



PALESTINE RESISTANCE BULLETIN

In Solidarity with the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

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EDITORIAL:

FOUR YEARS OF OCCUPATION

This month marks the fourth year of the Zionist aggression against the Arab countries in June, 1967, and the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, the Sinai, and the Golan Heights. While thousands of Palestinian patriots are herded into 'preventive' concentration camps by the Israeli army in the Gaza region, and thousands others are detained 'administratively' in the West Bank, the comprador regime of King Hussein celebrates in Amman his treacherous 'triumph' over his people in September with the murder and imprisonment of yet more thousands of Jordanian and Palestinian revolutionaries.

The defeat of the Arab regimes reactionary and 'progressive' alike, four years ago at the hands of the Zionist-Imperialist alliance should remain a constant reminder for Arab revolutionaries and their allies worldwide of the perils facing the tasks of national liberation when surrounded by imperialism and revisionism, and in the absence of a proletarian vanguard — a vanguard which is now being built by the blood of the Palestinian and Jordanian people.

The events of the Middle East since last June constitute a retreat from the revolutionary advance of the resistance (1967-1970) which can be summarized here:

***On the Front line the regimes of the Egypt and Syria further demonstrated the incapacity of their ruling classes to resist the Israeli occupation. We witness in both countries the emergence of wings within the ruling cliques which that are ready and willing to accommodate themselves to the new conditions of Imperialism (Sadat and Asad vs. Sabri and Jadid). In Egypt particularly Nasser's attempts to 'eradicate the fruits of aggression' has now been reduced by Sadat to a matter of negotiations over opening the Suez Canal.

***The acceptance of the Rogers 'Peace' Plan by virtually all the contending powers brought forth a new role for U.S. imperialism as a major 'intermediary' whose task — from the point of view of the Arab regimes — is now to "bring pressure" on Israel to abide by the 1967 Security Council Resolution (i.e. to withdraw from Arab territories and hand back the West Bank to the Hashimite regime). This marks a retreat also for Soviet policies by implicitly admitting its inability to reach a diplomatic settlement on behalf of the UAR and Syria.

***The September Counter-revolution in Jordan released the royal regime for serving U.S. interests more faithfully since the resistance was the only party in the region that presented a serious obstacle to the settlement. Until then the U.S. was immobilized from competing effectively with the Soviets and their allies in using its Jordanian puppet. The resistance, after all, was the political expression



for the existence of the Palestinian people and the major obstacle for any settlement that has as a major objective the denial of self-determination for the Palestinians. Thus the liquidation of the resistance was the pre-condition for the assumption by the U.S. of its designated role in the settlement which was accepted — openly or covertly — by the Soviet Union and the Arab nationalist regimes. Their role in the shedding of Palestinian blood must not be forgotten.

***In Iraq also the anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist jingoism of a regime that is objectively under the control of British and U.S. oil interests was finally exposed for all to see when the Iraqi army stationed in Jordan withdrew its cover from the resistance forces when the royalist troops moved in towards the north with heavy armaments, thus betraying the resistance in its most difficult confrontation. At home the Iraqi regime has just begun a massive campaign of repression against communist and democratic forces including the oppression of Kurdish patriots.

***The wave of counter-revolution is not confined to those states facing Israel. In the Gulf region, Egyptian-Iranian negotiations, with U.S. backing are bargaining over the future of the area after British withdrawal. The Arab Republic of Yemen has — for all practical purposes — fallen into the hands of reaction, under Saudi tutelage. The present Yemeni regime is hostile to all movements of liberation in the area, and to the Peoples Democratic Republic of [South] Yemen. Their aim is to isolate the revolutionary movement in Oman and Dhofar from its secure backbone and to finally liquidate it through the proposed reactionary Union of Gulf Emirates.

The current adverse conditions in the region, however, are not insurmountable. Unlike the situation in the past two decades the Arab people today have acquired a revolutionary consciousness that — when armed with a correct strategy and the material resources for facing imperialism and Zionism — becomes invincible. The Jordanian-Palestinian resistance, despite its temporary weakness, the rebels of Oman and Dhofar are today the vanguard for such a strategy for the Arab people. The revolutionary masses can suffer many setbacks — from which they will learn their road to victory. The reactionary ruling classes lose but once! And they will.

The Editors,
June 15, 1971

"THE OTHER ISRAEL": TREATMENT OF ARABS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

There is "another Israel" about which we hear strangely little: the Israel which controls the lives of about 1 1/2 million Arabs, of whom 1,200,000 live in lands occupied in 1967. One of the most shocking faces of this "other Israel" — though not out of keeping with general Israeli policy toward Arabs — is the treatment of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, most strikingly in Gaza.

Uri Davis, Vice-Chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, says:

... the issue is not that of a "liberal occupation." It is an issue of the most wide-scope acts of oppression; there are areas populated by thousands of people under curfew for weeks; workers strike, pupils strike, merchants strike, mass detentions, conveyer belt trials, shooting into crowds. Yet the reports in the Israeli press are fragmented and usually incorrect. *The situation is much worse.*

(*"The Gaza Strip,"* p. 3)

He also says that "what happens today in Gaza is not accidental, but a necessary consequence" of Israeli policy. (*Ibid*, p.1)

Earlier this year, Shalom Cohen, a member of the Israeli Knesset (Parliament), wrote in *Haolam Hazeh* (Jan. 27, 1971):

The deeds are done. ... They are being done now. ... The question is what we can do to stop them. Which order, which power, which authority — and immediately — can resolve to stop the use of whips and sticks against innocent people in the streets of Gaza? And to stop killing whoever runs in the streets...? Who can prevent the honor of innocent women from being violated in the streets or in their homes? And that searches will not be used to justify the destroying of furniture, insulting people, and torturing them? Who can stop the unjustified arrest of passers-by, and all of what happened in Gaza this week, and is happening now?

The Gaza inhabitants are also subjected to the destruction of their homes, imprisonment, expulsion, curfews, harassment, economic exploitation, and complete political suppression — to mention only some of the Israeli tactics. Many of these are committed in the name of their policy of "collective punishment" against suspected resisters and their families and villages.

A February 2 *New York Times* article stated that on January 3, 1971 the Knesset voted to harden its line against the inhabitants of Gaza. Yet this oppression has been carried on since 1967. What can they have in store now? One possibility is an extension of the concentration/"detention" camps to which many Arab families are now being sent.

* * *

The excuse "I didn't know" has long been deplored by the very people who now benefit from the world's ignorance of *their* actions. Although they are meeting with vehement denials and strong pressure, people within Israel are beginning to speak out on this issue. Their courage and determination must be matched by our own in the effort to end this brutality.

Women's Committee on Arabs in Israel

INTERNATIONALIST POSITION OF THE DPFLP

Lately our internationalist position has been subject to misunderstanding and to distortion, as well as, to criticism from different angles and directions. From one side we find opposition towards our practice of open criticism toward the policies of some socialist countries, including the USSR, concerning our national cause. From another side we find objection to our appeal to the USSR to change its position, they say that this appeal is utopian and misleading to the masses because the USSR will never change its position. And from a third side our relations with some Trotskyist groups, in the sphere of international solidarity for the Palestinian cause, have raised questions of protest from most of the leftist circles and the world communist movement.

Presently the task of defining the main features of our international position is becoming important, in order to establish relations with the different groups and trends of the world revolutionary movement on a clear basis.

The present historical period is characterized, internationally, by the increasing disintegration of the world imperialist system, the victory of socialism, and the rise of national liberation movements of the oppressed people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Imperialism in its efforts to hold on to its present position, against the rising revolutionary tide, is resorting to a viciously aggressive policy, based on limited warfare, and aimed at suppressing national liberation movements of struggling people. This aggressive policy is also aimed at states within the socialist camp (Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam), and in its efforts to break down the socialist camp it is encouraging rightist movements which call for closer relations with the West (Yugoslavia, Romania, and Checkoslovakia).

The world revolutionary movement, in its struggle against this imperialist aggression, has to overcome two obstacles.

1. The revisionist policy carried by some states within the socialist camp, a policy which encourages the imperialists to intensify its aggressive policy.

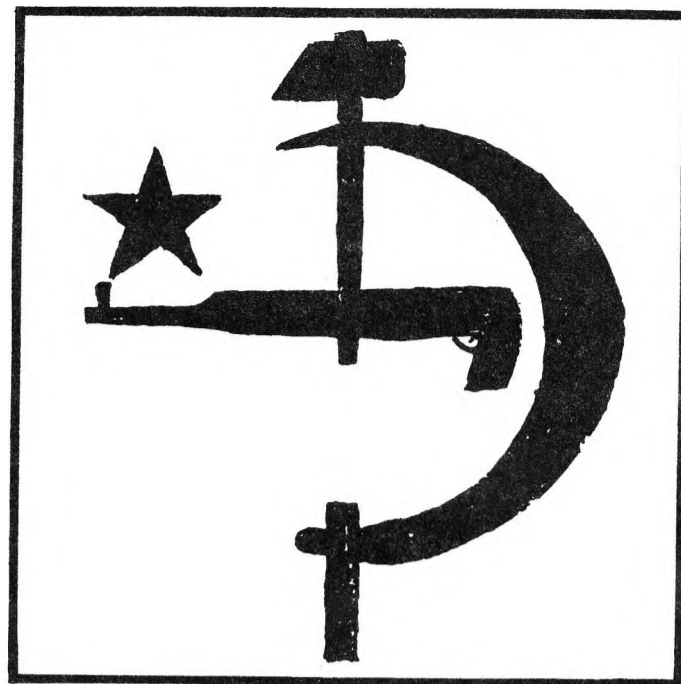
2. The devisive policy which is tearing apart the unity of the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist front, thus obstructing an effective united struggle of this camp.

The present revisionist policy finds its theoretical rationale in a series of mistaken analysis resulting from the present Soviet interpretation of the "peaceful coexistence" concept. This analysis is based on the assumption that the "peaceful economic initiative" between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp is the decisive factor in the victory of world revolution, and that the contradiction between the two camps can be solved by means of negotiations and pressure on imperialism to contain its aggressive tendencies in order to provide the peaceful atmosphere which will enable the socialist countries to develop their internal economies. The adherents of this policy always try to avoid confrontations with imperialism, in any part of the world, and try to limit the anti-imperialist interests, for this might push imperialism into waging an aggressive, limited war, thus compelling the socialist countries to comply with their internationalist commitment by aiding the countries which are the object of aggression.

The thesis of "peaceful coexistence" in its present Soviet conception is linked to the theory of "parliamentary transition to socialism" in the advanced capitalist countries, as well as with, the theory of "non-capitalist development" in the underdeveloped nations. Both theories are a clear negation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" thesis, admitting the possibility of building socialism through the established agencies of the bourgeois state, without the need to destroy it. With these two theories, revisionism seeks to ease the degree of the class and national struggle against capitalism and imperialism, in order to prevent the growth of the struggle from leading to a sharp confrontation with imperialism which will dictate, upon the socialist countries, obligations they are not yet ready to carry through.

It is becoming clear, however, that the only way to accelerate the process of disintegrating of the imperialist system and insure the decisive predominance of the socialist system is by sharpening the anti-imperialist class and national struggles, specifically in countries struggling for national liberation, and by the resolute confrontation of the aggressive imperialist wars by revolutionary wars of national liberation. The success of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in implementing the task of total national liberation, under the leadership of the working class, is the decisive factor at the present stage of the destruction of international imperialist control and in exposing the internal class contradictions within the advanced capitalist societies, thus insuring the victory of world revolution.

Obviously what is demanded here from the socialist camp is not an all out international confrontation with imperialist camp by exploding a third world war. Rather what is needed is that two socialist camp confronts the aggressive limited wars with an active internationalist support to those people who are waging their revolutionary wars of national liberation against imperialism. In the final analysis, it is the only guarantee for a permanent peace in the world and hence, there is no alternative to ending war except to destroy imperialism internationally; an aim which is impossible to achieve without armed struggle and revolutionary war until the final defeat of imperialism.



This position should not lead us to equate the policies of the Soviet Union with American imperialism, because the existing contradiction between the two camps is not of personal wishes, nor merely that of theoretical and political position, but rather the contradiction between two different modes of production and ownership. In the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries public ownership of the means of production prevails and the social concept of the state is characterized by a proletarian nature and that is the objective and social base for the contradiction between the two camps.

That contradiction puts the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp, despite their leadership's policies, objectively on the side of the anti-imperialist world revolution. The Soviet leadership is trying by all means of international bargaining and maneuvering to prevent an explosion of revolutionary struggle in the different parts of the world, but experience has shown (in Vietnam and now in the Middle East) that the explosion of sharp revolutionary struggle against imperialism and, with it, its transformation into a long-range protracted people's war, will bring the Soviet leadership, sooner or later, to fulfill its internationalist duties in aiding and supporting the revolutionary forces and at least preventing their total defeat in the face of imperialist aggression. The Soviet leadership knows very well that the defeat of the revolutionary forces, in any part of the world, will only strengthen the counter-revolutionary forces and encourage imperialism to expand its aggression and this will consequently endanger the security of the Soviet Union itself. Though the USSR leadership keeps using its aid as a tool to bring about a compromising solution to the struggle against imperialism, the correct program of local national liberation movements and their determination to bring about a total defeat of the aggressor will remain the guarantee that they will benefit from the Soviet aid without submitting to its revisionist strategy. The Vietnamese communist experience is an excellent example of the possibility of following this line practically and with success.

This analysis leads us to comprehend two greatly important facts concerning our internationalist position.

First, that the main danger of revisionism lies in its success in controlling the revolutionary movement in the different parts of the world and restricting its struggle within the limits of the new reformist ideology which insures the freezing of the local class contradiction and preventing the people's revolutionary struggle from rising to the level of sharp confrontation against the counter-revolutionary forces. But as soon as the struggle sharply explodes and the masses show their determination to continue their revolutionary struggle for the total defeat of imperialism, international revisionism will find itself gradually becoming part of the revolutionary struggle, after the failure of all its efforts to freeze, or peacefully solve it. This means that the struggle against the dangers of revisionism should not necessarily take the form of constant condemnation of the Soviet Union's leaderships mistakes, but rather it should be an ideological and political struggle against revisionism and reformism on the internal front aiming at uncovering the local opportunist leaders, who spread such ideologies, while building a mass independent, class revolutionary movement and arming it with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. That is, the main front of the struggle against revisionism is the political and ideological struggle within the ranks of the local revolutionary movements in any country and *not* visa-versa.

The second fact, that the objective contradiction between the Soviet Union and world imperialism furnishes the material base, and the objective possibility, to unite the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist international front. The neglect of this fact leads to a permanent devisive position, unjustifiable and harmful to the world revolutionary movement. The disregarding of this fact would deviate the comradely and fruitful ideological struggle, within the ranks of the world revolutionary movement, to a diplomatic struggle governed by the logic of international balance of power aimed at internal competition over a sphere of influence within the camp of the anti-imperialist international front,

INTERNATIONALIST...

this in turn, would tear apart this front and deprive it of its effectiveness against imperialism's vicious aggression.

Our task, on the international level, could be summarized as follows; the determined ideological struggle against revisionist concepts and politics, and to reserve an independent position from any internal strife among groups inside the socialist camp and the world communist movement. This independent position does not mean a neutral ideological stand toward the problems which are put forth within the ranks of the world revolutionary movement, a neutral ideological position is but an opportunist position, which is far from Marxism-Leninism. It is our duty to define, frankly and clearly, our position toward all these problems from a Marxist-Leninist and internationalist proletarian standpoint, without becoming part of the present power struggle which has no ideological and political justification.

At the same time, we have to continue our efforts to strengthen the unity of struggle of the socialist camp and the international anti-imperialist united front, on the basis of common struggle in order to oppose the counter-revolutionary aggression, led internationally by American imperialism. This common front should not be based on the opportunist cover up for the present differences in viewpoints around the problems of contemporary world revolution. Beside insuring the highest degree of effectiveness in the collective common struggle, this unity also has to insure the freedom of comradely ideological and political criticism among its different groups, as well as, the preservation of the independence of each movement concerning its own national revolution.

To achieve these tasks it is important to strengthen the relations within the countries of the socialist camp, and other parts of the world revolutionary communist movement, without disregarding the differences in opinion, and work towards mobilizing internationalist support for the struggle of our people, the resistance movement, and its revolutionary leftist vanguard.

The Front has repeatedly spent efforts in order to insure communication and cooperation with the different parties in the sister countries of the socialist camp, but all these efforts have not yet led to material results because of the complexity of the prevailing atmosphere within the ranks of the world revolutionary movement as a result of its present divisiveness.

One of the reasons which hindered the establishment of natural relations with different parts of the world communist movement, was the planned attempts of "adoption" of the Front initiated by international Trotskyist movements since the Front's establishment, in order for these movements to cover up their inability to effectively contribute to true national and class struggles. These movements find no justification for their existence, but to quickly adopt the developing revolutionary movements in different regions of the world, and project them as if they were new Trotskyist currents. In the beginning the Front did not see any problem in cooperating with these movements along the principle of an open cooperation with all leftist groups, on the basis of support to the resistance, the Palestinian struggle, and the mobilization of world progressive opinion to the side of the armed struggle which our people are waging against Zionism and imperialism. But the danger of this cooperation started to become clear when these groups tried to push the Front toward adopting their isolationist positions which sprang from the Trotskyists' inability to comprehend the national nature of the Palestinian revolution at its present stage. The reason which, in practice, they refused to contribute to the struggle and the committees which supported the Palestinian movement as a whole, by taking an isolationist position towards it, and only supporting the DPFLP as a Marxist-Leninist organization. This has resulted in a bad effect on the unity of movement in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance outside the Arab world. Above all that, the Trotskyists have tried to present the DPFLP as concurring with their anti-Leninist position, which calls for "the right of self-determination for the oppressor community," the Jewish community in Palestine, and by putting forth their slogan of a bi-national state, instead of the correct Marxist-Leninist solution to the Palestine Question.*

The cessation of these Trotskyist attempts has for long become an important task in our internationalist relations, and the success of implementing this task will help to clear up the misunderstanding and reservations of many leftist movements toward establishing strong relations with the Front.

Official DPFLP Document from
Al-Thawri, No. 3.
March 1971.

FREE TAISEER AL-ZABRI

The fascist regime in Jordan has arrested in the first week of June 1971 brother Taiseer Al-Zabri (known publically as Abu Ali), member of the General Secretariat of the National Union of Jordanian Students and a leading member of the Palestine resistance movement. The arrest comes in the continuing campaign of the Jordanian authorities to liquidate the resistance movement after the September counter-revolution in a series of massive arrests, kidnappings, and street assassinations of partisans and their civilian supporters.

News have reached us that brother Al-Zabri is being subjected to torture and that his life is in danger. A campaign for his release is being conducted in the United States and Canada. Palestine Solidarity Committees in both countries have urged North American supporters of the Palestine liberation movement to send telegrams demanding his immediate release to King Hussein of Jordan, Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tal, and to U Thant, UN Secretary General. Petitions demanding al-Zabri's freedom may be obtained by writing to the Palestine Resistance Bulletin, P.O. Box 59, Somerville, Mass.

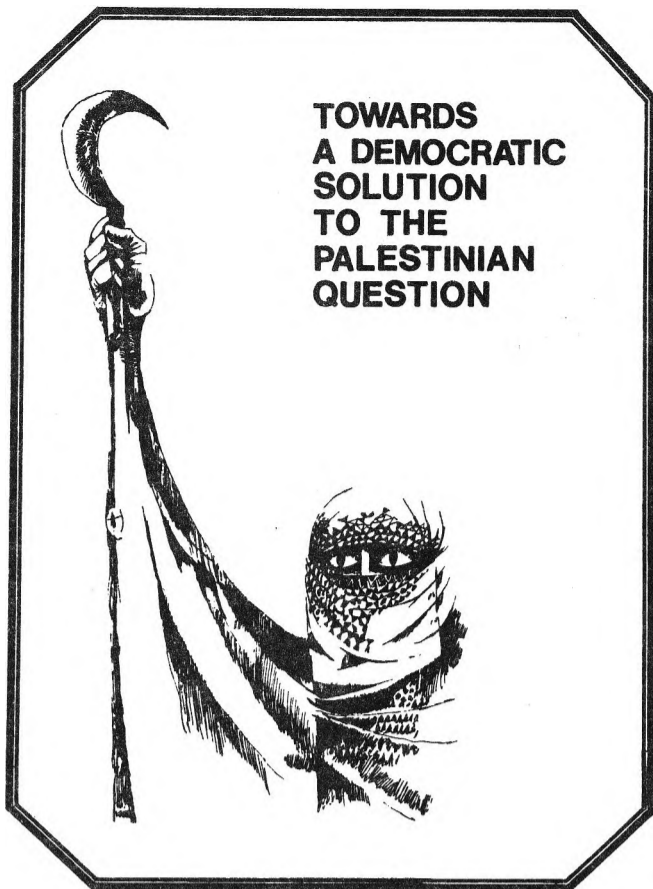
IQBAL AHMAD ON THE PALESTINE RESISTENCE MOVEMENT: AN INTERVIEW

(Ed. Note: This interview was conducted with Dr. Iqbal Ahmad, the noted Pakistani writer and journalist, early this year in the aftermath of his arrest by the FBI on charges of "conspiracy" with the Berrigan brothers and their comrades to kidnap Henry Kissinger, advisor to President Nixon on National Security. The interview — from which we excerpted the parts below — was conducted before the Civil War in Pakistan began and before the announcement of unity between the four Arab republics).

PRB: Dr. Ahmad, You know that the Palestinian resistance is passing through a very critical stage. Do you have any observations to make on the reasons that led the movement to this deadlock, and any suggestions to make on how to break free from such a deadlock, both in the political and in the organizational sense?
A. I agree with you that the Arab liberation movements in general and the Palestinian liberation movement in particular have suffered setbacks in recent months. In a sense, one could say they have suffered setbacks in the recent year and a half. Why have they suffered setbacks, and how can they recapture a promise that was there four years ago, a promise of starting all over again on a new plane, going in a new direction towards a new future for the Arab people or for the Palestinian people? It's hard to examine the causes in a short while because I don't want to be misunderstood. Let me recall some of my earlier criticism quickly, and then follow that with some of my suggestions. I think the problem of the Arab liberation movement generally has been that it has yet to pass through and go beyond the phase of radical bourgeois nationalism. There was such a failure for example on the part of the regime of Abdul Nasser, of successive regimes in Syria, successive regimes in Iraq, not to mention the reactionary regimes of Saudi Arabia or Jordan or Kuwait. There "progressive" Arab regimes were important only for what they ended. They ended a certain kind of feudalism. They put an end to a certain kind of commercialism, and to the acute subservience of preceding regimes to colonial, western powers. But they failed miserably in beginning a new era. They replaced feudal aristocracies with bourgeois oligarchies; tribal anarchism with bureaucratic authoritarianism; colonial commercialism with state capitalism. In some respects these regimes have been regressive. They replaced, in a sense, the egalitarianism that had characterized certain sectors of Middle Eastern society into deadly hierarchial groupings, so that in some ways, class divisions sharpened in the Middle East over the last fifteen years rather than decreasing. For these reasons I think there was a general failure: a failure to comprehend the importance of ideology, a failure to develop a consistent and functioning set of ideological assumptions to which the people could subscribe and which would provide guidelines for present as well as future economic, social and political arrangements within society. As a result of the ideological failure there was an organizational failure. A political party which is deprived of a preamble, a set of values, organizing principles, cannot be a viable political party. Thus, although there have been almost as many political parties in the Middle East as there have been personalities, none of them has quite caught on. In some countries like Algeria and Tunisia, once well-structured and popular parties have disintegrated under the weight of elitism and bureaucracy. Even Nasser's efforts at forming a political party did not succeed. Again, there was an ideological and intellectual failure — the inability to comprehend and define the problem or to give it an ideological thrust resulted in a general organizational failure. And thirdly, there was a very serious political failure in the Arab movement in general. By political failure I mean that the Middle Eastern regimes in particular, our leadership in general, maintained a militaristic or a bureaucratic stance, or approach, towards both the organization and definition of success. So that when the 1967 war occurred, everybody was shocked that the Egyptian army collapsed in four days, and the Egyptian airforce was caught with its pants down when the Israelis attacked. We were shocked because of our bureaucratic, militaristic and mechanical approach to the organization of society and to solution of problems. Somehow we assumed that good war material is what you need for winning a war. We failed to understand that it is the human material, it is the political context, it is the kind of social fabric that you weave that makes or unmakes a society. In other words, we suffer from undue faith and dependence on militarism, technology, and bureaucracy.

These weaknesses — the unfirmness of ideology, the inability to define problems and set forth values, the organizational weaknesses, and the militaristic bureaucratic approach to development — led to the failures of the bourgeois nationalist regimes of the Middle East. The same infirmities weigh heavily on the Palestinian liberation movement, although there has been — or still is — great promise in it. I think the single most important failure is that the Palestinian liberation movements hastily and often unthinkingly developed themselves into commando movements rather than revolutionary guerrillas. They began mainly on the frontiers and on the eastern bank of Jordan, in Lebanon, partially in Syria, which meant that they decided to develop themselves in somewhat open ways.

Therefore, they neglected basic principles of revolutionary warfare. The first principle is to obtain the complete but covert support of a people who remain overtly neutral toward the revolutionary guerrillas. The overt neutrality of the populace is necessary to ensure that the people — the sea in which the guerrilla fish swims — do not become easy targets of a reactionary regime. We should recognize that in peoples' war, incumbent regimes would inevitably carry out



**TOWARDS
A DEMOCRATIC
SOLUTION
TO THE
PALESTINIAN
QUESTION**

FUTILE SOLUTIONS

In the handling of a difficult and intricate question such as the Palestinian question, several solutions are advanced, each of which in the final analysis is an expression of a class attitude. Thus Arab reaction has offered a verbal chauvinistic solution based on the principle of "slaying the Jews or throwing them into the sea" or, in the best of circumstances, emigrating them in entirety. In its verbal offer of this solution, reaction attempts to give the Arab people a chauvinistic fanatic education, aiming to conceal the internal class strife. It is indeed a long-lived practice of reaction to employ embezzling threats against the Arab revolutionary forces, accusing them of disintegrating the national and communal unity and consequently, serving the Zionist enemy. This at a time when Arab reaction constitutes the best guarantee for the existence of Israel because it is an ally of imperialism and because it conserved the traditional backward structures of Arab society in the face of Israeli technical and cultural progress. This objective alliance with Zionism is what Arab reaction wishes to hide behind its tons of chauvinistic clamoring words. This chauvinistic solution implies that every Jew is a Zionist which is what Zionism has endeavored and still endeavors to establish, thus Arab reaction will have secured fast the links of its objective alliance with Zionism. However, this solution necessarily implies belittlement of the forces of the Zionist enemy, for which reason it was not possible to continue to offer it after the defeat of June 1967. So, Arab reaction jumped up with chauvinistic logic once again, exaggerating the power of the enemy to the furthest limit, picturing the situation as follows: — There is an international Zionist-Jewish conspiracy to take over control of the destinies of the world, and the establishment and expansion of Israel is but the first step of this conspiracy. This is a conspiracy to which Western capitalism, in its support and backing for the establishment of Israel, has fallen a victim. Armed with this logic, Arab reaction wants in the first place to shed the burden of defeat from itself. "If the enemy had so much power as to be able to manage an international conspiracy to which Western capitalism, with all its power and might, falls a victim, then defeat at the hands of such an enemy becomes an understandable matter thoroughly justified;" secondly, it wants to acquit imperialism of the crime of supporting and protecting Israel as well as to justify the continuance of its alliance with it. So the West is the victim of international Zionist conspiracy, it is innocent but duped. So what could be the solution that brings in its wake such logic? "The struggle against imperialism and Zionism is not the solution, the solution lies in reinforcing Arab alliance with the West, and explaining and convincing the West that it is the victim of the plot, then it will cease to help Israel."

As for the state bourgeois systems, these offer a solution springing from their historical crisis. They look at a mere military defeat and see there being no way of getting rid of its traces except by a military victory, to be won by regular troops. They are not able to wage a programmatic cohesive struggle against imperialism since that would mean sacrificing their newly-acquired privileges, nor are they in a position to ally with imperialism for the latter has more loyal and faithful allies which are the Arab reactionary systems; thirdly, they are unable to surpass the rules of the Arab political game as postulated by the Arab reactionary system; fourthly because of their contradiction with the popular masses they cancel out the role of these masses, equally in response to the Palestinian question or to the problem of backwardness. As long as the winning of a victory over the Zionist enemy calls for determined struggle against, and the destruction of, the reactionary rule in the Arab political arena and arousing the popular masses by giving them a full role, these systems will not find a solution

before them, except to resort to the Security Council Resolution (November 1967). The resolution, acknowledged by them seeks to reverse the situation to what it was before the June War. But this solution is not, in fact, a solution, as Israel, whether in narrower or wider boundaries and even if the refugees were to return, will continue to constitute a trespass to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and will continue to be an advance outpost of imperialism and a danger to the Arab national liberation movement.

There is also the solution which the Zionist left and Palestinian reaction on the West Bank adopt, it is based on the establishment of a Palestinian state, in a part of Palestine, to co-exist with Israel and recognize it. This solution aims to melt the Palestinian cause and struggle on the one hand and, on the other, to create a puppet state in the hands of Israel, forming an economic outlet through which Israel may subject the Arab world to its economic power.

Another solution is based on the establishment of a bi-national state in old Palestine (the Matzpen Organization advocated this solution but later abandoned it). This solution is faulty because in one respect it sets up an arbitrary partition between Palestine and the Arab area, that is to say, it purports to solve the question within the existing reality, that is by settlement with Zionism. Also, the bi-national state will not give a guarantee that neither party will persecute the other, and since "the solution" will exist within the bounds of the present reality, the Israeli side will certainly be the party to exercise persecution.

Yet another solution is advocated by Uri Avneri, it is based on a federation of Israel and a Palestinian state. This "solution" is of a reformist petit-bourgeois type, it does not propose to destroy Zionism and Israel but wants only to remove from them some of their "bad points." This "solution" overlooks the essence of the problem, that is the existence of Israel as a state, in any form, constitutes a contradiction of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

THE DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION

Against all these futile solutions stands the democratic solution to the Palestinian question. It is not the result of personal wishes nor mental excesses, but the result of study and analysis of the objective situation, the laws which govern the possibilities of development of the situation, the direction of these possibilities, and is the outcome of a strategic vision based on this study and analysis.

This analysis is based on distinguishing between the Jews and Zionism, and considers as a fact, that the conflict is not between the Jews and Arabs, but between Zionism on the one side and the Arab nation, including the Palestinian people, on the other. Hence it is Zionism and not the Jews that this solution postulates to uproot. So long as Zionism continues to be the cement which draws together the Israeli society, the Israeli community will remain an oppressing community, hence there is no alternative but to destroy Zionism and its colonialism in Palestine. ~~Zionist colonialism is of a particular nature, it is represented by the Jewish control of Palestine as a single race state considering Palestine a land for the world Jewry only. Only by abolishing the "law of return," which contends that any Jew in the world has an inherited right to make Palestine his home, and by destroying the Zionist outlook and its structural characteristics can the Arabs and Jews live in Palestine in the shadow of total equality, removed from any of the shades of national or religious oppression.~~

Nor is the destruction of the Zionist outlook enough, it is necessary to lay down the basis which will guarantee that there will be no reincarnation of Zionism. This cannot be achieved except if the future Palestine becomes a socialist unified state linked to the whole area. If we assume that Palestine, after the destruction of the Zionist state apparatus, is an independent state then this state will have a Jewish majority and nothing can then prevent this state from becoming a "new Israel" with larger borders and a larger Arab minority, thus exercising harassment of the Arab minority and creating anew all the structural characteristics of present day Israel. But, as long as the destruction of Israel depends on the success of the Arab revolution in removing the imperialist control and removing all artificial partitions it would be fallacious to imagine a future Palestine independent of the area, isolated from the revolutionary operations in it. Furthermore, if the unified state is to be a socialist state it is a guaranteed foundation for the Palestine of the future becoming truly democratic, devoid of any trace of community persecution, since socialism alone has the capability to solve the problem of national persecution, for it abolishes the material grounds for national oppression.

The advocacy of a secular democracy, basically stems from the assumption that the conflict between Arabs and Israel is a religious one, and thus falls into the pitfall of the prevailing reactionary ideology and the acceptance of its faulty basic postulation. In its context it does not solve the problem, since liberal democracy does not in itself form a guaranteed solution of the question of national persecution. In the best of circumstances it may exchange one persecution for another reversing the persecution of the Arabs by Israel to the persecution of the Israelis by the Arabs. The democratic solution can-not be obtained except via the revolutionary struggle, and will not be automatically realized by destroying the Zionist existence. It will depend on a revolutionary action which will bring about a reversal of the balance of power in favor of ending the Israeli superiority. This is a matter which cannot be achieved except by a popular war of long duration in which the struggle against Zionism is joined along with a struggle against imperialism.

The fallacy of the reactionary objections to the democratic solution becomes obvious to us. Arab reaction floods the world shouting that the

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democratic solution will lead to a settlement and portraying the situation in a sarcastic manner by saying "what if Israel agree to the democratic solution?" Arab reaction bases its stand on a preposterous hypothesis, for how could Israel agree to the democratic solution when it means its annihilation and destruction? There is no system in history that would relinquish its existence and choose decadence of its own accord.

THE TRANSCENDING OF NATIONAL ALLIANCE AND THE QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The Israeli society was built up through a colonial settlement operation in the shadow of Zionist reactionary chauvinistic ideology. The various classes of this society, in their relationship with the settlement operation played roles complimentary to one another, this gave rise to the hostile conflict between the Israeli community as a whole and the Palestinian people as a people. This makes fallacious the formal viewpoint of "superficial Marxism" which advocates in all simplicity the need for allying the Arab proletariat with the Israeli proletariat. This view overlooks the fact that the Arab national liberation movement does not encompass, for the coming phase at least, the Israeli ruling class only, but the entire Zionist society. It overlooks the fact that the Israeli workers and agricultural settlers have constituted, historically, the backbone of the Zionist settlement and specified their roles in relation to the Arab inhabitants as antagonists hostile to them. Does this mean the impossibility of transcending the national alliance in the long run? To answer this question it is necessary to take a look at the Israeli society.

The Israeli society experiences deep conflicts, the contradictions of the capitalist society. The bulk of the Zionist means of production developed before the year 1948, was developed under the banner of collective ownership. This was a natural course because the operation of Zionist settlements was being carried out by public Zionist agencies (such as the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund and the Histadrut). The Zionist pioneer spirit had at the start a utopian socialist color, in reaction to Jewish misery and anti-semitic accusations that the Jews are by nature unproductive. In spite of this collective growth of the means of production, the capital which flowed in following the establishment of the state soon weakened the two sectors (the collective which was created before 1948 and the public which was founded after 1948). Today the private sector controls 93% of industrial establishments employing 76% of the labor force, while the role of the public and collective sectors does not go beyond assisting the private sector to maintain its equilibrium and flourish. As for the kibbutzes, their inhabitants have today dwindled to 3.3% of the population, and they produce 3.5% of industrial production and not even one third of agricultural produce. These kibbutzes have for some time been employing hired labor which they treat in a typical capitalist manner. In the Israeli society the working class comprises 30% of the population and the peasants nearly 20%, while 10% of the population owned half the national income in 1956 (but their share was increased considerably in the subsequent years). Neither the income distribution nor social status follows the pattern of class affinity for these two matters are showing itself in the discrimination between the western Jews (Safardeem) and the eastern oriental Jews (Ashkanazeem) as, in 1964 the average income of the oriental Jews did not exceed 49% of the average income of the western Jews and the ratio of orientals in the state (or civil) service reached only 1% although their numbers exceed 60% of the total population.

Zionism deliberately resorted to submerging the class differences within the Israeli society in order to maintain its hegemony as a colonizing society, so it at once set up the Histadrut (as a labor-employer-social security establishment), the kibbutzes (with an "internally socialist" character but with an outwardly capitalist role at the same time), and linked various Israeli parties left and right to the Jewish Agency. Over and above all this they added the factor of Arab danger, and no doubt the Arab chauvinist propaganda ("throwing the Jews into the sea") rendered grateful services to Zionism in the field of achieving a high level of internal unity and the blocking of internal class contradictions.

But the Israeli society being a capitalist one means the impossibility of burying class differences forever. These differences are deep in the roots of the society, even if they haven't expressed themselves in open conflict for a long time. The nature of Zionist society makes the abandonment of Zionism a matter impossible for the Zionist society itself, in fact it is impossible to do, except by wearing it away from outside the state of Israel.

This is not a condition unique by itself in history, as Marx himself has pointed to a similar state of affairs in reference to Ireland. He says "for a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the New York Tribune."

"Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland... The

English reaction in England had its roots in the subjugation of Ireland." Similarly, the roots of Zionist chauvinism and the cohesion of the Israeli society stand on the enslavement of the Arab people and on Zionist colonization of Palestine. Hence, the possibility of the destruction of Zionism cannot be achieved except from without, and the possibility of the class differences within Israel cropping up depends on the driving of the Israeli society to crisis, that is, it depends on the changing of the present balance of power in favor of the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movement and on the political maturity of this movement. This will enable this movement to speak to the inhabitants of Israel and explain to them that Zionism has not solved the Jewish question and that their salvation lies in the abandonment of Zionism, for Zionism meets halfway with anti-semitism inasmuch as the aim is the driving out of Jews from various countries and dispatching them to Israel. It may offer them a democratic solution to the Palestinian question, affording them democratic horizons. So here we see the role of a strategic slogan, based on the democratic solution, in breaking down the internal front of the enemy. Does all this mean the possibility of transcending national alliances and enjoining Arab and Israeli revolutionaries? The nature of Zionism makes it impossible to bring together the loyalty to Zionism and the revolutionary stand, nor is it possible to consider the Israeli a revolutionary unless he is actively and determinedly hostile to Zionism, and this calls for struggle against the Israeli framework inside it and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. This alone will guarantee the laying down of the objective foundations for an objective alliance between Arab and Israel revolutionaries.

Some "leftist" European circles, and particularly the Trotskyists are inclined to say that it is the duty of Arab revolutionaries to recognize the right of the Israeli people to self-determination, and add that as long as the inhabitants of Israel comprise a people, there is no way for the revolutionaries other than to recognize their right of self-determination. This position implies incomprehension of the national question in general, and the Palestinian question in particular. They stand, in the name of internationalism, equidistant from the two parties of the national struggle to condemn both sides and press each to recognize the right of the other, imagining that such an attitude will solve the problem. Thus forgetting that there are oppressed and oppressors and that it is the duty of the revolutionaries to rescue the oppressed from the oppressor.

It is true that the inhabitants of Israel constitute a people, or more correctly, they are in the process of formation although their formation is being achieved by way of a colonizing operation. The American people, too, have formed by way of a colonizing operation. The Zionists have managed, with a considerable measure of success, to merge immigrant groups through an intensive program and through a rigorous shaping of the society. The factors which contribute in giving the Israeli society the appearance of balance and unity, themselves permit the absorption and fusion of the immigrant groups.

But does this mean it is necessary to recognize the right of the Israeli people to self-determination? In Marxist terms self-determination means the right to separate, and Marxism acknowledges in principle the right to self-determination in a negative way only. It does not make this right a holy utopian one but answers yes or no to every one of the questions of separation according to each separate case, subjecting the question to the interest of class struggle and world socialist revolution, aiming to achieve national peace to free the class struggle from the fetters imposed upon it objectively by national strife. Lenin says: "the proletariat recognizes equality of rights and acknowledges to all nations an equal right for establishing a national state, but places the interest of alliance of the proletarians of all nations above every consideration. It looks at every national claim and every other consideration. It looks at every national claim and every national dissension in the light of workers class struggle."¹ He also says: "therefore the proletariat is limited to the demand for recognition of the right of self-determination in a negative manner, if the term fits, without guaranteeing anything to any nation and without pledging itself to anything at the expense of another nation."² Marxism therefore sees that it is the duty of the revolutionaries of the persecutor nations to recognize the right of self-determination of the persecuted nation, while it obligates the revolutionaries of the persecuted nations to include the demand for separation in their program if they see that it is in the interest of socialism. In this vein Lenin says: "and it did not occur to any Russian Marxist to reproach the Polish social-democrats for their opposition on the separation of Poland, and the social-democrats are not mistaken except when they try to deny the need of a Marxist program in Russia to recognize the right of self-determination. Russia is the persecutor and Poland the persecuted."³

Marxism also sees clearly that national questions cannot be solved except at the expense of the privileges of the persecutor. Lenin says: "the recognition of the right to secession for all; the appraisal of each concrete question of secession from the point of view of removing all inequality, all privileges, and all exclusiveness."⁴

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PLEASE NOTE!

Corrections;
page 12, line 2
... between the western Jews (Ashkanazeem) and
the eastern oriental Jews (Safardeem)...
page 14, line 12

Israel is an oppressor in the same manner with which
Lenin described the Russian nation as being an oppressor nation

1. *National and International Proletarian Political Question*, V.I. Lenin, p. 89.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 202-3.

THE BLACK PANTHERS & CLASS STRUGGLE

(Ed. note) The following article constitutes a "post - script" to a larger essay entitled "Imperialism and the Israeli Economy," by Larry Lockwood. The essay will be published soon in pamphlet form, and will be available from the "Bulletin."

Since March, 1971, both Israelis and foreigners have become aware of the existence of a group of young Oriental Jews calling themselves "the Black Panthers." This group has initiated a struggle against the low wages, unemployment, inferior housing conditions, and widespread discrimination which have long afflicted Israelis of Asian and African origin. The emergence of the Black Panthers poses important theoretical and tactical questions for anti-Zionists in Israel and in other countries.

Although there are no indications that the Black Panthers define themselves as anti-Zionists, their existence is a valuable exposure of some of the basic contradictions of Israeli society and of Zionist ideology. In a March 4 demonstration, which was held in defiance of a police interdiction, the Black Panthers distributed leaflets that raised such questions as: "Why do ten persons sleep in one room while they build comfortable housing for new immigrants from Europe and America?" and "Why is it only permissible in Israel to demonstrate in behalf of Russian Jews, the community of Golda Meir?" (*Le Monde*, March 5, 1971).

In the same demonstration, Jerusalem authorities arrested six Black Panthers and nine members of Matzpen. Although officials have repeatedly attempted to convince the public that there are close political ties between the Black Panthers and Matzpen, the leaders of the Black Panthers respond to these baits by insisting that their organization is not connected with Matzpen. A second recent demonstration by the Black Panthers in Jerusalem (May 18, 1971) erupted into a five-hour clash with the police, in which twenty-five persons were injured and seventy-four arrested. A crowd of one thousand smashed shop windows and hurled stones at a large detachment of police (*Jerusalem Post*, May 19, 1971).

In subsequent interviews, some leaders of the Black Panthers attributed the clash to "provocation" by members of Matzpen and announced that, henceforth, their organization would rely upon legally permitted forms of action (such as electoral participation) in order to achieve better conditions for Oriental Jews in Israel. Another group, however, announced that the Black Panthers had undergone a split; they refused to elaborate to the press regarding their plans for future actions. (*Jerusalem Post*, May 20, 1971).

Although some persons may note a similarity between the "legal" wing of the Black Panthers and the "Likkud" (an organization of Oriental Jews which was created during the Wadi Salib riots of 1959. It decided upon electoral action as the solution to social and economic oppression and, eventually, was absorbed by the traditional Zionist parties), it is possible that the struggle of Israel's Oriental Jews will assume new directions. Whereas the base of the Likkud in 1959 was composed principally of recent immigrants from African and Asian countries, many of the Panthers and their sympathizers have lived in Israel for a decade or more. Following the March 4 demonstration, one member of the Black Panthers had analyzed Israeli society in the following way:

The State is built on various communities. The Arabs are at the bottom, above them are the Oriental Jews, and above them, the Ashkenazim. They claim that we, the Oriental Jews, hate the Arabs. This is a lie made up by the Ashkenazim. Everything here is built around the communities. The State takes care of every new immigrant, but they do not take care of immigrants who have been here for 15 or 20 years. A serious social problem is created — the problem of the lower classes. But as 99% of them are from the Oriental communities, it is also a communal problem which increases the feeling of discrimination."¹

The emergence of the Black Panthers during a period of galloping inflation and increasing labor militancy in Israel is a phenomenon which appears to refute certain beliefs held by Matzpen's majority tendency. In "The Class Nature of Israel," (*NEW LEFT REVIEW*, 65, January-February, 1971), three members of the majority, Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, and Akiva Orr, offer the following analysis of Oriental Jewry:

... social differences are interpreted by the orientals in ethnic terms; they do not say, "I am exploited and discriminated against because I am a worker," but "I am exploited and discriminated against because I am an oriental." Secondly, in the present context of colonial Israeli society the oriental workers are a group whose equivalent would be the 'poor whites' of the U.S.A. or the Algerian *piéd noirs*. Such groups resent being identified with Arabs, blacks, and natives of any kind, who are considered as 'inferior' by these settlers. Their response is to side with the most chauvinist, racist and discriminatory elements in the establishment; most supporters of the semi-fascist *Herut* party are Jewish immigrants from Asia and Africa . . . This does not mean that these strata of the Israeli proletariat are reactionary by 'their very nature'; their present reactionary character is merely a product of rule by political Zionism. These strata could become the agents of socially revolutionary processes in Israeli society if the Zionist establishment itself has been shattered. It is doubtful, however, whether they will spearhead the movement to shatter it.²

The alleged failure of Israel's Oriental Jews to recognize their plight as a consequence of Israeli capitalism springs not only from objective factors within Israeli society (immigration, foreign subsidies, upward mobility among some



United Press International

A Jerusalem policeman grappling with a member of the Israeli "Black Panthers" at a demonstration last week.

immigrant groups), but from the failure of the Israeli Left (Zionist and anti-Zionist) to develop an adequate analysis of classes and castes within Israeli society. Whereas Mapam and Maki, by virtue of their ties to the Zionist establishment, are incapable of developing a revolutionary approach to Oriental workers, Rakah (Moscow-aligned Communist Party) and Matzpen have tended to underestimate the potential role of Oriental workers in the class struggle.

The comparison of Oriental workers to American poor whites or French *piéd-noirs* in Algeria is historically misleading. Whereas the latter groups developed on the fringes of "plantation societies" based upon massive exploitation of Black or Arab agricultural labor, Israel's Oriental population was quickly transformed into an industrial proletariat. The political favor which Herut has found among Oriental immigrants is a concrete reality, but, before concluding that Oriental workers are inherently susceptible to chauvinism and racism, should we not ask: "Has the Israeli Left taken adequate steps to expose the threat which Herut's demagoguery poses to all sectors of Israel's working class?" Certainly, one can agree that Oriental workers are not "reactionary by their very nature," but, at the same time, the authors fail to support their assertion that the radicalization of this sector is likely to be a *result*, rather than a *cause* of the destruction of the "Zionist establishment." Their doubts as to the possible vanguard role of Oriental workers in Israel's class struggle should not necessarily be adopted by anti-Zionists in other countries, for such phenomena as the emergence of the Black Panthers or the active participation of Oriental workers in major strikes (the Ashdod dockers' strike of 1969, for example) are a powerful antidote to premature pessimism.

Unfortunately, the inadequacies of the "majority's" analysis of the Oriental Jew are matched by certain other sections of "The Class Nature of Israel." Although Hanegbi, Machover, and Orr correctly emphasize the past and present dependence of the Israeli economy upon foreign subsidies, they underestimate the role of private capital from abroad. Readily identifying the British millionaires Sir Isaac Wolfson and Charles Clore, they fail to mention a single case of private investment by Americans. In turn, they substitute guesswork for a systematic attempt to identify Israel's own ruling class:

If the dominant ideology in any given society is the ideology of the dominant class, then if the identity of the dominant class is rather blurred one can try to analyse the dominant ideology itself and deduce from it the identity of the ruling class. In Israel the dominant ideology was never a capitalist one; it was a blend of bourgeois elements combined with dominant themes and ideas typical of the Zionist Labour movement . . .³

The basic results of these imprecise methods include: 1) A tendency to portray "public" and "private" spheres of the Israeli economy as separate

BLACK PANTHERS...

entities when, in fact, they are interdependent; 2) The belief that the Histadrut bureaucracy, through its domination of the government and the Jewish Agency, indirectly controls Israel's capitalist class, when, in fact, the bureaucracy has faithfully served both Israel's capitalists and foreign investors; and 3) A failure to identify different phases in the development of the national economy or of the class struggle in Israel. In the latter case, the authors fail, on the one hand, to comment upon such phenomena as the steady increases of foreign subsidies and private investment since 1948 and the relentless expansion of private industry since 1948. On the other hand, they fail to observe that, since the establishment of the Israeli state, strikes have intensified both quantitatively and qualitatively.⁴

As they conclude the article, Hanegbi, Machover, and Orr reiterate a premise which had dominated the "majority's" earlier article,* "Class Character of Israeli Society" (*Palestine Resistance Bulletin*, 4 & 5, November-December, 1970):

In this society the ruling class is allied to imperialism and depends on it, but *does not itself serve imperialism by economic exploitation of the Israeli people*. This class rules through a set of bureaucratic institutions that were developed during the colonization process (Histadrut, Jewish Agency), and only a subordinate section of it operates through private ownership of the means of production.⁵

This view, however, is challenged not only the the long-standing interdependence of private and Histadrut enterprises in Israel, but by the existence of social classes in Israel. If no sectors of the Israeli population are economically exploited, why do workers strike for higher wages? Why do the Black Panthers protest against the inferior conditions suffered by Oriental Jewry?

On the basis of their belief that Israel's "establishment" refrains from economic exploitation of the Israeli population, Hanegbi, Machover, and Orr have developed a strategy:

... in the immediate future political struggle against the Zionist nature of the regime must take precedence over everything else. This struggle must be directed to win the support of all those who directly suffer from Zionism. This includes all those who, like Israeli youth or the Israeli Arabs, are brought in their daily experience into conflict with the regime itself. It is a strategy which points to the shattering of the Zionist character of the regime.⁶

Matzpen's majority poses an antithesis between "political struggle against Zionism" and "everything else," but anti-Zionists in Europe or America, who must carry out their activities under different objective conditions, cannot implement the same strategy. Abroad, it is of the greatest importance to demonstrate concretely that imperialism economically exploits both Arabs and Israelis. Zionism, as an ideology which has provided the framework for a specific society built upon lands seized from the Palestinian people, must be attacked both as a political instrument of imperialism in the Middle East and as the context for the economic exploitation of Israel's workers.

In terms of this perspective, the emergence of the Black Panthers, as well as the labor struggle in Israel, cannot go unmentioned, for these phenomena are highly important symptoms of the major internal contradictions of Zionist Society. Although it would be misleading to term these phenomena "revolutionary" or to ignore "anti-Matzpen" prejudices among, let us say, some leaders of the Black Panthers, it is the task of anti-Zionists outside Israel to demonstrate that these struggles may someday ripen into a revolutionary movement which will join the Palestinian liberation struggle in directly confronting imperialist domination of the Middle East.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Article by Baruch Nadel, *Yediot Aharonot*, March 12, 1971. Translated by Jewish Liberation Information Service.

2. "THE CLASS NATURE of ISRAEL," *NLR* 65 (Jan.-Feb., 1971), pp. 6-7.

3. "The Class Nature of Israel," *NLR*, 65, p. 15.

4. The authors provide a table describing strikes from 1949 to 1968. (p.21). We have constructed a condensed version:

Years	Number of strikes	Number of strikers	Number of strike days
1949-53	379	47,000	319,000
1954-58	350	43,000	449,000
1959-63	587	172,000	593,000
1964-68	850	292,000	596,000

5. "Class Nature of Israel," *NLE*, 65, p. 26.

*In actuality this "earlier article" is a different, and less complete, translation from the Hebrew original. [ed.]

6. *NLR*, 65, p.26.

*See "Towards A Democratic Solution to the Palestine Question," PRB No.8 and 9, also a pamphlet.

DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION...

Israel is persecuted in the same manner with which Lenin described the Russian nation as being a persecuted nation. Since the existence of Israel as a state constitutes an attachment to the meaning Lenin stresses. He says: "the reasoning of attachment usually assumes 1) the reasoning of violence (annexation by violence); 2) the reasoning of foreign national persecution (annexation of a foreign zone, etc.) and at times 3) the reasoning of breaking the present status quo" he then asserts that annexation as understood by Marxists is "violation of the right of freedom of a nation to self-determination, and drawing up the borders of a state contrary to the will of the inhabitants."⁵ So here it becomes the duty of the Israeli revolutionaries to recognize the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, and it becomes their duty to struggle against annexation, as this is the only path to bypass the national character of the Arab-Israeli confrontation. Lenin says: "in order to be able to carry out the social revolution and bring down the bourgeoisie, the workers ought to unite closely, and the struggle for self-determination (against annexation) will make possible such a union." As to asking the Arab revolutionaries to recognize the right of the Israeli people to self-determination, that would be an inverted understanding of the question, for if we view the question in the light of the interest of world socialist revolution, as we ought to do, we shall find that this interest necessitates the obliteration of Israel as an entity and an existence (as a single-race state in Palestine). But this will not suffice, we must also establish the basis which will guarantee against the renaissance of Zionism after overrunning it. Herein lies the problem. The right of the Israeli people to self-determination means the formation of a separate state in Palestine, which will open wide the opportunity for the renaissance of Zionism. Then what is the meaning of solving the national question at the expense of the oppressor if that does not mean in our case the basic privilege of Zionism, that is, its setting up of a separate Israeli state. Our attitude does not constitute a departure from Leninist principles in national politics as some would wish to say, since Lenin says: "The various democratic demands, including the right of nations to self-determination, are not absolute but are part of the whole world democratic movement (today - the socialist movement, ed.). And it is possible in certain specific and tangible cases that the part may contradict the whole, and in this case the part must be dismissed."⁶ Any solution to the Palestinian question must take into consideration that the formation of an independent state in Palestine by the Jews (right to self-determination means right to separate) is a transgression of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The democratic solution to the Palestinian question is the only solution and anything else would be a devotion to the status quo. This democratic solution makes the Israeli progressives responsible for supporting the Palestinian struggle by struggling against Israel from within. Once again we assert that the implementation of this solution calls for a revolutionary process, in struggle terms it is the popular liberation war, under the leadership of a great alliance between the forces of the Palestinian struggle and the forces of the Arab revolution.

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INTERVIEW...

reprisals against the people; but we must not make that murderous move easy for the government by permitting the identification of particular localities as guerrilla strongholds. Of course, that situation changes when a revolutionary movement reaches the point of creating defensible, liberated, base-areas.

Secondly, I believe the Palestinian movement leaders also violated the principle of the *invisibility* of revolutionary soldiers, cadres and organization. From the beginning they developed into a highly visible commando organization whose bases of support in Jordan and Lebanon were identifiable by the reactionary governments no less than the Israelis. In China, Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria, the enemy had difficulty distinguishing between friendly, neutral and hostile population; and had great difficulty finding the guerrillas. But in Jordan, Hussein had no difficulty finding either. His army fought uniformed commandos in what were more or less conventional confrontations; his artillery fired indiscriminately into Palestinian localities and camps. Palestinians' organizational deficiencies and failures made his murderous task easier. Many would be reluctant to admit it, but that is a fact.

Thirdly, much as my Arab friends would debate with me on this question, I think that there has been a very serious failure on the part of most Palestinian liberation groups to define or develop an ideology, that is to say, a set of values and programs that provide a concrete vision of goals, and means for achieving those goals. A consistent and functioning ideology has been lacking in the Palestinian movements, practically all of them. To the extent that I have been reading recently, my impression is that in terms of ideological development, though not in terms of organizational growth, the Democratic Popular Front has probably been the more promising movement in the Middle East.

Finally, there has been a failure of politics. Listen, when Nasser accepted the cease-fire and the Rogers Plan, my Palestinian friends were telling me that the Palestinians would refuse to accept it and that they would bring out demonstrations all over the Middle East. I told them that I did not believe it because they had not created organic links either with the Arab masses in general, or even with the Palestinian masses. You have regarded the extraordinary, spontaneous popularity of the Palestinian liberation movements as a sufficient force for liberation. But it was a very symbolic kind of popularity based on symbolic appeals. That is never enough in revolutionary warfare. You have to have organic links with the mass of population; you have to provide them with parallel hierarchies which, while invisible to the enemy, are evident to the masses and relevant to their needs and concerns. One must create activities and institutions that would permit people to participate in an on-going revolution. These, the Palestinian movements had failed to develop. That is why I doubted the capacity to bring out the kind of massive support that is needed in this kind of warfare. Also, you saw the result of the confrontation with Hussein. When the showdown with the reactionary regime of Jordan came, the Palestinian commandos fought courageously, and fought well. But they fought like medieval Arab knights and not like slippery invisible guerrillas. And I think that is a shocking fact. It's a very beautiful thing, it's a romantic thing to do, it's a heroic thing to do, but the tactics employed showed the absence of their guerrilla frame of mind.

PRB: How do you view the U.S. strategy in the Middle East in relation to its strategy in Southeast Asia, and what is the role of Israel in that strategy?

A. Well, I suspect it would be best for me to refer to some of my recent articles on that subject. They appeared in *Africasia* and were reprinted elsewhere. My argument was — and I still think that I was right — that the Rogers plan was a put-on job to hook the Arab governments into a certain kind of commitment and to isolate the Palestinians and that nobody in Tel Aviv and Washington was really serious about the Rogers plan. Secondly, I think that Nixon's trip to the Mediterranean involved the search for an informal, but operative Mediterranean military alliance that would ultimately replace NATO. I think that by supplying Israel with the best possible military wares amounting to about three and a half

billion dollars worth of weapons — by supplying the Greek junta with fairly modern weapons and modernizing their army, the Spanish regime, and ultimately the Portuguese regime, the Americans are trying to create a new Mediterranean alliance whereby they will be able to rule and maintain their hegemony over the Mediterranean and the Indian Oceans. The U.S. seeks more dependable allies than the NATO countries are at the moment. Finally, I believe the U.S. sees Israel as the king-pin, the spearhead of this projected Mediterranean strategy.

PRB: But, you don't think that they are trying to replace NATO completely by a new alliance?

A. I think the Americans are essentially preparing for the gradual decline of NATO as a military alliance. The reason they are going towards these Mediterranean countries, searching for more reliable allies and clients in the Mediterranean is that they feel that France has become an extremely unreliable ally, that Italy is a very unstable country at the moment, which might even produce a socialist government in the near future. With France and Italy gone, and Great Britain suffering chronically from economic problems, there is very little left in NATO except the United States. The U.S. finds France particularly, and Italy and France generally, rather uncooperative allies at the moment. So I think that what they are doing is to make NATO unnecessary, at least as far as the Mediterranean is concerned. NATO would still probably remain a military alliance which the Americans would back up with reference to eastern Europe and USSR, rather than the Mediterranean or the Indian Oceans.

PRB: Dr. Ahmad, let us go back to a question of tactics of revolutionary movements and perhaps you'd like to say something about terrorism versus revolutionary tactics. Certain movements here in the U.S. as well as in the Middle East and Southeast Asia have viewed terrorism as unrevolutionary or unmarxist. Others have said that terrorism is legitimate within certain . . .

A. That depends entirely on the context. Questions and attitudes on terrorism, political assassination, political-armed struggle, armed struggle in general, should be related to historical and political contexts. In a certain context, terrorism may be absolutely necessary and both morally and politically justifiable. In a different political context it is both unjustifiable and unnecessary both politically and from a military point of view. Let us take a few examples. The basic governing principle of revolution is essentially that you want to overthrow the existing political, economic and social system, and replace it by another set of political, economic and social arrangements. Therefore, the tasks of the revolutionary movement are not essentially military; they are political tasks. The most important task is to achieve the delegitimization, to activate the moral isolation of the existing regime or system. Activating moral isolation of the existing regime or system means essentially that the masses have to be educated politically in such a way that they understand fully the illegitimacy of the system that they are confronting, and then that they have organic links with the ~~movement which is confronting the system. So on the one hand, it means~~ creating a new legitimacy, and parallel hierarchies for the movement. This is a very hard, political task. Politics will always have primacy in this effort. Therefore, when we think of terror as a tactic in a revolutionary movement, we have to think of it in this context. Generally, as a rule of thumb, I would say that terror by revolutionaries must be sociologically and politically highly selective. And when it is highly selective it is also minimal. A second general principle of its selectiveness is that terror is most effective only when it has the effect of freeing the people from the constraints of coercive authority. Am I clear on that?

PRB: I believe you are clear, but are you implying — the second part — that terror is a tactic that can be employed insofar as it leads to the elimination of the oppressive power in certain situations?

A. That is right. I am also saying that in many situations terror can backfire on a movement if it is either prematurely employed or if it is employed in a context where it doesn't belong.

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