



By V.K. Sin

The "uprising of stones," the *intifada* as it is known in Arabic, has hurled the question of the liberation of Palestine before the world. The Palestinian people's story has been repeatedly buried by those who would like to forget them, as literally as the Zionist troops bury rebel youth alive today. The Palestinians were said to be victims at best, with neither past nor future, hapless refugees, wandering the world, maltreated wherever they stopped for a moment's rest.

Instead they are heroes, rising up against the seemingly overpowering might of the Israeli military machine, frontline fighters against oppression and injustice who have inspired other oppressed all over the world. But the Palestinians have accomplished much more. They have exposed the Zionist state for everyone to see: its troops methodically break the hands and arms of stone-throwing youth in living colour, imprison "suspects" in the sweltering camps of the Negev Desert, bury youth alive, tear-gas old men, women and children, killing many of them in the process. The Israeli Prime Minister has now called on civilians in the settlements, often members of the quasi-fascist Gush Emunim, to "shoot to kill" any youth with petrol bombs in their hands. It is a licence to kill Palestinians in the self-proclaimed "island of democracy in the Middle East."

# Israel: Imperialism's

Yet despite the full backing of the U.S. imperialists and despite all their high-tech weapons and the ruthlessness with which they use them, the Zionists have failed to smother the flames of revolt. The Palestinians have thus exposed another truth about Israel and its imperialist masters: though they have real teeth, they are ultimately paper tigers.

The revolt of the Palestinians against these reactionaries is a clarion call to all the world's oppressed, particularly to the other peoples of the Arab world who have themselves felt the jackboot of Israel and its imperialist masters on their own necks. The Palestinian youth have ridiculed the arrogant imperialist diplomats, with their peace treaties whose only purpose is to bring peace to their own rule of the region.

The Palestinian people are not numerous; they are about 4 million. Yet the struggle of this small people has marked world history. This is not only because their resistance has been courageous. History has also placed them at a point of critical leverage: squarely up against one of the most important setups of imperialism in the post-World War 2 colonial world, the Zionist state of Israel. In refusing to accept the theft of their homeland and their subjugation by the Zionists, the Palestinians not only stand at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, but they occupy a pivotal point in that battle.

This article will examine the nature of the enemy the Palestinian people face: its roots in Zionism, the establishment of the Zionist settler colonial state following World War 2, its role today in the Middle East and the world, and the real weakness that hides behind its professions of invincibility.

## Zionism: A Racist Tool of Imperialism

What has happened in Israel is not a beautiful idea gone wrong; it is not that Israel has departed from an es-

entially good programme, that it has "lost its way," as many commentators say. Israeli troops killing Palestinian youth is no violation of Israeli norms; it is what Israel is all about. It is what the Zionist storm-troopers did at the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982. It is what Israeli fighter pilots do all the time, when they drop cluster bombs on refugee camps, or target civilian centres like Beirut, where several thousand civilians were killed to soften up the entry for Israeli troops.

The ideological glue that holds the Zionist state together and has justified its many crimes is Zionism. Zionism holds that the Jewish people are God's "chosen people" and that Palestine is the land he chose for them. It has fed on, and promoted, the idea that Jews can never be assimilated with other peoples, and so must organise themselves into their own nation-state. It gathered particular strength in the ghettos of Eastern Europe and Russia in the late 1800s and early 1900s, in conditions where the darkest reaction and pogroms were the order of the day.

Nonetheless, Zionism was a marginal phenomenon until it was given a push in 1917 with the Balfour Declaration by the British, who then controlled Palestine. An official letter from the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Balfour, to the wealthy Jewish financier, Lord Rothschild, stated that the British government "view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this project."<sup>1</sup>

The Balfour Declaration was accompanied by assurances that the Arab population would be secure. The actual plans of the British imperialists were different. Balfour wrote privately: "The four great powers are committed to Zionism, and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future

# Attack Dog in the Middle East

hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land."<sup>2</sup> This shows how much even then the imperialists felt the need to set up a settler colonial base in that region in order to integrate it more thoroughly into the imperialist world. An element had to be injected from outside to give them a solid footing from which to carry out their exploitation of the region.

The Balfour Declaration aimed to set up a Zionist state in Palestine; it was also directed against the October Revolution. One purpose of this was to strengthen the "Zionist element" in the Zionist-Marxist mix among Jews in revolutionary ferment at the end of World War I and, as one commentator observed, to "detach Russian Jews from the Bolshevik party and so ensure that the Revolution would remain not only moderate but the belligerent ally of France and Britain."<sup>3</sup> This effort to manipulate progressive Jews was a portent of things to come.

Under the sponsorship of various international Zionist organisations, Jewish emigration to Palestine rose dramatically in the 1920s and especially with the exodus following Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s in Germany. It was also affected by strict controls limiting Jewish immigration to other Western countries.

The story of how the Zionist organisations dealt with the Nazis has been widely suppressed, for many Zionist leaders chose an ignoble path: collaboration with the fascists. In Poland with Pilsudski, in Austria and even in Germany itself, the Zionists established working relations with the Nazis in order to facilitate Jewish emigration to Palestine. Ben Gurion, long the Prime Minister of Israel, set forth the Zionists' priorities: "If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by

transporting them to Eretz Yisrael [Greater Israel], then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel."<sup>4</sup>

Jews constituted only a small minority in Palestine at this time.<sup>5</sup> Zionist plans for expanding Jewish emigration meant directly going up against the indigenous Palestinian people. Theodore Herzl, one of the founders of Zionism, explained how they intended to deal with this problem: "When we occupy the land, we shall bring immediate benefits to the state that receives us. We must expropriate gently the private property of the estates assigned to us. We shall try to spirit the peniless population across the border, by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country.... The property-owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly."<sup>6</sup>

This is just what the Zionists did. Despite all the later cant about "a land without a people for a people without a land," the Zionists were well aware even before founding Israel of the existence of the Palestinian people and had plans for the "removal of the poor." It was but a small step from such schemes to Deir Yassin, the village where several hundred Palestinian men, women and children were murdered by Zionist armed forces in 1948, in order to spread terror among the Palestinian inhabitants and cause them to flee the country.

## Setting Up the Zionist Encampment

Following the Balfour Declaration, the British gave strong support to the Zionist movement. British Mandate authorities facilitated Jewish emigration; they manoeuvred land dealings to allow the Zionists to get large plots of land cheaply; and

they authorised and armed the Zionist police squads used in the Palestinian Great Rebellion of 1936-1939. The events of 1936 were critical in shaping the relative strength of the Palestinian and Zionist camps after the war. The military correspondent for the Hebrew newspaper *Ha'aretz* wrote,

"The 1936 events actually involved a confrontation between two national movements, but the Arabs made the mistake of concentrating their attacks on the British government and army.... This confrontation with the British (and not with the Jews) caused the destruction of Arab military strength in Palestine, and was responsible for the partial elimination of Arab leadership in the country. After about three years of unequal warfare, Arab military power was destroyed; during this same period, however, the Jews, protected by the British, succeeded in building up their own strength.... British reprisals against the Arab armed groups and against the Arab population were much more severe than those against Jewish clandestine organisations a few years later."<sup>7</sup>

During and just after World War 2, British power was receding just as the Zionists' appetites were being whetted by increasing support from the U.S., who had taken over as patron of the Zionist movement. Certain Zionist elements even launched armed attacks on the British, including assassinations of British officials, the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem which resulted in the deaths of many civilians, etc. This was not considered a fight against an enemy, but a means of pressuring Britain to give in to demands for a Zionist state.

Britain was not, however, in a position to do this. The former masters of the Arab lands were being displaced. The U.S. imperialists, though allied with the British against first the Germans and later the Soviet Union, then still socialist, had begun to edge out the British and

prepare the way for their own rise to world domination. In the face of this as well as eruptions of revolt from the oppressed masses throughout their domain, Britain's former colonial position had become untenable.

The war's principal victors, the U.S. imperialists, began to manoeuvre to set up their own structure of domination in the Middle East. The situation they faced was complex. The French had run Syria and Lebanon, the British, Iraq, Egypt and Palestine, the latter having been set up as a Mandate under the auspices of the League of Nations following WW1. The Soviet Union, though presenting no immediate threat, loomed just north of the volatile region, and had emerged from the war as a world power. There were also the vast reserves of petroleum in the Middle East; as a U.S. State Department analyst wrote in 1945, "petroleum has historically played a larger part in the external relations of the United States than any other commodity."<sup>8</sup> The U.S. had extensive commercial ties, but shallow strategic roots in the region.

What they did have was a group which had grown up under the wing of the British imperialists and was ready-made and willing to act as a tool of Western, now U.S., penetration into the region: the Zionists. The American Zionist Organisation had become increasingly active during the war and was now a major financial backer of the Zionist project. At a meeting in Baltimore in 1942, it adopted a programme of increased Jewish emigration into Palestine leading to the formation of a Zionist state. U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt gave prominent support to the Zionist project, as did Truman after him.<sup>9</sup>

The events surrounding the sailing of the *Exodus* illustrate the way the U.S. manipulated the Jewish masses to facilitate setting up Israel. At war's end, tens of thousands of Jewish survivors of the Nazi concentration camps were huddled in refugee camps, awaiting international action on their fate. At this point, the Zionists organised the sailing of the *Exodus*, filled with refugees, to Palestine, where they knew that the



British were bound to refuse it entry. Tremendous publicity was given to the voyage of the *Exodus*, including a dramatic confrontation between the Jewish refugees and British soldiers at the port of entry in Palestine. Yet as the plight of the *Exodus* refugees was exploited to drum up sympathy for setting up a Zionist state for the Jews, it was consistently concealed that the major imperialist powers, including the U.S., had set up tight restrictions on Jewish immigration into their own countries. The U.S. had created conditions where they could exploit Britain's contradictions with the Zionists by cynically manoeuvring the refugees to Palestine to serve their goal of developing public opinion for setting up Israel.

In view of the vital strategic and economic importance of the region, the U.S.' own shallow roots there, and the ready availability of a reactionary force already under their influence, the U.S. imperialists made the decision to set up the Zionist settler colonial state and to pump it up into a key imperialist outpost. They chose the United Nations, then under their domination, as the forum for their manoeuvre. Unfortunately, at the critical moment of the U.N. decision to partition Palestine and the Zionists' subsequent declaration of the founding of Israel, the

one force that should have stood against the expropriation of the Palestinians and the imperialist-Zionist machinations failed to do so (see accompanying article on the USSR and the founding of Israel).

Because of the influence of revisionism in the socialist camp and the errors of the proletarian forces in the international communist movement, the U.S. imperialists went about establishing their new set-up without any organised revolutionary opposition. The U.S. had, as already noted, taken over as sponsors of the Zionist movement. In the showdown that followed with the Arabs, U.S. support for the Zionists was decisive. Not only did the Zionists have large supplies of American-procured hard currency with which to purchase arms, but the British had imposed an embargo on weapons to both sides — which, since they were at that time the exclusive suppliers of the Arabs, meant that this "even-handed" embargo worked to the distinct advantage of the Zionists. Western intelligence cooperated fully with the Zionist military. In the initial years of the establishment of the Zionist state, aid coming from the U.S. almost equalled the entire Israeli state budget.<sup>10</sup> Israel was indeed the offspring of Western imperialism, above all, the U.S.



*Israeli teacher with his students.*

The value to the U.S. of this new outpost was enormous. The U.S. was in the process of restructuring capital on a world scale following its victory in the war and was undertaking the strategic arrangements necessary to facilitate this. Not only had the imperialists of the Axis been defeated, but especially British imperialism had been knocked off its pedestal. This was the debut of what U.S. commentators called "the American century," an era they hoped would bring unchallenged world domination. In the Middle East, the U.S. was entering into a region rife with tumult, where feudal kings and sheiks sat uneasily over a seething volcano of nearly 100 million oppressed Arabs, up till then kept under control by the now tottering power of Britain and, to a lesser extent, France.

It was at this critical juncture that the Zionists were put in place. Testimony to Israel's strategic value for keeping the Arabs in line is that, from the period between 1945 and 1955, U.S. aid to Israel, with its 1m people, was *over six times greater*

*than to all the Arab states combined, whose population was dozens of times more numerous.*<sup>11</sup> Theodore Herzl had promised that, "We are going to Palestine as an expedition on behalf of civilisation. Ours is the mission of spreading Europe's ethical code out of the Euphrates."<sup>12</sup> The Zionists got their mission: they were now an armed-to-the-teeth enforcer of U.S. imperialist hegemony in one of the most vital regions on earth.

#### **Israel: An Imperialist Military Outpost**

From its birth, then, Israel has served above all else as a military outpost of Western imperialism. Its citizens are volunteer soldiers in a well-paid mercenary army. Its rabbis are military chaplains, its heads of state, commanders in the field. There is no more worth saving in the Israeli state than in any other vital military outpost of U.S. imperialism — or, to take a different example, than in a Soviet military base in Afghanistan or Ethiopia.

Israel has been completely dependent on external support from the beginning. It receives more aid per capita than any other state in the world, and the bulk of it is directly for military purposes. Official aid to Israel from 1948 to 1983 was equal to \$25.5 billion, two-thirds of which was for military needs. This exceeded the total U.S. cost of the Vietnam war.<sup>13</sup>

By far the principal source of this vast underwriting of the Israeli state has been U.S. imperialism. In the period 1973-84, U.S. aid to Israel accounted for 90% of all the foreign aid and grants Israel received, and it amounted to around 30% of total U.S. foreign aid.<sup>14</sup> In 1988, U.S. aid is pouring in at the rate of over \$3.5 billion per year. One writer observed wryly that at over \$1000 per capita, this is more U.S. federal aid than even the ordinary U.S. citizen receives.<sup>15</sup>

The configuration of the Israeli economy is determined fundamentally by its role as U.S. imperialism's Middle East gendarme. Israel has a high standard of living — per capita income is over \$6,000 per year — and extensive social services (if, of course, you are not a Palestinian in the 1967 Occupied Territories).<sup>16</sup> These are not evidence of Zionist "hard work" or "humanist concern" but rather are necessary to fulfill Israel's fundamental purpose as a military outpost — to attract new colonists and new troops for the Zionist military machine, and reward those already in service. And what would these amount to without the massive U.S. aid, which accounts for *over one-half of the Israeli government budget.*<sup>17</sup>

Israeli production is mainly production for war, to make the base not only as self-sufficient as possible but also to provide arms for its gendarme activity. As for the rest of the economy, it could almost be looked at as what the soldiers and their families are able to raise in their spare time on the base. Since the 1967 war, when the difficulty of resupplying Israel from the U.S. in a time of crisis became evident, production has shifted even more fully to war materiel, as machine guns and cannons took the place of textiles and traditional products.<sup>18</sup>

Arms production as a proportion of total production is the highest in the world.

These and other developments were underwritten and overseen by Western and especially U.S. imperialism. Patents, technology transfers, the substitution of grants for loans, the exemption from taxation of the heavy donations from Zionist organisations, and other "hidden" forms of aid have been provided by the U.S. and are estimated to be worth as much as several billion dollars extra in foreign aid per year.

The nature of this setup requires that Israel play its role constantly, that it be on duty all the time. It cannot survive otherwise — hence its unceasing military strikes around the Middle East. In other words, Israel cannot and will never have peace. Even if maintaining this constant war state means jolting millions of the oppressed surrounding it and provoking them to attack with ever mounting fury, and even if there are those who want to avoid reaping what the Zionist state has sown and who thus cry for a peaceful respite from the swell of revolt and struggle, this is impossible. Israel's very existence, its privileged position in the imperialist relations in the Middle East, its corresponding economic and social structure as well as its history, require it to slog onward in defense of its position. This is why no major military victory by Israel has ever brought the slightest pause in its military build-up. To the contrary. Military spending grew continually after both the 1967 and 1973 wars; the defense budget grew dramatically following 1973, averaging over 30% of GDP in the period 1974-1980<sup>19</sup>, and has reached 36% of GDP with the invasion of Lebanon. Comparable estimates for the U.S. are about 5-7% and for the USSR up to 13-15%.

Nor has all this been forced on poor embattled Israel by the relentless siege of the "sea of Arabs," as some Zionist apologists claim. This is the upside-down logic that American Western films promoted for so long with the hapless whites in the fort surrounded by marauding Indians. The Zionists went in on imperialist funds, expelled the indigenous people and expropriated the land for

themselves, set up one of the most militarised societies in the world, with an army and air force beefed up with the latest weaponry, including an arsenal of chemical and nuclear weapons — the latter being the only ones in the Middle East — all to enforce the reactionary social systems that oppress tens of millions, then dare to complain that they were forced to do all this!

The Zionists promoted themselves as a bastion of the imperialist West, and, indeed, they are one. Even a brief review of its history since its founding reveals that Israel has faithfully fulfilled this duty.

- In the Suez Canal war in 1956, Israeli forces invaded Egypt, giving the official explanation that this was a local police action aimed at wiping out fedayee fighters grouped in the Sinai (essentially the same lie they give for invading Lebanon today).

- Israel helps keep the Arab regimes weak and divided. It was common knowledge, for instance, that if the strong pro-Nasser forces in Jordan in the 1950s were to overthrow Hussein and seize power, Israel would seize the West Bank. Ben Gurion warned that if there were any change in the status of the Jordanian Kingdom, Israel "would insist on demilitarisation of Jordanian territory west of the Jordan river."<sup>20</sup>

- In 1967, Israel inflicted a serious military defeat on the Syrian, Jordanian and especially Egyptian militaries. The Israelis said the war was "defensive"; later, they bragged of the value of their "surprise" attack in decimating the Egyptian forces.

- All these events were presided over by the Israeli Labour Party, a member of the Second International of social-democratic parties.

- There was also the invasion of Lebanon in 1982; the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor; the bombing of Tunis, with 100 civilians killed as the Israelis claimed they were going after Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) headquarters; the shooting down of a Libyan civilian airline in the early 1970s, killing all aboard; and many other incidents. Indeed, Israel's Phantom jets have screamed out over the Arab deserts again and again, spreading the Western world's "ethical code," as Herzl called it, from their bomb-bay

doors, a code of strict obedience to U.S. imperialism and reaction. Talk of reforming Israel is talk of reforming an armed-to-the-teeth imperialist military base; against such an encampment one counts not on hopes of reform, but on revolutionary people's war.

### Israel: Imperialist Gunrunner and Spynest

Israel occupies a critical position in the imperialist world order of power relations. One of its specialties is counterinsurgency for the West; its war against the Palestinians has been a testing ground for developing tactics which have been used all over the world against revolutionary movements. Israel's Mossad has been vital to U.S. ability to rival and then replace the British intelligence network in the Middle East. The Mossad today has unequalled contacts and influence in all the secret police agencies in the pro-Western countries in the Middle East, and often has parallel networks of its own set up, even extending into Black Africa where, for instance, it engineered the overthrow of Milton Obote in Uganda and the installation of Idi Amin, who had been groomed and trained by Israel. It has become the point man in the Middle East for all the Western secret police services. No wonder the Palestinian revolution is held so dear to the hearts of the oppressed of the region!

Israel has collaborated with the CIA to provide Soviet arms captured in the Middle East to the contras in Central America, to Unita in Angola, to the MNR (the apartheid-backed rebels of Mozambique), and to elements of the Mojahadeen in Afghanistan. Such arms are not easily traced and allow the U.S. imperialists to step up their aid to their reactionary puppets without public scrutiny.<sup>21</sup>

The Zionists' most notorious connection has been with South Africa's apartheid rulers, with whom it has worked on the joint development of everything from water cannon to a tactical nuclear shell, which fits the needs of both reactionary states for close-range nuclear weaponry. Revelations by the former nuclear

technician Vanunu, who was later kidnapped from London and imprisoned by Israel, suggest that Israel has at least 100 operational nuclear warheads, including some high-yield thermonuclear weapons.<sup>22</sup>

In summing up the apartheid-Zionist collaboration, one commentator observes, "Such cooperation between two countries in the development of nuclear weapons proves an extremely high level of trust and intimacy in the relations between them.... An alliance cemented in plutonium is sealed in blood, and should be taken very seriously."<sup>23</sup>

Israeli officials aggressively promote their particular role in the Western imperialist division of labour. As Ya'acov Moridor, a minister in Begin's cabinet, proudly proclaimed,

"We shall say to the Americans: do not compete with us in Taiwan, South Africa, the Caribbean area... or in other areas where we can sell weapons directly and where you cannot operate in the open. Give us the opportunity to do this and trust us with sales of ammunition and military hardware; let Israel act as your agent."<sup>24</sup>

The overwhelmingly military/strategic character of Israel's position in the imperialist network of relations has given rise to some confusion. It is possible to be misled by this into thinking that since the imperialists are not extracting massive superprofits out of Israel in the same way that they are from Egypt, Iran, Chile or even South Africa, that the U.S. doesn't "materially benefit" from its relations with Israel and so the imperialist-Zionist axis is a matter of a chosen policy and not inevitable imperialist interest. Thus notions arise that U.S. commitment to Israel is a product of the influence of, for instance, the "Jewish lobby," and that this could be changed by countering Zionist propaganda and enlightening U.S. policy-makers about their "true" interests.

This is a distorted notion of imperialism as a system where every individual policy and act must be profitable. Consider, for example, the U.S. war in Vietnam or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan:

profit was hardly the major consideration behind either undertaking. The overall compulsion to make profit does drive imperialism to carve out its worldwide empire and, in the era where the world is divided up already, to redivide it and on that basis carry out renewed exploitation. But the overall defense of empire frequently demands major undertakings which are not, in and of themselves, profitable.

Israel has faithfully served the U.S. for four decades now as an enforcer of the post-WW2 division in one of the world's most strategic regions. How many times has Israel knocked one or another wayward Arab state into line — meaning solidly back into the lineup of the West? In no other region of the world, for instance, Latin America or the Far East, is there an imperialist gendarme that acts with the ruthless aggressiveness in defense of general Western interests as does Israel.

And what if the U.S. had *not* had a bully-boy like Israel, if instead they had been forced to maintain a massive *American*-manned military base in the Middle East to enforce their interests, with all the interventions and regional wars that would have meant over the years and the consequent loss of American lives? What would have been the ramifications of that for the U.S., including domestically?

Its overall role as imperialist gendarme is the main basis for the widespread and deeply felt hatred of Israel which pervades the region, as well as the ardent sympathy for the Palestinian people and their fight. It is not, as claimed by Islamic forces and some imperialist commentators, that the oppressed of the region are united in a common religious battle of Muslim versus Jew. Furthermore, this is why any force there that embarks on the path of new democratic revolution and seizing power for the proletariat and its allies will have to squarely face Israeli aggression. All this highlights the danger of trying to target Zionism as somehow independent of or separate from imperialism. Israel is not merely a loose ally of the imperialists — it is their direct outpost. Genuine revolution in the Middle East is impossible

without going up against the imperialists and *all* their agents, Israel among them. The path of targeting Israel while avoiding imperialism can only lead to capitulation to imperialism, and ultimately to its agents, including Israel.

Such a brutal, loyal attack dog is especially key for the Middle East. For the Middle East is not just any region. The "jugular veins" of Europe and Japan are located there. Through it flows the oil necessary for the functioning of those economies. It lies at the crossroads of three continents. The overall spiral of developments, pushed especially by the contradictions between the oppressed Arab and other peoples and imperialism as well as by rivalry between the imperialists, has led to the development of the Middle East as the most militarily built-up region in the Third World. The percentage of Soviet military aid going to the region is unrivalled elsewhere — just as it is for the U.S. where, for instance, almost half of U.S. arms sales in 1988 were to just two countries: Israel and Egypt.<sup>25</sup>

### Bribed Workers, or Mercenary Soldiers?

To understand Israel, one cannot take it as an isolated nation-state and look at what kind of jobs the workers have, their wages, etc., and on that basis arrive at a "class analysis" and a programme for "revolution" flowing from that, as Trotskyites and revisionists commonly do.

Israel is founded on a homeland expropriated from its actual inhabitants and converted into a military outpost for imperialism. The vast majority of Israeli citizens are immigrants or the first-generation offspring of immigrants. Quite often these people live in the very houses of those Israel has forced into refugee camps right across the borders. As Moshe Dayan bragged, "There is not a single Jewish village in the land which was not built on the site of an Arab dwelling place. Nahalal took the place of Mahloul."<sup>26</sup> Those who have come to Israel over the past several decades in order to occupy the land of the Palestinians and live in their homes and who benefit from a standard of living ac-

## From the Zionists' Mouth

Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country.... We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is a Palestine, at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan river), without Arabs... And there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer all of them; not one village, not one tribe, should be left... Only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb the millions of our own brethren. There is no other way out — Joseph Weitz (director of the Jewish National Fund), 1940

—The Palestinian Catastrophe, Michael Palumbo

There is no such thing as Palestinians... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people. — Golda Meir, Labour Party Prime Minister of Israel

— Sunday Times, 15 June 1969



I favour partition of the country because when we become a strong power after the establishment of the state, we will abolish partition and spread throughout all of Palestine. — Ben-Gurion, 1938

—The Palestinian Catastrophe

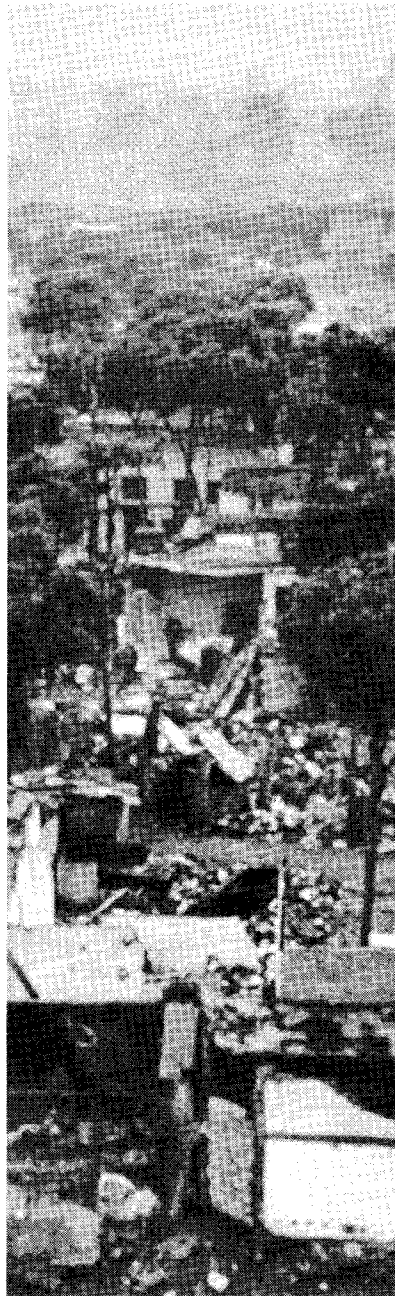
In each attack, a decisive blow should be struck, resulting in the destruction of homes and the expulsion of the population. — Ben-Gurion, 1947

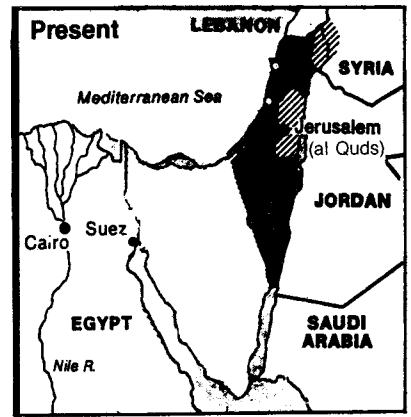
—The Palestinian Catastrophe

The issue at hand is conquest not self-defence. As for the setting of borders — it's an open-ended matter. In the Bible as well as in history there are all kinds of definitions of the country's borders so there's no real limit. — Ben-Gurion

—The Palestinian Catastrophe

Sabra and Chatila, after the massacre in 1982.





The leaders of the two Zionist terrorist groups met to plan the attack (Deir Yassin — AWTW). By their own admission, from the very beginning many of the terrorists were intent on a massacre. According to the Irgun officer, Yehuda Lapidot, the Stern Gang 'put forward a proposal to liquidate the residents of the village after the conquest in order to show the Arabs what happens when the Irgun and Stern Gang set out together on an operation.' One of the aims of the attack was 'to break Arab morale' and create panic throughout Palestine. Benzion Cohen, the Irgun commander of the raid, later recalled that at the pre-attack meeting 'the majority was for liquidation of all the men in the village and any others found that opposed us, whether it be old people, women and children.

—The Palestinian Catastrophe, Michael Palumbo

Accept congratulations on this splendid act of conquest, tell the soldiers you have made history in Israel. — Menachem Begin after the massacre of Deir Yassin

—The Palestinian Catastrophe



1946. Palestinians forced to flee their land.



Sabra and Chatila, after the massacre in 1982.



quired only by military service in the interests of Western imperialism are not simply being bribed, even if they work in a factory and belong to a union. Even the term "labour aristocracy" is too generous — they are mercenary settler colonialists.

The social-democratic cover of the Zionists, especially of the Labour Party type, has itself served the most reactionary ends. In order to develop their plans for Palestine, the Zionists were forced to go up against the fact that there was already a people living there. This fueled the development within British Mandate Palestine of what one writer called "a state within a state" — the embryo of the new Zionist state, financed largely from abroad by wealthy Zionists, developed as an instrument for carrying on the struggle to implant the Zionists as a viable political and economic entity. A more "normal" capitalist development, relying on the *laissez-faire* techniques of an earlier period, was simply not suitable for the circumstances of what amounted to an invasion. Hence the particular adaptability of "left" Zionism, an ideology which emphasized centralism, hard work and a sacrificing, pioneering mentality — all so as to better serve the purpose of war against the indigenous population and later, as regional gendarme.

The Histadrut, for example, was less a reformist trade union than a fighter, including militarily, for the settler interests of Jewish workers; it subordinated everything else, including trade union economic demands, to that.<sup>27</sup> The Haganah, the main Zionist armed force in establishing Israel, had its roots in militias growing out of the Histadrut.

Similarly, the kibbutzim, the cooperative agricultural settlements in the Israeli countryside universally hailed in the West for demonstrating the democratic cooperative potential of the Zionist state, play a critical strategic role for Israel. In the 1967 war, for instance, kibbutz members, only 3.5% of the population, composed a percentage many times higher in the elite combat units (paratroopers, front-line officers, etc.)<sup>28</sup> One commentator, calling the kibbutzim Israel's "school for

Spartans," attributed this to the values inculcated in the kibbutzim, including discipline, a big dose of Zionism, and proprietary feelings for the land which, he says, fuels desire among the kibbutz members to defend Israel.<sup>29</sup>

There is much speculation about the infighting in the Israeli government between Likud and Labour, and it is said that this is key to bringing peace to the Middle East. Whatever promises various Labour spokesmen may make when they are out of office and not so responsible for policy, the history of these social-democratic settler colonialists who launched the Zionist project and wielded power for well over two decades proves that they, no less than Likud, will enforce Zionist domination and overall imperialist interests and will combat the Palestinian revolution with every means at their disposal. As Rabin, the Labour Defence Minister who headed up the 1967 war and who today presides over the bloody suppression of the *intifada*, declared, "The only place we'll negotiate with the Palestinians is on the battlefield."<sup>30</sup>

As the *intifada* continues to rock Israel, observers report a further hardening of Israelis towards the Palestinians, with most Israelis favouring harsher security measures against the rebel youth.<sup>31</sup> While with the advance of the Palestinian revolution some Israelis will undoubtedly desert and go over to the Palestinian side, and many will flee any all-out conflict, there is every reason to assume that the majority will remain faithful to the Zionist state.

This will demand increasingly reactionary service from them — yet in an ultimately doomed cause. For the whole post-WW2 world order is coming apart and the imperialist world is being shaken by the deepest crisis. This has already called forth upheaval and rebellion in a number of places, and the Middle East will surely see explosions on an unprecedented scale. As it attempts to meet these, the Zionist state, already stretched thin trying to maintain its shaky occupation of south Lebanon and the West Bank and Gaza, will be pushed to its limits. Israel is already desperately seeking to make a deal

with the Soviets for a new influx of immigrants, yet fewer and fewer people want to come, and in the last few years net emigration has even exceeded immigration. Over half a million Israelis now live abroad. All this is especially threatening for the strength of the Zionist military, which has a percentage of recent immigrants higher than that of the population at large. All these problems stem directly from Israel's position as an imperialist gendarme, which demands that the society be kept on a constant war footing. Finally, and most fundamentally, the masses of oppressed the world over hate the settler colonialist state and support the struggle against it; even the Zionists' own masters hold them in ill-disguised contempt.<sup>32</sup>

### The Palestinians

The Palestinians have been dispersed by the establishment of the Zionist settler colonial state. Several million live outside historic Palestine, including in Jordan; many hundreds of thousands live in refugee camps, especially in Lebanon and Syria. Conditions in the camps are always difficult, often wretched. One of the main difficulties, however, is that while words of honey are ever present on the lips of the Arab countries' rulers, actual treatment by the governments is harsh and discriminatory.

Another 600,000 Palestinians live inside what is called the "Green Line," by which is meant the pre-1967 borders of Israel. The Zionists claim they are treated equally as Jews in "democratic Israel." They actually suffer discrimination in every sphere, enforced by an array of laws to protect the "Jewish character" of the state. These include laws forbidding the sale to non-Jews of land held by the Jewish National Fund, which holds the majority of the land in Israel, forbidding employment of Palestinians in certain industries and jobs, etc. And not only have the Palestinians been dispersed, but they are forced into the most undesirable, lowest-paying jobs.

After having seized the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the 1967 war, Israel negotiated their disposi-

tion with Egypt in the Camp David agreement. The understanding of this agreement was that Israel was not to undertake any sort of permanent settlements in the West Bank or Gaza Strip and was to begin measures preparing for withdrawal from these areas. Instead, there are now approximately 60,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank and 2,500 in Gaza.<sup>33</sup>

The settlements established by the Israelis are chosen above all for their military-strategic value. First, they are intended to break up any continuity of Palestinian territory. The World Zionist Organisation spelled out the strategy of the Zionist settlements early on: "State (Jordan) land and uncultivated land must be seized immediately. It would be difficult for the minority population to form a territorial continuity and political unity when it is fragmented by Jewish settlements."<sup>34</sup> Roads have been constructed so as to connect the Jewish settlements and bypass and isolate the Palestinian population. The general policy has been one of encircling Arab populations with Zionist settlements. Second, the Israeli settlements are to provide initial base areas against an invasion force. Though many settlements have minefields and even stocks of infantry and antitank weapons,<sup>35</sup> their military value is also symbolic — any Arab or Palestinian force that sought to drive the Israelis out of territory that the whole world admits is Palestinian would inevitably shed Israeli blood, thereby providing a pretext which the Israeli leaders would trumpet to justify the vicious retaliation they are so famous for.

The Israelis make great profits off the wretched conditions they keep the Palestinians in. There are at least 100,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza who work daily in Israel, perhaps 30% of them illegally, including many domestic female workers. On the Zionist collective farms, 20-30% of the Arab workers are children of 12 or younger. Within the "Green Line," Palestinians' wages are 50-60% of those of Israeli workers,<sup>36</sup> with almost no work rights. All this provides a bonanza of profits for the Israeli bourgeoisie, and has created conditions where Israeli Jews are less and less often to

be found in dirty, low-paying jobs and are more typically foremen, middle-level clerical workers, etc. The Palestinians within the "Green Line," though directly suffering blatant discrimination, do have a higher standard of living in imperialist-subsidised Israel than Arabs in Syria or Jordan, for instance. The Israelis love to point to this and certainly counted on this to placate the Palestinians' discontent. Recent events have showed just how wrong their vulgar view was.

There is another, more fundamental dimension to the Israeli development of the economy of the 1967 Occupied Territories than simply as a base for cheap labour: they are an occupied military zone. The counterinsurgency tactic of Israel has been the destruction of the local economy in such a way as to eliminate the basis for the emergence and growth of any revolutionary army on this terrain. This policy was developed especially after the 1968 battle of Karameh where the PLO held off the Israeli army and the subsequent attempts of the PLO to launch armed struggle in the West Bank. The Israelis declared that they were going to "dry up the sea" that the PLO guerrillas were trying to swim in.

As a key part of this policy, Israel has systematically destroyed the self-sufficient agricultural system of the West Bank, so that it cannot play any role in sustaining a people's army. In the guise of promoting exports of fruits and vegetables, the Israelis have undercut grain production. Control of water has been a key weapon for the Zionists in Palestine's arid conditions. West Bank Palestinians pay more for their water and have the rights to less water than their Israeli neighbors, so that farmers "find their land worthless while within sight of their homes there are settlements with lawn sprinklers and brimming swimming pools."<sup>37</sup> Israeli water policy has contributed to a considerable reduction in amount of land cultivated by Palestinians.

The actual governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza is the Israeli military, which ruthlessly oversees every aspect of life. Educational textbooks are censored, teachers

reviewed by the Shin Bet, the Israeli secret police, and curfews are frequent. Within five months after the *intifada* began, around 5,000 Palestinians were jailed — one person out of every 300 in the 1967 Occupied Territories. Once someone is arrested, the Shin Bet has 18 days to interrogate them before they must be brought to court. Eighty percent of convictions in the West Bank and Gaza are obtained by confessions — torture obviously being the key "persuader."<sup>38</sup> As many as 2,000 Palestinians are in administrative detention, which means they can be held for up to 6 months without any charges being brought against them. And it is renewable. One of the main administrative detention centres is in the Negev Desert, far from the Palestinians' homes (as well as from any potential observers), where detainees are put in tents in temperatures that reach 45° C. Medicine and food are insufficient, beatings frequent. As of late February, of those killed by the Israelis, twenty-one had been asphyxiated by tear gas, including three babies less than 7 months old, one man 100 years old, and two women over 70, and at least seven people have been simply beaten to death.<sup>39</sup> And this, the Zionists assure, is the "only democracy in the Middle East."

#### Soviet Social-Imperialism versus Palestinian Liberation

The Soviet social-imperialists contrast their own role in the Middle East to heavy-handed U.S. domination and argue that they have no stakes of empire in the region and are thus the natural ally of all those held down by the U.S., especially the Palestinian people.

Since the restoration of capitalism there in the mid-1950s, the Soviet Union has never sought to promote any revolutionary transformation in the Middle East, and certainly not a liberation war to build a Palestinian revolutionary state on the ashes of Israel. On the contrary, it has continually advocated the "right to exist" of the Zionist settler state, and repeatedly called on the Palestinians to accept this. Gorbachev recently advised Arafat that "recognition of the State of Israel, consideration of

its security interests... is a necessary element of the establishment of peace and good-neighbourliness in the region."<sup>40</sup> Even after rupturing diplomatic relations with Israel following the 1967 war, when Egypt, then a Soviet client regime under Nasser, suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Zionist military, the USSR still managed to keep up contacts with the Zionists and even sent Israel huge numbers of Jewish immigrants (270,000 during the 1970s alone). This was a major source of military manpower for the Zionists, as large numbers of these immigrants were adults trained, educated and ready for military service. Jewish immigrants became a pawn in inter-imperialist contention in the region, as the social-imperialists, who on the one hand practice widespread anti-Semitism, on the other hand send cannonfodder to Israel (the USSR *only* grants exit visas to Jews to go to Israel). Israel, in turn, often demands the USSR ensure that all the Jews who leave actually end up in Israel, since many do not. The social-imperialists shut off the flow of immigrants or turn it on again, depending on their larger interests. Today, under Gorbachev, the Soviets have once again eased open the faucet, giving exit visas for Israel to over 1,000 Jews per month, as part of Gorbachev's offensive of expanding Soviet influence with Israel.<sup>41</sup>

Nonetheless the fact that Israel is solidly in the U.S. camp means the Soviets have had to fish for clients mainly among the Arab regimes. This has given rise to the phenomenon of the division of the Arab world into "progressive" and "reactionary" regimes, in Soviet eyes. What the Soviets mean by this is that no matter how comprador, reactionary and even feudal a regime might be, as long as this is in the service of Soviet interests the regime is really "progressive"; if it is in Western interests, it is "reactionary."

Syria is one of these so-called progressive regimes and is also the Soviet's main client in the area. Though Syria now receives hundreds of millions of dollars annually from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, it is in debt up to its neck to both blocs and its military is virtu-

ally entirely supplied by and dependent on the Soviets; Syria is consequently firmly in the Soviet bloc. There is nothing progressive about Syria: it is ruled by a feudal-comprador clan. Amnesty International lists 35 different kinds of torture that are used in Assad's prisons, which house numerous political dissidents of all stripes, including quite a few Palestinians who are too revolutionary for Assad. Assad's regime also indulges in frequent bloodletting of the oppressed peoples in Syria.

During the Lebanese civil war in 1975-76, Syria was at first allied with the reactionary Maronite Christians and their Phalangist thugs *against* the Lebanese "left" and the Palestinian resistance; this and the series of rapid reversals of alliances which followed show that Assad and Co. were out for their own interests above all.

It was during the civil war that at the Tal al-Zataar refugee camp in Lebanon, Syrian forces played a role similar to that of the Israelis a few years later at Sabra and Shatila camps, as they unleashed their then allies, the reactionary pro-Western Phalangists, to massacre over a thousand Palestinians, women, children, and old men, in a bloody effort to bludgeon particularly Fatah, the largest group in the PLO, into submission.<sup>42</sup> The Soviets, who furnished the arms with which such Syrian crimes were carried out, tut-tutted from the sidelines, but did little else. The Syrian butchery corresponded to their own interests to have a PLO that had been bloodied a bit, and so would be less independent and more submissive to overall Syrian (and Soviet) desires. But not destroyed — eventually the Soviets intervened to settle the "fraternal dispute." The Soviets have developed a relationship with Syria that has this parallel at least with that of the U.S. and Israel: Assad has learned to judge the tone of his masters' "no" in order to understand just how much further he can go in tearing into the PLO to keep it in line before he must really come to heel.

The Soviets point proudly to the "aid" they give the Palestinian cause, including arms to the PLO.

Yet a closer look at the kind of aid they give and what it is for only serves to further indict their imperialist character.

When the PLO first launched the armed struggle in the mid-1960s, when the shoots of guerrilla warfare were fragile, its direction and character unsettled, and when all the world's imperialists and reactionaries were united in denouncing and seeking to crush the armed struggle, with the Zionists striking ferociously at the guerrillas' roots within Israel and Jordan's Hussein unleashing the vicious suppression of the guerrillas in "Black September" of 1970, what stand did the Soviet self-proclaimed saviours of Palestinian liberation take at this decisive moment? Here is the Soviet's "support" for the PLO: "the concept of violent revolution, which the ultra-left opportunists seek to impose upon the national-liberation movement, has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.... Such 'revolutionary' postures can merely produce a schism in the united anti-imperialist front...; and hold up its further development."<sup>43</sup> The Soviets condemned those they called "crazy extremists amongst the fedayeen," whom they characterised as "governed by the slogan 'the worse it is, the better it is.'"<sup>44</sup>

The Soviets lashed out at anything that threatened to ignite the simmering masses of the region into revolutionary war. Their most rabid attacks were reserved for the great wave of revolutionary ferment which spread out over the world from the Cultural Revolution in China. Kosygin, President of the USSR, ranted, "Revolutionary slogans can work against the interests of the Arabs. Look at China. They are taking a very hard revolutionary line and say that if you go to war they will help you. But what can they help you with? Ten articles? A hundred meetings? Revolutionary ideas expressed in words don't mean anything unless they are backed by real power."<sup>45</sup> What vile contempt for the revolutionary science of the proletariat and the consciousness and mobilisation of the masses, which is the *basis* for taking up guns — which the Chinese did provide in large quantities — and seizing

revolutionary state power!

Key to Soviet plans has been an "international peace conference," which they have been promoting for over 20 years now. In this scheme the masses are passive bystanders with no role to play other than watching the Great Powers — naturally including the USSR — decide the region's destiny, or at most struggling to strengthen the Soviet position at the bargaining table, so that perhaps the Soviet patron will give them a bigger slice of the pie to be cut. This is a major way the social-imperialists have used to keep initiative in their own hands, to foster reliance by the forces of the Palestinian resistance on the Great Powers and to stifle the possibility of an eruption in Palestine of a real people's war capable of smashing Israel and carrying through a revolution against all imperialism.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to note that the Soviets are not opposed to all armed struggle by the Palestinians, but to what they consider "stupid illusions" that light arms and people's war are the road forward. Hence, while the Soviets send Israel Jewish immigrants for their army, they send the PLO tanks and other heavy weaponry and train their cadres in Soviet military academies to wage conventional war. For the Soviet social-imperialists, there is a certain logic here. The road forward that they are interested in taking is not the destruction of Israel, it is not the overturning of all the reactionary feudal and imperialist-backed forces in the region and the establishment of revolutionary rule by the masses.

What lies behind the seemingly diverse strands of Soviet policy in the Middle East is the following assessment: in the face of the U.S.' entrenched domination of the region, they cannot count on moving in and taking over big chunks of it piecemeal today but must instead manoeuvre as best they can to establish their influence with existing regimes and movements. Ultimately, it is only through defeating the U.S. and its bloc through world war and redividing the region as part of an overall redivision of the world that the social-imperialists can redraw the map of the Middle East, carry out realignments of different class

forces and consolidate their own hegemony in the region. Promoting capitulationist schemes today within the PLO and fostering methods of fighting which rely on their imperialist aid is, for the Soviets, not at all in contradiction to currying favor with feudal shieks in the United Arab Emirates: *both* are part of gathering influence and preparing forces to carry out a reactionary realignment of social forces in the Middle East, ultimately through world war (though the Soviets undoubtedly rely more on those bourgeois forces currently cut out of the U.S. division of the region and consequently ready to act to change it).<sup>47</sup>

Revolution and genuine people's war figures nowhere in Soviet calculations except as a potential threat to be crushed ruthlessly. For the Soviets, what role Israel itself would play in some future realignment depends no more on the justness of the Palestinian cause than does the propping up of Assad today depend on his being "progressive," which he emphatically is not. What counts are Soviet imperialist interests: while certain pro-Soviet PLO eminences undoubtedly dream wistfully of the consummation of the efforts of their patron, what may actually greet their long wait may surprise them, including even possibly a Palestinian bantustan under the dominion of a refurbished pro-Soviet Israel. As Gromyko spelled out: "As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there is only one kind of logic in foreign affairs: the logic of what is best for the Soviet Union."<sup>48</sup>

### The Arab Regimes, Israel and Palestinian Liberation

While revisionists like to divide the Arab regimes up into "progressive" and "reactionary," the entire framework of states and power relations in the Middle East today is a product of imperialism. The political entities of the Arab states were themselves carved more or less arbitrarily out of the living corpse of the Ottoman Empire. Today a motley gang of shieks, military officers, feudal clans and comprador presidents are perched over the rumbling mass of 100 million oppressed Arabs

and kept in place only thanks to the muscle of their imperialist sponsors. This entire arrangement of state relations is a flimsy house of cards, with the trump card at the centre holding it all together the most artificial creation of all, the Zionist settler state.

The pivotal position of Israel as an enforcer of the post-WW2 order established by the imperialists in the Middle East means that today, however much the various Arab regimes may huff and puff about the Zionists<sup>49</sup>, they are themselves terrified of the revolutionary process that would be required to destroy Israel. Mobilising the Palestinian and Arab masses in a people's war against Israel and its imperialist masters would call into question the entire system of imperialist state relations established after the war, including the very existence of these reactionary dinosaurs. Hence, while holding gala press conferences to praise the *intifada* and promise support for the liberation of Palestine, the Arab regimes, reactionary and so-called progressive alike, viciously stamp out the sparks of liberation which burst up among the Palestinians and their own subjects as well. Demonstrations in support of the *intifada* have been repeatedly broken up by Hussein's police; in Morocco helicopters were used to gun down demonstrators, which reportedly resulted in several deaths, while Kuwaiti authorities rounded up several dozen Palestinians immediately after the *intifada* broke out, and it was only when a temporary truce was established between Syria's Assad and Arafat that Palestinians were allowed to take to the streets of Damascus — for one day.<sup>50</sup>

The so-called support of the Arab states for the PLO often amounts to a form of "protection" money; by developing "friendly" relations with the PLO, they hope to head off the outrage of the Arab masses at Zionist-imperialist crimes and to convince the Palestinian resistance not to arouse their oppressed subjects in revolutionary struggle. Such "support" also seeks to turn the Palestinian resistance away from self-reliance and towards methods of organisation and struggle which

grow out of dependence on these huge "donations" from the Arab regimes, including by keeping the PLO bases far from those places where they could actually draw on any fighting strength from the Palestinian masses and even isolated from the populations of these countries. Developing these kind of ties with the PLO also has enabled the reactionary Arab rulers to keep their finger on the pulse of the PLO, to learn of its latest political and military plans so as to anticipate them with their own schemes.<sup>51</sup> This enables the Arab regimes to try to subordinate dissidence within the Palestinian resistance movement to their own intrigues and infighting, which ultimately means to the larger imperialist manipulations and rivalry as well.<sup>52</sup>

In order to advance, the Palestinian revolutionaries must be able to recognise *all* their enemies. As they succeed in charting the path for liberation and dealing ever sharper blows against the imperialists' chief prop in the region, they will undoubtedly not only draw the wrath of all the other agents of imperialism and reaction, but will also kindle sparks of revolution among the broad ranks of the Arab oppressed, threatening to ignite a prairie fire of revolutionary war throughout the region and burn to the ground all the structures of imperialism and reaction.

### **The Mini-state, the "Jewish Nation" and the Palestinian Revolution**

The mini-state so-called solution to the Palestinian problem has united behind it a wide variety of forces, including the Soviet bloc, social-democrats especially in Europe, certain Arab leaders and various so-called peace forces in Israel. The PLO itself adopted this in the form of an amendment to its Programme in 1974, where it is stated that a Palestinian state should be established as "a national authority on any liberated territory," by which all understand to be included the Gaza strip and especially the West Bank.

Though the different forces which support the mini-state solution each

do so out of their own interests, they share common arguments. First amongst these is that it is the only just solution, that the Jews should have their state and the Palestinians theirs, and that this will resolve the conflicts between them and lead to peace in the Middle East. This "common sense" argument is advanced especially by the imperialists, but has its advocates in the PLO, such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the pro-Soviet wings of the PLO, led by Nayef Hawatmeh, which claims to have made the "Marxist-Leninist" analysis that Israeli Jews have constituted themselves into a nation and thus have the right to self-determination.

This argument rips the national question out of its world-historic context. As the *Declaration of the RIM* states, "In our era, the national question has ceased to be an internal question of single countries and has become subordinate to the general question of the world proletarian revolution, hence its thoroughgoing resolution has become directly dependent on the struggle against imperialism." How does supporting an Israeli "right to self-determination" advance the struggle against imperialism? To argue that Israeli Jews constitute a nation and that the masses of Jews should be viewed as simple victims of imperialism and Zionism ignores that they are mainly being used by imperialism to subjugate the entire region. Indeed, what this argument does is ideologically justify imperialism's key outpost in the region and thus strengthen imperialism itself.

In a certain sense, even if Israeli Jews had emerged as a "nation," it would not change the essential point, for such a nation would be nothing but a settler colonial nation and would merit only destruction as a political entity, i.e., as a state.

But the Jews are not a nation. Religion, by itself, does not determine a nationality, and this is as true of Judaism as it is of Christianity or any other faith. Lenin pointed out long ago that, as in the case of almost any religion, Jews were everywhere. They still are. What, other than religion (and its corollary, religious intolerance) do Jews

in Kiev have in common with Jews in New York, Tunisia, Buenos Aires or even Tel Aviv? Indeed, the great majority of Jews do *not* live in Israel, but in the USSR or the U.S. The fact that one section of Jews has been installed in a specific geographical location by imperialism does not suddenly make them a nation. It may make them a *mercenary army base*, an appendage of the imperialists themselves — but not a nation with a *right* to self-determination, which in the case of the Israeli Jews can only mean a right to continued expropriation of the homeland of a people which it dispossessed and a right to continue serving the imperialists as the bully-boys of the region!

A more radical-sounding argument for the mini-state solution is that it would be a "tactical step forward" enabling PLO forces to gain some power so as to more effectively carry the struggle forward against Israel.

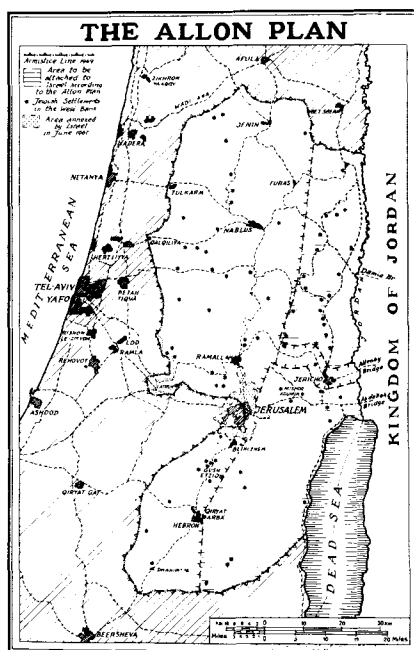
The imperialists have no intention of setting up a mini-state that would in any way become a base for ongoing revolutionary struggle. A look at some of the plans they have floated out for a mini-state shows just how unrevolutionary such a concoction would be.

Consider a proposal for a mini-state by an Israeli analyst whose thinking approaches that of the "left" wing of the Israeli Labour Party. He is insistent that any future Palestinian mini-state would 1) not have the right to have foreign troops of any sort on its soil, a provision which is explicitly directed against Soviet influence, and 2) would have to accept definite limits on its military capability, meaning essentially it would be allowed no more than a police force. As the Israeli analyst explains, the need of the mini-state for military power would be strictly limited to just enough to first, give the new state a certain amount of "dignity" and the "attributes of independence," and second, "protect the regime, contain rejectionist and other sources of domestic disorder, and enforce the state's obligation not to permit acts of violence against neighboring states to originate from within its territory."<sup>53</sup> In other words, guns in the hands of the

Palestinian mini-state would be there not to attack Israel but to shoot any Palestinians who dared attack Israel! And such proposals as this one are considered *too generous to the Palestinians* to gain the support of any real authorities in Israel or the U.S., who envision far more stringent guarantees for Israel's security!<sup>54</sup>

The Israeli Labour Party has explicitly written into its programme a prohibition against giving up the bulk of the West Bank, so none of its proposals would even envision going that far. The Allon Plan, for example, which is the main proposal floated out by the Labour Party, proposes to carve up the West Bank, leaving the future mini-state virtually entirely surrounded by Israeli troops, including to the east (see map). This exposes the so-called mini-state solution as amounting to a pitiful bantustan like those in South Africa, with Black faces presiding over actual South African apartheid domination. This is the only kind of mini-state that the imperialists *might* set up. There is nothing revolutionary about such a scheme, because it fails to resolve the fundamental question of the oppression of the Palestinian masses and simply perpetuates imperialist-Zionist rule with Palestinian faces on top.

More fundamentally, however, the imperialists themselves have no intention or even the real capability of setting up a mini-state with any credibility. Neither of the two imperialist blocs has the hegemony necessary to carry out such a volatile rearrangement of the existing division of the region. The Western bloc knows that such a move would set into motion processes that can throw the region into qualitatively higher political turmoil and instability. To go in and attempt a reorganisation of the borders and the state system in an area as strategically central to world dynamics as the Middle East demands a certain hegemony — the kind, for instance, that the U.S. had coming off its victory in World War 2, when it decisively ruled the imperialist roost and carried out a worldwide restructuring of capital and the strategic arrangements, including the creation



*Labour mini-state plan. Lined area to be kept by Israel.*

of Israel, that it needed to enforce the new division of the world.

The U.S. no longer has this kind of unparalleled hegemony and consequently, it does not have the ability to set up any authentic Palestinian state, even a pro-Western one. First, Israel itself was set up and structured for years now to act as an aggressive attack dog, constantly on the prowl, with a consequent drive to expand continually, into south Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank, etc. To take the 1967 Occupied Territories away from Israel and set up a mini-state, however reactionary, would cut against this fundamental dynamic of the Zionist state, and hence weaken the imperialist position. Secondly, because any such state would still be erected under the wings of an Israel ruling over the core of the former Palestinian homeland, there would inevitably be festering discontent against Zionism and imperialism, which would create instability and continued revolt by the Palestinian masses. Setting up a Palestinian bantustan is not going to end the determined struggle of the Palestinian masses. Finally, such instability would give manoeuvring room for the Soviets, and the U.S. imperialists are not going to accept an arrangement which would allow any possibility of this. Moshe Arens, a Likud minister without portfolio, argued in the summer of 1987 that

even Soviet participation in an international conference "cannot provide the proper framework and pressure-free atmosphere needed to resolve what is not merely a question of territory and borders but of Israel's very existence. It can only severely harm Israel and increase Soviet power and prestige in the Middle East."<sup>55</sup> U.S. policy has not varied from this.<sup>56</sup>

The Soviets are not today capable of reversing this state of affairs, and so establishing a mini-state is not a serious objective of Soviet strategy in the region. This is one reason why the Soviets have been so singularly inactive around the Palestinian issue, while settlement proposals flurry around Afghanistan, Angola, etc. They prefer to try to continue to capitalise on the Arab regimes' contradictions with Israel, expand their military presence, including through arms sales, entrench themselves where possible and bide their time for more favourable opportunities. At the same time, they continue to identify themselves with the mini-state solution so as to present the USSR as an ally of those held down by the U.S. and Israel.

Thus the Soviets cannot today overturn the U.S./Israeli-imposed power alignment, but the U.S. is no longer capable of effectively shutting the door to Soviet influence within any conceivable mini-state solution, much less using it to halt all rebellion on the part of the oppressed Palestinians. Hence the deadlock, and the unlikelihood of any motion towards establishing a Palestinian mini-state in the 1967 Occupied Territories.

Thus, under present conditions, the mini-state solution is not a feasible solution for the imperialists. More importantly, it is not a revolutionary solution for the masses. Promoting the mini-state solution not only holds up an illusory quest for the Palestinian masses, it also rejects the only path for liberation for the Palestinian people, which is people's war to establish a new democratic regime on the ashes of the Zionist settler state. A new democratic republic of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of their proletarian vanguard, will lead the masses in struggle for the

elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation including those which existed even before the formation of Israel, such as feudal exploitation and oppression and the oppression of women, but which the Zionist state has reinforced and to which it has even added new forms of exploitation and oppression. Such a state will inspire and assist all the oppressed to follow. Even before victory the revolutionary people's war necessary to found such a new democratic Palestinian power would certainly draw in masses from surrounding countries into the battlefield to realise this beautiful future, and give a powerful impetus to the world revolutionary movement.

In sum, there is no peaceful solution to the oppression of the Palestinian people, and there is no peaceful way the map of the Middle East can be redrawn. Dramatic changes will come only through war: either imperialist reactionary war, leading to new realignments in the region and a new round of exploitation and oppression, or revolutionary war, to destroy Israel, liberate Palestine and shatter the entire imperialist order. Forty years of struggle against national oppression, forty years of genocide and misery brought on the Palestinian people by imperialism, Zionism and all the other reactionary forces in the region, has done nothing but strengthen the material basis for the revolutionary struggle in Palestine to win victory and make a tremendous contribution to the world revolutionary movement. The times cry out for revolutionary vision and the determination to make great leaps forward, not for half-hearted capitulationist schemes like the mini-state.

### The Future

Worldwide developments, including the inter-imperialist rivalry between the two blocs, has created a situation where neither can decisively reorganise relations in the Middle East and resolve the Palestinian conflict on favourable terms. Yet the status quo is itself untenable, at least for long. As the *Declaration of the RIM* analyzes: "The post World War II world is rapidly coming apart (Continued to p. 79).



# The Soviet

At the time Israel was founded in 1948, the Soviet Union was still a socialist state under the leadership of Stalin. The policy the Soviet leadership took towards the founding of Israel was nonetheless profoundly mistaken and had serious negative consequences for the revolutionary struggle.

The international communist movement had burst into the Middle East with the salvos of the October Revolution. The Comintern had encouraged and worked towards the development of a communist movement in Palestine, with some success; it had, under Lenin's and then Stalin's leadership, denounced Zionism as a tool of British imperialism. In admitting the Palestine Communist Party in 1923, the Comintern had, for instance, stressed the need for it to "support the nationalist freedom of the Arab population against the British-Zionist occupation."<sup>1</sup> But twenty-five years later the USSR gave the Zionists support at the decisive moment of Israel's founding.

While a full analysis of the roots of this error is beyond the scope of this article, it is worth exploring the immediate reasons behind the Soviet decision to recognise and, for a time, actually support the Zionists.

First, the international communist movement did, in its majority, support the formation of the Zionist state. China under Mao was the major exception. A very large shipment of arms to the Haganah was provided by Czechoslovakia in 1948; the infamous Stern gang, with Menachem Begin in its leadership, ran underground presses out of Bucharest, Budapest and Prague as late as 1949; the Soviets denounced Arab resistance to Israel's founda-

tion and even provided the Zionists with planes and pilot instruction which were used in 1948 against the Arab armies fighting the formation of Israel.<sup>2</sup>

Probably the key turning point was the Soviet vote in the United Nations. Earlier the Soviets had called for a solution which did not partition Palestine. When this stand was defeated, however, they opted to support the U.S.-backed proposition for partitioning Palestine into an Arab and Jewish state. Shortly thereafter, the Zionists unilaterally declared the establishment of Israel and set out militarily to erect the state, and Palestinian and other Arab forces counterattacked.

At this important moment the USSR stood, not with the Arab masses, but with the Zionists. Gromyko, who later was among those leading the overthrow of the socialist state after Stalin's death, and who went on to become the leading social-imperialist politician he is today, cast the Soviet vote in the U.N.; he explained the decision, "We cannot agree with the assertion which implies that the decision on the partition of Palestine is aimed against the Arabs and the Arab countries. It is our deep conviction that this decision corresponds to the fundamental national interests of both Jews and the Arabs."<sup>3</sup> *Pravda* condemned the Arab armed resistance to the founding of Israel in as "an unlawful invasion," and declared that "unprovoked aggression against the young Jewish State will encounter the harshest judgement of the people of the Soviet Union and the progressive peoples of the whole world."<sup>4</sup>

Many explanations have been offered for the Soviet position.

# Union and the Founding of Israel

First, Soviet declarations of the “national rights” of the Jews may well have been a diplomatic manoeuvre. Stalin, as Lenin before him, had explicitly polemicised against the view that the Jews were a nation, pointing out instead that Judaism was a religion. There is no reason to suppose that this view had changed.

Instead, it may be that this was an effort by the Soviet leadership to use the Zionists’ temporary conflict with the British to play up the contradictions between the aging British colonial setup and the new-coming U.S. imperialists to prevent one or the other from consolidating a grip on the area.<sup>5</sup> One effort to lend strength to this argument claims that the Soviets believed that in the Zionists they had a force at their disposal that would act somewhat independently of the two Western imperialist powers. The USSR did have great prestige among the masses of Jews because of its unparalleled efforts to rescue Jews from the Nazis and because it had borne the brunt of the war effort in Europe. Further, a high proportion of the Zionist leadership had roots in the Soviet bloc countries. Of Israeli Cabinet members in the period 1948-1972, almost one-third were of Russian origin and 70% were from the USSR or East Europe, including Golda Meir, Ben Gurion, Shamir, etc.; there were even significant Zionist tendencies which spoke of building the “future dictatorship of the Jewish proletariat over Jewish lives in Palestine.”

It should be kept in mind that at this time, just following World War 2, the contradiction between the socialist camp led by the USSR and the imperialist camp was very intense; the U.S. imperialists were putting

extreme pressure on the heavily devastated USSR. But however correct it may have been for the revolutionary forces in the Soviet leadership to combat this imperialist encirclement, this could not be done on the basis of subordinating the world revolutionary movement to the interests of the socialist country of defending itself by trying to heighten contradictions amongst its enemies. As the *Declaration of the RIM* states: “the defence of socialist states must always be subordinate to the overall progress of the world revolution and must never be seen as the *equivalent* (and certainly not the substitute) for the international struggle of the proletariat.”<sup>6</sup>

If the Soviet leaders were attempting to use contradictions amongst the imperialists, it must be said that such a tact was misconceived at best and winded up backfiring on the proletarian leaders. It ultimately served only to grease the wheels of the Western imperialist manoeuvres in the region, enabling them to more easily stabilise their post-World War II hegemony, including through setting up Israel.

The policy of the Soviet leadership also had serious consequences for the Palestinian and Arab revolutionary movement. It can safely be said that the association of Marxism-Leninism with the Soviet recognition of and support for the founding of Israel greatly hindered the emergence of a revolutionary proletarian trend among the Arab and Palestinian forces and gave fuel to the growth of anti-communist bourgeois nationalist forces, such as the Arab Nationalist Movement.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the position that the Jews constituted a nation, and that Israel thus had some sort of “right to ex-

ist,” was slipped into the ranks of the Palestinian resistance movement and was to reappear later in the PLO, with very negative results.

It should be pointed out that the cancer of revisionism had already made great inroads into the international communist movement and even the top ranks of the Soviet party. For this reason, it is often very difficult to sort out the policy of the proletarian forces seeking to combat the imperialists, but making serious errors in doing that, from the revisionist line of those who simply wanted to set up their own social-imperialist rule. Nonetheless, errors were made, and grave ones at that. The recognition and support extended to the Zionists by the Soviet Union is part of the negative heritage of the international communist movement.

By V.K.S.

## Footnotes

1. Krammer, *Forgotten Friendship*, pp. 7-13.
2. Krammer, p. 101.
3. Behbehani, *The Soviet Union and Arab Nationalism: 1917-1966* (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1986), p. 58.
4. Krammer, p. 31.
5. Behbehani, pp. 82-84.
6. *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, p. 19.
7. These forces seized on the ICM errors and fanned the flames of anti-communism, promoting Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism and other ultimately capitulationist roads. It is ironic that many of these forces now in the Palestinian resistance, like George Habash of the PFLP or Nayef Hawatmeh of the DFLP, or more generally in the Arab world, turned around and after the restoration of capitalism in the USSR advocated unity with and support of the policies of the now social-imperialist state. The Comintern parties in the Arab countries were already infested with revisionism and reformism before the reversal of socialism in the USSR, and all certainly became revisionist thereafter. □



## Attack Dog

(Continued from p. 24).

at the seams. The international economic and political relations — the 'division of the world' — established through and in the aftermath of World War II no longer correspond to the needs of the various imperialist powers to 'peacefully' extend and expand their profit empires. While the post World War II world has undergone important changes as a result of conflicts between the imperialists and, especially, as a result of revolutionary struggle, today it is this entire network of economic, political and military relations that is being called into question."<sup>57</sup>

All this is especially true of the Middle East. The fabric of the Middle East is stretched as never before. The region, already world renowned for its instability, is today rent as never before by pulsing rivalries between the imperialists and the reactionaries, fueling unprecedented arms buildups in every country. As these monsters focus their strength against each other and threaten to settle their accounts by the force of arms, all the seething discontent and rebellion that they are already straining to contain will find even wider openings to burst forth and allow the oppressed masses to settle *their own* accounts — through revolutionary war.

At the centre of future developments in the region stand the Palestinians themselves — they have demonstrated forcefully that they refuse to be subjugated. The Israelis bring a mighty military machine to bear against them — yet it has not crushed the rebellion. Last December Labour Defence Minister Rabin promised that he would end the rebellion "in a matter of days." Days later, he said that it would be over in a few weeks. After the weeks had passed, his promises became even more vague — the end of the rebellion was near, he said. The strutting Zionist stormtroopers have found it difficult indeed to crush the stone-throwing youth.

While its Zionist goons attempt to bludgeon the *intifada* into defeat, the U.S. has floated out yet another Middle East peace plan. The heart of the U.S. design was simply to give

the *appearance* of motion towards a solution. As the *New York Times* editorialised, "Many Israelis believe that a swift and harsh response is the only course. Contain the disorder first, the argument goes, and then, maybe, negotiate. But as the disorder continues, the likelihood grows that Israelis cannot contain it unless they negotiate."<sup>58</sup> For the imperialists, the point is, obviously, to "*contain*" the disorder.

While the Palestinian masses have persisted in valiant struggle against overwhelming odds, and have resisted the siren songs of the imperialists, still it is true that, as the statement from the Committee of the RIM has pointed out, the spontaneous revolt will not go on forever. The youth are already straining to go over to more effective forms of struggle. A vanguard organisation is sorely lacking: a force capable of infusing the masses with a strategy that can actually begin to inflict serious casualties on the Zionist military forces based on a plan for liberating the Palestinian people and setting up a revolutionary regime on the ashes of Israel.

As Lenin observed, "Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful revolutionary movements that masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist [revolutionary communist — *AWTW*]proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught."<sup>59</sup>

The *intifada*, the "revolt of stones," has already made great contributions to the Palestinian revolutionary movement. Besides preparing the Palestinian masses in the way Lenin described, it has exposed the feet of clay of the arrogant Zionist military apparatus. This rebellion has revealed to the whole world that before the fearlessness of the Palestinian youth the Zionist stormtroopers show fear. They are,

in the final analysis, *only* a military camp: an imperialist setup whose activity is bound to draw increasing millions into struggle against it. For theirs is an unjust cause — this is the most fundamental source of weakness of the Zionists and imperialists, and it is this which guarantees ultimate victory of the Palestinian people.

As Mao Tsetung said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic.... Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic."<sup>60</sup>

### Footnotes

1. In *The Arab-Israeli Reader*, ed. Walter Laqueur (New York).
2. Cited in Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle* (South End Press: Boston, 1983), p. 90.
3. Cited in Maxim Ghilan, *How Israel Lost Its Soul* (Penguin: London, 1974), p. 136.
4. Cited in Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (Lawrence Hill), p. 149; on Pilsudski, see Ghilan, pp. 96-97.
5. On the Jewish presence in Palestine, suffice to say that in 1895, Jews formed less than 10% of the total population, i.e. about 47,000 out of 500,000 inhabitants. (Ghilan, p. 27) Despite massive emigration with the Nazis' rise to power, they were still less than half the population when Israel was set up in 1948. (Ghilan, p. 230)
6. Cited in Ghilan, pp. 29-30.
7. Cited in Maxim Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* (Monad Press: New York, 1973), pp. 19-20.
8. Gabriel Kolko, quoted in Raymond Lotta, *America in Decline* (Banner Press: Chicago, 1984), p. 217.
9. George Lenczowski, *The Middle East in World Affairs* (Cornell Univ Press: London, 1980), pp. 399-400; Gabriel Kolko, *The Limits of Power* (Harper: New York, 1972), p. 421.
10. Lenczowski, pp. 408-411.
11. Lenczowski, pp. 416, 421.
12. Cited in the unpublished PhD thesis of Adel Samara, submitted to London University, 1987, "The Peripheralization of the West Bank Peasantry," p. 125, citing Kaya Ili, 1978-91.
13. Samara thesis, pp 70-71, citing Abdulkhalik, 1985, 40.
14. Samara thesis, p. 71.
15. Table of U.S. aid to Israel, year by year, from 1967 to 1986. Cited in Samara thesis, p. 73.
16. Samara thesis, p. 59. These are often referred to as the "Occupied Territories," since they were seized by Israel in the 1967 war, but this is misleading as it tends to obscure that all of Israel is occupied territory,

and so the term "1967 Occupied Territories" will be used here.

17. Samara thesis, p. 75.
18. *Khamsin: Journal of revolutionary socialists of the Middle East* (Ithaca Press: London), No. 10.
19. Mark A. Heller, *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel* (Harvard Univ Press: London, 1983), p. 11.
20. Cited in Lenczowski, p. 435.
21. From *The Israeli Connection*, by Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi (I.B. Tauris, London: 1988), quoted in *The Guardian*, 14 Jan. 1988.
22. Frank Barnaby, "The Nuclear Arsenal in the Middle East," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Autumn 1987, p. 99-100.
23. *Guardian*, 14 Jan 1988.
24. *Los Angeles Times*, 18 Aug. 1981, p. 18, cited in Chomsky, p. 83.
25. "About U.S. Arms Sales," *New York Times* editorial, in *International Herald Tribune*, 5 May 1988, p. 6.
26. Nahalal is the Hebrew name for the village where Dayan was born, Mahloul its Arab name. Cited in Ghilan, p. 229.
27. David Ha-Cohen, a Histadrut leader, speaking to the Mapai Party: "In defence of Jewish socialism, it was my duty to reject Arab affiliation to the Trade Union [Histadrut]." (Cited in Samara thesis, p. 128)
28. Samara thesis, p. 136.
29. Ghilan, pp. 241-243. Allon, commander of the Palmach and a leading Israeli politician, wrote of another strategic dimension of the kibbutz: "The choice of the location of the settlements... was influenced not only by economic viability but also and even chiefly by the needs of local defence, overall settlement strategy (which aimed at ensuring a Jewish political presence in all parts of the country) and by the role such blocks of settlements might play in some future, perhaps decisive all-out struggle." (Cited in Samara thesis, p. 137)
30. Cited in Chomsky, p. 68.
31. See Amos Elon, "From the Uprising," *New York Review of Books*, 14 Feb. 1988.
32. In his memoirs, Henry Kissinger calls U.S. President Richard Nixon the strongest ally in the White House that Israel ever had, while Nixon's Watergate tapes reveal his virulent anti-Semitism. (Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Little Brown: Boston, 1982).
33. *Newsweek*, 2 May 1988.
34. Samara thesis, pp. 91-94.
35. Heller, p. 114.
36. Samara thesis, p. 205.
37. Samara thesis, p. 147.
38. *Palestine Solidarity*, London, No. 31, p. 3, reporting the results of the recent Landau Commission's investigation into the ShinBet.
39. Elon, *New York Review of Books*, 14 Feb 1988.
40. *Guardian*, 17 April 1988, p. 1.
41. See Galia Golan, "Gorbachev's Mideast Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1987.
42. Eric Rouleau, "The Future of the PLO," *Foreign Affairs*, 1983; see also, Cobban, p. 73.
43. Quoted in Dawisha and Dawish, eds., *The Soviet Union in the Middle East* (Royal Institute for International Affairs: London, 1982), p. 152.
44. From *Pravda*, quoted in Dawisha and Dawish, p. 152.
45. Cited in Dawish and Dawisha, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, p. 192.

46. While it is beyond the scope of this article to go into the political and military strategy of the pro-Soviet forces in the PLO, it can certainly be said that the public support of Soviet social-imperialism by leading forces in the PLO has had serious negative consequences on the development throughout the region, especially among the Arab masses, of a genuinely revolutionary proletarian trend which ruptures decisively with revisionism to go up against all imperialism and reaction.

47. Hence, among other things, the large numbers of African and Arab students brought to the USSR to study. There are over 1,000 Palestinians studying in the USSR alone every year.

48. Cited in Arnold Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship: Israel and the Soviet Bloc* (Illinois, 1974), p. 39.

49. It is typical of representatives of Arab bourgeois interests that they seek to separate Zionism from imperialism and convince the imperialists that it is in their better interests to abandon the Zionists and go with them instead.

50. *Guardian*, March 1988.

51. In this respect, it is worth noting that one of the frequent complaints of the imperialist press about the Communist Party of Peru, frequently called "Sendero Luminoso," is that they are so secretive that the imperialists have virtually no knowledge of their inner workings.

52. For more on this phenomenon, see Rouleau, *Foreign Affairs*; and for a view of how such developments took place with the PFLP, see "Policy Orientation," As'ad Abu Khalil, *Middle East Journal*, Summer, 1987.

53. Heller, p. 138.

54. See Kathleen Christianson, "Myths about Palestinians," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1987.

55. "Israel at 40," Yitzhak Shamir, *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1988, p. 67.

56. The U.S. publicly opposes an international peace conference which could decide issues, meaning where the Soviets would have any real input into a settlement. A representative of the U.S. State Department snidely revealed their view of Soviet participation at such a conference, saying that the Soviets would be welcome at a conference without any binding decision power "if they promise to be helpful and constructive." *New York Review of Books*, 14 Feb. 1988.

57. *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* (London: 1984), p. 7.

58. *New York Times*, 20-21 Feb. 1988, Editorial.

59. V.I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," *Collected Works*, Vol. 22.

60. "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle" (August 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 428. □