

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

17th CONGRESS OF CP OF ISRAEL

THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IN THE SERVICE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM'S GLOBAL POLICY

The 17th Congress records that in recent years Israel's dependence on American Imperialism has increased.

U.S. policy in the Middle East is shaped by the interests of American monopolists who are plundering the wealth of this region. This policy is aimed at liquidating anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab states, preventing development of the popular movement for national and social emancipation and using the Mediterranean as a springboard against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In order to carry out these predatory plans American imperialism is prepared to sacrifice the Arab and Jewish youth.

Imperialism's failure to accomplish these goals and the weakening of its positions in the world and in our region have forced it to maneuver and, hence, its changing tactics in the Middle East.

Up until the present time, the most important aspect of U.S. policy has been continuation of the aggression in our region which was launched in June 1967 with the aid of the Israeli rulers. American imperialism is using Israel as an effective military and political weapon against the anti-imperialist Arab states, is whipping up the arms race in our region, generously supplying the Israeli rulers with offensive weaponry (Phantom planes, modern, sophisticated weaponry and production of modern weapons in Israel). It opposes all efforts to fulfil Security Council Resolution No. 242 and hinders a political solution of the Middle East crisis.

In order to avoid a further decline of its positions in the Middle East, American imperialism resorts now and then to all manner of trickery masquerading as an intermediary between Israel and the Arab states. By resorting to such trickery and tactical maneuvers American imperialism hopes to bolster the position of its agents and its own influence in the Arab countries in order to stop anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist development there and drive a wedge between these countries and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Relations between the ruling forces of the United States and Isra-

el are determined mainly by their joint positions in the world imperialist struggle against the forces of peace, national independence and socialism. This cooperation found expression in an anti-Communist and anti-Soviet accord. The main element in this cooperation which in effect is a collusion between American imperialism and the Israeli rulers, is American imperialism, while the Israeli rulers connected with it are today more subordinated to it than ever before.

However, acting in the interests of the Israeli bourgeoisie and Zionism, the Israeli rulers from time to time attempt to influence American policy on one or another problem. Nevertheless, the relations between the U.S. and Israeli rulers are basically relations of subordination to the American imperialists who are working in their own interests.

Those who shape Israeli government policy use all their sources of pressure in the United States in order to guide U.S. policy towards an extremely aggressive course, towards aggravation of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Israeli rulers hope that as international tensions increase, American and other imperialists will show a greater interest in Israeli services in the Middle East. In exchange they hope to carry out their own plans, the Zionist plans of territorial expansion with the help of American imperialism.

The Israeli rulers readily serve the American imperialists in many spheres.

First and foremost, the Israeli government is at the service of imperialism in its struggle against the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples and particularly against the anti-imperialist regimes in the Arab countries.

Besides these basic services, the Israeli government offers imperialism its "good services" in other ways, most important of which is the development of economic, military and political contacts with various African, Asian and Latin American countries in the interests of the imperialist countries, basically the United States.

By broadening military-political cooperation with reactionary African rulers the Israeli government hopes that these rulers will support Israel's aggressive policy against the Arab countries. Surprising facts have come to light concerning extensive military ties between Israel and Ethiopia, for instance the visit to Ethiopia in September 1971 of the former chief of the Israeli General Staff Haim Barley, not, as was officially stated, for a vacation, but to cement military cooperation.

Israel's military cooperation with certain African countries is meant as encouragement for the reactionary pro-imperialist forces

Excerpts from Congress resolutions. Other Congress material can be found in the preceding number of the Bulletin.

in African countries in their opposition to the progressive movements. Events have shown, however, that Israel's gains in Africa are temporary because the objective interests of the African states require consolidation of political and economic independence, which, in turn, calls for a policy opposing imperialist plunder and counter-ing imperialist agents in Africa. The collapse of Israel's military, political and economic positions in Uganda is characteristic of the trend of events.

The 17th Congress records that the Israeli government is doing a big service to imperialist policy by its systematic, constant, strident worldwide campaign against the Soviet Union.

For this purpose the Israeli government has brought into play all its political and propaganda means and mass media to fight against communism, and in the first place against the Soviet Union. In the UN the Israeli government occupies the attention of the General Assembly and the various commissions and committees with anti-Soviet diatribes.

Israel's anti-Soviet agitation is also intended to mislead public opinion in our own country, to draw the people's attention away from the urgent problems, the inevitable failure of official policy and Israel's growing isolation on the world scene.

Under the guise of "concern" for Jews in the Soviet Union, the anti-Soviet gathering in Brussels in early 1971 was actually meant to organize an anti-Soviet campaign on a world scale. Its purpose was to divert the attention of world public from the American aggression in Southeast Asia, on the one hand, and the persecution of the Arab population on occupied territory, on the other.

The Israeli government, relying mainly on the support of American imperialism, is ready to serve and does serve other imperialist states too.

FOR A JUST AND STABLE PEACE, FOR RESPECT OF THE PEOPLES' RIGHTS

FOR A JUST AND STABLE PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES

Since the June 1967 war it has become increasingly clear to a large body of Israeli and world public opinion that official Israeli policy aims at annexing territory, forcing a solution by military diktat, abolishing the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, frustrating international peace efforts and preventing implementation of the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution. The government is well aware of the fact that this policy absolutely

rules out the attainment of peace. And if among Israeli politicians in the ruling circles there are some who are ready to claim, lie and swear that all their efforts are directed to achieving peace, there are also others who state openly that they are striving for annexations, although this prevents establishing a just and stable peace between Israel and the Arab states.

Rulers who closely follow the Zionist conception which proclaims occupation and expansion ("living space," according to Moshe Dayan) as one of the tasks, are trying to justify occupation ideologically. They regard every conquest and extension of the boundaries as a stage on the way to establishing domination over all of Palestine.

In view of the change in the balance of forces in the world and in the Middle East and proceeding from the desire of the people of Israel and the Arab countries for peace, and in the light of the proposals of the Soviet Union concerning peace and the constructive stand by Egypt and other Arab states, the Communist Party of Israel again declares to the people of Israel that assertion to the effect that "there is no choice," and that "our lot is eternal war" are absolutely erroneous.

Once again our Party stresses that the bloodshed can be stopped and a just and stable peace established, that the historical opportunity exists to open a new chapter in Israeli-Arab relations. Our Party has exposed the true meaning of the demagogic government declarations "only direct negotiations" and "first of all determine the nature of peace," whose aim is to pile up obstacles on the road to peace. Our Party has told the people the truth that our realistic alternative is either a stable and just peace without annexation or war which could lead Israel to a national catastrophe.

The 17th Congress stressed that a just and stable peace can be established between Israel and the Arab states through fulfilment of all the provisions of the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution which declares that to establish a just and stable peace in the Middle East Israel must withdraw its troops from the areas occupied in June 1967 and both sides must discontinue all speculation concerning the state of war. There must be respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all states in that region and their right to live in peace within the recognized and secure boundaries without being threatened by the use of force. It is also imperative to find a just solution to the problem of refugees and guarantee freedom of navigation on the international waterways in the Middle East.

The peace which could be established through fulfilment of all provisions of the Security Council resolution would be a stable peace based on an agreement signed by both sides and on effective safety guarantees for both sides, such as establishing demilitarized

zones, introducing UN forces, guarantees by the great powers in the Security Council. Such a peace would be a significant step forward towards establishing cooperation and good relations in the future.

The Israeli people's supreme interest is to find a common language with the Arab states and the Arab people of Palestine. The Israeli government's plans for territorial expansion, its refusal to recognize the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine run counter to this national interest. Implementation of the Security Council resolution, leading to a peaceful settlement with the Arab states and making it possible to establish good relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with all the peoples of the world, would serve to establish a peace guaranteeing Israel's security and future.

The 17th Congress appeals to all peace supporters in Israel to do their utmost to bring to reality this historical opportunity of achieving a stable and just peace.

OBSERVING THE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE

For many years the Communist Party of Israel has been working for recognition by Israel of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Events have shown that our Party was correct in its judgment that there can be no just peace in our region and security for the people of Israel without guaranteeing the rights of the Arab people of Palestine parallel with the national rights of the people of Israel.

While the rulers of the state of Israel ignored the very existence of the Arab Palestinians and while various groups relegated to secondary place the problem of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the struggle for their effectuation, the Communist Party of Israel recognized the full importance of this problem, its principled character and significance. It has always struggled for observance of the just rights of the Arab people of Palestine together with the rights of the Jewish population of the country as a condition for the establishment of a just and stable peace.

All these years our Communist Party has been working for a political settlement of the conflict between Israel and the Arab states and a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem based on mutual recognition of the just national rights of both peoples — the Israelis and Palestinians.

The Security Council resolution is a compromise solution unanimously adopted by the Great Powers and other Council members. The resolution takes into account an important aspect of

the problem — the peoples' rights and the international balance of forces with the existence of two world systems — the socialist and the capitalist — and also the balance of forces in our region.

From the point of view of peace and security in the Middle East and the world over and in respect to guaranteeing the rights of the peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine, this is a resolution of positive significance.

For the Arab people of Palestine fulfilment of the Security Council resolution would mean recovery of territory occupied by Israel during the June 1967 war and a just settlement of the problems of the Palestinian Arab refugees by affording them the right to repatriate or to receive compensation in conformity with UN decisions.

Thus, the Security Council resolution greatly facilitates a settlement of the Palestinian problem.

And the Israeli government's stubborn opposition to the implementation of all provisions of the Security Council resolution is certainly not accidental.

Arab circles who are piling up obstructions to fulfilment of the Security Council resolution try to justify themselves by claiming that in this way they are harming the enemies of the Arab people of Palestine. Objectively, however, such action is aiding these enemies in their schemes to perpetuate the occupation and deprive the Palestinian Arabs of their rights.

The Security Council resolution points out that after the resolution has been fully realized all controversial or unresolved issues in relations between nations should be settled peacefully, without resorting to use of force and in the spirit of respect for the just rights of nations.

From a historical point of view, a peaceful solution in our region would depend on progressive changes in the Arab countries and in Israel, on abolishing imperialist positions in the Middle East, which would place all relations on a new basis.

Problems that may arise in the future should be resolved with due consideration for the rights and interests of nations and in conformity with the common interests in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

The Communist Party of Israel believes that the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine is a struggle against imperialism and considers the Arab Palestinian movement to be an anti-imperialist movement. We support the struggle being waged by the Palestinian Arabs against the occupation, for their just and lawful national rights.

At the same time history teaches that the mistakes, erroneous stands and extremist actions of the leadership of the Arab people of Palestine have more than once helped the Zionist leaders and impe-

realists in carrying out their plans against the Arab people of Palestine.

The interests of the Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine, and the interests of the people of Israel comprise the supreme interest in the struggle against imperialism, for freedom, peace and social progress. These require rallying of all nations of our region in the joint effort to assure fulfilment of the Security Council resolution of November 1967. Realization of this resolution would strike a blow at the American imperialists and the Zionist accomplices, it would resolve the problem of the Palestinian Arabs and deliver the neighboring Arab countries from occupation.

Fulfilment of the Security Council resolution would bring peace and security for the Arab peoples and the people of Israel and create more favorable conditions for carrying out progressive social changes in the Middle East countries.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPRESSION

The 17th Congress notes that the five-year long occupation of Arab territories has left its imprint on the entire political and social struggle in the country. The question: "For or against occupation" is in the center of social life in Israel because the prospects of peace largely depend on its resolution. Support of occupation means blocking the way to peace and encouraging the continuation of the war.

The struggle against occupation and for withdrawal of Israeli troops, within the framework of a peaceful settlement, from all regions occupied during the June 1967 war has been the main aspect of our Party's activities in the period between congresses. The struggle against occupation merges with the struggle against the policy of the pro-imperialist government which has turned the state of Israel and its army into a weapon of Washington policymakers employed against the Arab anti-imperialist national liberation movement, against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

American imperialism is taking advantage of the continuing Israeli occupation to force the Arab states to make concessions in their home and foreign policies and to regain its own positions in our area.

The 17th Congress states that the Israeli occupation administration is of a crude colonialist character and is aimed at annexing territory to Israel.

The ruling circles are nurturing plans to fully or at least partially perpetuate the occupation and annex to the state of Israel Arab territory occupied during the June war.

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The settling of occupied regions pursues the explicit political goal to create the prerequisites for their annexation.

The population in the areas captured in the 1967 June war suffers from colonial oppression, severe political and communal terror and brutal economic exploitation. It is deprived of elementary human rights and is subject to the whims of the military authorities. Many people have been jailed or thrown into concentration camps, a great number of houses have been destroyed and human life is the object of military terror. The population in the occupied territories is looked upon as a cheap labor force in carrying out the policy of "faits accomplis" in the area and enriching Israeli and foreign capitalists and other parasites battenning on the war.

Immediately after the June 1967 war, the government instituted brutal reprisals in order to decrease the population on occupied territory and prepare it for annexation. The people who had not left the Golan Heights during the war were banished. Whole villages were demolished on the West bank of the Jordan and the inhabitants forcefully deported to the East bank. Refugees from the Gaza strip were first resettled on the West and later on the East bank of the Jordan. The occupation authorities systematically force the youth, workers and intellectuals to settle on the West bank.

Prior to occupation by Israel there were approximately 1.5 million people living on captured territory. According to figures for 1967 and 1968, 310,000 persons were banished from the Gaza strip and the West bank of the Jordan. Adding the 120,000 persons from the Golan Heights, almost all of whom were forced to leave, the number of people banished and forced to resettle after the June war totals almost half a million.

COLONIAL EXPLOITATION IN OCCUPIED REGIONS

The 17th Congress notes that economically the occupied areas are actually Israeli colonies. Under the system of military administration, the Israeli government has established an economic and colonial regime on occupied territory, whose distinctive characteristics are:

- a) direct exploitation of cheap manpower (in Israeli plants and offices) with indirect exploitation at enterprises on occupied territory;
- b) domination of the internal market;
- c) capital investments in strategically important enterprises and employment of local office personnel;
- d) development of enterprises supplying Israeli enterprises (for the production of agricultural raw materials);
- e) a slight increase in the numbers of the petty bourgeoisie and

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reactionary elements to provide a support base for the occupation forces.

All this is accompanied by direct reprisals and the Zionist policy of settlement.

VIRTUAL ANNEXATION OF OCCUPIED REGIONS

The 17th Congress censures the annexation of the occupied part of Jerusalem as an act at variance with the cause of peace and UN decisions. In the Arab sector of Jerusalem the Israeli authorities systematically exiled political and trade union functionaries, intellectuals and members of the clergy — all who were suspected of opposing annexation to Israel of the city's Arab sector. Under various pretexts scores of homes were demolished in order to force the inhabitants to leave. In Eastern Jerusalem and its environs housing areas and luxurious buildings have been erected for the obvious purpose of Israelizing this region. If the government were truly working for peace it would solve the problem of Jerusalem not by occupying its Arab sector against the will of the population and in violation of UN decisions, but by ending the occupation, reaching a settlement that would give free access to the holy places to members of all religions, and by adopting other joint measures conforming with the wishes of the peoples and states involved.

Since the June war the government has been carrying out a policy of "accomplished facts" elaborated long in advance, and asserting its "perpetual rule" on occupied territory.

On July 13, 1967, Minister Igal Alon proposed his plan of "new boundaries" west of the Jordan River. Known as the Alon plan, it was not officially ratified, but its main provisions are at the basis of the official policy of the government, which is carrying out the plan point by point.

The 17th Congress notes that the establishment of military and civil settlements, the confiscation of land and the strategic building prove that the government is carrying out the idea expressed by Minister Dayan on August 19, 1971: "In the territories under our control we must consider ourselves to be the permanent government." The moves to annex and settle new territories show clearly that the government does not wish to follow the road of a political settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the Security Council resolution. However, the waves of extensive propaganda campaign to prove the Meir government's "thirst for peace" crash against the rocks of facts — territorial annexation and settlement.

STRUGGLE BY THE POPULATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND REPRISALS INSTITUTED BY THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES

In recent years the population in occupied territories has in-

scribed heroic pages in the history of the struggle against Israeli occupation and its consequences, in the history of their struggle for freedom. The struggle was waged in different ways, with men and women, students and teachers, intellectuals and other segments of the people taking part. The Jordanian Communist Party is playing an important role in guiding the struggle against occupation, for a just peace.

The 17th Congress again declares that any nation suffering under the burden of occupation has the full right to fight against occupation, for freedom. The June war, the occupation and all the Israeli government's reprisals against the Arab people of Palestine led certain groups in the Palestine resistance movement to turn to extremist and unrealistic positions and to take irresponsible actions. Such positions and actions have inflicted great damage to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to eliminate the consequences of the June war.

The 17th Congress strongly condemns the cruel reprisals instituted in occupied areas. The history of Israeli rule in occupied regions is drenched in blood and tears. It is a terrible indictment against the Israeli government. It has been proved once again that there can be no "liberal" and humane occupation, that all occupation breeds resistance which in turn, prompts the occupation authorities to resort to terror, reprisals, intimidation and humiliation.

Occupation troops have repeatedly opened fire not only on demonstrators but on ordinary groups of people resulting in victims among women, children and men. Israeli occupation terror is especially brutal in the Gaza Strip.

Thousands of people in the occupied areas have been thrown in jail without trial. On the basis of emergency laws introduced in Palestine by the British, the Israeli occupation authorities have issued instructions for administrative arrest of various individuals representing the intellectuals, Communists and Democrats.

The condemned and those under administrative arrest in the occupied areas are kept in jail under terrible conditions. They are tortured, vengeance is wreaked upon them. The jails are filled to overflowing.

The unbearable prison conditions have repeatedly led to hunger strikes. In October 1969, 6,000 administrative and political prisoners went on a six-day hunger strike. In September 1971 there was a revolt of prisoners in the Mijdal Asklam prison which was brutally suppressed. According to the testimony of the Red Cross representatives 18 prisoners were wounded.

The 17th Congress notes that on numerous occasions the country's democratic forces have expressed their indignation over the

cruel reprisals in the occupied regions. Even soldiers and officers have protested the atrocities committed in the Gaza Strip.

The Congress calls for unity of action of all who oppose the occupation, for more energetic actions to expose the horrors of the occupation regime and to bring this information to the attention of the public in our and other countries.

We must most emphatically condemn the racist colonial character of those who defend the occupation in the name of "national interests," "security," etc.

The 17th Congress once again states that the only possible solution is withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories occupied in June 1967.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION AND THE WORKING PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

The 17th Congress states that the years since the June 1967 war are characterized by Israel's growing economic ties with foreign capital, primarily American, by militarization of the economy and the state budget, greater profits and influence of the bourgeoisie, wider social polarization and aggravation of class contradictions. The economic uplift due to the growth of military production and the occupation of Arab territories not only did not help resolve Israel's basic economic problems, but made them more acute. Dangerous economic trends continued, such as stronger pressure by foreign capital, budget deficit, inflation, rising prices, a growing share of production for military needs, expansion of certain spheres of financial activity and the services at the expense of production branches, etc. The absence of economic exchange with neighboring countries and most of the socialist countries, limited ties with Asian and African countries have affected the structure of economic relations and intensified the ties with the imperialist countries.

MILITARIZATION

Militarization is the key element of the government's economic policy and Israel's economic life. Militarization of Israel's economy has still further disrupted the economic structure, leading to unprecedented growth of state indebtedness, rapid growth of inflation and greater social polarization.

Military expenditures totalling 1.2 billion pounds in 1966 have reached seven billion pounds in 1971. In dollars (at the official rate) this means that if during the ten years preceding the June 1967 war (1957-66) the average military expenditures equalled \$250

million a year, in 1967-69 they increased to \$700 million and rocketed to \$1,500 million in 1970-71.

According to official data, the new delivery of Phantom and Skyhawk planes the United States agreed to sell Israel will cost \$500 million and this enormous sum will be covered by new shackling American loans and new taxes for the people of Israel.

The growth of military expenditures increases their share in the State budget and branches of the economy. If in 1967 military expenditures made up 30 per cent of the State budget and 23 per cent of national production, in 1971 they consumed half of the state budget and comprised 30 per cent of the national production. No other country in the world has to bear such a big burden of military expenditures.

Almost half of Israel's military expenditure goes to purchase foreign weaponry and military equipment, mainly in the United States (planes, rockets, tanks). However, the government, encouraged by the American masters, has the aim of organizing military production at home and on a grand scale at that.

CONSOLIDATING TIES WITH FOREIGN CAPITAL

The 17th Congress states that the financing of military spending which has reached unheard-of proportions as a result of a policy geared to serve American imperialism and also the expansionist policy of the Israeli government has led to consolidation of Israel's ties with foreign state and private capital.

During the three years from 1969-71 \$4.7 billion were brought into Israel; this included \$2.5 billion in foreign loans, \$1.9 billion in money orders from organizations and private individuals and \$0.3 billion in foreign capital investments.

Characteristic of the import of capital is an increase in the share of loans. If in 1968 foreign loans totaled \$400 million, in 1971 they topped the billion dollar mark. As a result Israel's foreign debt is constantly growing. This debt in foreign currency increased from \$1.6 billion at the end of 1967 to \$3.6 billion at the end of 1970, i.e., an increase of 2.25 times in four years. It is estimated that at the end of 1972 this debt will equal \$4.2 billion or \$1,400 for every citizen in the country.

At the end of March 1971 Israel's foreign debt totaled approximately \$700 million to the United States, almost \$200 million to the FRG, more than a billion on the independence and development loan and about \$350 million to foreign companies and banks.

One of the main reasons for the deficit in the balance of payments and the need to make tremendous loans is the outlay of foreign currency for military aims and the import of weapons.

IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS

The 17th Congress notes that the continuing occupation of Arab territories has in recent years aggravated the economic situation of the working class and led to the curtailment of its rights by employers, the government and the Histadrut.

According to the Histadrut Institute of Social and Economic Research, the wages of hired workers earning less than a thousand pounds dropped 3 per cent from 1969 to 1971 and 8-10 per cent for those earning over one thousand pounds. There has been an increase in wages but with the various deductions and taxes (income tax, social security payments, security tax and security loans, accumulation loans) and the growing prices of consumer goods, the real incomes of the working people have dropped tangibly.

In the period from 1969 to 1971 direct taxes and compulsory deductions for social security grew considerably. In 1971 the revenue from direct taxes was 46 per cent higher than in 1970.

In 1970-71 and the beginning of 1972 there was a tremendous increase in the prices of consumer goods and the services. According to official figures, prices on consumer goods went up 15 per cent in 1971 while in 1970 they grew only by 12 per cent. This means that over a period of two years prices went up almost 30 per cent.

The increase in prices affected the basic foodstuffs (milk, meat, canned goods, vegetables), and also clothes, shoes, household appliances, electricity, medical services, personal services, public transport and medical treatment. There was a significant increase in rents. During 1970 the rent in Greater Tel-Aviv went up 30-50 per cent. Even a comparatively broad group of worker-bureaucracy — the regime's social foundation enjoying special privileges — suffered from the drop in real incomes.

The 17th Congress notes that the drop in real incomes of hired workers as a result of deductions has caused a drop in consumption among workers' families. In two years the per capita incomes of the families of workers and government employees went down 10 per cent.

In the beginning of 1971 the National Welfare Organization for the first time released figures concerning poverty in the country. These show that in 1969 132,000 families in towns (520,000 persons) or one-quarter of the urban population, were on the edge of poverty or lived in the worst possible conditions. The poverty problem is first of all a problem of the low-paid category of people, the problem of farm workers, service personnel in the state and private sectors, women workers in industry, unskilled workers, women employees, etc.

The 17th Congress notes that the main reason for the deepening

class exploitation, diminishing real wages and growing poverty in Israel during recent years is the government's policy of continuing the aggression and occupation, which calls for huge military spending and stronger bonds with foreign capital. Therefore, on the solution of urgent social problems, the struggle against the decline of real wages and for their increase is closely bound up with the struggle against the policy of war and occupation, the struggle for peace.

STRENGTHENING THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The 17th Congress points out that during the past three years the class struggle in the country has been growing and broadening. Industrial workers and employees in the services have fought persistently for higher wages, increments to compensate for the high cost of living, improvement of working conditions, against rising prices and high taxes, against dismissals and curtailment of trade union rights.

STRIKES IN 1969-1971

	Number of Full-Scale Strikes	Number of Participants	Work days Lost	Number of Partial Strikes
1969	144	44,500	102,000	30
1970	163	115,000	390,300	64
1971	169	88,500	178,600	58

Partial strikes last less than a full day, full-scale strikes last a full day or more.

The strike movement, therefore, was more powerful in 1970-71 than in 1969. The number of full-scale strikes went up from 144 in 1969 to 163 in 1970 and 169 in 1971. In 1970 there were two nationwide strikes, 250,000 work days were lost as a result of the teachers' and hospital nurses' strike. In 1971, after the authorities had introduced severe measures against strikers (forced detention at work, labor courts), industrial workers and service personnel resorted to other forms of strikes — refusal to work overtime, go-slow strikes, etc. These were not included in the statistics on strikes and for this reason in 1971 a drop was registered in the number of strike participants and the number of days lost through full-scale strikes.

The workers' struggle shows that they are more and more actively opposing the government and employer offensive against their living standards. In 1969, the main demand of 40 per cent of the strikes and more than 50 per cent in 1970 was for higher wages and increments to cover high costs.

Objectively, the struggle for the working people's living standards is inseparably linked with the struggle for peace. The war policy means enrichment for the capitalists and poverty for the working people. It is in the interests of the broad masses to step up the struggle against the government's annexationist policy, for a policy of peace, for democracy and social progress.

AGGRAVATION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social activity in Israel has gained unparalleled scope over the past three years. The social struggle has encompassed the population of slum areas, members of Eastern communities, newlyweds, and the population in the development settlements. The poverty problem has become one of the main problems of Israeli society.

According to data of the Social Welfare Organization every fifth family and every fourth urban dweller lives in poverty or on the edge of poverty. It should be noted that the data concern the lowest limit of the poverty edge — 40 per cent of the calculated income level for a family of four. This makes it obvious that in spite of the government's bombastic talk about a "society of equality" there is no essential difference between the sea of poverty in Israel and the same in the United States.

The signs of poverty in Israel are numerous. Thousands of families live in horrible and crowded conditions in slum areas on the outskirts of cities without any conveniences. Some 120,000 live in the slums of Tel-Aviv and Jaffa, many in dilapidated shanties; the garbage-littered streets are unpaved. More than half the children in Tel-Aviv live in appalling conditions. There are centers of poverty in Jerusalem, Haifa and other cities. The people in these neighborhoods have fought for better housing and normal community services. The government and municipal authorities have announced plans to tear down the shacks, but this is done only when big capital needs ground to build luxurious houses.

Communal discrimination is evident everywhere — in incomes, living conditions, education, social services, opportunities for professional and community services, etc. The slum areas in cities and in "development settlements," where the living standard is below the national average, are ghettos for members of the Asian communities.

It is the youth of the Asian communities that suffers most from discrimination: in the crowded conditions of the slums, living in poverty, attending schools that give less than the required knowledge, and without the opportunities to attend secondary or even vocational schools. The youth feels depressed and unwanted, and realizes that it has been deceived in the Israel of 1970; at an early age it turns to crime.

The 1971 Black Panther movement in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and other cities is really a protest against the oppression, and an attempt to break out of the poverty. The movement was meant to combat communal discrimination and work for better standards in the poverty areas.

The 17th Congress notes that the aggravation of social problems and the greater social polarization are the results of the policy of war and occupation, of allocating the lion's share of the state budget for military expenditures and holding on to the occupied territories. The Congress underlines that the people in the slums and "development settlements," the youth of the Asian communities, the newlyweds and all working people can no longer put up with such conditions, which are being explained away on the pretext of "security." The people demand adequate living standards, better housing and a secure future.

STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONIST IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE IS VITAL NECESSITY FOR PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES

The 17th Congress notes that the change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and against imperialism, the failure of imperialism's military efforts to change the course of historical development in different regions of the world, imperialism's failure in the economic competition with the socialist world system — all this has resulted in the collapse of imperialism's postwar global strategy.

Under such conditions the ideological struggle acquires decisive importance. In the new situation imperialism makes broader use of Zionism as one of its important weapons against the international working-class and national liberation movements.

In recent years Zionism has been used, more regularly than before, to whip up anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns and Zionist organizations are being utilized to create international tension and impede efforts to consolidate peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Through its organizations Zionism is exploiting the sympathy for Jews among progressive circles in various countries following the extermination of six million European Jews by the Nazis. They do so in order to mislead these people about the policy of the Israeli government and the Zionist circles. This is why it is particularly important these days to explain thoroughly the essence of Zionism.

Far from assuring the security of the people of Israel, Zionism exposes them to danger. The Zionist policy prevailing in the state of Israel is a threat to its security and future, pushing the Israeli people to the crater of a volcano, making Israel's fate dependent

on imperialism, and isolating the country from the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union, and from the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting against colonialism, for national and social emancipation.

Therefore, the struggle against Zionist ideology and practice is a national Israeli struggle in the true national interests of the people of Israel, for the common cause of peace, the independence of nations, democracy and socialism.

Zionist ideology and practice are fertile soil for Zionist-fascist parties and societies, resorting to terrorist methods — attacks, arson and intimidation. For this Zionism creates para-military organizations such as the Rabbi Kahane's gang. For tactical reasons the Zionist leaders in Israel, the United States and other countries at times disclaim connection with such organizations. In reality, however, they support and encourage them, and Zionist mass media give extensive publicity to their activities.

The international Zionist movement and its various organizations claim without justifiable grounds that they represent Jews all over the world. But the overwhelming majority of Jews are not involved in the Zionist movement and have no intention of going to Israel. Even with the existence of the state of Israel and all the advantages of emigration financed by Western countries, only an insignificant number of Jews are willing to associate their fate with the state of Israel. More than one-third of the Jews who emigrated to Israel have by now left the country. This leads to the historical conclusion that the Zionist movement was and still is only one, and by far not the all-encompassing one among the Jews of the world—a trend representing the class interests of the big Jewish bourgeoisie which is part of the monopoly capital of the imperialist countries, and the interests of big Israeli capital connected with foreign capital.

Marxism-Leninism, which shows the peoples the way to national and social emancipation, also shows Israel the way to liberation from foreign monopolies and the imperialist states, the way to consolidating Israel's security on the firm foundation of friendship and cooperation with the neighboring Arab countries, with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with the great movement of the peoples against imperialism. It shows Israel the way to socialism.

ZIONISM—THE CENTER OF ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA SERVING IMPERIALISM

The world Communist movement defines the center of gravity in imperialism's global strategy as follows: "The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and

foremost against the socialist countries" (International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, p. 12).

In the struggle against the socialist camp and mainly the Soviet Union, imperialism tries to use all reactionary movements and all the governments dependent on it. This includes Zionist organizations and the Israeli government, which has placed its entire policy and all its mass media at the service of imperialism.

In the struggle against communism the Zionist organizations and the Israeli government are doing imperialism a great service with their anti-Soviet propaganda and anti-Soviet activity. Anti-Soviet propaganda has attained unprecedented proportions in recent years. The Knesset has staged many disgraceful and crude anti-Soviet acts. Anti-Soviet lectures are read to children in schools in order to poison their minds with anti-communist venom and hostility towards the Soviet Union.

The anti-Soviet propaganda of the Israeli government and Zionist leaders is closely linked with the activity of propaganda centers in Washington and other capitals.

The 17th Congress notes that the struggle against Zionism is gaining momentum in step with growing efforts to consolidate all forces regardless of ideological views into a single workers' front, a united democratic front, into the broadest front of peace.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Communist Party of Israel is a Marxist-Leninist Party, a party of Israeli patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party is flesh of the flesh of the working class and has deep historical roots in the life of the Jewish masses. It defends the people and the country from the intrigues of imperialism—Israel's enemy, mankind's enemy—and inside the country from enemies of the people and country connected with imperialism. Our Party consistently expresses the true national interests of Israel and the interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples of our country.

Our Party is a militant and loyal contingent of the world Communist movement, the largest and most powerful movement of our times. It is loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the ideals of peace, freedom of the peoples, and socialism.

The unity of Communist and Workers' parties is an objective necessity. The Communist parties have a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism—and a common goal—socialism and communism—and a common enemy—imperialism. Any party departing from the principles of unity and international solidarity inflicts harm on the world Communist movement in general, to the Party itself and the

working class of its country, and to the true national interests of its people.

Our Communist Party is an independent Israeli party and the ideological and political vanguard of the Israeli working class. Our Party plans its policy and activities on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, suiting it to the concrete conditions of our country.

While we acknowledge once again the necessity for respecting each Party's independence in making its policy and planning its activities on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we firmly reject nationalistic extremist and opportunist positions, the postures of those who measure independence by the number of differences and the degree of disagreement with the CPSU. Such a nationalistic view of independence contradicts the main principle of the unity of the Communist and workers' movements and proletarian internationalism.

We are marking the third anniversary of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held June 5-17, 1969. Our Party took an active part in the preparations and the work of that Meeting.

The 17th Congress reaffirms its support for the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The course of world events has borne out the correctness and relevance of the assessments and conclusions made by the 1969 Moscow Meeting. They are a dependable foundation for the general course of Marxist-Leninist parties and the political program of struggle against imperialism.

The 17th Congress states that our Party will continue to regard proletarian internationalism as the highest principle of the working class, will continue to be guided by the conclusion of international meetings, because defense of socialism in every socialist country is an internationalist duty of all the socialist countries and all Communist parties.

Our Party draws inspiration and strength from the fact that it is an inseparable part of the world Communist movement and that the fraternal Communist parties support our Party and its struggle.

The 17th Congress attaches special importance to the development of fraternal relations with the Communist parties of the Arab countries. The 17th Congress notes with deep satisfaction that ties of fraternal friendship prevail between our Party and the Communist parties in the Arab countries, and that these ties have grown stronger in recent years.

The 17th Congress declares that our Party will broaden cooperation with other Communist parties on matters of common concern.

Our Party supports international and regional conferences and bilateral meetings of Communist parties to broaden their ties, exchange experience, coordinate action and consolidate the unity of the Communist and working-class movement.

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE (CSSR)

The first Congress of the Socialist Youth League (SYL) of the CSSR closed in Prague on September 30 last, after four days' deliberations. It was attended by 1,293 delegates from approximately 800,000 League members and 900,000 members of the Young Pioneers' Organization, (YPO) as well as by representatives of 27 foreign youth organizations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and International Union of Students.

The Congress approved the report submitted by J. Varholik, Chairman of the CC SYL, the League's Program Declaration and Rules, and the YPO's program and organizational principles. It elected the League's new leading committees. J. Varholik was re-elected Chairman of the CC CYL.

The Congress also adopted "The Main Tasks of the SYL and YPO after the 14th CPC Congress," a document of great political importance defining the League's tasks and objectives for the immediate future, and unanimously approved a message to the CC CPC expressing the devotion of youth to the cause of the Communist Party.

Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, who led the Party delegation at the Congress, addressed the delegates. Following are extracts from his speech, whose full text appeared in *Rude Pravo* on September 28.

A WELL-TRAINED YOUNGER GENERATION: GUARANTEE OF OUR FUTURE

In the short time that has passed since the crisis years 1968 and 1969, we have succeeded in reconstituting a militant organization of young people who know what they seek and are ready to make sacrifices for it, who are dedicated to our socialist state and prepared to fight for socialism and progress.

The leadership of Party and state is glad to note the gains of Czechoslovak society in political work among youth. After a modest beginning two years ago, the Socialist Youth League passed through