

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

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COMMITTEE,
CENTRAL PARTY OF

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ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ISRAELI LABOUR PARTY

(Review and estimation)

On the 21st of January, the three social-democratic parties in Israel, MAPAI, AHDUT-HA'AVODA and RAFI merged into one party, the "Israeli Labour Party" (Hebrew initials MA'I). MAPAI right social-democratic party, was the central party of all governments of Israel up to the present. AHDUT-HA'AVODA left MAPAI 22 years ago and RAFI (Ben-Gurion's group) was the party which three years ago left MAPAI. Mapai and Ahdut-Ha'avoda joined to a common list (Alignment) prior to the last elections to the Histadrut (Trade Unions) and to the Knesset in 1965.

Ben-Gurion who opposed the present merger of the three parties refused to join the new party.

The new Israeli Labour Party - "MA'I" - is to be represented in the Knesset by 54 out of 120 seats.

To the Congress of merger which took place in Jerusalem, were invited various guests including members of Knesset. Comrade Tawfiq Toubi, MK, attended on behalf of the Communist Knesset faction.

Prime Minister L. Eshkol, the former general secretary of Mapai, Golda Meir, the former secretary of Rafi, Shimon Peres, Minister of Propaganda, Israel Galili (for Ahdut-Ha'avoda) and others took the floor at the merger-congress.

They repeated in their appearances the usual tunes of the parties they represented up till now. Except Galili, who mentioned once during his speech "zionist-socialist traditions" all others took well care not to mention even the word "socialism". And instead of mentioning working-class problems they all talked much of state-consciousness. No word was lost on the social problems of the working people, neither their demands and cultural needs, nor on the situation of the Arab minority. Listening to those speeches it was hard to tell whether this was a congress of a labour party or of any bourgeois party.

When the President of the social-democratic "Socialist International", Bruno Pietermann of Austria, concluded his message of greeting with the slogan: "Forward towards a socialist Israel", cynical smiles were seen on many faces amongst those present.

While socialism and the social problems of the working class were hardly mentioned, the militarist and chauvinist

views concerning the perpetuation of the occupation of the territories conquered during the June war were loudly and widely proclaimed.

Golda Meir spoke of "our strong will for peace, which found its expression in the Six-Day war"(!?) and the grand progressive developments Israel was ready to bring to the Arabs living in the region - stressing the civilizing missionary role that the pro-imperialist traditional leaders of Israel took upon themselves!

Israel Galili expressed himself in the wellknown "activist" manner of the Ahdut-Ha'avoda platform, predicting further struggles between Israel and her Arab neighbours, attacking those who called for retreat from the occupied territories and stressing the importance of strengthening the people's affinity to undivided Eretz-Israel (the Hebrew expression for the whole of Palestine).

Shimon Peres declared, the new party "MA'I" will stand for a "greater Israel". He expressed his satisfaction over the fact, that "at this fateful hour... a national united front against Israel's enemies was actually realized, a front which includes all parties from GAHAL (the extreme right) until MAPAM and lately it includes even the party led by Mikunis-Sneh"...

Prime Minister Levy Eshkol told the congress to leave "the old formulas". He repeated in general terms the position of the government concerning Israeli-Arab relations and the decision to stick to the present occupied territories under the guise of the call for "direct negotiations".

"ZO HADEREKH" ON THE MERGER

The organ of the Communist Party of Israel, ZO HADEREKH, published at the 24th of January an editorial on the merger in the social-democratic camp in Israel. This editorial says, among other things:

"One of the basic characteristic of this merger is that before the merger there was no discussion whatsoever between the three merging parties on the aspects of foreign and internal policy. On these fateful problems reigned complete unity of views among the three partners also before the merger. Therefore it is no coincidence that the long drawn discussions towards the merger were held on organizational questions concerning key-positions in the united party".

The editorial goes on and explains that the partners are united too over the continued leaning on the imperialist powers, especially on the USA in questions of foreign policy and over the policy of strength regarding Israeli-Arab relations. They

were and are united over the negation of a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem which would take into account the just rights of the people of Israel as well as those of the Arab people of Palestine. They are united too over their hostile positions against the Soviet Union.

"The real aim of the merger is an attempt to emerge from the deep crisis the ruling circles are entangled in, without taking the one and only step which could be able to save them from the crisis, e.g. the basic change of Policy" - says the editorial of ZO HADEREKH. "This does not mean, that in the united party MA'I there will not continue to exist different points of views on several main questions which also existed in each one of the three parties prior to the merger. But it can be stated with no doubt that the militarist and activist orientation in the social-democratic camp got the upper hand through the merger of RAFI and Ahdut-Ha'avoda with MAPAI." Therefore the merger in the ruling circles means a sharpening of the danger of a "fourth round" of the warfare against the Arab neighbours, as well as an increased danger to the democratic freedoms in Israel herself.

Then ZO HADEREKH continues: "The working people of Israel are interested in the political and organizational unity of working class. In Israel too the working class will lead in future the whole people towards social progress and the building of socialism. In Israel too a hard class struggle is fought between the working class and the bourgeoisie. But the new merger in the social-democratic camp does not serve neither the everyday nor the historic tasks of the Israeli working class. On the contrary, it is directed against them. It does not mobilize the working people against their class enemy but serves the class collaboration, the subjection of the working class under the rule of foreign and local capital."

"The people of Israel and its working class does not need such a kind of merger. It needs the unity of all worker's parties, the merger of all class-conscious forces which march under the banner of peace, national independence, the defence of democratic freedoms and their expansions and social progress."

* * *

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
.....

- A. ON THE ESHKOL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES
B. FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel considered at its meeting of January 14th, 1968, the visit paid by the Prime Minister, Mr. Levy Eshkol, to the President of the United States, Mr. Lindon Johnson. The Political Bureau discussed as well, the expansion of confinement orders and movement restrictions against communists and other opponents of the war and the government's policy, and adopted the following resolutions:

A.

The visit, paid by Israel's Prime Minister, L. Eshkol, to L. Johnson, the President of the USA, and the joint statement issued by them, are an expression of the increasing dependancy of Israel on the United States, on American imperialism, an expression of the additional affiliation of Israel to the global and regional plans and intrigues of the United States, as opposed to the real national interests of Israel.

The Prime Minister set out to his talks with President Johnson aims such as "Enhancement of collaboration for the sake of peace"., "Reinforcement of Israel's Security", but from the publications of the Israeli and US official press it becomes apparent, that Israel's Prime Minister and the President of the United States discussed the "strengthening of collaboration and the common efforts" with the aim of "curbing aggression against the free world anywhere". The only meaning of all this is an increasing integration of Israel within the global strategy of the USA, aimed at the independence and the freedom of the peoples of the Middle East and of other parts of the world. By raising the bogey of "Communist danger" and "Soviet enroachment" the American imperialists attack the freedom, the independence and the economic and social development of the peoples, in South-East Asia, in the Middle East or in other parts of the world.

President Johnson's promise "to give Israel's military and defence capability a permanent and sympathetic consideration" was given on the background of the American imperialists' efforts to safeguard the interests of the oil companies and their enormous profits in the Arab countries and their strategic positions, aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It is not Israel's security and welfare that worries President Johnson and the other representatives of American imperialism, even when supporting Israel's policy and promising her military aid. The American imperialists support, encourage and exploit the policy of strength conducted by Israel's government against the Arab peoples, as a mean of pressuring and threatening the Arab anti-imperialist regimes, of assisting the Arab reactionary rulers, of preserving their domination over the oil resources in this region and of keeping a trump card in the global strategic alignment against the Soviet Union.

Israel's rulers rely on US imperialist aid to further their adventurist aims - territorial aggrandizement, perpetuation of the conquests and violation of the just rights of the Palestinian Arab people. The bitter experience of all peoples proves however, that no good to the real interests of Israel, no good to Israel's security and its future in the region will come forth from this collaboration with American imperialists, with the murderers of the Vietnam people, the enslavers of peoples and the enemies of peace. The American imperialists care only about the advancement of their selfish aims; and whenever the need arises they would sacrifice the interests of their partners and vassals for the sake of their intrigues against the freedom of the peoples and against peace.

The Communist Party of Israel warns that this complicity is bound to damage the future of the Israeli-Arab relations and to obstruct peace; it carries with it additional dangers for the peace in this part of the world and puts Israel in a much more dangerous situation opposite and against the Arab peoples and the socialist countries; it also brings Israel to support the criminal aggression in Vietnam and the global war plans of the American imperialists.

The Communist Party of Israel stresses again, that not by relying on American imperialists, not by resorting to the policy of strength and not by conquests will Israel advance towards peace with the Arab peoples and towards securing its future in the region, but by seeking the way of understanding, agreement and collaboration with the Arab peoples.

In order to set the foot on the way of peace the Communist Party of Israel calls on the Israeli Government to act immediately for faithful implementation of the Security Council's decision of November 22nd, 1967, the first step of which is the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied territories to the positions prior to June 5th, 1967. This is an essential and imperative step towards the achievement of a peace settlement to Israeli-Arab relations and to the solution of the Palestinian problem, a settlement which should be based on res-

pecting the independence and the sovereignty of both Israel and the neighbouring Arab states, the right to agreed and secure boundaries, on respecting the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and foremost the rights of the Arab refugees, as well as on respecting Israel's right to free navigation in the international water-ways of the region.

The perpetuation of the occupation is only bound to put off peace, to increase enmity between the two peoples to create additional dangers, and may lead to a new war.

The Communist Party of Israel calls on all peace-loving, progressive and democratic forces in Israel to rally in a public struggle, in order to change the Israeli policy towards peace, independence and a happy future of Israel.

B.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel points out with concern and gravity the expansion and intensification of the persecution of opponents of war and territorial conquests. The government's organs intensify the incitement against the Arab population of the occupation not only obstructs peace, increases the bloodshed and endangers the security, but also threatens - as we have warned beforehand - the democratic liberties in Israel.

At the beginning of 1968 former orders of confinement and restriction-of-movement were renewed, and many additional orders were issued against hundreds of members of the Communist Party of Israel, prominent Arab personalities and opponents of war, citizens of the State of Israel.

Many hundreds of women and men - housewives and workers, members of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Labour) Executive and of the Histadrut Council, members of municipal and local councils, lawyers, physicians, engineers, poets, journalists, members of the intelligentsia, simple citizens from all parts of the country and from almost all the Arab villages - were ordered by the military commanders, on the strength of the Mandatory Emergency (Defence) Regulations of 1945, to be confined to their towns or villages in Israel, or were forbidden to enter the occupied territories, including the Arab part of Jerusalem, in order to meet their relatives. In addition orders were issued to people forbidding them to leave their homes from sunset till sunrise.

The governmental press and broadcasting service exploit every news about the arrest of some Arab Israeli citizens - on the charge of having contacted "El-Fateh" members in the occupied

territories - in order to incite against the Arab population of Israel as whole, although many times the charge proves to be a false one and the arrested were already set free, or were arrested on the strength of an administrative order, without any trial. Khalil Tu'ma, the chairman of the Arab Students' Association at the Hebrew University, was arrested upon the charge of having contacted a leader of an Arab political organization in Arab Jerusalem.

Outrageous news about the torturing of arrested persons in Israeli prisons are received. The press recently published the news, that Abd El-Latif Hamad, 27, of Nazareth was arrested on January 8th, 1968. On the same day the police announced that "he hanged himself in prison" and ordered his family to bury him in secret, without permitting them to look at his corpse.

The horrible reprisals against the Arab population in the occupied territories carry serious consequences for the whole of the Israeli-Arab relations. They poison the atmosphere in Israel itself and intensify the persecutions against the promoters of Jewish-Arab brotherhood in Israel and against its Arab population.

We appeal to every progressive and wise people in our country to protest against the restrictions-of-movement orders and the most dangerous precipitation of the official policy towards the Arab population of Israel.

The democratic forces of Israel have to their credit many achievements in the struggle for the abolition of the military rule, against the national oppression and for equal rights to the Arab population. Let us not enable the extreme militarists and the chauvinist adventurers to turn back the wheel and damage the achievements reached in the struggle for the abolition of the military administration, for equal rights and for Jewish-Arab brotherhood.

We appeal to the workers and toilers, the progressive intelligentsia and all the democratic forces of our country, to stand up against the rulers' attack upon the freedom of action and movement of the communists. The experience of our country, too, teaches us that the communists are the first to be attacked, but gradually all the democratic forces are the objective.

- * Abolish the confinement orders and the restrictions of movement!
- * Cancel the administrative arrests!
- * Stop the incitement against the Arab population of Israel!
- * Strengthen and deepen Jewish-Arab brotherhood!
- * Safeguard democratic liberties in Israel
- * All our forces for peace!

* * *

NEW REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST COMMUNISTS AND OTHER
OPPONENTS OF WAR

.....

The military authorities in Israel renewed again at the beginning of January, for another year orders preventing leading party activists from leaving freely their home-town and village. Amongst those against whom such restrictive orders were issued are comrades: Saliba Khamis, member Politbureau of the CC; Zahi Karkabi, member Secretariat CC; Fouad Khoury, member Secretariat CC and member, Nazareth municipal council; Salim El-Kassem, Othman Abu-Ras, Jamal Moussa, Ramzi Khoury, Mun'em Jarjura, members of the CC (R. Khoury is member of Acre municipal council); George Toubi, Ghassan Habib and Nimer Morcus, members Secretariat, Young Communist League; Ali Ashour, Mohammad Khass, Tawfiq Zayyad, Mahmoud Darwish, Samih El-Kassem, members editorial board of Al-Ittihad (Arabic language organ of the Party); Yusuf Sabbagh, administrator of Al-Ittihad newspaper; Advocate Hanna Naqqara, member Central Control Commission of the Party, Advocate Abdul-Hafiz Darawsheh, communist member of Nazareth municipal council, Advocate Mohammad El-Haj, communist member of Kufr-Yassif local council; Tawfiq Zayyad, Khalil Khoury, Najib El-Fahum, and Husein Abu-Assad, communist members municipal council of Nazareth; Yusuf Shehadeh, communist deputy mayor of Kufr-Yassif local council, Kemal Gattas, communist member, local council of Rameh, Assad Yussuf, communist member, local council of Yaffa, Mohammad Shreideh, and Mahmoud El-Kassem, communist members of local council Um-El-Fahm, Abd El-Rahim Azem and Abd El-Hamid Abu-Aita, communist members local council of Taibeh; Mohammad Hadad, member Histadrut workers' council of Ramleh, Assad Makki, member Tel-Aviv Communist Party district committee, and many other party activists all over the country.

Comrade Samih El-Kassem, member of the editorial board of Al-Ittihad and a well-known poet, received a police order imposing on him imprisonment in Haifa from sunset to sunrise and to report twice daily to the police station.

Hundreds of other party activists and sympathisers and many other persons, known for their opposition to the policy of war and occupation received a different kind of military order preventing them from visiting the occupied territories although it was declared by the Israeli authorities that Israeli citizens are free to visit these areas.

One of our comrades, Khaled Kuheil from Ramleh was tried on 30.1.1968 before a military tribunal for the crime of carrying "Al-Ittihad" newspaper (a legal newspaper in Israel) to Ghaza while going there to visit his family, under the threat of a

punishment of 5 years imprisonment and 10,000 Israeli Liras.

These increasing anti-democratic measures within Israel, and the strengthening of repressive steps against leading activists of the Party and against its legal work is part of intensifying and stepping-up the all-sided oppressive measures in the occupied territories against the Arab population. This is manifested in reprisals against the civilian Arab population in the occupied territories, demolishing of houses, mass imprisonment, also expulsion from their country of communists and other public figures. Leader of the Jordanian Communist Party, Comrade Faiq Warrad, ex-member of the Jordanian Parliament, resident of Ramallah was imprisoned by the Israeli occupation authorities in December last and later expelled to Trans-Jordan. Comrade Na'im El-Ashab, a leading activist of the Jordanian Communist Party, a resident of Arab Jerusalem was administratively imprisoned by the occupation authorities.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel issued a special resolution condemning these repressive measures and called on democratic forces to protest against these repressive measures.

* * *

THE KNESSET DECIDES TO DEBATE THE ADMINISTRATIVE
===== RESTRICTIVE ORDERS =====

On 12.12.1968, Member of Knesset Tawfiq TOUBI raised in the Parliament the question of the restrictive-administrative orders issued by the military authorities against communist activists and other opponents of war. MK T. TOUBI protesting against this continued infringement on the rights of the citizen, curtailing freedom of movement etc., he proposed that the Knesset debate this question and order the abolition of this orders.

Mr. M. DAYYAN, Defense Minister, who replied to the proposal said that these orders are issued in order to combat... "terrorist activities". He however agreed that the Knesset debate the issue in order that he will have a chance to explain his... "liberal steps". The Knesset adopted a decision to debate the proposal to the agenda on this subject submitted by MK Tawfiq Toubi.

* * *

COMRADE MEIR VILNER BACK HOME

.....

Comrade M. VILNER, Secretary, Political Bureau, C.C., Communist Party of Israel, returned to Israel on 25.1.1968. Comrade M. Vilner, who with comrade Tawfiq TOUBI took part in the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution representing the C.P. of Israel, passed a period of recuperation in the Soviet Union to recover from the wound inflicted by the criminal attempt on his life last October. During his stay abroad comrade M. Vilner visited Sofia, Berlin and Belgrade, and with comrade Emile Touma, member of the C.C., C.P. of Israel, held talks with the fraternal parties of Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic and Yugoslavia.

Comrade M. Vilner was met at the Lydda airport by members of the Politbureau, the Secretariat and other members of the Central Committee and a number of party members.

Comrade M. Vilner was interviewed by the press upon his arrival. Comrade Vilner stated that "All the fraternal parties we have met, departing from their desire for a peaceful settlement to the present Middle East crisis, and from their concern for the interests of all the peoples of the region including the people of Israel, call upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, particularly when the UN Security Council has already decided that together with the withdrawal there should be abolished the state of war and recognition of the right of every state in the region for existence and security."

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TALKS WITH FRATERNAL PARTIES OF BULGARIA, G.D.R.,

YUGOSLAVIA AND ITALY

.....
(a) Talks between C.P. of Bulgaria and C.P. of Israel

Meeting between Comrade T. ZHIVKOV and Comrade M. VILNER.

The following communique was published in "RABOTNICHESKO DELO", organ of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, on January 9, 1968. It was reported later in "ZO HADEREKH" and "AL-ITTIHAD", organs of the Communist Party of Israel:

On the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel, Comrade Meir Vilner, paid a visit to the Bulgarian People's Republic from 4th till 8th January, 1968.

During his short stay in our country, Comrade Meir Vilner paid a visit to the cities of Burgass and Varna, visited the chemical plants near the city of Burgass and also the rest resorts of Slanchev Breg and Zlatny Pessatsi. Comrade Vilner was received warmly everywhere.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Theodor Zhivkov received the Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel Comrade Meir Vilner, and held with him a prolonged talk, in which took part also member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria Comrade Boris Volchov. Comrade Theodor Zhivkov introduced to Comrade Meir Vilner the major orientations of the internal and external policies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the successes achieved in the construction of socialism in our country and also the results of the implementation of the new method in the direction of the public administration.

Comrade Meir Vilner informed the leaders of the Communist Party of Bulgaria about the situation in the country, on the struggle of the Communists of Israel against the chauvinistic and aggressive policy of the Israeli government, on the struggle for a policy of peace and independence on imperialism, for the defence of democracy and the interests of the workers.

In the exchange of opinions regarding the situation in the Near East created as a result of the Israeli aggression encouraged by the USA against the Arab states, it was stressed again that the immediate elimination of the results of aggression by political and peaceful methods is in accordance with the national interests of all people in this area. The withdrawal

of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories to positions before the 5th of June is an essential condition for the prevention of increased deterioration of the situation in the Near East, for the creation of favourable atmosphere for a just peaceful solution of the controversial questions between Israel and the Arab states, ensuring the rights and security of all countries and peoples in this area, and for the safeguarding of peace in the world.

The representatives of the fraternal parties condemned the aggressive imperialist war of the United States and its allies in Vietnam and expressed this full solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and national independence.

The representatives of both parties support the struggle of the progressive forces and peace-loving persons for the cessation of bombing on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and for the withdrawal of the American forces from Southern Vietnam.

Anxiety was expressed on the increasing activity of the neo-Nazi forces and of the revanchist and militarists of Western Germany which constitute a threat to the cause of peace and security in Europe and the best of the world.

The representatives of the fraternal parties condemn the retaliatory actions of the military junta in Greece against the progressive forces and they demand the liberation of all political prisoners and the rehabilitation of the democratic liberties in that country.

As regards the actual questions of the international Communist and workers movement, full identity of views was recorded.

The Communist Party of Israel supports the initiative of the 18 Communist and Workers parties - among which the Communist Party of Bulgaria - for the convocation of the consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers parties in Budapest aiming at exchanging of opinions regarding the preparation and convocation of an international consultation of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The leaders of both parties stated the full identity of opinions in all the questions discussed and expressed their readiness for the continuous development of connections between the two fraternal parties in the spirit of the lofty principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for the benefit of the interests of the Israeli and the Bulgarian peoples.

(b) Talks between representatives of the Socialist
Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Israel

"NEUES DEUTSCHLAND", the organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany published in its issue of 16.1.1968 regarding the talks held between representatives of the two parties an article entitled "Talks between Hermann AXEN and Meir VILNER", The communique which was later published in "ZO HADEREKH" and "AL-ITTIHAD" states:

Last week the candidate-member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Hermann Axen, received for a talk the Secretary of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel Meir Vilner in the office of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Meir Vilner was accompanied by member of the Central Committee Emile Touma. The candidate-member of the Central Committee and the responsible of the department for foreign relations Paul Markowski took part in the talk.

The talk, whose subject was exchange of mutual information regarding the policies and struggles of the two parties for fulfilling the duties confronting them, the exchange of opinions regarding the international situation especially in Europe and in the Near East and the situation in the World Communist Movement - revealed complete identity of opinions concerning all the questions discussed.

Both parties condemn categorically the Israeli aggression against the Arab states as a part of the global strategy of the United States, actively supported by the West German imperialists and demand the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli army from the territories occupied by it beyond the lines held by it before the 5th of June, 1967. It is an essential condition for a just and peaceful solution of the conflict in the Near East and of the Palestinian question and would ensure the independence and sovereignty of the countries in this area. The representatives of both parties hold the opinion that the main danger to peace in Europe arises from the expansionist militarist policy of the ruling circles in West Germany, who are closely integrated in the global strategy of the United States. The Communist Party of Israel highly estimates the consistent anti-imperialist stand, aiming to safeguard peace, taken by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic in face of aggression in the Near East, and it expresses its solidarity with their struggle against the neo-Nazi development in West Germany.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany highly values the valiant struggle of the Communist Party of Israel - the only

Party in Israel which leads a policy compatible most deeply with the interests of the people of Israel and with the proletarian internationalism and expresses its full solidarity with the Communist Party of Israel.

The representatives of both parties greet the intended convocation of the preparatory meeting of the representatives of Communist and Workers parties in Budapest in anticipation of the international consultation of the Communist Movement.

The talk was held in a hearty atmosphere of brotherhood.

(C) Talks between League of Communists of Yugoslavia
and Communist Party of Israel

Comrade Meir Vilner, Secretary, Politbureau C.C., C.P. of Israel, and Comrade Emile Touma, member C.C., C.P. of Israel arrived on 22.1.1968 to Belgrade as guests of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The delegation of the C.C., C.P. of Israel arrived upon the invitation of the C.C. of the C.L.Y. The Yugoslav press covered the visit of the representatives of the C.C., C.P. of Israel and reported on their visit to various establishment in and around Belgrade.

Comradely talks were held between representatives of the two fraternal parties.

"BORBA", the organ of the C.C., League of Communists of Yugoslavia, published on 26.1.1968, the following communique which we publish herewith in full:

On the invitation of the Central Committee of the CLY a delegation of the Communist Party of Israel, headed by the Secretary of the Politbureau, Meir Vilner, visited Yugoslavia between January 22 and 25 of this year. Emile Touma, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, was the second member of the delegation.

The Yugoslav delegation which participated in the talks with the delegation of the Communist Party of Israel was headed by Mijalko Todorovic, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the CLY. The other members of the delegation were Nijaz Dizdarevic, member of the EX CC CLY, Ilija Rajacic, member of the CC CLY, and Luka Soldic, deputy to the Head of the International Relations Department of the CC CLY.

The representatives of the CLY informed the representatives of the CP of Israel about the development of the social and

economic reform in our country and the reorganisation of the Communist League. The representatives of the Communist Party of Israel spoke about the situation in their country and the activities of their Party. The two delegations exchanged views on the situation and problems in the international workers' and communist movements.

The two delegations in particular discussed the situation in the Near East. It was found that there was identity of opinions of the two parties on the causes of the crisis in the Near East and the ways towards its solution. The Israeli military aggression was condemned and support was expressed for the demand of withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories without delay. The two parties consider that the occupation of the Arab territories prolongs a situation full of dangers of further outbreaks. On the other hand, the trend in the Arab countries towards a political solution of the crisis was welcomed. The main obstacle to such a solution lies in the policy of dictate from positions of strength exercised by the Israeli government and supported by the leading circles of USA. It was also emphasised that the evacuation of the Israeli troops is a pre-condition for a durable, peaceful solution of the existing problems in the Near East. The Resolution of the Security Council of UNO provides possibilities and frameworks for further efforts in this direction.

Within the framework of the discussion on the Near East, the two delegations also exchanged views on the situation in the Mediterranean.

During their visit to Yugoslavia, the delegation of the Communist Party of Israel visited several workers' organizations and cultural institutions in Belgrade and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and held talks with the representatives of the workers' collectives of the CL of Serbia and Vojvodina. During these talks the representatives of the CP of Israel showed special interest in the problems of the relations between nationalities and self-management of workers and social bodies.

With this visit of the representatives of the CP of Israel the future cooperation between the two Parties has been established.

(d) S. KHAMIS, Member Politbureau C.C. of C.P.
of Israel meets LUIGI LONGO, General Secretary
of Italian Communist Party and other leaders

UNITA of 25.1.1968, organ of the Italian Communist Party
published the following:

Comrade Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party met on January 24th with comrade Saliba Khamis, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel. Comrade Carlo Galluzzi and Ugo Pechioli, members Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party participated in the meeting, which took place in atmosphere fraternal and friendship. During the conversations on present problems of the struggle for peace in the Mediterranean Area were examined as well as questions concerning the unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

Comrade Luigi Longo expressed to Comrade S. Khamis appreciation of the Italian Communists for the courageous struggle of the Communist Party of Israel carrying on against imperialism and against every expansionist tendency, for peace and friendship between Israel and the Arab peoples. Furthermore Comrade Longo expressed the most fraternal solidarity of the Italian Communist Party with the Israeli comrades subjected to heavy persecutions by the reactionary forces of Israel.

* * *

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STATE BUDGET OF ISRAEL FOR

1968/69

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The Israeli State Budget for the year 1968/69, beginning March 1st, which was presented to the Knesset lately by Minister of Finance, Pinhas SAPIR, is influenced to a great extent by the June war and the occupation of foreign territories. Of the 5.9 billion Lira-Budget (1.7 billion Dollar) as much as IL 2.4 billion or 36.5% are officially spent on "security budgets, special funds etc." (1966/67 - 25.7%; 1967/68 original budget + additional budget after the war - 29.6% of the overall budget).

The natural outcome of the increase of military expenses to over a third of the budget is, the reduction of allocations to be spent on housing, erecting schools and hospitals, developing industry and agriculture or on social welfare.

Not only the growth of the military expenses by 22%, but also the rate of payments on debts and interests is growing rapidly. The state-debts were for 1962 - IL 3.2 billion, 1966 - 6.4 billion, 1967 - 7.3 billion. According to official figures the debts will increase until the end of March this year to IL 9.4 billion, e.g. during the one year - the year of war - the debts increased by more than IL 2.1 billion! This enormous amount of debts reaches nearly the Gross National Income (in the meaning of capitalist economy-standards). This means, that nearly the whole of the Israeli economy is mortgaged to the different debttees. The increase of 2.1 billion in state-debts was caused mainly by the war expenses and the devaluation of the Israeli Lira in November last. The devaluation alone counts for IL 750 million of the increase.

Of the amount of IL 9.4 billion, IL 4.9 are foreign debts to be paid mainly in US dollars.

While in the current year (1967/68) the state pays back debts to the amount of IL 750 millions on capital and interests, these payments will increase during the next year to IL 850 million, or 15% of the overall budget. The payments on account of foreign debts to be paid in dollars increased from IL 350 million during the current year to IL 470 million next year.

The state budget in Israel is mainly built on revenue from direct and indirect taxes, loans and credit. The direct taxes amount to 53% of all revenue from taxes. The income tax is estimated to be divided to 44.7% from wage-earners, 29% from enterprises and 4.1% from taxes on income from interests. But

the real revenue does not stand up to the estimate. So, for instance, in the year 1966/67, the estimated division for income tax payments was given as 41% from wage-earners and 25.4% from enterprises. But, when the accounts were made at the end of the year, they showed, that part of the revenue on income-tax cashed from wage-earners was 50.3% of all income-tax payments and from the enterprises only 18.5%.

A budget of which more than a third is spent on military expenditure and 15% on paying debts, little is left for the benefit of the people. So, compared with the current year's budget, social benefits from the National Insurance (old-age pension, accidents at work, benefits for large families etc.) will be cut by 30%, the subsidies for lowering prices by 19%, the financial help to the municipalities is cut by 20%, the budget for means to fight road-accidents by 41% etc.etc. There are nearly no funds left for new hospitals.

The budget for education is cut from IL 467 million this year to 351 million the coming financial year - a cut by 24%. The budget for the Ministry of Health is cut by 25% from 166 million to 123 million, for the Ministry of Welfare by 25%.

Like every year, the budget for 1968/69 too is represented as "balanced" with the help of large-scale internal and external loans and even by "printing more money", e.g. it is in reality an unbalanced budget. This, together with the enormous military expenditures will, without doubts, give rise to increased inflatory pressures and may well make it necessary for the government to decide on a new devaluation of the Israeli Lira.

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TAWFIO TOUBI IN KNESSET ON STATE BUDGET:

A BUDGET OF WAR, TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE WORKERS
.....
AND IN THE SERVICE OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL
.....

(Speech delivered by Member of Knesset Tawfiq Toubi
on 9.1.1968, during the debate on the State Budget
1968/69)

At the opening of my address I should like to point out to the dangerous process of diminishing parliamentary control of the budget. I do not mean only the exemption of the security budget from being presented to the Knesset. The Knesset is only asked to approve of a broad general framework, within which the government in general - and the Minister of Finance in particular

- will act in a manner more unrestricted than they used to act a year or two years ago. The fact that the Knesset is not required this year to approve revenue; the fact that the government decides at its will to delete this expenditure or another, although the expenditure is laid down in the budget - these facts point out, that parliament's authority to lay down the budget and to control it is becoming a matter of mere formality. This fact constitutes a disrespect of the Knesset, and whoever attaches importance to preserving this democratic institution is bound to stand up against this trend.

Upon presenting the new budget to the Knesset the official propaganda mouthpieces were mobilized to embellish in the eyes of public opinion the numerous negative aspects of this budget and to sugar coat up the bitter pills, which the population is forced to swallow on account of the anti-popular economic policy, that serves the big capitalists, and on account of the policy of force and war pursued by the government.

Upon the presentation of the budget to the Knesset the press brought big headlines, according to which the budget bill for the year 1968/69 was less than that of the preceding year - 5.9 milliards Israeli Liras as compared with 6 milliards IL. The original budget for 1967/68, however, was 5.13 milliards IL, and it was only the additional budgets, adopted following the June war, that brought it up to 6 milliards... Do you have any guarantee, that the Minister of Finance will not present during this year additional budget bills that will turn everything upside down?

One more observation is warranted here. The influence of the size of the budget and of its continued increase in an unproductive and inflationary manner, should be judged by comparison with several preceding years. The budget of 1968/69 grew by 40 per cent as compared with that of 1965/66, whereas the national income grew during the same period from 8.4 milliards IL to 9.6 milliards IL, i.e. by 14 per cent only, and the national produce even fell by 0.3 per cent, from 11.73 milliards to 11.7. This growth of the budget is wholly unproportional to the growth of production and of economic development; it is a growth, that pushes the country to lean heavier on foreign sources and to expose itself to increased economic dependency and to inflationary pressures.

TAXES AND WAGES

The Finance Minister's mouthpieces exaggerated the reductions introduced in various rates of the income tax as well as the abolition of the absorption loan. (Absorption of new immig-

rants) They try to create the impression, that this will improve the lot of the toiling masses. Their arguments do not hold true, however. The truth is, that the main tax reductions are in favour of the capitalists; the truth is, that considerable strata of the working class were badly hit, and that there was even a decline in their real income as a result of the economic crisis that hit the Israeli economy, as a result of the unemployment and the additional tax burden, that was imposed this year upon the population following the war.

The monthly wages average in June 1966, for instance was 576 IL. In June 1967 it was already down by 8.2% and reached 534 IL. In agriculture the wages went down from 348 IL to 287 IL, i.e. by 17.5%. In the building industry the average wages went down from 592 IL to 459 IL, i.e. by 22.2%. These are the official figures of the Central Bureau of Statistics.

The unemployment hit, and will continue to hit, tens of thousands of toilers; there was and there will be a rise of prices; the devaluation already hit and will continue to hit the real income of the toiling masses. The workers heard with bitterness the message delivered to them by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Sapir, upon presenting the budget, according to which the wages and the social benefits will be "frozen" until 1970. The budget bill heralds a decline in the standard of social services as a result of big curtailments in their respective budgets. This is a budget bill, that heralds evil for the working class and points out to a renewed attack on the standard of life of the workers and the middle class. All this is done in favour of the capitalists, to whom fat profits are secured, and in favour of the war god, on whose altar big and dear sacrifices are offered.

We are sure that the working class will stand up for the defense of its living standard and its rights in the face of the renewed attack heralded by the Finance Minister, Mr. Sapir, upon presenting the new budget bill.

WAR BUDGET

What are the other characteristic features of the new budget bill presented to us? It is a budget distinguished by the vertiginous and unprecedented increase of the military expenditure, which turns the state budget into a war budget and strengthens the militarization of the economy. The official allotment to the Defense Ministry, and besides that the special budgets as well as special and general reserves (sections which are considered as expenditure for military purposes), will reach this year 2,245 millions IL, i.e. 36.5% of the total budget, as compared with 1,417 millions IL (or 26.3%), that were allotted originally

in the year of 1967/68.

The military expenditure proposed for the coming year, which amounts according to the Minister of Finance to two thirds of all the tax payments, has not only absorbed the special addition, that was added this year following the June war and became a permanent part of the budget, but even outpasses all the allocations - normal and emergency - of last year by 400 million IL. This means not only the inflation of the budget to unprecedented dimensions, but also the reduction of the social services and development budgets, a damage to the productive nature of the economy, and the deepening of Israel's dependency on foreign forces, and especially on the United States.

The national income will reach in 1968, according to the official forecast, 10.5 milliard IL. Thus the military expenditure will amount to 22.5% of the national income - a phenomenon unprecedented as well as in other countries.

This is, of course, a reflection of the policy of force, aimed at "detering" the neighbouring countries, policy of violating other peoples' rights, of alignment with the interests of American imperialism, of that policy, which precipitated the aggressive war, the occupation and the perpetuation of enmity.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The enormous growth in military expenditure, which undermines the foundations of the economy, came precisely as a consequence of the war, that war, which allegedly strengthened Israel's security, as alleged many times by the government's spokesmen. The truth, however, becomes apparent from the enormous growth in military expenditure: precisely following the June war there was created a new situation, which undermines the security and defers peace, and this in spite of conquests and annexations. All this testifies to the fact that the government's policy, far from increasing security, plunges Israel into great dangers, puts a destructive security burden on the country, hits the living standard of the masses and lowers continually the standard of the social services.

The government's spokesmen try to console the toiling masses and especially the unemployed, by arguing that a considerable part of the enormous growth in military expenditure will ultimately go to the development of the military industry, which is supposed to absorb eventually a considerable part of the new manpower and of the unemployed. The Minister of Finance, Mr. P. Sapir, told us in his address, that 15,000 additional labourers were absorbed in the period of May-December 1967 in the industry, and especially in the military one. However, this unsound preference, given to the development of the military industry will

not solve the problem of unemployment in the long run.

In spite of the activation of the economy by means of developing the military industry there were still some 30,000 unemployed registered in the labour exchanges in December 1967. Even if all the minister's forecasts will come true and 40,000 working hands will be absorbed by the economy in 1968 (30,000 out of which constitute the growth in manpower), there will still be left some 25,000 registered in labour exchanges. This means, that there will be actually 50,000 unengaged people, at least.

The increased militarization of the economy is bound to bring about structural changes in the economy, that will not only deepen the dependency on foreign factors (i.e. on American imperialism) and will pauperize the masses by maximum direct and indirect taxation, but will also hit the development of productive branches and engender inflation and new economic crisis.

POLITICALLY THE MILITARIST ECONOMY CREATES ADDITIONAL FORCES AND FACTORS, WHICH COUNTERACT THE TRANSITION TO A PEACE POLICY AND FEEDS MORE AND MORE THE POLICY OF FORCE AND WAR SO COMPLETELY contradicting the best economic and national interests of Israel.

CURTAILMENTS IN WELFARE, EDUCATION AND HEALTH SERVICES

Another characteristic feature of the new budget bill is the drastic curtailment in the allocations for social services, i.e. for the ministries of education, of welfare and of health. Whereas the military expenditure grew by more than 20% and the budget of the Ministry of Police by 15%, the budget of the Ministry of Education was curtailed by more than 24%, that of the Ministry of Welfare by more than 25%, and that of the Ministry of Health likewise. The budget of these three ministries altogether were curtailed by more than 173 million IL, as compared with 1967/68. The budget for social services - for housing, education, health, social welfare, social insurance, municipal and other social services were curtailed by 361 million IL, and their share in the total budget went down from 26.5% to 21%. The argument that certain services for new immigrants have been transferred to the Jewish Agency cannot cover up the heavy damage that will be done by these drastic curtailments. This is of course the price paid for the policy of war and conquests, that renders fabulous profits to the capitalists and hits more and more the living standard of the masses.

Another feature of this year's budget - the curtailment of the development budget by 500 million IL - will damage the development of the productive forces and will hamper economic progress. Even when the curtailments will have been put into

effect the development budget will not tend to be used for developing the economy by the state's potential itself, and instead it will go to encouragement of capital investments, to the allocation of additional grants amounting to millions of Liras, and to securing fat profits to banks, investors and big foreign and local capitalists. Let it suffice to state, that this year alone 1967/68, 311 million IL, i.e. 20% of the development budget, were allocated as grants and loans to investors under the "Encouragement of Capital Investment Act". In this year's budget bill, too, we find again the sections supporting capital, and some paradoxical sections, like that one, which speaks about allocating 2.5 million IL to the spinneries for the purpose of... lowering production. And this is supposed to be development!!

SNEEZING AND PNEUMONIA

One of the most negative aspects of the budget is the growth in the budget of the income from foreign and local loans, from foreign aid, from advance payments by the Bank of Israel, all of which are nothing but coinage of additional money and encouragement of inflation.

The internal and foreign debts of the state, whose rate will grow by leaps and bounds this year, too, will be a very heavy burden on the Israeli tax payer (he will have to repay these debts) and will increase the dependency of the Israeli economy on foreign capital and on imperialist policy. If the state debts will reach 9.3 milliard IL at the end of the fiscal year it means an increase of 2.1 milliard IL within one year. The increasing political and economic dependency generated by the present official policy pushes back economic independence by a further step and harbours great social, political and economic dangers for Israel. The already feared repercussions of the Johnson plan on the Israeli economy harbour future dangers of continued and increased dependency on that US economy, which is not immune itself - as demonstrated by the Johnson plan - to retreats and crisis. We are approaching a situation, that whenever the US economy sneezes the Israeli economy contracts pneumonia.

This means, that in March 1968 the state debts will be 3,400 IL per capita, as compared with 2,000 IL per capita at the end of 1967.

Israeli economists are becoming afraid of the Johnson plan, which calls for curtailing the Dollar exports. They are afraid, that this plan will bring a decline in investments and tourism from the USA. It becomes obvious, that the US economy is not immune to crisis, and Israel is totally dependent on this economy.

OUTRAGEOUS DISCRIMINATION

We cannot refrain in this debate from pointing out to the discrimination of the Arab population, that finds its expression in this budget. This discrimination stands out in every sphere of life: in the shortage development of Arab agriculture and industry, of municipal services. There is a decline in the number of Arab workers permanently employed in industry, while the number of unskilled Arab workers in agriculture, in services and in the building industry is in the increase. This is a testimony to the discrimination of the Arab population. The scourge of unemployment, which became lately the lot of the Israeli working class as a whole, hit the Arab workers with particular strength, and the Arab village lives nowadays in the shadow of mass unemployment and of economic plight. It is a remarkable fact, that during all these years there was not built a single enterprise in the Arab regions of Israel in order to absorb Arab workers. In this instance it is worth while mentioning, that the only factory in Nazareth, a cigarette factory, which had been existing from mandatory times, was forced to close down last year after a prolonged agony.

Is it not a certificate of poverty to the government's policy, that the development budget for the Arab village - as part of the general agricultural development budget - has gone down from 1.8 million IL in 1965/66 to 1.5 million IL in 1966/67, to 0.5 million IL in 1967/68, and again to 0.5 million IL in 1968/69? This negligible sum amounts to not more than 0.8% of the total agricultural development budget? (By the way: the agricultural development budget as a whole has gone down steeply - from 145 million IL to 64.6 million IL.) The unreality of this small sum allocated to the development of Arab agriculture stands out particularly in face of the fact, that the agricultural production in the Arab villages of Israel amounts to 6% of the total agricultural production in Israel. The Arab rural population, aided by its own local councils, makes big efforts to develop its villages and shoulders a big burden. The installation of electricity, for instance, in those few Arab villages, that are connected now with electricity, has been carried out almost exclusively by raising funds of their own and by taking loans, for which the local councils pay high interest.

We demand to increase the aid given to the social and economic promotion of the Arab population of Israel, which plays an important role in the economic life of the country.

WHAT IS NEEDED IS A DIFFERENT BUDGET AND A DIFFERENT POLICY

Honourable Knesset, the budgetary policy grows out from the social system and its politics. Our Communist Party has

always pointed out to a different budgetary way, to an alternative, that would promote the economic development and raise the standard of living. This way, however, is first and foremost a different political way, a political alternative.

A policy of peace and respect for the rights of the Arab Palestinian people and of the other Arab peoples, the abandonment of policy of force and the policy of "established facts", which lead to a most dangerous perpetuation of enmity and war - such a peace policy will free enormous resources for development, for raising the living standard and for fruitful economic and social collaboration with the Arab peoples.

A policy of peace and independence from imperialism would also create the network of new and different economic relations with the Asian and African countries and with the socialist states, and this would be in favour of the economic and national independence of Israel, in favour of its economic development and in favour of raising the living standard of its population.

Honourable Knesset, summing up our opinion on the budget bill I would like to say, that this budget is an expression of a policy opposed to the real national interests of Israel, of a policy perpetuating war and enmity towards the Arab peoples, a policy of dependence on imperialism and foreign capital, of an anti-popular policy favouring the big monopolies and local and foreign big capitalists and discriminating the toiling masses. It is a war budget, that contradicts the interests of peace and security; it is an inflationary and deficitary budget, that spells another devaluation to the detriment of the masses; this budget is actually a pump, that draws from the perspiration of the toiling masses and from their efforts and transfers them to the pockets of big capitalists in the form of grants, unpaid loans, interest and 101 more forms. It is a budget, that pushes Israel far from economic independence, deepens its dependence on foreign capital and harbours additional deprivations for the masses of toilers.

(End of speech)

COMMUNIST FACTION VOTES AGAINST BUDGET BILL

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The debate on the Budget Bill (first reading) was concluded in the Knesset on 22.1.1968. The Communist deputies voted against the budget bill. S. MIKUNIS, absented himself from the Knesset on the day of the voting apparently in order not to vote against the budget and its military allocations which he referred to in his speech as necessitated by the... defensive(!) needs of the country!

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(Excerpts of an article by A. GAT in ZO HADEREKH)

THOSE WHO REPEL WILD OVERGROWTH

Seven months have passed since the war of 5th June. These seven months could not but leave their imprint also on Israeli society. Immediately after the end of war chauvinistic moods prevailed on the public viz "we and nobody else", "we achieved victory and that is enough". But when two or three months elapsed and the first shock subsided, new voices in the country were heard - sobre and noble voices.

Against Historiosophy

In the articles of the poets of conscience strong reservation regarding the programme of the movement for "Israel whole and undivided" and other similar movements becomes very prominent. It may well be asserted that just the performances of artists, writers and public figures applauding annexations of the occupied territories have revealed to the poets of conscience the dangers latent in the continuation of occupation and the prevalence of chauvinistic moods. Almost all the poets of conscience depict with deep perturbation the historiosophic reasons upheld by the zealots of occupations and annexations and they condemn them as unpractical and unmoral. AMOS OZ wrote: "The questions of the historical frontiers of Israel is an accepted lie from the beginning to the end. The frontiers of the "old states of Israel were subject to incessant changes."

The delusionary conceptions regarding the "historical message" which calls, so to speak, for the occupation of Israel as a whole are devoid of any logic and as BOAZ EVRON retorted (YEDIOTH AHRONOTH of 29.9.67) the term "historical verdict" conceals the assumption that history is a personality capable of delivering judgments and orders. It is an utterly unfounded hypothesis! All such high flown words have one object: to prevent us from contemplating our way with our best understanding and logic. One side of such state of mind is moral deterioration, the second is contempt of other fellow-men and nationalistic self exaltation. SHULAMIT HAR-EVEN had aptly portrayed this (HA'ARETZ of 13.10.67):

"What are we doing now? We express many unreliable opinions, exaggerate pseudo-historical myths which were never considered as historical, we imagine that they shall act according to our will (an acceptable infantile fantasy that all the world shall fulfill your orders) and worst of all, refuse, for the sake of any practical object, to admit the existence of

hundred thousand of such people. Arabs, nothing of the sort! According to Rabbi Goren even Omar Mosque was not existent until he was supplied with spectacles."

Occupied and not-liberated territories

Most poets and writers who launch their onslaughts against the use of myths and dubious historical lessons, do also launch their onslaught against the term "liberated territories" which is acceptable among many circles as a substitute for the term "occupied territories". For the term "liberated territories" does in fact embody the very essence of the ideology of annexation. You liberate only what was occupied or taken from you in the past.

AMOS OZ stated in his article: "There is no enslaved area and there is no liberation of areas. There are enslaved people, only to human beings there is a sense for the word "liberation". We have not liberated Hebron, Ramallah and Al-Arish nor have we rescued their inhabitants."

S. IZHAR pointed out: "There is many talk nowadays about "territories" and about what may be done for them whilst everybody knows that there are no territories but people. It is easier to talk about annexation of territories and less easy to talk about annexation of people."

To shift the emphasis from territories to people is principally important when we come to estimate anything concerning occupation. About people it is impossible to say that they used to belong to you in the past and that you decided now "to liberate" them. But even the most chauvinistic among the knights of annexations would hesitate to seriously use of the concept of "liberated Arabs" because he would then be obliged to explain what he liberated them from. From themselves?

There are also among men of conscience who sense that the term "liberated territories" has a non too far historical echo. ALIZA LOEWENBERG wrote in LAMERHAV of 14.12.67 that "the very concept (liberated territories) was borrowed from the special word treasury of fascism. Far be it from me to content that there is here more than terminological borrowing and it may be very possible that this thing was made unwittingly but we should not ignore the similarity... I see in the concept "the liberated territories" also an attempt - perhaps a subconscious one - to create an atmosphere in which we may not examine our moral right to occupy such territories at any price."

Do we purchase an area by potential occupation?

The poets of conscience show in their articles how the reliance on "historical territories" and "historical frontiers" would lead to chauvinistic state of mind and to nationalist self-exaltation. When talking about those who stand for a "one and whole country" URI IZHAR wrote in LAMERHAV of 15.12.67:

"Though absurdity is great but dangers lurk underneath: chauvinism and self-glorification, the loss of ability of judgement and contemplation, the distortion of history etc..."

S. IZHAR submitted in connection therewith some pungent questions: "Do we purchase lands by potential occupation? The problem is not that nothing of the sort had ever happened and that such thing was not done at any time - in case we occupy territories can we preserve our harmless look and human uprightness?"

Men of spirit are very worried for the character of the nation, for the character of the young generation, for its "human uprightness" and thus they are alarmed at the spread of nationalism. ITZHAK ORPAZ hinted on the above (HA'ARETZ 8.9.67): "We are apt to emerge from this period crippled and deformed. I am alarmed from such presence (in the occupied territories) and so many years should pass before we shall be able to free ourselves from the fat of the mystical messianic high flown phraseology."

LIVING IN BROTHERHOOD

The poets who come against the slogans of annexation and liberation are mostly united in their opinion that the Palestinian Arabs have the same measure of right for their country as the Jews living in Israel.

"The sacred right of self-determination and of political rebellion should be preserved even to the Arabs" said AMOS OZ. URI IZHAR (LAMERHAV 15.12) had gone even further and said: "There is nobody who can tell what is Palestine for her Arabs. Only they themselves can tell. No Israeli has the right to say that a nation of Palestinian Arabs is non-existent."

But not all the poets choose to talk explicitly on the right of self-determination for the Arabs of Palestine. This is not due to non-recognition of this right. The reason is moral and not political. That is the point of departure of S. IZHAR: "Is it possible to make solutions for people - to do for them and exclude them as if they were non-existent? It is naturally possible to skip them and disregard their will - but not because their will is non-existent. It is also possible to evacuate them and even to supplant them, to castrate their will or to

act as if there were only territories and not men. Simply to come, grab and inherit. But, then, this may called something else which has another kind of logic."

From her human point of departure DALIA RABIKOVITZ (HA'ARETZ 29.9) flagellates all those longing for the "final solution" concerning the Arabs: "One gentleman, suggests a final and sagacious solution of the problem of the Arab population in Yehuda and Shomron (the Hebrew names of the Western Bank of Jordan - the transl.); he would rather transfer all of them, together with their wives and children to the desert of Sinai and to establish for them, together with the Arabs of the Ghaza Strip, an ideal Arab state. The security advantages of this suggestion do not escape my gaze. Alas, I would rather prefer that such state be established subterrenially with three huge ventilation chimneys, one to the North, the second to the South and the third to the side of Mecca, taking into consideration the religious sentiments of the inhabitants."

Even enlightened occupation is an occupation

ITZHAK ORPAZ (HA'ARETZ 8.9.) defined the self-enslavement emanating from occupation when answering those who extol war, occupation and steel: "we are apt to say, for instance, that it may not be fairly compatible with the principle of human responsibility (what obsolete term!) whose source is the recognition of the liberty and sovereignty of man and whose sense (for those of our writers who begin to forget) is that the enslavement of the personal free and patriotic will of 800,000 Arabs is an act that enslaves first of all ourselves, our soul and conscience. As long as there is one slave in the world I am not free even though I may be his master."

To those who, following the example of Orpaz said, that the enslavement of others is self-enslavement the zealots of occupation have answered and continue to answer that the Israel Defense Army is a cultural force of occupation and not just a barbarian one; e.g. there are no dangers of occupation itself.

But such an answer did not persuade many. AMOS OZ wrote: "In as much as the duration of occupation becomes shorter, it would be for our good because even an inevitable occupation is perverting. Enlightened human and liberal occupation is still an occupation! I am alarmed of the quality of seed to be sown in the near future in the hearts of the occupied people and I am alarmed even more for the sown in the heart of the occupying forces.

An echo of the words of A. OZ may be discerned in the words of S. IZHAR: "The logic of every occupying force is cruel

and ruthless. I for myself, would not like to be an occupying conquerer - as I would also not like to be the conquered one."

Why did they took this step?

After we have outlined the attitudes of that group of men of spirit (which is not stable) who embark on attacking occupation and chauvinism, the question may still be asked, what drives these writers, poets and intellectuals, to warn and utter words that are still not popular in our country?

No doubt every one of them have a set of conception of his own and various reasons for his frank talking against the greed of annexation. But in general, it may be asserted, that all of them hold the hypothesis that the Six-Day-War was a just one, which was forced on us in one way or another. That is the reason why they do not argue on the war itself but on its results and its aftermaths, and that is why they do not make appeal for immediate withdrawal from the occupied territories. When they talk about withdrawal they attach it, as is the case with the government, with a peace settlement and even with peace treaty.

Thus, for them the war was a just one, or at least justified. Why do they revolt against some moods in the street and against the knights of annexations? In my opinion they are goaded by the following assumptions:

* Liberty is a supreme and universal asset. Hence, liberty should not be the property of the people of Israel alone, but should apply also to Arabs.

* To be master of someone means to be enslaved - enslaved to the laws of occupation - enslaved to the appetite of annexations etc.

* Human beings are equal and for that reason, people are also equal. No people has the right to say that it is superior to another people and thus we should repel anything that may smell of the concept "we are the chosen people".

* Before you establish ironclad principles try to understand the other side. We are right but they are right too.

* Peace is a supreme aim and thus the basis for peace is not in such frontier or another with the addition of a territory but by the achievement of stable neighbourly relations with the Arab peoples (what we need is peace and not territories - S. Izhar).

In addition to such moral assumptions, the declarations of the knights of annexations, and the hard sensation of lack

of any remedy have perturbed the tranquility of the poets of conscience. S. Izhar gave vent to such sensation by his assertion: "Three wars and no peace in view." With such spirit Dalia Rabikovitz also wrote: "Notwithstanding the victory achieved the open expanses, and the natural alleviation of a threat that was repulsed, a sense of depression is growing and taking hold of the country, and these days more than they resemble the days of Messiah are beginning to show signs of the middle ages."

In fact many things characteristic of the middle ages in the sense of impatience and nationalistic and religious fanaticism are rampant in our days. But these days foretell also the inception of messianic epoch - of another Israel, which shall recognize the rights of others, which shall condemn exalted nationalist attitudes, which shall worry for the education of the young generation and which shall strive for peace and not for territories.

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AMOS KENAN ABOUT THE INJUSTICE DONE

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The journalist AMOS KENAN writes a weekly satirical commentary in the evening paper YEDIOTH AHRONOTH. In one of those commentaries, at January 19th, we read among other things:

"Once, before the war of six days you would have been able to find a Hebrew poet who would drop a tear on the fate of the Arab refugee who was supplanted from his house and land. In this, there was a moral grandeur - the grandeur that you could weep not for yourself only. Nowadays, such poets have dwindled. Nowadays we feel ourself so righteous that nobody pays attention to the injustice perpetrated against the others - because the other one is not right but I am. They do not understand, that just from this moment on they cease to be right, though they continue to be strong!

I am afraid!

It is not likely to be nonchalant, and permeated with egoism when the terrible problem still exists "owing to the guilt of the other side". It is unlikely that a situation prevails when the roar of the just is so strong that it is impossible in this country to dare even to contemplate on self criticism. Read newspapers, go to meetings and you shall see that our good, lovely, enlightened, intellectual, cultured and moral public does not reveal in any manner, even a shadow of a particle of self criticism."

AGAINST THE POLICY OF FREEZING WAGES

.....

(Excerpts from the speech, delivered by comrade
JAMAL MOUSSA at the meeting of the Histadrut
Executive Committee.)

The Executive Committee of the Histadrut (the elected central body of the Trade-Unions), at its plenary meeting on December 31st, 1967, endorsed by a majority votes the proposals of the Histadrut leadership on the wage-policy for the coming two years, whose main feature is the general wage-freeze for those two years.

The delegate of the Communist Party of Israel, Comrade Jamal Moussa told the meeting among other things:

"The wage-policy which was proposed by the leadership of the Alignment, supported by the right-wing, according to the policy of the government and the Minister of Finance, is an infringement on the rights of the employees won in yearlong struggles. Evidently, this policy serves in fact the foreign and Israeli capitalists on account of the living standard of the workers and the toiling masses. The working people are producing all the material wealth in our society, but the anti-working-class politicians accuse exactly the working people for the economic difficulties.

In 1966 the government solemnly declared the policy of restraint, whose aim was, so it was proclaimed, increased production, increased export and healing the economy. The outcome was: dismissal of workers and tens of thousands of unemployed; severe damage to the building-branch; the closing down of factories; slowdown in industrial production and production as a whole, fewer investments, decreased purchasing power; shortened working-week (without compensation) for tens of thousands of workers, which means for them less income, abolition of social attainments, abolition of cost-of-living-allowances; rising production norms on account of the workers' sweat and blood, non-payment of the agreed wage-rise of 3% to many workers - decrease of the living standard of the working people."

Continuing his speech, the Communist delegate told the meeting of the mass unemployment, especially in the villages of the Triangle, the Western Galilee and Nazareth, where 30% of the workers are unemployed. In those places are no sources of income. There are villages where the majority of the adults are workers and in spite of this no labour-exchanges installed. Where exchanges exist, thousands of unemployed workers stand in line and they do not get work on the excuse, that they own a parcel of land of 1-5 dunam (0.1-0.5 hectare), even if they

have to feed a large family. Relief-work is on a very restricted scale. Most of the unemployed do not receive any benefits, or even are not exempted from paying their trade-union fees. At most of these villages are no labour-councils which defend the workers' rights. The Communist group in the Histadrut has appealed in writing to the Arab department (of the Histadrut), the Secretary General A. Becker, and the Executive Committee, but, to our distress, to no avail. Workers waiting to get work at the labour-exchanges are attacked by the police, arrested and brought to court.

The Histadrut's duty is to defend the interests of its members, the working people, and head their struggle. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to participate the rank-and-file, the workers, the workers' committees, the local workers' councils and the trade-unions in the discussions over the collective wage-agreements and the wage-policy.

J. Moussa closed his speech saying: "We are sure that the working people will not accept the policy of wage-freeze and will fight for the fulfilment of their demands. The right way to go is changing basically the government's policy, the cessation of supporting the imperialists' aggressive aims; for developing the Israeli economy under conditions of peace and justice.

The Communist group proposed the following resolutions (which were rejected by the majority):

- 1) Renewal of the wage-agreements once a year (instead of every second year).
- 2) Wage-rise, especially in production branches, by 10-20%.
- 3) Full payment of c.o.l.-allowances and reckoning it once in six months.
- 4) To better the social conditions of the workers.
- 5) Stop the dismissal of workers and fight for full employment; introduction of a bill for unemployment benefits.
- 6) Equal rights for Jewish and Arab workers, opening of labour-exchanges to all Arab workers in need of it; relief-work or unemployment benefits and exemption from payment of trade-union fees for unemployed; equal wages and social conditions for Arab workers and the installment of labour-councils in Arab settlements.
- 7) Defence of the freedom to strike and for professional struggle of the workers.

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THE 9th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST
LEAGUE OF ISRAEL TO BE HELD IN TEL-AVIV

ON 18 - 20.4.1968

.....

In its last plenary session, held in January 1968, the Central Committee of the YCL of Israel had discussed and approved the pre-congress theses to be submitted for discussion to the district and local organizations of the YCLI.

The theses include:

- The YCL of Israel between two congresses.
- The situation of the working youth in Israel.
- Problems of education in Israel.
- Problems of the young generation in Israel.
- Youth organizations in Israel.
- The programme of the YCL of Israel.

The C.C. of the YCL of Israel had decided to convene the 9th National Congress in Tel-Aviv on the 18-20 of April, 1968.

The C.C. had pointed that the main tasks of the congress will be to study and discuss the means for:

1) Strengthening the struggle for the liquidation of the consequences of the aggressive war launched by Israeli ruling circles in coordination with US imperialism against the Arab countries and for a peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict, based upon the mutual recognition of the just national rights of the people of Israel and the Arab people of Palestine.

2) Mobilizing the Israeli youth, Jews and Arabs, in the fight against unemployment, for better living conditions, for their right to work and study and lead a decent life and a better future.

3) Gaining new members to the ranks of the YCLI so that it will be able to cope more successfully with its tasks.

The Central Committee issued an appeal to all members of the YCLI calling upon them to do everything possible to ensure the full success of the congress, which will no doubt be an important event in the life of the YCL of Israel. The appeal stresses that, preparations to the congress should be combined with more intense efforts for rallying the masses of the youth in the fight for peace, against the aggressive policy of the Israeli ruling circles, for democracy and better future for youth in Israel.

* * *

NEW ORGANIZATION OF ANTI-NAZI FIGHTERS FOUNDED
.....

At the 23rd of January, 1968, the "Israeli Organization of Anti-Hitlerite-War Fighters and Victims of Nazism" was founded in Tel-Aviv. At a public constitutional meeting over 150 delegates from all over the country took part. Most of them took active part in World War II at different fronts, in the Soviet Army, the British Army, as partisans or in Ghetto-uprisings, others were imprisoned in concentration camps or were active in underground organizations during the Hitler-occupation of Europe.

The meeting was headed by Dr. Michael PERLMANN, a fighter in the struggle against fascism in Spain.

The meeting endorsed an appeal to the Israeli public and elected a constituent committee of 20 members. In the appeal, the public is called upon to take an active part in the struggle against the danger of growing Nazism in Western Germany, which develops into an acute danger to world peace, and against the criminal ties of friendship between the Israeli ruling circles and the Nazis and warmongers in Bonn.

The speakers, who addressed the meeting, Dr. M. Perlmann, A. Neumann, M. Katz and H. Lebrecht, warned about the acute danger springing from the growing Nazism in Western Germany. Using actual facts, they proved, that those dangers do not spring from the widely publicized new Nazi-party NPD and the new "Fuehrer", Adolf von Thadden only, but not less - if even not more - from the veteran Nazis, who bear a democratic manner at the surface and hold high positions in the Bonn government apparatus.

Stressing the solidarity with the masses, who fight in Germany against the rising Nazism and the dangerous emergency-laws, the speakers pointed to the danger of an atomic war, springing from Bonn, which endanger the whole world. The speakers pointed to the relations between revanchism and militarism in Bonn and the events in Vietnam and the Middle East. The speakers attacked the aggression and brutality, which are the weapons of the imperialists and their lackeys against the people fighting for the freedom and independence and pointed to the overall help extended by the Bonn government to these imperialists and their lackeys.

* * *

THE DEPORTATION OF NAIM EL-ASHHAB PREVENTED

In the wake of public pressure, the widespread publications, the broad activities of the Communist Knesset-Members and the attorneys who defended the Communist from Eastern (occupied) Jerusalem, Naim El-Ashhab, the representatives of the government were forced to declare before High Court of Justice, that for the time being they do not consider to deport Naim El-Ashhab over the borders. At the request of the lawyers, Hanna Naqqara and Felicia Langer, and according to the rule of the High Court of Justice, the government is bound, in case it will eventually deport N. El-Ashhab, to announce this to the above lawyers one week in advance in order to enable them to appeal to the court again.

At the proceedings of the High Court of Justice in this case, which took place on January 31st, the deputy state attorney, Bar-Sela, declared that the government administration does not consider for the time being the deportation of N. El-Ashhab and that he is arrested under an administrative order (according to the British Mandatory Emergency Regulations of 1945). The order expires at February 7th.

The attorneys of Naim El-Ashhab opposed the expression "for the time being", which may be an opening for a future deportation. On the attorneys request and with the consent of the state-attorney, the court ruled that the government or its representative are bound to announce to the attorneys of Naim El-Ashhab a week in advance in case the change their views and want to deport him.

In spite of the opposition of the police and the state attorney the judges ruled, that N. El-Ashhab has not to attend the court inside the arrested defendants enclosure, but may sit freely in the court room.

The court-proceedings were attended by the family of N. El-Ashhab, Knesset-Members T. Toubi and E. Habibi and other people.

* * *

LEVY ESHKOL:

"IF YOU WANT WAR, YOU WILL GET IT..."

"In Israel I met a group of volunteers (from abroad) who were embittered about the war having been over so quickly that they could take no part in it. I told them that it is impossible to build a state once in every three months: Settle permanently here and I promise you - if you want war, you will get it..."

(Levy Eshkol in Montreal, Canada, as cited by AL HAMISHMAR daily, 24.1.1968.)

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