and rights of the workers, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality will struggle:

For a fundamental change in the state budget, by waging a policy of peace, essential diminution of the military spendings and essential augmentation of the budgets for health, education, housing, culture and welfare services, as well as development of the economy and subsidies for vital consumer goods and services.

For the protection and augmentation of the real value of the wages, the raising of the living standard of the working people; against price rises; for lowering the prices of fundamental goods and public services; for diminishing the tax burden on the workers and middle strata; full payment of the cost-of-living allowance every month, in accordance with the factual rise of prices, and linked with the tax scales, the allowances (for children, aged people etc.- IB) and points for grants; for the enactment of a law for a minimum wage amounting to 60 per cent of the average wage; for the promulgation of a law for a state pension on the basis of the existing pension funds, whose conditions will be upgraded; for financing the pension by the government and employers without deducting anything from the workers' wages; for the inclusion of all the components of the wages in the calculation of the pension.

For increased old age grants which will enable the aged and retired, invalids in consequence of work and road accidents and other invalids (such as victims of nazi persecutions) to live respectably.

Enactment of a state health law which will guarantee the financing of expenses for the medical service from the state budget by means of the existing sick funds.

For curtailment of capital profits by means of increasing taxes on capital profits and the annulment of the capitalists' privileges. For preventing transfer of state and public enterprises to private capitalists, whether foreign or local. For the nationalisation of the banks.

Against dismissals and unemployment; for ensuring work to everybody who requests it; for paying full unemployment allowances to the unemployed.

For ensuring the rights of the working and studying youth in theory and practice; for expanding the law of apprenticeship to all professions; for ensuring payment for the study day; equal wages for equal work, regardless of age, sex and nationality.

For free education from kindergarten to university; against raising the study fees and for defence of freedom of expression in the universities.

For the abolition of all laws and regulations which hit the right of the workers to strike and defend their wages and rights; for guaranteeing the freedom of trade union struggle of the workers, against compulsory arbitration and "agreed-upon" arbitration in labour conflicts.

III. ABOLITION OF THE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION AGAINST THE ARAB POPULATION IN ISRAEL IN ALL SPHERES

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality condemns the policy of national discrimination directed against the Arab population which is a part of the Palestinian Arab people and a national minority in the State of Israel.

The Democratic Front demands:

Abolition of all the laws and measures which discriminate the Arab population; recognition of the Arab population as a national minority and ensuring national and civil equality of rights due to it.

Respecting the Arab language as an official language in theory and practice, alongside the Hebrew language.

Putting an end to the seizure of lands of Arab inhabitants and their expulsion from their lands; abolishing the racist policy of Judaising the Galilee.

Returning back the lands to the Arab refugees who were expelled from their land and live in Israel (for example, in Bir'im and Iqrit) and enabling them to return

back to their villages; annulment of the law for expelling Arab beduins and cessation of their eviction from their lands in the Negev (Naqqab).

Transferring the lands which have been seized from the Arab inhabitants from the possession of the state to the possession of the local councils in the Arab villages with the aim of realising plans for construction and development; state support for the establishment of public institutions and services, for building housing estates for young couples and families with numerous children; for the establishment of industrial enterprises in the Arab localities.

Abolition of the discrimination of the Arab children in the receipt of children's allowances.

Freeing the property of WAQF (Muslim fund for various welfare and religious institutions - IB) and transferring them to the Muslim institutions, as customary with regard to other religions.

Participation with equal rights of the Arab citizens in the central and local state apparatus and the administration of the public services.

Abolition of the discrimination of the Arab workers and Arab intelligentsia in getting work, in wages, work conditions etc.

Abolition of the discrimination in the Arab educational system, abolition of the situation of lack of school buildings and rooms, development of special, vocational and complementary education and allocation of resources and personnel on equal footing. Changing the curricula of the Arab schools, so that they will ensure the study of the democratic national traditions of the Arab peoples in the spheres of culture and history; annulment of the limitations set to the admission of Arab students to the institutions of higher education; annulment of the discrimination in granting scholarships and allocation of lodgings to the Arab students, and stopping the violent encroachment on them by the fascist circles.

Abolition of the discrimination of the Arab local authorities in all the spheres; allocation of grants from the state budget to the budgets of the Arab local authorities, without any discrimination; abolition of

the discrimination and iniquity towards the Arab population, in supplying social services.

Elimination of the compulsory army service of youngsters of the Arab Druze community who constitute inseparable part of the Arab national minority in Israel; elimination of the curricula which are in force in the Arab Druze schools, whose aim is to sever the Druze community from the Arab people in general.

IV. ELIMINATION OF THE COMMUNAL DISCRIMINATION IN ALL SPHERES; DEFENCE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE SLUM DWELLERS AND INHABITANTS OF THE POVERTY-STRICKEN SMALL TOWNS

In the campaign against the communal discrimination and poverty, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality demands:

Allotment of special resources and means in order to ensure the equality of the members of the Jewish oriental communities in all the spheres of economic, social, cultural and political life.

Liquidation of the slums by setting up housing estates at the expense of the state and their handing over to the slum dwellers, in accordance with the principle of flat for flat and place of business for place of business; ensuring lodging for cheap monthly rents for young couples, families with many children and all those who are in need of housing.

Ensuring human material and cultural living conditions for the slum dwellers and inhabitants of the small towns stricken with poverty and distress, by means of considerably raising the wages of the workers; by exempting persons with small incomes from all direct taxes; by giving expanded, gratuitous educational and cultural services, including learning of a profession and gratuitous health services and a considerable rise in the budgets for welfare and social assistance.

Fostering the progressive cultural traditions of the Jewish oriental communities.

V. DEFENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES, AGAINST THE DANGER OF FASCISM

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality will struggle:

For the promulgation of a democratic and secular constitution for the State of Israel; for the annulment of all the British emergency regulations; for the enactment of a fundamental law against racism; for the defence of the democratic liberties; for the rallying of all the democratic forces against the danger of fascism; for disarming the Gush-Emunim and other fascist organisations. For the separation of religion from the state; for prevention of all and every religious coercion and for guaranteeing freedom of conscience.

For respecting the human rights; for the defence of freedom to choose the place of living and freedom of movement, of speech, press, organisation, assembly, political propaganda, demonstration and strike.

For recognition of the democratic right to refuse to serve in the occupied territories, because of reasons of conscience.

Against changing the democratic-relative elections to the Knesset.

VI. ENSURING EQUALITY OF RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN ALL SPHERES

In the campaign against the discrimination of women, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality demands:

Elimination of all the laws which discriminate women and the enactment of a fundamental law: Equality of rights of women. The enactment of a law of marriage and divorce which will enable civil marriage and divorce.

The promulgation of a law for equality of opportunities for women to receive a job, and the elimination of every discrimination in the promotion of women in her job, wages and social conditions.

Ensuring equal wages for women for equal work, in theory and in practice.

Ensuring the right of the woman to end her pregnancy according to her own discretion; a law which will ensure gratuitous guidance and medical service; revision of the social paragraph to the "Law of Abortion".

The only real alternative policy in the elections to the 11th Knesset is the policy of the Democratic Front for Peace and Jewish-Arab Equality, which is able to solve the grave problems facing Israel, and its peoples. On the basis of the peace plan of the DFPE, the PLO and Arab states are prepared to establish stable peace with Israel.

The realisation of the plan of the Front will bring peace, social progress, equality of national and communal rights.

We call upon all forces of peace, democracy and progress in Israel, Jews and Arabs, to join the Democratic Front and lend it a hand to succeed in the elections to the 11th Knesset.

Vote for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality!

The following is a list that shows the final results of the elections to the 11th Knesset as compared with the results of the 10th Knesset.

11th Knesset			10th Knesset	
Name of List	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
-DFPE	69,815	4	64,918	4
-Alignment	724,074	44	708,536	47
- Likud	661,302	41	718,941	48
- National Religious	67,530	4	95,232	6
- Agudat Israel	36,079	2	72,312	4
- Shinui	54,747	3	29,837	2
- Yahad		3	-	-
- Huruvitz	23,845	1	-	-
- Kahana	25,907	1	5128	0,2
- Tami	31,103	1	44,446	2.3
- Morasha	33,287	2	-	-
- Progressive	38,012	2	-	-
- Ratz	49,698	3	27,921	1
- Shas	63,605	4	-	-
- Tehiya	83,037	5	44,700	3

FIRST EVALUATION OF THE ELECTION RESULTS

*(based on an interview
with Meir Vilner published
in Zo-Haderekh)*

Since the end of the elections, the press speaks about a "draw" between the Likud and the Alignment.

The notion "draw" is misleading because one must take into account the whole right bloc, which is close to the Likud, and also all the forces which are close to the Alignment. Then we will see that in the 11th Knesset the extreme right has strengthened. Characteristic of this development is the strengthening of the Hatechiya-Tsomet Party (5 seats) and the entry of Kahana into the Knesset. One must also take into account the parliamentary group "Morasha" of Druckman which is fanatically nationalist-religious (2 seats). There is also the paramount part played by the pronounced hawks in the groups of "Shass" and the National-Religious Party. The very fact that the Likud has remained as a strong force despite the debacle in Lebanon and the socio-economic crisis, proves, too, that in Israeli society dangerous changes have taken place. Indeed, the Alignment is relatively the biggest group, but it has also lost 3 seats, although those did not go to the right, but to "Shinui" (3 seats instead of 2) and to "Ratz" (3 seats instead of 1).

THE ALIGNMENT IS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE

The direct cause for the fact that the Likud was not essentially weakened and that a part of its supporters have moved to the still more extreme right are basically. The continuation of the occupation with all the brutalisation going with that; racism, nationalism and religious fanaticism, that have grown on the soil of the occupation, oppression and wars have developed the fascist and terrorist movements. The leadership of the Alignment shares with the Likud, direct responsibility for this: because it was a full partner in the policy of occupation and the war in Lebanon. The political concept of the Alignment, with its social and economic repercussions, is not different from that of the Likud and this

came to a distinct expression in this election campaign - the Alignment played on the field of the Likud and competed with it in nationalism and rightist political line in all spheres. Therefore, that part of the public who want a change voted this time for other parties, which appeared against the Likud, such as "Shinui" and "Ratz". Mapam and the doves within the Alignment were completely silenced in the election campaign.

The wide public came to see - and in fact on the basis of the agitation of the Likud - that the Alignment has no big claims against the Likud government: Neither on the central Palestinian issue nor in the sphere of the sharp socio-economic crisis.

The attitude towards Lebanon may serve as a symbolic example: The Likud says: We will not pull out of Lebanon until we do not set up and strengthen the "South Lebanon Army" which shall guard security under the aegis of Israel. And what does the Alignment say about the same issue on that same matter? The very same thing in a different formulation: We will withdraw from Lebanon only after setting up a South-Lebanon army etc.

In these elections, intensified polarisation was expressed and the danger of fascism and violent racism has intensified.

THE MEANING OF A "GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY"

We warned already in the midst of the election campaign that the basic policies of the Likud and the Alignment, having so much in common, are liable to bring about a partnership between them. The results of the elections strengthened this tendency within the two blocs. In the Alignment the retreat of Mapam and such personalities as Aba Eban is now prominent.

Before the elections they had resolutely opposed this idea. One must emphasize that not only the election results have given birth to the idea of the establishment of a "national unity" government, but also the common policy on central questions have done that. It is naive to think that it is possible to curb fascism which has strengthened, by means of a government with the Likud, which is ideological and political partner of the Hatechiya Party and the other extremists.

It is definitely possible that such a government may emerge. The leaders of the Alignment manifest reluctance to confront the Likud and the fascist hawks. Therefore they also search for a path of coming to an understanding with the Likud, since they are not prepared to change their policy. Such a government, if it indeed will be set up, will continue to entire present policy; The continuation of the occupation; turning southern Lebanon into a "northern bank" (a paraphrase of the expression "west bank" used for the area between the international eastern border of the State of Israel and the river Jordan - IB); continuation of the colonial settlements, continuation of the service to the American policy in all parts of the world; continuation of the huge military spendings which are the chief cause of the economic and social crisis.

A "DOVE" FROM THE ALIGNMENT SHOULD FORM THE GOVERNMENT

The representatives of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) will inform the President of the State first of all that a further term of office of the Likud would be a disaster for Israel. We will also tell him that we will emphatically oppose the establishment of a "national unity government" in its two forms: Likud-Alignment or Alignment-Likud. We, on our part, will do everything in order to block the path leading to these two possibilities. As to a positive proposal, we can propose to the President to impose the composition of the government on a member of Knesset who is ready to conduct a policy which will bring about: an end to the occupation of the Arab territories; agree to the convocation of an international conference for Israeli-Arab peace with the participation of all parties involved, including the PLO and Israel and also the Soviet Union and the USA, as this is the only way to a settlement. (After all the other ways have failed), Immediate and unconditional pull-out of the whole of Lebanon; absolute cessation of establishing colonial settlements; enactment of a law against racism and ensuring equality of national rights; ensuring the rights and decent living standard of the workers and still other demands.

WHAT IS THE RELATION BETWEEN INTENSIFIED FASCISM AND A DIFFERENT METHOD OF ELECTION

Those who demand to change the election system by raising the limitation clause or by means of elections in constituencies do not, in general, intend to close the road before Kahana, because that idea is basically anti-democratic, nor is it a new idea. If the sincere intention is to curb racism, it is not dependent on the system of elections. It is possible to prevent the entry of a racist monster to the Knesset by a law against racism and the prohibition of racist organisations. We had proposed this, but the majority in the Knesset rejected that. The racist and fascist forces have strengthened because of the policy of occupation, oppression and wars and not because of this or that election system. If this policy will continue, the fascist forces are liable to gain strength, despite any election system.

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT AMONG THE PEACE FORCES

There is a positive development among the peace forces, but it does not balance the dangerous changes towards the right. One must distinguish between consistent peace forces, whose fundamental principle is: Two states for two peoples and the withdrawal of Israel to the lines of June 4, 1967, on the one hand, and on the other hand the various doveish and moderate forces, whose position is anti-Likud and anti-fascist but they do not appear with a plan for just and realistic peace based upon the above mentioned principle. Such moderate and doveish forces are in Mapam and also in the Labour Party (the two components of the Alignment - IB), in "Shinui" and in "Ratz". The consistent peace force in the Knesset will be as before - the parliamentary group of the DFPE.

The "Progressive List", as a new group in the Knesset, also stands on the above mentioned principle of a peace plan in its general lines. However, its anti-communist and anti-Soviet positions have prevented till now to draw up a correct path for realising the long desired peace and to achieve the rallying of peace forces in Israel.

AN ACHIEVEMENT TO THE DFPE IN A MOST DIFFICULT ELECTION CAMPAIGN

This was one of the most difficult election campaigns. Hence the results constitute definitely a success: We received 70000 votes. This is an increase by 5000 votes in comparison with 1981. I repeat: The campaign was difficult because it was conducted in an atmosphere of nationalism, of severance of the problem of peace and war in the region from the events in the world, under conditions of a particularly concentrated anti-Soviet incitement and the diversion of public opinion from the real causes of the deteriorating economic, social and moral situation. A special factor concentrated this time the main object of its struggle against the DFPE and the Communist Party of Israel - the "Progressive List". They attacked us in their publications and speeches. Thus, for instance, in order to draw votes of the Arab nationalists, they attacked me personally because I had signed the Charter of Independence of the State of Israel, and in order to gain votes of Jewish nationalists they stressed the military career of Matti Peled. (He was second candidate in the "Progressive List", a retired general and previous military governor of the occupied Gaza Strip - IB)

They spread lies, such as, for example, saying that Charlie Biton (leader of the Black Panthers Organisation and Member of Knesset on behalf of the DFPE- IB) allegedly conducted negotiations with the Alignment about his joining it after the elections. They calumniated communist leaders personally and grossly etc. Divergent and strange forces helped the "Progressive List", on the one hand the "Muslim Brothers" and on the other hand Matzpenists ("Matzpen" - a group of anti-Soviet "leftists" - IB).

By the way, the mass media in this country were specially hostile to us, and sided with the "Progressive List".

I wish to point out that our achievement which was attained thanks to the members and sympathisers of the Communist Party of Israel, the members of the Young Communist League and many components of the DFPE. All these acted dedicatedly in this difficult election campaign.

ANTI-FASCIST UNITY OF ACTION AND PHYSICAL CONFRONTATION

Against the pogromist riots of Kahana (the fascist racist who was elected to the Knesset - IB) one must first of all act for unity of action of all the factors which are prepared to struggle energetically against the raving racism and against the fascist hooliganism - irrespective of the ideological differences between them. Secondly, one must reject the allegations as if the "danger stems from both extremist poles". Such an attitude in fact obscures the gravity of the dangers and threats to democracy from the side of the Kahana gang, the "Hatechiya" and "Morasha" groups. Thirdly, the Jewish anti-fascist forces must stand together with the population in the Arab localities, in order to frustrate the racist provocations.

THIS IS ALSO AN ISRAELI PROBLEM

In this election campaign one of the shortcomings of the political establishments in this country was conspicuously apparent. This weakness is the lack of connection with international reality. As if Israel and the Middle East are not part of the world. All the political factors - with the exception of the DFPE - conceal from the public the terrible danger of a nuclear world war, a danger which stems first of all from the US administration of Ronald Reagan.

Very few in this country find any interest in the new danger of the installation of nuclear rockets in outer space, which is liable to cause a situation where it will be impossible to control the arms race and thereby the danger to the very existence of humankind will tremendously intensify. We consider the situation with concern, while the other political factors are apathetic in relation to this fateful issue, or support the US nuclear terror.

This line is connected with the fact that the Israeli political establishment - Likud and Alignment and all those close to them - hold the view that one must seek help from the USA in order to realise the plans for territorial annexation and the "elimination" of the Palestinian problem and like blind persons they refuse to see

the danger that if a world-wide conflagration breaks out, the region and Israel are liable to be destroyed by its flames.

Therefore, the vital interest and future of the Israeli people demand to wage a policy of peace not only with regard to the Israeli-Arab conflict, but also regarding the problem of world peace. This is an Israeli problem not less than being an American or Soviet problem.

ZO HADEREKH August 1, 1984

WAGES PAID IN DOLLARS - WHY NOT ?

By Tamar Gozhanski

The dollar rush, which characterises the Israeli public in the last weeks, is not a fashionable craze. This is an unavoidable reaction to the current feeling that one must get rid of the Shekels, whose purchasing power decreases from one day to the next. Against this background the government ever more urges that the workers' wages shall be paid in dollars, and thereby the wages would be ensured against the erosion.

The existing situation, where the majority of the deals in Israeli economy is carried on in dollars; where the prices of flats, rent of flats, cars, dentistry and everything is specified in dollars; where in certain personal contracts the salary is stated in dollars - this situation gives rise to the legitimate question: Why should not the wage earners - all the wage earners - receive their wages in dollars?

Many believe that if the wage would be stated in dollars (let us assume: a monthly wage of 400 or 500 dollar) and will also be paid in dollars - it will be easier for wage earners to plan the expenditures and preserve their living standard. This is the reason why the plan of dollarisation (or what is called -"monetary reform") which at the time had been raised by Yoram Avidor (former finance minister), is taken up with sympathy among the wage earning public.

THE DANGER OF DEVALUATION

The situation today, where a dollarisation of big parts of the Israeli economy exists, while the wages are paid in shekels, is definitely to the detriment of the wage earners. The workers take upon themselves obligations in dollars and every time it becomes clear to them that the payment for these obligations deprives them of a big part of their wages. However, will the receipt of wages in dollars solve the problem of erosion of the real wages?

The receipt of wages in US dollars will be only made possible when the government proclaims the turning of the dollar into the official Israeli currency, instead of the Shekel. In order to have the wages paid out in dollars, all the economic activities must be carried out in dollars. This demands a general reform. What will happen when such a reform will be proclaimed?

From what has been published up to now about the plan of dollarisation that is being raised, it emerges that on the day of the proclamation of turning the American dollar into the Israeli currency, a big devaluation will be declared. This means that when the employers will calculate how much the wages are worth in dollars, they will take into account the price of the dollar after devaluation.

For example: Be it assumed that a wage earner gets today 100 thousands shekel (gross), that their value according to the official rate is 400 dollars. Let us assume that a devaluation of 40 per cent is proclaimed and the dollar rate is laid down as 350 shekel per dollar (instead of 250 shekel per dollar), in that case the wage of that same wage earner who earns 100 thousand shekel will be worth on the day of devaluation 258 dollars only and this will be his permanent wage. Then the employer will announce that from today on, he will ensure a wage of 284 dollars as fixed wage.

But at the same time all the other prices, excepting the wage, will remain high and will not decline; thus, the price of fuel, of all the raw materials which are imported and also machines, industrial and domestic equipment will be given in dollars, and on the day of devaluation will be fixed in accordance with their prices abroad - we have passed to the dollar system!

The plan of dollarisation has thus a clear primary aim: to hit sharply the real wage of the workers. This aim is commensurate with the declarations of the government spokesmen and the demands of the USA administration.

The president of the Israel Bank, Dr. Moshe Mendelbaum, said at a close meeting with the heads of financial institutions from abroad who are visiting this country, that "the wage must be eroded by 15 per cent" (according to "Ha'ariv" of 29.6.84).

In the report of the official American institution, the

Agency for International Development (AID), which was published on 24.5.84, it was stated that the medicine for the economic problems of Israel is the fixing of a real rate (that means: a big devaluation) and the lowering of real wages.

However, with this the afflictions of the dollarisation as far as the wage earners are concerned, have not come to an end.

THE DANGER OF AUSTERITY

It is said: If the wages will be fixed in dollars and all the prices will be fixed in dollars, there will be stability and the erosion of the wages will cease. So far the process of erosion during the transition to dollarisation has been described. But what will happen after that ?

An essential component of the dollarisation plan is the elimination of the agreement for the C.o.L (Cost of living Allowance). The pretext for the abolition of the agreement will be: the wages are paid in dollars and there will be no inflation. Then there is no need at all for any C.o.L. Allowance.

But the next wage, that is to say the wage after the payment of obligatory taxes, can also decline in dollars. The government can raise the rates of the income tax and national insurance; it can levy a compulsory loan; it can raise the rates of the VAT (Value-Added-Tax); it can raise various rates of customs and imposts. In short: The government will be able to cut the living standard of the workers also when their wages are paid in dollars.

But this is far from being all.

If indeed dollarisation will come into force, this means that the government will be unable to continue its printing of banknotes, in order to finance its deficits (Naturally, dollars may be printed only by the US government). What will the government do then? On the assumption that such a government will not change its policy of war, occupation and annexation, it will carry out cuts in the civilian points of the state budget. This means: Drastic curtailment of the public services, investments and development. The result: Dismissals, unemployment for tens

of thousands.

To this must be added that under the conditions of dollarisation frequent appearances of economic austerity are liable to occur because of lack of dollars, which will be caused as the result of payment of debts contracted by the government, flight of dollars abroad, difficulties in production etc. Every such economic austerity means - an increase in the number of unemployed.

LOSS OF THE REMAINS OF INDEPENDENCE

In order to receive wages in dollars, the wage earners will have to pay with a sharp decline in their wages, increase of unemployment and heavier taxes. All this without our having so far dealt with the national price of the dollarisation - the turning of Israel into a tutelary colony of the USA; the flooding of the Israeli market with American goods, a still greater dependence on aid from the USA; exacerbating difficulties in the reimbursement of debts; intensified international isolation, in short: loss of the remains of national independence.

The Americans are definitely interested in the dollarisation. The plan of dollarisation was a subject of talks with the Americans at the time of Aridor and they welcomed it. They want dollarisation and its concomitants and among these: Wide unemployment. Prof. Stanley Fisher who was sent by the US secretary for foreign affairs, George Schulz, said in a lecture at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, on 19.6.84 that "Israel will not be able to decrease the inflation without unemployment". Neither will the dollarisation extract Israeli economy from its fundamental problems. But this is a subject demanding further elaboration.

ZO HADEREKH, July 25, 1984

DO NOT KEEP SILENT IN FACE OF HYPOCRITES!

By Professor Israel Shahak ()*

Now, when the threat of the arbitrary and anti-democratic abolition of the "Progressive List for Peace" has been lifted by the Supreme Court, it is possible to consider the other part - the one which is perhaps even more important for democracy: The question of the free discussion within that part of the public which calls itself the "peace camp" in Israel. For many years I have been holding the opinion that the absence of free discussion within this camp is, on the one hand one of its serious handicaps. On the other hand, in this camp one can find persons like Uri Avneri (editor-in-chief of the weekly illustrated "Ha'Olam Haze"-IB) and his group who all the time attack the consistent peace champions in the most vicious manner. On the other hand one finds others who turn the other cheek and try not to react as long as the water does not come up to their chin, and even then the reaction was not deep or historical. Such a reaction is incorrect, and it has again and again proved to be erroneous. Therefore I wish - in my own name and on my personal responsibility - to remove the mask from the faces of Uri Avneri and his friends within the body which calls itself "The Israeli Council for Israel-Palestine Peace", and to show to those who are prepared to look the facts in the eye, what their real path has been.

I admit that I have also personal reasons for holding this debate. Uri Avneri and his group, who come out against others in the name of democracy and accuse them of Macarthyism, are in truth among the heads of Macarthyism in Israel (in the service of the various Israeli governments and the various apparatuses) as I have come to know by my own experience.

() Prof. I. Shahak is the Chairman of the League for Human and Civil Rights in Israel. His article appeared as a guest article in "Zo Haderekh" of 11.7.84. The Subject of the article is the attitude towards the so-called "Progressive List for Peace" which appeared for the first time in the elections to the 11th Knesset which just now took place.*

Throughout many years, these hypocrites, who now turn to the public in the name of democracy, have refused to put their signature to every advertisement in any newspaper and to any non-political position for human rights, when my name appears there. For the benefit of human rights I did not take any action and also, when they found themselves just now in trouble, those hypocrites turned to me, requesting that I consent to sign an advertisement against the abolition of their election list, I immediately agreed for the benefit of democracy in which they do not believe but I do. Only a few months ago, at a public meeting near Dahariyeh, in support of Ali Abu Shahin (*), Uri Avneri opposed vigorously that I may given the right of speech, in spite of the fact that this had been promised to those who would attend the meeting, and only through the intervention of other persons in the Committee for Abu-Shahin, I succeeded in receiving the permission to speak very briefly. Dozens of similar incidents can be cited but I want to limit myself to citing only one: When, following the attack of Prof. Amnon Rubinstein upon me, many persons demanded to bring me to court for alleged "treason", and even to sentence me to death, a debate took place in a radio broadcast over this question between Ronny Milo (Spokesman of the right wing Likud - IB) and Uri Avneri - of course without my participation. To the claim of Ronny Milo that I should be sentenced to death for treason, Uri Avneri replied only this: This would not serve the interests of the State of Israel if Israel Shahak should be put to death. Not one word about human rights, not one word about the freedom of speech, not one word about democracy (with the exception of being used as a means for strengthening the State) came from the mouth of that person, who uses human rights only for his own personal interests. I do not remember even one person among Avneri's men who uttered a single word in my defence at the time when I was persecuted. At that moment I decided: Better to have an open enemy, about who you know what he is and to what he aspires, such as Ronny Milo, than a hypocrite who is liable to thrust a dagger in your back, who pretends to be in opposition but in reality serves the rulers - such as Uri Avneri. I am still holding this opinion.

(*) An Arab who was deported to a desolate place and held incommunicado.

But it is not precisely my personal attitude that leads to this conclusion. Let us also think about the record of Uri Avneri and his men with reference to the most important issues of human rights, throughout the whole time when the Alignment was in power, and to a certain degree also afterwards. For example, what did they say about the tortures. Here one must remind the public that in spite of all the continuous atrocities of the tortures in the last years, the situation in this sphere was bad in the first ten years of the occupation. The reports in "Sunday Times" and of various international organisations, and in Israel of the League for Human and Civil Rights - and among the political forces, only of Rakach (the Communist Party of Israel) are full of just and proved claims about tortures of the worst kind. Throughout all this time, when Uri Avneri and his friends were received by Rabin, (chief of the general staff and later prime minister up to '77 when Begin's government came to power -IB) and his subordinates and used to report to Rabin and his subordinates about their "contacts" with Palestinians and officials of Sadat, they repeatedly declared abroad that they had not seen, nor heard about tortures in the occupied territories. Advocate Felicia Langer, I and many other persons, who tried to mobilise public opinion in this country and in the world in order to stop, or at least to limit a little these atrocities, can give evidence to the fact that we had no worse enemies than Uri Avneri and his friends. Their activities and declarations on this subject were (and in my opinion still are) worse and more harmful than the declarations of the official representatives of the various Israeli governments, precisely because they pretend to be for peace and for the rights of the Palestinians and because the majority of the authentic peace camp has not exposed their face - for reasons which I always thought to be incorrect.

To this I add a further argument: Within the Zionist left I distinguish between two camps: one which in my opinion is limited in its demands and views, but true to them. The other, which is absolutely hypocritical and therefore all they say is utterly worthless. One can distinguish between them in the simplest manner which would be understandable to every person, if one would only not concentrate on what certain politicians say, by precisely on what they do not say. Let us take for instance, MK (Member of Knesset) Shulamit Aloni.

She, for example, does not say that she is in favour of a Palestinian State, but neither has she at any time defamed Rakach (the Communist Party of Israel); she has never taken up an extreme anti-Soviet position, has never attacked persons who wage a struggle for human rights. If we compare her behaviour with the behaviour of Uri Avneri, we will see that it is possible to respect Shulamit Aloni as a decent person, also when one holds different opinions on a wide scope of her views.

FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY

One of the most terrible things which prevents any advance within the Israeli peace camp is the falsification of Israeli history, which is inherent in the personal cult of all sorts of generals and colonels, and here the Zionist left does not differ even from the (fascist) Techiya Party. All of us are to be blamed for having kept silence about them and that a generation has grown up among us who do not know anything about their adventures.

Let us begin with the "Kadesh operation" - more correct; the Sinai war of 1956. This was a war which put Israel openly into the place which it occupies till this day: an alliance with the most demoralised forces of imperialism. (The war was planned and executed by Britain France and Israel -IB). This was done in the name of obscurantist chauvinism. When on the third day of the war, Ben-Gurion announced in the Knesset that the Third Reich (literally: the Third Kingdom) had been reborn and that Sinai does not belong to Egypt etc., the whole Knesset with exception of the Communist Party of Israel stood up and sang the "Hatikva" (Israeli anthem-IB). I add in parentheses that this was the first step in my political development. I thought that the unique opposition of the Communist Party of Israel to the messianic madness was even more important than the disclosure of the massacre at Kufr-Qassem (at the outbreak of the Sinai war, Israeli forces murdered in cold blood 49 men, women and children at that village and all the parties and press hushed up that gruesome affair, until Communist members of Knesset disclosed the heinous crime-IB). Throughout the many years that have passed, I have thought this correct and it was again proved so in 1967, when only the CP of Israel opposed the "Six-Day war", while Uri Avneri, who at that time overpassed in his militarist madness even Men-

hem Begin, demanded the continuation of the war and even set up a special evening paper in order to incite to war against Syria. The June 8 number of that newspaper appeared under the headline: "The goal is Damascus!"

The same thing and even in a clearer manner may be said about Matti Peled (second candidate of the "Progressive List for Peace" to the Knesset- IB), under the condition that one asks him questions. Where was Matti Peled in 1956-57 and what were his views in 1967 and afterwards?

On 26.2.'57 "Ha'aretz" reported that Lt.Colonel Matti Peled was appointed military governor of the Gaza area. Years after that, in "Kol Ha'ir" of 15.6.'84 he admits that "he had no problems with the occupation". What was that occupation of the Gaza strip in 1956-57 with which Matti Peled had no problems? General Y.L.Burns, commander of the UNO supervision Unit reported that at least 275 Palestinians were killed immediately after the occupation of the Strip while brutal searches for arms and liberation fighters were carried out, In Khan Younis another 111 Palestinians were killed "in a large-scale bloodletting", in conditions of "disorder" when the army stormed the miserable huts in the refugee camp of Rafiah, seizing refugees for interrogation for the army intelligence service" (This is quoted from first sources, from the book of professor Noam Chomsky "The Fateful Triangle". When these days a debate broke out in the USA, following upon the publication of professor Chomsky's book a reply came from Avishai Margalit who relied on "well informed Israeli sources" with whom he had spoken, that "each and every person who had been killed was identified as a guerilla fighter (fada'i) according to lists which were prepared by the Israeli intelligence service before the killings" (New York Review of Books, 26.6.'84). Of course, this pretext is absolutely foolish, but does this affair not remind you of something?

And the main point: Have you heard about these murders and many others like those from Matti Peled himself?

Perhaps you have heard about this from Uri Avneri or his friends in the "Peace Council Israel-Palestine"? Is it possible to imagine that Peled had not heard about these murderous acts, which were more evil in quantity and character than Kufr-Qassem and even resemble Sabra and Shattila? Has he (or Uri Avneri) demanded to bring the perpetrators to court or at least the appointment of a commission of inquiry, or even hinted at the task of

the censorship in concealing these wicked war crimes? On the contrary: The above mentioned Avishai Margalit who claims (in contradiction to "Ha'aretz") that Matti Peled was military governor of the Gaza Strip when those crimes were committed and who by the way recalls that Dr Meir Pa'il (another colonel among the leaders of the "Progressive List"-IB) was the commander of the Khan Younis bataillon, uses this fact in order to lessen the importance of those crimes... The truth is that the Gaza Strip of 1956-57 was under an occupation whose character was utmost terrible. There are some people who want to disclose a small part of those atrocities, but they do not belong to the "Alternative" group (Uri Avneri's group, now part of the so-called "Progressive List for Peace"-IB) I am not to be suspected of any sympathy towards Mapam, but it must be pointed out that the former editor-in-chief of "Al Hamishmar" (the organ of Mapam-IB), Mark Geffen, wrote on 27.4.84 an autobiographic article which revealed some of the murders and attempted murders which were carried out when Matti Peled "had no problems" with the occupation. Other hints were disclosed by disciples of Martin Buber- including the murder in cold blood of a considerably large group of Egyptian prisoners of war by soldiers who were members of kibbutzim. Anyone who relies on the "History" of Dr. Meir Pa'il and the zionist left will know nothing, or almost nothing, about the murders carried out by the "Beautiful Land of Israel" of Matti Peled and Uri Avneri. It would be better if he read Dr. Uri Milstein (who was a member of the secret "Unit 101", led by Ariel Sharon, under the auspices of Moshe Dayan and of course with the knowledge of the Alignment government then in power. Unit 101 carried out massacres of innocent civilians beyond the frontiers of Israel and Milstein, the historian of that unit, gave many hair-raising details of its activities.

Let us pass to 1967. As "Kol Ha'ir" justly pointed out on 15.6.84: "General Peled together with generals Ariel Sharon and Abraham Yoffe, was stubbornly in favour of ending the period of waiting". (The so-called "period of waiting" was the time immediately preceding the aggressive June 1967 war, when the Alignment government prepared the war against Israel's neighbours- IB). Ze'ev Shiff wrote in "Ha'aretz" of 5.7.84: In the days of preparation which preceded the war, when the prime minister and the majority of ministers were in doubt or did not believe in the necessity of opening war, Matti Peled fulfilled a central task in explaining what was going on...

Few people know that Peled fulfilled on that issue a central task by succeeding to persuade coldly and concentratedly that the economic machine had the prospect to stand the stress of the large mobilisation. There were persons who came out against the sharpness of his expressions at that time, but there were ministers who confirmed that his interesting expressions had a decisive weight in their voting for the war."

Perhaps some readers will answer me by claiming that Matti Peled has changed his mind and that one should not blame persons who admit past errors. Well, when "Kol Ha'ir" brought those quotations now, in June 1984 before Matti Peled, he did not only not dissociate himself from them by a single word, but even added: "If the question stood before me today, my position would be the same". And such a man stands at the head of a list which has the word "peace" written on its banner! And there are foolish adherents who dance around him and praise him.

But this is not all with regard to the task of Matti Peled in 1967 and the years after that. It is worthwhile to recall that in the first months after the six day war the atrocities of the occupation reached such peaks that can be compared only with what Ariel Sharon did when he was minister of war (minister of "defence"-IB). Hundreds of thousands - perhaps up to half a million of Palestinians were expelled by way of the bridges over the river Jordan, about 80.000 Syrians were driven out of the Golan Heights. Whole villages were razed to the ground and hundreds of buildings blown up. Hundreds of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and in eastern Jerusalem "disappeared", perhaps under circumstances resembling those in the Gaza Strip in 1956-57. More could be added to this list, but I will content myself with quoting one war crime, which is being hushed up: tens of thousands of Egyptian soldiers were killed in the Sinai desert by preventing them on purpose from getting water or by murder in cold blood when they came near certain Israeli units asking for humanitarian assistance, or by organised "hunting operations". There were voices in the press, like that of Amnon Dankner in "Ha'aretz" who revealed quite a few things about that horrible crime. Where was the voice of Matti Peled who was at that time a general in the general staff? Can one possibly claim that he is not a partner to responsibility? In my opinion he is a full partner, especially because he claims that he has not changed his views.

An additional confirmation to that claim can be found

by a person like myself, who is an ardent reader of the press. I have not forgotten and will not forget the period starting in 1969, when Matti Peled left the Israeli army and his views became still more chauvinistic and militaristic. Then he published a giant article every week in "Ma'ariv". Those who now dance around him, cannot imagine that before the 1973 war Matti Peled had a simple solution how to make peace with Egypt: Israel should, without much ado initiate a war with Egypt, occupy the port of Alexandria and hold it until Egypt surrenders and will conclude such a sort of peace with Israel as Matti Peled wants. That peace of Matti Peled included the annexation of Sinai to Israel, because "if Egypt really and sincerely aspires to peace with Israel, it does not need the Sinai Peninsula. The Sinai Peninsula cannot be a subject for discussion in any negotiations with Egypt: Israel needs it for its defence, Egypt has no need for it" etc. When "Kol Ha'ir" (15.6.84) presented that quotation to Matti Peled, he stood by his words and only claimed that "reality has changed".

COLLABORATION

However, the most terrible thing which characterises many of the "Alternative" group (of Uri Avneri) and of the "Council for Israel-Palestine Peace", is the collaboration with the Israeli governments, of which they boast openly. Whole articles were devoted to descriptions of how the representatives of the above Council used to run when Rabin was prime minister, to him or to other ministers, after the meeting with Palestinians, in order to "report" to Rabin or other ministers. Ministers of any government are very busy men and one may assume that Rabin as prime minister had not much time (and patience) to hear out the details and after having reported to this or the other minister, the "Council" men afterwards gave further details to additional governmental factors...

And this is precisely what distinguishes between myself and my friends on the one hand and Uri Avneri and his friends on the other hand. We are not collaborators with the governments of occupation, oppression and racism! We will not take upon ourselves, and moreover voluntarily, the work which is the duty of officials and agents. We know that who touches pitch (to use a mild expression) necessarily dirties himself and the dirt closes his eyes and he does not see at least a part of the atrocities which the Israeli governments have been committing for

many years. We leave to various diplomats and agents their jobs. And when we have something to say, we do that openly at a press conference or in a public announcement and not by means of secrets contacts (with or without "details") with governments of oppression. We do not care to know whether this or the other Israeli government really wants contacts with this or the other factor. We do not care whether they will or will not find a suitable path without us. It remains only to add that every contact be it with whom it may be in which one side presents itself in relation to outside as an allegedly "independent factor" and in reality reports to that government which carries out the most terrible oppression against those with whom he keeps up contacts, does not only bring harm, but is indecent. As an excellent example serves the series of contacts of Uri Avneri and his friends with the PLO before 1977, about which he himself spoke frequently in his article, without understanding the bitter significance of his story. According to him, after bringing to Rabin certain proposals of the PLO, Shimon Peres who at that time was minister of war undermined the contacts by ordering the Israeli navy to hijack ships with Palestinians on board and hand them over to the Falangists in the port of Junia, and those representatives with whom Avneri had "contacts" came later to him with complaints - and justifiedly so.

But I want to draw a clear line between those collaborators with the government of oppression (with or without "details") and ourselves: Therefore I put a different question: Why did Uri Avneri keep silent when, as a result of his and his friends' "contacts", Palestinians were delivered to death at the hands of the Falangists? And why did he reveal the awful act only after the change of government and when the new government did not want his "contacts"? My reply is a matter of principle: "Contacts" which are reported to a government of oppression and murder turn a person who makes of collaboration with that government a habit, into a collaborator with the acts of that government, destroy his moral senses, cut him off from reality and finally turn him into a fool. even if previously he had been quite clever.

Therefore, in conclusion, precisely when the anti-democratic threat to forbid the participation in the elections of the "Progressive List for Peace" has been removed, I call upon the persons who will participate in the elections (and I hope that as many a possible will participate) not to vote for that list, in which Uri Avneri and

Matti Peled are leading candidates. I intentionally used the word "persons" and not the words "Palestinians" and "Jews". The matters which I have brought up against Avneri and Peled and their collaborators are, to my view, so fundamental as to be beyond any national feeling, as just and strong that may be. My activity, over 16 years for human rights and the activities of my friends who were loyal to this idea throughout this whole period - among whom members of the DFPE ("Democratic Front for Peace and Equality") and their representatives in the Knesset, take up a place of honour - have strengthened in me the thought that however important national rights may be - and they are very important - the rights of human beings as individuals are more important. When you consider the question how to vote, remember that those who were murdered in Khan Younis in 1956, for example, were first of all human beings. Each of them had parents, brothers and sisters, wives and children. The crime of keeping silent over their shed blood is first of all a crime against humankind, against everything that unites us as human beings. I have always believed and will continue to believe that what unites all of us, all mankind is more important, more basic and better than what separates us. I have seen from my experience that only those who negate internationalism are able to keep silence at the shed blood and to collaborate with the governments of oppression, acting out of a false patriotism. I want also to declare in public for whom I will vote and bring my arguments in brief: I am not a communist, and I am not a Marxist, but from 1956 onwards, when only the Communist Members of Knesset did not take part in the messianic madness of Ben-Gurion and did not sing the "Hatikva" in honour of resurrecting the kingdom of David and Solomon; through 1967, when only one party did not take a part in the craze of victory and ignorance of the terrible human suffering; through 1973, when the whole Zionist left (including Uri Avneri and Matti Peled who called: "In spite of all - the Alignment"!) supported Golda Meir, and until those first awful days of the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, when only one parliamentary group in the Knesset - the DFPE - opposed the war and attempted to help, as far as possible, those who suffered of it - I support it.

Because of these reasons, and because of the great danger that another war might be initiated - against Syria (and on this point one cannot trust unstable persons) I will vote for the DFPE and call upon people to

consider thoughtfully my arguments. I hope that they will be convinced and will act as I will do,

ZO HADEREKH, July 11, 1984

DICTATES, INDEPENDENCE AND ALL THE REST

By Mikhal Vilner

In the election campaign to the 11th Knesset, the age-old allegation was heard again that the Communist Party of Israel, which is the main component of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, is not an independent party, but acts in accordance with dictates from Moscow. In the waging about that allegation excelled particularly the editors of two newspapers - H. Rosenblum ("Yediot Ahronot") and U. Avneri ("Ha'olam Haze"). The last one reiterated that slander almost in every issue of his weekly that appeared in the period shortly before the elections.

The use of that allegation as a battering-ram is no new phenomenon neither in Israel nor in other countries. In many countries in the world the communists have been accused of being "agents of Moscow" and of not representing the interests of their own peoples. These allegations are mainly directed against communist parties, but not only against them. Thus, for example, today the right in West Germany attacks the "Green" and accuse them of acting in the service of the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union finances their activities.

A few years ago, the former head of the Israeli security services, Isser Harel, told Member of Knesset, Comrade Meir Vilner, that in his fountain pen, some communication apparatus is concealed by means of which he receives instructions from Moscow. It was difficult to see whether Harel said that in all seriousness. In any event, there is no sense in discussing with a person who believes that the Communist Party of Israel acts in accordance with a daily dictate from Moscow. But there is another allegation, too. There are persons who claim that the institutions of the CP of Israel do indeed meet and pass decisions appertaining to the policy and ways of action of the Party, but that they are not independent, as they are beforehand obliged to adopt such decisions as would accord with the line of Moscow. This allegation, too, has no foundation whatsoever.

THE LESSONS OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

It is worthwhile to examine why, for instance, the Communist Party of Israel attaches great importance to the peace policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. When in the USA the administration headed by forces who cause deterioration in the international situation and have brought the relations with the Soviet Union to the lowest stage and to a tension which has no equal since the second world war, much importance attaches to the efforts of the Soviet Union to renew the detente and attain agreements for the limitation of the armament race. It is impossible to struggle sincerely for world peace without learning to know that it is the Soviet Union which is the central force that struggles for peace. On this issue, as also on others, our view is connected with our ideology. In our opinion, the opinion of communists, the peace policy of the Soviet Union is based on the essence of the regime in the Soviet Union, where in contrast to the USA, are no private arms and oil corporations and no political forces which represent such, and who have a direct economic interest in wars and in the intensification of tension in the world. This conception is a matter of ideological views and others may not accept it, but what is the basis for the allegation that that view is forced upon the Communist Party from outside? As regards our region, the Soviet Union has on July 30, 1984 reiterated its proposal of a peaceplan which speaks about Israel's retreat to the lines of '67 and the establishment of a Palestinian State in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip alongside Israel. This peace plan is identical with the plan which had been adopted in the UNO General Assembly by a vast majority of the world's states, about which it would be utterly ridiculous to say that the Soviet Union forced upon them its decision.

It is strange to see that among those who accuse us of submission to Moscow and who excel in extreme anti-Sovietism are also persons who agree with that very same peace plan. These people, by the way, keep mum about the USA, which is the principal power that prevents the realisation of this peace plan. The USA is in everybody's opinion, the main factor which enables the continuation of the occupation, by extending a full measure of military, economic and political assistance to those who conduct the official Israeli policy.

After the signing of the Camp David accords there were persons who claimed that the CP of Israel opposes them because Moscow rejected them. We explained at that time that in Camp David no peace agreement was signed, but a conspiracy was concluded which would still more remove the solution of the conflict in the region, and especially the solution of the central problem in the conflict - the Palestinian problem. We warned that the Camp David accords would not only not bring peace to the region but that they contain in themselves the danger of an additional war. Today it is already possible to judge our position: Have the Camp David accords led to peace or to war in Lebanon and to the intensification of tension in the region? Incidentally, it is interesting that some leaders of the "Progressive List" who had at that time accused us that we opposed the Camp David accords in accordance with instructions from the Soviet Union, found it correct before the elections to dissociate themselves in the platform of their list from those accords. It is interesting what happened: Did they, too, receive instructions from Moscow? Or were they compelled to admit their error, at long last?

"FREEDOM FIGHTERS" IN THE SOVIET UNION

The claim is heard that the Communist Party of Israel does not attack the Soviet Union in its resolutions and that this is a further sign of absence of the Party's political independence.

Indeed, the position of the Israeli communists is identical with the position of the Soviet communists and the CP of Israel does not attack them in its resolutions. But this does not stem from any enslavement of our Party to the Soviet Union, but from the fact that the two parties base themselves on the same ideology - Marxism-Leninism. Their ideological point of departure in the analysis of the problems is identical and in this originates the identity of their positions. It is possible to diverge in opinion from the positions of the CP of Israel, but also a person who does not agree with its positions, because he has a different ideology, has no ground to state that the Communist Party of Israel takes this position because of a dictate of Moscow.

The CP of Israel attaches a central importance to the spreading of the truth about the socialist regime in the Soviet Union. In its opinion, the socio-economic

situation and the political-moral situation in the Soviet Union is one of the most important proofs of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The refutation of the lies about the situation in the Soviet Union; facts and achievements which are ignored by the west; the explanation of the development of the Soviet Union from the Marxist ideological point of view, setting into the appropriate proportion the errors and weaknesses (which we do not ignore, but oppose their being exaggerated beyond all proportions) - all these are necessary in order to prevent the turning of the secondary into the primary and thereby to completely falsify the picture in its totality. The Communist Party of Israel, which sets itself as its aim the establishment of socialism, assesses that it is impossible to propagate the ideas of socialism if one does not draw a true picture of the central example of the realisation of socialism - the Soviet Union.

It is asked why the CP of Israel does not criticize the Soviet Union for its relation toward the opponents of the regime. Again, there is a question of principle, which is related to the essence of the regime and the ideology which guides it. But besides that, there is also the matter of facts, whose examination, in many cases, suffices for refuting the fault-finding. For example, the affair of Anatoly Shcheransky, whose name is time and again mentioned as that of a "freedom fighter".

When Shcheransky was arrested, the American and Israeli press wrote that he worked in the service of the CIA ("Ha'aretz" 10.7.78 and 8.8.78 wrote: "The efforts for bringing about the release of Shcheransky took yesterday a certain beating, when the American news weekly 'Newsweek' published a report that Shcheransky really passed on Soviet state secrets to the correspondent of 'Los Angeles Times', Robert Toth, as indeed the Soviet prosecutor had claimed... This is liable to lead to the dismissal of the head of the CIA William Colby."

In the case of Shcheransky even the respected American weekly admits: Reference is not to a freedom fighter but to a spy, whose capture was liable to lead to removal from office of the head of the CIA, and not to a freedom fighter.

Another example which is worthwhile to mention, is the "Leningrad Trials". When the trial was held, heavy

criticism was levelled at the Soviet Union. It was then said that the claim that the accused had attempted to hijack a plane was unfounded and that they confessed their guilt only because of pressure and torture in the Soviet prison. The then Israeli prime minister, Golda Meir said that that was a blood libel, such as there had not been the equal since the libel in Damascus (about 150 years ago, the French colonialists who had set their eyes on Syria, spread the libel that allegedly an Arab Christian child had been slaughtered by Jews who used his blood for baking it into the unleavened Passover bread - an accusation typical of the Middle Ages in Europe and foreign to the Arab world -IB), In this connection a sharp propaganda was conducted against our Party. And now, after the release from prison of the accused from Leningrad, they arrived in Israel and were fêted as "national heroes". Then they published in the press their plan to hijack the plane; in "Ma'ariv" of 15.10.78 Israel Zalmanson published a report which spread over several pages under the heading: "Thus we attempted to hijack a Soviet plane"...

In this case, as in many other cases, the Communist Party of Israel did everything in its power in order to reveal the truth and refute the libels against the Soviet Union, in spite of the fact that that was not easy at all. The CP of Israel did not allow itself to be enticed to come out against the Soviet Union with false accusations, just because the other parties and the news media did so. We do not take up a position just in order to have the other parties say: "Bravo! Here you are independent, you have proved that you are not pro-Soviet."

There are Communist parties which did not withstand the pressure exerted upon them bourgeois and social-democratic parties, and renounced to a certain degree their independent ideological and political thinking. Such renunciations help those who are interested to blacken the image of the Soviet Union and as a result of this - the idea of socialism in general. In the greater part of instances, those renunciations did not bring about any increase of influence of those parties, but on the contrary - to the decrease of their strength and the most prominent example of that is the Spanish Communist Party.

WHO IS REALLY CONCERNED ABOUT INDEPENDENCE ?

Also those who criticize us for our relation towards the Soviet Union cannot ignore the fact that the Communist Party of Israel struggles more than any other party in the country for the independence of Israel. We have always demanded that the State of Israel should conduct a policy of non-alignment between the blocs. We came out in public against the policy of the Israeli governments, which led to the dependence of Israel on Anglo-French imperialism in previous years, and on American imperialism today. Recently our Party vigorously came out against the deepening of the political and economic dependence of Israel on the USA, and particularly against the strategic agreement, which subjugates Israel to the USA and is liable to lead it to involvement in war in distant places and in conflicts which have nothing to do with any benefit to Israel, with its peace and security. As against that, one has to be very sceptical towards any movement which speaks about independence in general terms or against enslavement to this or the other power, without naming exactly the power which is referred to. Today it is clear to which power Israel subjugates itself, to which power Israel has proposes bases and arms stores and with which power Israel carries out joint manoeuvres, in order to be enabled to assist that power in its war in the region.

In relation to the peace settlement in the Middle East, our Party favours an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union and the USA. We do not demand a "pax sovietica" instead of a "pax americana", but a settlement which will be attained by way of coordination between the two powers. This stand is accepted by the majority of states of the world, including non-communist and anti-communist ones, because this is the only road to a solution. If anyone at all ignores this and does not demand an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union and the USA, it appears that anti-Sovietism is more important to him than achievement of peace settlement in the region.

In the struggle over the central issue standing today before the State of Israel, and among them: for the prevention of a new war and the attainment of peace, for preservation of the democratic liberties blocking fascism, for the defence of the workers' rights and national and

communal equality of rights, the Israeli communists act together with other political forces, irrespective of their ideological adherence. The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality is an example of this. One can point out the activity of the communists in the various protest movements, such as: "There is a limit" and the "Committee against the war in Lebanon"; and the participation in protest activities of such movements as "Peace Now". But together with the joint activity on issues which are accepted in common, the Communist Party of Israel continues to defend its ideological positions and contends for them.

Also will we continue rebuffing the propaganda of those, whether they belong to the extreme right or claim to be peace forces - who instead of contending with us in a businesslike manner over the controversial questions, time and again repeat the pervert allegation that the Israeli communists act in accordance with dictates from outside.

ZO HADEREKH, August 8, 1984

A VERY PRACTICAL POSSIBILITY OF PEACE EXISTS

Comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel and head of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality opened a press conference at the Ben Gurion Airport, on the return of a delegation of the Party from talks held with a delegation of the PLO, headed by Yasser Arafat in Geneva.

Comrade Meir Vilner said: "Our delegation brings a fully competent message about the achievement of Israeli-Palestinian peace and putting an end to the war for once and for all."

M. Vilner continued: "The PLO and the Chairman of its Executive Committee, Yasser Arafat, say on behalf of the PLO and through us to the Israeli people: Let us be realistic. The PLO is true to the resolutions of its 16th Council meeting, which confirmed the Fez plan and the Brezhnev plan for peace in the Middle East. The significance of this is: Peace for the benefit of both peoples, the Israeli and Palestinian ones, on the basis of establishment of a Palestinian State on the West Bank, including the Arab part of Jerusalem, and in the Gaza Strip. The lines of June 4, 1967 will become the peace frontiers, Israel will have to retreat to these lines. This plan is identical with the decisions of the UNO.

The only road to peace is the convocation of an international conference for the establishment of comprehensive, just and stable peace in the Middle East, with the participation of Israel, the PLO, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon and also the Soviet Union and the USA. This is now also the initiative of the General Secretary of the UNO Perez De Caviar. On this subject a meeting was held between the UNO General Secretary and Yasser Arafat. Arafat expressed, on behalf of the PLO, before the UNO General Secretary, full consent to the convocation of an international conference, which is proposed as the sole road to peace.

After the meeting of Yasser Arafat with the UNO General Secretary had been arranged for July 10, in Geneva, continued M. Vilner, he turned to us with the proposal to meet with him. We accepted the invitation and thus we did

meet in Geneva, immediately after Arafat's meeting with the UNO General Secretary. This was a sincere meeting between persons who are free from prejudices, who feel historic responsibility for the fate of their peoples.

Between us was a consensus that anyone who opposes that peace plan - of two states for two peoples - rejects peace out of hand, because no peace is possible without simultaneous mutual recognition of the rights of both peoples to self determination and national independence. Israel has already realised its rights and now, if one wants peace and security, the same right must be realised for the Palestinian people too. Anyone who opposes that, takes upon himself responsibility for the next war.

We fully agreed that not only the political forces which rule in Israel - whether the Alignment, as previously, or the Likud afterwards - are responsible for the continuation of the wars and the non-achievement of Israeli-Palestinian peace, but together with them also the patron of Israel - the American administration. Were it not for the aspiration of the USA to seize control over the Middle East, chiefly with the assistance of Israel, we would have attained peace long ago.

Therefore, those forces in Israel who concluded a strategic alliance with the USA against the Soviet Union against the Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian peoples and against the liberation movements in all parts of the world - endanger over the long run Israel itself, turn it into a puppet of the USA, which carries out the dirtiest actions in the service of a foreign power, from Lebanon to South Africa, from Honduras to Sri Lanka.

In conclusion : We have brought a message of peace from the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

In reply to the questions of journalists. M. Vilner emphasized that the main thing in the talks is the above outlined message about the real possibility of peace and security, for normal relations between the Palestinian people and the Israeli people. "And anybody who opposes talking with the PLO, opposes to speak with the Palestinian people. The PLO is the sole authorised representative of the Palestinian people. It is represented in the UNO and maintains diplomatic relations with many more states than does Israel."

With regard to the propaganda of the "Progressive" election list, its allegation that the PLO was supporting it, comrade M.Vilner said that "this is one big bluff". What became clear in the Geneva talks? One month and a half ago, already at a time when the "Alternative" group ostensibly held negotiations with the DFPE, a delegation of that group, composed of Matti Peled, Ya'akov Arnon and Uri Avneri, met with Arafat. Arafat stated to them explicitly that he opposed any publication, even about the very taking place of the meeting. Arafat told them: "I can tell you: Go to the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. Only they are the address. Go to them and coordinate with them." In general, Arafat did not mention in any newspaper and any interview to the television, that "Progressive" list.

Vilner added on that same issue, that Arafat considers every propaganda which is directed against the Soviet Union, also that which comes from the "Progressive" list, a propaganda against the PLO as well as against peace. Arafat explained this logically: How is it possible to incite against the Soviet Union which proposes a plan for just and real peace for the Middle East (the Brezhnev peace plan of September 15, 1982) and at the same time pretend to be for just peace? In this is a contradiction. Arafat says that the Palestinian people wants to receive assistance from everybody. Such a great power as the Soviet Union supports the peace plan which is agreed to by the PLO. "And then those persons come, who pretend that they support also us, and conduct an anti-Soviet and pro-American propaganda. How is that compatible? It is the USA which opposes a Palestinian State and the PLO, and supports Israel's policy of conquest !

Further, M.Vilner informed that Arafat pointed out in the Geneva talks that "an American-Israeli conspiracy exists against the Palestinian people and against the PLO. We and our friends in the socialist countries, the unaligned countries and the whole world are able to frustrate this conspiracy", said Arafat and added: "Therefore, how is it possible on one hand to proclaim that one supports the Palestinian people and its right to establish its own State and on the other hand, to support the Reagan plan, Camp David and the main factor which supports the Israeli government and was Israel's partner in the Lebanese war, that is to say - the USA?" Arafat understands very well that the orientation of

that list (the "Progressive" list) is to split and to push the PLO towards a road of defeatism at the side of the USA.

In the talks, the common evaluation of the PLO leaders and of the Communist Party of Israel came to an expression, that certain American factors pushed towards the establishment of that new election list with one single aim: To break the influence of the Communist Party of Israel and the DFPE - chiefly among the Arab population in Israel. This is a part of the strategic line of the USA rulers to bring about a division within the PLO, in order to make it possible to turn it into an American tool in their global policy.

"Was the meeting in Geneva intentionally arranged on the eve of the elections?" a journalist asked, and M. Vilner replied: "Meetings between us and the leader of the PLO have also taken place before that, in fact three times only in the last one and a half year, that is to say also when no elections stood at the door. The present talks were devoted to the evaluation of the situation which has now developed in the region, after the latest developments within the PLO and the restoration of unity of its ranks, and also after the visit of the UNO General Secretary, Perez De Caviar in countries of the region and his talks with a PLO delegation at the highest level. Besides that, Arafat thought it correct to inform the Israeli public on the eve of the elections in an unequivocal and utmost competent form about the peace proposals of the PLO."

ZO HADEREKH 18.7.1984

DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

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

To the Central Committee of the
Romanian Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Romania from fascist yoke, we have the pleasure to extend to you and through you to the people of Romania warm fraternal greetings.

The heroic anti-fascist struggle of the Romanian people and the decisive contribution of the victorious Soviet army have shattered the fascist regime and enabled the liberation of Romania.

The liberation of Romania has inaugurated a new stage in the history of the Romanian people and opened the way to socialism under the leadership of your party for the vital interests of the Romanian people.

Dear Comrades,

We wish the Romanian Communists and the whole Romanian people every success in their efforts for consolidating and strengthening socialism and in advancing the general struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

To the Central Committee of the
Bulgarian Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria from the fascist yoke, we have the pleasure to extend to you and through you to the whole Bulgarian people heartiest fraternal greetings.

The heroic anti-fascist struggle of the Bulgarian people under the leadership of your party and the decisive contribution of the victorious Soviet army have uprooted the fascist regime, liberated Bulgaria and opened the way to socialism.

The liberation of Bulgaria, 40 years ago, has inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the Bulgarian people. Since then the Bulgarian people under the leadership of your party which is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian internationalism, the Bulgarian people have scored tremendous achievements in all fields of socialist construction which resulted in a substantial rise in the material and cultural standard of the people in Bulgaria.

Today, Bulgaria has reached a high level of a developed socialist society and together with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, is playing an important role in the general struggle for preserving world peace.

Dear Comrades,

We wish you and wish the Bulgarian people additional success and achievements in all fields of socialist upbuilding and in the general struggle for national independence democracy, social progress and peace.

To: COPWE
Adis Ababa

Dear Comrades,

We most warmly thank you for the invitation you sent us to the founding Congress of the Workers Party of Ethiopia.

Our delegation to your Congress will be composed of comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of our party and comrade Nimir Murcus, member of our Central Committee.

Because of the early parliamentary elections in Israel which took place on July 23rd. 1984 we were unable to send our answer in due time.

Exact details about the arrival of our delegation will be sent to you as early as possible.

JUNE-JULY 84

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
CENTRAL COMMITTEE - FOREIGN RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
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