

Zionism is racism in the service of imperialism



Victory to the Palestinian Revolution!

MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF THE USA

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CONTENTS

From its 'original vision' to the invasion of Lebanon: Zionism Is Racism	3
What Are Begin's Aims in Butchering Lebanon?	16
On the massacres in west Beirut: Israeli Zionism and U.S. Imperialism Are to Blame!	24
Lies can't hide the crimes of zionism: More Revelations About the Massacres in West Beirut	31
Israeli 'Inquiry Commission' Exonerates Zionist Murderers	38
Arab Reaction Stabs the Palestinians in the Back	44
Reagan's Middle East 'peace plan': Continued Support for Zionist Aggression, Empty Promises for the Palestinians	48
Crocodile Tears of the Israeli Labor Party Cannot Wash the Blood Off Zionism	57
Demonstrations Across the U.S. Condemn the U.S.-Backed Israeli Aggression in Lebanon	60
On the movement against U.S.-backed zionist aggression: Keep Up the Fire Against Imperialism and Zionism	64
No to zionist sabotage of the struggle against anti-Semitism! Condemn the Recent Anti-Semitic Attacks in Europe!	72
On the Path Forward for the Palestinian Liberation Movement, Part 1	78
On the path forward for the Palestinian liberation movement, Part 2: The Evolution of the PLO Leadership	89
The Face of National-Reformism at the PLO Conference in Algiers	105

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From its 'original vision' to the invasion of Lebanon:

Zionism Is Racism

The whole world is witness to the terror which zionist Israel has unleashed in Lebanon. The indiscriminate massacre of civilians which has left more than 15,000 dead, the wanton destruction which has created 600,000 homeless refugees, and the ongoing siege of west Beirut — these atrocities are being condemned from the four corners of the globe.

Even among those who have been misled by the lies of the zionist propaganda, there is widespread disgust and outrage. Even many who supported the originally stated goal of a "surgical" incursion 25 miles across the border cannot stomach and cannot justify the carnage which is now taking place in Lebanon. Right in Tel Aviv, for example, the Peace Now group called a demonstration 50 to 100 thousand strong which demanded the withdrawal of the Israeli troops and branded Prime Minister Begin as "the butcher of Lebanon."

In the U.S. too, from within various liberal circles of supporters of zionist Israel, voices are being raised against the militarist policies of Begin and his defense minister, Ariel Sharon. Last month a group of 67 Jewish scholars, writers, and others took out an ad in the *New York Times* and other papers in support of the Israeli Peace Now movement. The ad expressed "grave misgivings" about the invasion of Lebanon, and it called for a compromise permitting "national self-determination for the Palestinians." The ad posed the question:

"Is it not time for us supporters of Israel to speak out critically about those Israeli policies we know to be mistaken, self-defeating, and contrary to the original zionist vision?"

These voices are avoiding what cannot be avoided. They are refusing to see what the Israeli atrocities are helping to further reveal to the whole world. The policies of Begin and Sharon, typified by the ex-

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plosion of cluster bombs among civilians in Lebanon and the machine gunning of school children on the West Bank, are not "contrary to the original Zionist vision" in the slightest.

What is taking place today is simply the latest in an unbroken string of Zionist-perpetrated massacres, invasions, and wars. Indeed, the entire history of the Zionist movement and the state of Israel has shown that Zionism means, first and foremost, the terrorist extermination of the Palestinians and expansionist wars against the Arab peoples. This is at the heart of understanding what is taking place in Lebanon today.

Let's briefly examine this history of Zionist Israel, beginning with the "Zionist vision" on which it was founded.

The Zionist Vision

In 1897, the first Zionist congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, under the chairmanship of Theodor Herzl. This congress passed a resolution stating that the objective of the Zionist movement is the establishment of a "national home" for the Jews in Palestine. As we shall see, the vision behind this Zionist plan was reactionary and enslaving from the very beginning.

In the first place, Zionism borrowed its starting premise from the Jew-hating demagogues. Taking their cue from the anti-Semites, the Zionists argued that those who practiced the Jewish religion were "aliens" in Europe or America and could not live among people of other religions. Therefore, the Zionists contended, the Jews must separate themselves from the peoples of which they had been a component part for centuries and shut themselves off in the shell of a theocratic, exclusively Jewish state. As the Jews lived in Russia, Hungary, America, and dozens of other countries, such a state could only be created through a program of wholesale immigration and the colonization of another people's land.

Seeking support for his Zionist plan, Herzl approached the biggest hangmen of European reaction. Herzl held talks with Von Pleve, the minister of internal security of tsarist Russia, whose hands were dripping with the blood of the dreadful pogroms he had been conducting against Russian Jews. Herzl also sought the support of the Sultan of Turkey, and he appealed to the German Kaiser Wilhelm II. Herzl also requested and got the ardent backing of the British colonialist Cecil Rhodes who was a notorious racist and the founder of the former colonial settler state of Rhodesia. That this architect of the Zionist

movement sought the support of the biggest pogromists, racists and colonialists of all Europe, is a telling commentary on the anti-Semitic and colonialist nature of Zionism.

Right from its birth, one of Zionism's greatest problems has been forcing itself on the masses of Jews. Zionism has never been synonymous with Judaism, as the Zionists want the world to believe. In fact, Zionism did not even exist prior to the latter part of the 19th century. This was a time when the ruling capitalists and lords of Europe were unleashing a wave of anti-Semitic terror. It was also a time when large numbers of Jewish workers and intellectuals were taking their place in the progressive movements of the day. In particular, a great many Jews were gravitating to the ranks of the working class and Marxist movement as they recognized that their emancipation was possible only with the emancipation of the working class as a whole. The sight of the Jewish workers locking arms with their class brothers in the common struggle against the capitalist oppressors caused nightmares for the Zionists.

When Herzl held talks with the tsarist minister Von Pleve, he explained that it was in the Tsar's best interest to support the Zionist plan of Jewish separatism as this would rid Russia of her "Jewish problem." After all, Herzl contended, since so many Jews were involved in the growing Marxist movement, it would be of particular benefit to the tsarist autocracy to pack them all off to Palestine.

Herzl's appeal to this tsarist "minister of pogroms" is but one of countless examples of collusion between Zionism and the darkest forces of anti-Semitism. The Zionists knew full well that anti-Semitic hatred and pogroms were its closest ally, because without them their cause of Jewish separatism was lost. To accomplish their aims and to realize Jewish immigration to Palestine, the Zionists were even willing to collaborate with the worst exterminators of the Jewish people — the Nazi fascists. The commonness of interests between fascism and Zionism was expressed in a slogan put forward by one of Herzl's disciples, Jabotinsky — "Germany for Hitler, Italy for Mussolini, and Palestine for us." (Incidentally, the Lebanese Christian Phalange — an avowedly fascist movement that was set up in 1936 and that to this day upholds Hitler's Nazism and Mussolini's fascism as its model — is presently the Israeli Zionists' close ally in its invasion of Lebanon.)

One of the first questions that the early Zionists had to resolve was where to locate their future "national home." For Herzl and many others the location was of little consequence; Palestine or Argentina

were both acceptable. Herzl was also eager to accept a British offer of territory in Uganda. Eventually the zionists decided on Palestine even though at that time only a handful of Jews were living there. To justify this scheme, the zionists dug up biblical references to the Hebrew tribes that had lived in Palestine 3,000 years before.

But how was this zionist plan to be realized when Palestine was already the national homeland of the Palestinian Arabs? How was a Jewish state going to be created there when at that time the Palestinians, an ancient people who had uninterruptedly inhabited Palestine from well before the biblical era, made up more than 92% of the population? The zionists answered this fundamental obstacle to their plan with arguments of racial superiority typical of enslaving colonialists.

The Palestinians are a valiant people with a rich and developed culture, and with progressive traditions and ideals. Nevertheless, the zionist propaganda systematically denigrates the Palestinians as some type of uncivilized savages, as godless heathens, as mere "native germs" as Israeli military officers are known to refer to them. At the same time, the allegedly civilized and superior race, the Jews, are exalted by the zionist lies as "the chosen people" and as the very "children of God."

Guided by these visions of racial superiority, the zionists set themselves the task of building a Jewish state in Palestine on the foundations of the forcible expulsion, extermination and enslavement of the Palestinian people.

A Tool of Anglo-American Imperialism

From its earliest days, the zionist movement also envisaged playing the role of a spearhead in the service of the big colonialist and imperialist powers. Herzl doggedly lobbied the British government for support for his project, promising the lords of the British empire that it would "serve the British imperial interests." (*The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, p. 105) In 1914, Chaim Weizmann, the future first president of Israel, argued that the creation of their "national homeland" would "form a very effective guard for the Suez Canal." (Alan Taylor, *Prelude to Israel*, p. 6) British imperialism eagerly threw its weight behind the zionist project, recognizing its value as a colonial outpost to stand guard over British colonial interests in the Middle East and the route to India and other prized possessions in Asia.



A Palestinian demonstration in the mid-1930's against the British Mandate authorities.

In 1917, the British foreign secretary, Lord Balfour, sent a letter of endorsement for the zionists' plans. This letter, which came to be known as the Balfour Declaration, proclaimed that: "His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object...."

At the time Palestine was still under Turkish rule. It wasn't until 1922 that the imperialist League of Nations made Britain the mandate authority over Palestine. It was under the British Mandate (1922-1947) that the foundations were laid for the future zionist state. The Mandate authorities backed the zionist-organized immigration, raising the weight of the Jewish population in Palestine from 7½% in 1922 to 33% by 1947. The British forces also groomed the paramilitary zionist gangs as the building blocks of what was to become the state of Israel.

The Palestinian inhabitants waged continual resistance to these encroachments of zionism, which were being carried out under the shield of imperialist Britain. This resistance reached a high point in the six-month general strike during the rebellion of 1936-39. During the years of the British Mandate, many thousands were interned in prisons and camps and 50,000 Palestinians were killed by the combined terror of the British troops and the zionist gangs.

After 1948 and the declaration of the state of Israel, zionism remained as much as ever a tool in the hands of imperialism. Only now it was primarily U.S. imperialism which took zionism under its wing, armed it to the hilt, and propped it up as an aggressive guard dog of U.S. imperialism's enslaving interests in the oil-rich and strategic Middle East. Even such a pro-zionist mouthpiece as the *New York Times* will aptly refer to zionist Israel as a "client state" of the United States.

Zionist Terror and the Expulsion of the Palestinians

There could be no talk of establishing a zionist state in Palestine without first uprooting and driving out the Palestinians and subjugating those who remained. The zionists set about this task with a vengeance. In the 1930's and 1940's there were three main zionist terror bands devoted to this objective: the Irgun (led by zionism's most infamous terrorist, Menachem Begin); the Haganah (Ariel Sharon, the architect of the invasion of Lebanon, a man who is known for his ex-

treme brutality and his ambitions to become ruler of Israel, was a member of this terrorist band); and the Stern Gang. With the complicity and support of the British authorities, these gangs waged systematic terror against the unarmed Palestinian inhabitants.

At the same time, the zionists were pushing to rig up their own zionist state. They had their own ambitions which led them to go beyond what the British imperialists wished. They looked to Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany for support. The zionist terror bands eventually also attacked the British forces who had armed and trained them in the first place. Among the countless acts of terror perpetrated by these gangs was the bombing of the Mandatory Government Headquarters in Jerusalem's King David Hotel, claiming 101 victims.

On November 29, 1947, under the intense coercion applied by the Truman administration, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Palestinian Arab states. This partition was a flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinians, as any partition would have been. Among other things the Jewish state was allocated 57% of the territory of Palestine even though the Jews were only a minority of the population and owned less than 6% of the land. The Palestinians were to be uprooted from their lands and robbed of their national right to self-determination.

In the spring of 1948, just prior to the British withdrawal and the implementation of the UN partition plan, the zionist gangs unleashed a reign of terror on the Palestinian population. The Irgun, the Stern Gang, and the Haganah occupied a great number of Palestinian cities and villages, massacring or expelling their inhabitants. On April 4, Menachem Begin's Irgun attacked the village of Deir Yasin, near Jerusalem, slaughtering in cold blood 254 men, women and children. The people of Ein El'Zeitoun, Saad Eddin, Ledda and many other villages were similarly massacred.

The zionists accompanied this terror with an intense propaganda campaign to generate panic among the Palestinian population. The idea was to force out the Palestinians under the threat that, if they did not flee with their lives, then they too would be massacred. This is why we find in his book, *The Revolt: Story of the Irgun*, Menachem Begin cynically boasting of how "the Arabs began to flee in panic shouting 'Deir Yasin!'" (p. 165)

Out of this bloodbath, the state of Israel was proclaimed on May 15, 1948. That same day, upon being handed the arms of the withdrawing British troops, the zionist forces launched war against the neighbor-

ing Arab countries. The net result of this aggression was that the zionists seized 78% of the territory of Palestine, while the Palestinian West Bank was annexed by Jordan, and the Gaza Strip was put under Egyptian administration. Seven hundred and fifty thousand Palestinians were driven from their homeland by the zionist terror. Most of these refugees to this day live in squalid camps in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and elsewhere.

The Racist State of Israel and the Enslavement of the Palestinians

Since 1948, Israeli-occupied Palestine has been turned into a big convict prison for the Palestinian Arabs in their own land. Thousands upon thousands of Palestinians have continued to be uprooted and expelled as whole Palestinian villages have been leveled to the ground and as the Palestinian farmers have been systematically stripped of their lands. As well, every effort has been made to wipe out the Palestinian culture.

A system of racial discrimination comparable to South African apartheid has been clamped down on the Palestinians, depriving them of even the most elemental rights such as the freedom of movement, residence or employment. Under the theocratic and racist laws of Israel, the potential Jewish immigrant from Chicago, as an automatic citizen of Israel, has ten times the rights and privileges of a Palestinian who is treated like a pariah in his own land. This racist oppression is directed in the first place against the Palestinians. But racism is so all-pervasive in Israeli society that the darker-skinned Jewish immigrants from North Africa and Asia, now the majority of the Jews in Israel, are also victims of this racial oppression.

Those Palestinians who struggle for their rights face expulsion, prison, torture and execution. The best sons and daughters of Palestine are rotting in Israeli prisons. The more than one million Palestinians under military occupation on the West Bank and in Gaza face particularly cruel repression. Every manifestation of protest, even demonstrations of school children, is greeted with tear gas and bullets. Borrowing from the techniques of the Nazi Gestapo, the Israeli authorities apply a system of "collective punishment." Under this system, homes and even whole villages are blown up and bulldozed under in "retribution" for harboring suspected "trouble-makers."

It cannot be said that this racism against the Palestinians is simply

due to the Begin/Sharon policies of extremism and fanaticism. On the contrary, all the Israeli chieftains firmly adhere to the zionist premise that the Palestinians are racial inferiors — that they are insignificant nonpersons undeserving of elementary rights. The social-democrats of the Israeli Labor Party, and its predecessors who held power from the 50's to the early 70's, are no less extreme in this regard than Begin and Sharon. As the late Labor Party leader and Israeli prime minister, Golda Meir, put it, "There was no such thing as Palestinians, they never existed." Such is the rabid racism and denial of Palestinian rights upon which zionist Israel has been firmly rooted.

Expansionist Wars

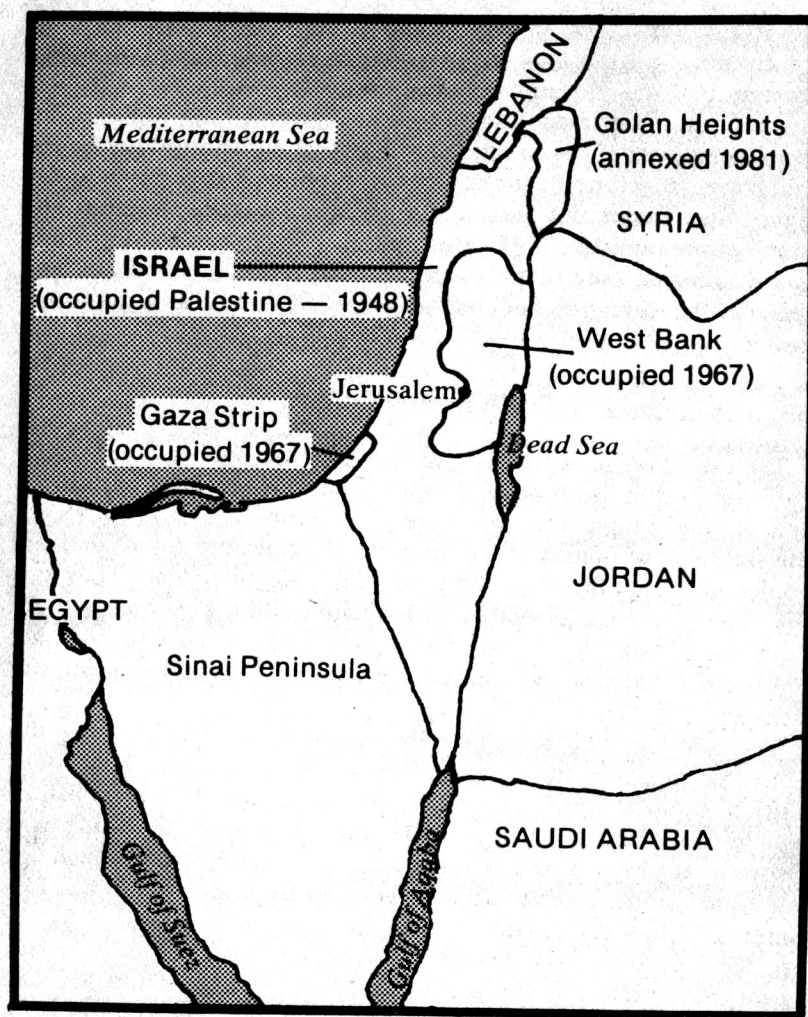
The zionist terror against the Arab people has not been confined to Palestine, but it has repeatedly spilled into expansionist aggression against the neighboring Arab peoples. From the days of Herzl, the architects of zionism recognized that their designs for a "national home" could not fit within the borders of Palestine alone. They saw that their plan for a colonialist settler state could not succeed without room for expansion, without the conquest and seizure of not only Palestine but also of the land and resources of the neighboring nations as well.

The land that was stolen from the Palestinians in the 1948 war did not begin to satisfy the hunger of the zionist chieftains. David Ben-Gurion, the first Israeli prime minister, gave voice to the zionist vision of unlimited expansion: "The present map of Palestine was drawn by the British. The Jewish people have another map which our youth and adults should strive to fulfill — from the Nile to the Euphrates." (David Ben-Gurion, *The Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, pp. 206-207) A vast Israeli empire built on the territories of Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, and big portions of Syria, Iraq, and the Arabian Peninsula — such was the fanatical vision of this "founding father" of Israel.

Over the short span of 34 years, Israel has now waged five major wars against the Arab peoples.

1) On May 15, 1948, zionist Israel launched its first war against the Arabs. An armistice was concluded between Israel and the Arab states (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan) in early 1949.

2) On July 26, 1956, Israeli forces invaded the Egyptian Sinai. This invasion was launched in conjunction with the British and French



imperialist forces with the aim of seizing the strategic Suez Canal which had just been nationalized by the Egyptian government. Israel occupied the Sinai for almost a year.

3) On June 5, 1967, after years of careful preparation, the Israeli military machine launched an all-out surprise attack upon Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. In this Six-Day War, Israel grabbed up the rest of Palestine (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) creating another 500,000 refugees, and placing over a million Palestinians under a

military occupation which has lasted to this day. Israel also seized Syria's Golan Heights, which earlier this year was annexed to Israel by the Israeli parliament. And the Zionists again seized Egypt's Sinai and occupied it for 15 years.

4) On October 6, 1973, another major war broke out between the Israeli annexationists and Egypt, Syria, and Palestinian guerrillas, which were demanding the liberation of the occupied territories. The October War concluded in a stalemate.

5) On June 6, 1982, 80,000 Israeli troops launched a blitzkrieg into Lebanon. The main Israeli objectives in this invasion are: the suppression of the Palestinian resistance movement; the setting up of a fascist Phalangist puppet government in Lebanon; and the realization of the Zionists' longstanding plans to annex the south of Lebanon including the Litani River.

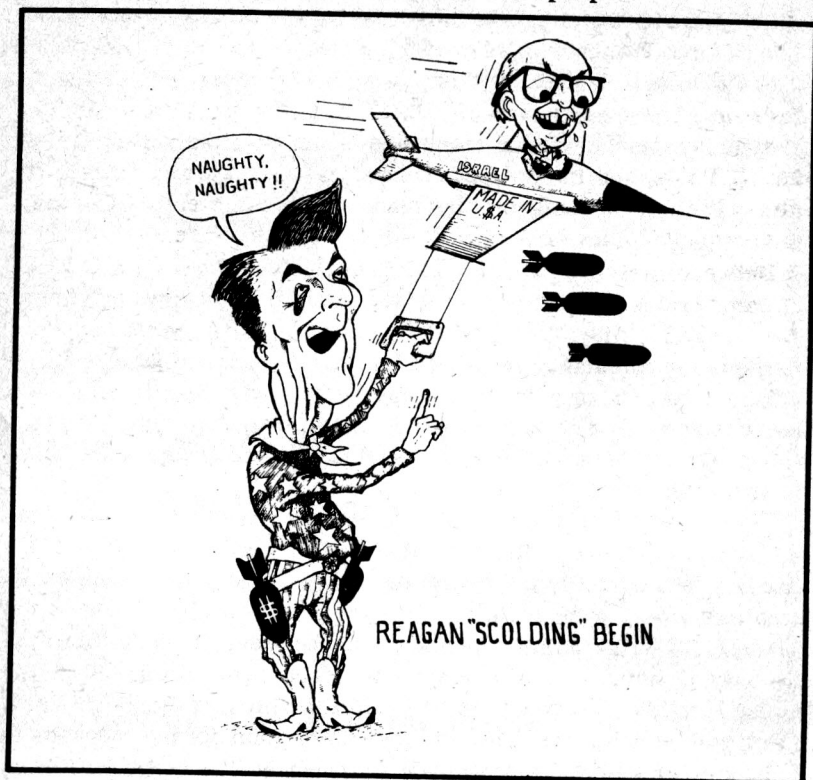
Between these major wars, Israeli forces have kept up a constant stream of raids and incursions into the territory of its Arab neighbors. Ariel Sharon gained notoriety in the early 1950's as the leader of one of the many commando raids into Jordan in which many hundreds of villagers were massacred. Over the last decade, the Israelis have launched repeated raids deep into Lebanon, and they have murdered thousands in "punitive" bombing and shelling of refugee camps and the neighborhoods of Beirut.

The Zionist thirst for conquest is insatiable. As Moshe Dayan, then the Israeli "defense" minister put it, the territories conquered in the Six-Day War are only the beginning. "Our fathers had reached the frontiers which were recognized in the partition plan," Dayan explained. "Our generation reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six-Day Generation has managed to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. This is not the end. After the present cease-fire lines, there will be new ones. They will extend beyond Jordan, perhaps to Lebanon, and perhaps to central Syria as well." (*London Times*, June 25, 1969)

What compels Israel in its expansionist wars to push back the cease-fire lines? What compels Israel to wage repeated wars of aggression against its Arab neighbors?

The Zionist state was imposed by the force of arms upon the native Arab peoples, who have never reconciled themselves to this racist and colonialist outpost of foreign imperialism. This has meant a perpetual state of war under which the Zionist war machine has launched its preemptive strikes and retaliatory invasions, conquering ever more Arab territories. It has meant that, armed to the teeth with

billions of dollars of weapons supplied by the Pentagon, Zionist Israel has become the most militarized country on earth. War and militarism run through every vein of Israeli society; it is the lifeblood of the racist tyranny of the Zionist state. At the same time, the Israeli jackal of war is nourished by U.S. imperialism, which wields Zionist aggression as a knife at the throat of the Arab peoples.



For a Democratic Palestine

This outline of the history of Zionist Israel shows that there can be no such thing as a state based on "the original vision of Zionism" that is not committed to massacres and war. It shows that the Begin/Sharon policies are not the exception, but the rule. Zionism means militarism and expansionist wars. It means theocracy, religious intolerance, and brutal racism. And Zionism means genocidal terror against the Palestinians. This history shows that the present Zionist

regime must be overthrown through revolution and that a democratic Palestine must be built in its place.

A democratic Palestine is the goal of the Palestinian liberation movement and the universal aspiration of the nearly five million Palestinians. A democratic Palestine means the restoration of Palestinian national rights. It means the liberation of the Palestinians being crushed under the military jackboot of the Israeli occupiers and the return of the refugees created by Zionist terror to their homelands. It means a secular Palestine where every inhabitant, without regard to race or religion, whether Arab or Jew, enjoys equal rights. It means a Palestine which can no longer be used as a weapon in the hands of U.S. imperialism or any other aggressive power against the Arab peoples. The creation of a democratic Palestine means putting a stop once and for all to the Zionist war machine of death and destruction. □

What are Begin's aims in butchering Lebanon?

According to Prime Minister Begin, Israel's June 6 blitzkrieg into Lebanon was a simple act of "self-defense." Its alleged objective was the silencing of the PLO rockets aimed at the Israeli villages in Galilee. "Peace in Galilee" was the name Begin gave to the invasion. It did not matter to Mr. Begin that the PLO was observing the Israeli-PLO ceasefire, and for a full eleven months prior to the Israeli attack, not a single PLO rocket had been fired across the Israeli border. Despite this fact, Israeli troops and armored divisions were massed for an invasion as early as last winter. The Zionist storm troopers were chomping at the bit for an invasion. Any pretext would do. Begin announced that an attack on a single Jew anywhere in the world would be answered with an invasion of Lebanon.

Begin and the Zionists do not feel secure as long as the Palestinians exist as a people and the other Arab peoples are not trampled into the dust. Hence, for the Zionists, the fact of the ceasefire is irrelevant to their plea of "self-defense." They reason that if the Arab is not fighting the Zionists today, he will be tomorrow. From this, they do not conclude that there is something wrong, something monstrous about rigging up a Zionist theocratic state that is in complete antagonism to the Palestinians and the overwhelming majority of the people of the Middle East, but that it is legitimate for the Zionists to attack any Arab at any time and to violate borders at will. Thus all Begin looks for is a pretext, no matter how hollow.

On June 3, in London an assassination attempt was made on Shlomo Argov, the Israeli ambassador to Britain. The PLO categorically denied any responsibility. This is generally accepted, even by the British government and other imperialists. Indeed, this attempt

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had all the trappings of a provocation carried out by Israeli secret agents. Nevertheless, the Zionist chieftains took the wounding of Shlomo Argov as all the pretext that they needed to justify trampling on the entire population of Lebanon.

Just as the German Nazis would massacre civilians in "retribution" for an attack on a Nazi officer or official, on June 4, massive Israeli bombing raids were carried out against the neighborhoods of Beirut. A hundred Palestinian civilians were killed in "retribution" for the London attack on the Israeli ambassador. In reply, PLO rockets were fired across the border for the first time in almost a year. The only casualty from these rockets was a single heart attack victim.

On June 6th, 80,000 Israeli troops crashed into Lebanon. Over 15,000 civilians have already been murdered by Israeli bombs and shells. Southern Lebanon has been pounded into rubble. And now the Israeli forces have clamped a brutal siege on the half million inhabitants of west Beirut.

"Self-defense" was simply Begin's big lie. It was simply a hoax to justify the Nazi-style massacres and destruction which Begin has unleashed against the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

The truth is that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was a calculated act of unprovoked aggression. The Zionist chieftains, together with their masters in Washington, had set in motion the preparations for this invasion years beforehand.

Genocide Against the Palestinians

The primary objective of the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion is to crush with violence and terror the Palestinian resistance movement. Begin, as well as the architect of the Israeli blitzkrieg, "Defense" Minister Ariel Sharon, declared their aim of "annihilating" to a man the PLO freedom fighters in Lebanon. And the world has seen the ruthless methods that the Zionist storm troopers are using towards this aim. However, the target of this terror is not just the PLO guerrillas, but the entire Palestinian population in Lebanon.

More than half a million Palestinian refugees live in Lebanon, driven there from their homeland by Zionist terror. Every one of these refugees has a burning desire to return to his land and village in Palestine. Along with the millions of other Palestinian refugees, they provide a powerful base of support for the Palestinian resistance movement. Begin and Sharon want to destroy this base through the indiscriminate slaughter of the civilian population. This is why the



Palestinian fighters atop a captured Israeli tank near Beirut on June 7. The Israeli blitzkrieg into Lebanon was met with a fierce resistance from the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

Israeli invaders are dropping anti-personnel cluster bombs and napalm and phosphorus bombs on refugee camps and densely populated neighborhoods. This is why they're blockading medical supplies for the tens of thousands of wounded children and other victims of the Israeli bombs and shells. All of these atrocities are part of the Zionist strategy to break the will of the Palestinian population. This is nothing but a strategy of fascist genocide.

The Lebanese people have also been made a target of this strategy. They too have been made victims of this bloodbath. The Israeli invaders want to smash the close solidarity between the Palestinians and the majority of the Lebanese people. And they want to crush the Lebanese progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces.

By unleashing terror in Lebanon, the Zionist chieftains also hope to "teach a lesson" to the other Palestinian refugees and especially to the one million Palestinians under Israeli military occupation on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Ariel Sharon spelled out these aims of the Israeli invasion: "The bigger the blow," Sharon explained, "the more the Arabs in [the West Bank] and Gaza will be ready to negotiate with us.... I am convinced that the echo of this campaign is reaching into the house of every Arab family in [the West Bank] and Gaza." (*Time*, June 21, 1982) In other words, in the calculations of this sadistic killer, if enough Palestinian blood is spilled in Lebanon, this will also snuff out the flames of Palestinian revolt on the West Bank.

But Sharon and Begin have gravely miscalculated. Yes, as the Zion-

ists are demonstrating, they are capable of killing and maiming several tens of thousands of Palestinian women, children and old people. Yes, as the Zionists are showing, they can round up all the Palestinian males over the age of 14 from the villages of southern Lebanon and throw thousands of them into concentration camps to be tortured and executed. But they cannot exterminate the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people are nearly five million strong and their resolve to fight for their liberation cannot be wiped out by massacres and terror.

The echo of Sharon's campaign in Lebanon has indeed reached the West Bank and Gaza, where the Palestinian youth are again clashing with the Israeli troops in powerful protest against the Israeli invasion.

The Subjugation of Lebanon

While the spearhead of the Israeli invasion is directed at the Palestinians, the Zionist chieftains aim to subjugate all of Lebanon. Their plan is to rig up a fascist puppet government and to colonize and eventually annex the south of Lebanon.

This plan is not something that Begin and Sharon dreamt up after their armored divisions poured into Lebanon. Rather it is a plan which



had been in the making for nearly three decades, well before there was a PLO and before there were any Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon. This further exposes Begin's lies about invading Lebanon out of "self-defense" from Palestinian guerrillas.

These Zionist plans for subjugating Lebanon were first spelled out by David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, as far back as 1954. In letters he wrote to his foreign minister, Moshe Sharett, Ben-Gurion said that the time was ripe to rig up a Christian state, a task that required Israeli "initiative and effective assistance." He added that this was the "principal task, or at least one of the principal tasks of our foreign policy." (*The Nation*, June 6, 1982, cited from Moshe Sharett's memoirs that were published in the Zionist newspaper *Davar* in 1971)

In 1955, Moshe Dayan, then Israeli chief of staff, outlined the means to accomplish Ben-Gurion's objective. Sharett's diary records that Dayan told him, "The only thing that's necessary is to find a Lebanese officer, even a major will do. We will win his heart or buy him with money to get him to agree to declare himself the savior of the Maronite population.... [Then] the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, occupy the necessary territory and create a Christian regime that will ally itself with Israel. The territory of the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel."

As it turned out, Dayan's plans for Lebanon were postponed by the Israeli invasion of the Sinai in 1956 and other important business consuming the Zionist aggressors. But the Israeli chieftains never abandoned their expansionist designs on Lebanon. And with the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war the immediate preparations for the present invasion got under way.

During the civil war between the Lebanese left and the Palestinians on the one side, and the right-wing Christian forces on the other, the Israelis bought themselves the puppets they had been looking for — the fascist Phalange.

The paramilitary Phalange was created in 1936, inspired by the ideals of Hitler's Nazis and Mussolini's Fascists. Its founder, Pierre Gemayel, organized it after his return from a 1936 visit to Italy and Germany. In an interview given last November, Pierre Gemayel explained that "I wanted to create an organization in Lebanon that could instill the same kind of civilization and moral courage I saw the Italians and Germans developing in their youngsters." (*The Nation*, June 6, 1982) Indeed the ideals of Nazi fascism are most suitable to this gang of warlords, feudal chiefs and wealthy speculators in the

pay of foreign imperialism.

That the Phalangist leaders are self-proclaimed admirers of Adolph Hitler, rabid fascists and anti-Semites, proved to be little obstacle to the sordid Zionist-Phalangist alliance. On the contrary. The Israeli chieftains had found just the right puppets who they could prop up as the "saviors of the Maronite population" under the hoax of "liberating" the Christian minority from the alleged oppression of the Moslem majority. Of course, this was not a question of religious strife, as the Zionists and their U.S. backers try to portray it, but of the Zionists and the U.S. imperialists trying to impose a right-wing fascist dictatorship on the freedom-loving people of Lebanon. The Phalange are the warlords defending the interests of the rich capitalist and feudal section of the Maronites. This strata has been historically the dominant part of the rich ruling class in Lebanon and the Zionists are lecturing this strata that they should hide their reactionary, bloodsucking aims under the pretext of Christianity just as the Zionists use the pretext of Judaism.

From the time of the Lebanese civil war, Phalangist officers were brought to Israel for training; the Zionists also began to arm the Phalange to the teeth. Israel funnelled over \$100 million of mainly U.S. arms to the Phalangist forces in 1980 alone. With Israeli military assistance and with the help of repeated Israeli raids into Lebanon, the Phalange again started grabbing up territory. Through bribery and promises, the leaders of the Phalange came to accept more and more the Zionists' plan for a "Christian state" to be dubbed "Free Lebanon." And to make the Phalangist gangs of torturers and cut-throats more legitimate in the eyes of world opinion, they decided to call themselves the "Lebanese Forces."

The plans for a Phalangist dictatorship also got the okay from the chieftains of U.S. imperialism. Last fall, Bashir Gemayel, the son of Pierre and the chief of the Lebanese Forces, came to Washington for personal talks with Secretary of State Haig. Then in early April, none other than the prince of the liberal Democrats, Ted Kennedy, sent a Phalangist conference a personal message of support.

Everything was in place. According to the plan, the only thing that was lacking was the Israeli blitzkrieg into Lebanon to put the Phalange into power. But whether or not those Hitler-worshipping scum can hold power is another matter.

Presently, the Israeli troops have let the rabid dogs of the Phalange loose to assist in the butchery of the Palestinian and Lebanese people. But if and when the Israeli tanks are pulled out, the Zionists'



Palestinian and Lebanese fighters patrolling near Beirut airport in July 1982 during the Israeli war of aggression.

scheme to "create a Christian (Phalangist) regime that will ally itself with Israel" is simply a delusion. A section of the rich Christian Maronites are undoubtedly eager for such a thing. But two-thirds of the Lebanese population isn't Christian, and the vast majority of the poor and downtrodden Lebanese, Muslim, Maronite Christian, or other, will never accept this bastard offspring of Zionist aggression. The Lebanese people have fought for decades against being subjugated by the Phalangist and right-wing gangs. And it is certain that the Lebanese people will never reconcile to a Phalangist "Christian state" allied to Zionism, whether it rules all of Lebanon or over a partitioned territory.

Annexation of Southern Lebanon

Finally, the Israeli chieftains hope to realize out of the bloodbath

which they have unleashed, the eventual annexation of southern Lebanon. Begin's recent denials to the contrary, the Israeli expansionists have had their eyes on the Litani River and the south of Lebanon for some time. Through repeated incursions into southern Lebanon over the last dozen years, the Zionists have been working to drive out the local population, and to bring in Phalangist elements to help pave the way for future Israeli annexation. Now, after reducing the south of Lebanon to rubble, thousands of Israeli officials, technicians, engineers, construction workers, etc., are arriving to "re-build" the area. And Begin is demanding that U.S. troops be brought in to secure a "buffer zone" 25 miles north of the Israeli border behind which the Zionists hope to go about the business of colonizing southern Lebanon.

This is how Begin and Sharon want to realize the plans to subjugate Lebanon and annex its southern part that were spelled out by Ben-Gurion and Moshe Dayan nearly three decades ago. □

On the massacres in west Beirut:

Israeli zionism and U.S. imperialism are to blame!

The bloody massacre of thousands of Palestinian men, women and children in west Beirut has outraged the working people in the U.S. and throughout the world. From September 16 through the morning of September 18, with direct Israeli assistance, the Phalangist militia and the fascist troops of Major Haddad stormed through the refugee camps of Shatila and Sabra rounding up and murdering everyone they encountered. Even medical personnel and the dying and wounded in a number of hospitals were not spared. The Phalangists are based on the rotten ideas of the German Nazis and Italian Fascists who inspired their founder, Pierre Gemayel, in the 1930's. They are self-proclaimed worshipers of Hitler, but they attempt to drape themselves in the mantle of the Christian religion. The fascist militia of Major Haddad is a split from the Lebanese army and is best known for the fact that it has placed itself directly under the command of the Israeli armed forces.

While these Lebanese fascists may have pulled the triggers, it is the Israeli zionists and their U.S. imperialist backers who bear direct responsibility for this heinous crime. Coming on the heels of the Israeli army's blitzkrieg into Lebanon, coming on the heels of the zionists' terroristic bombing of civilian targets in west Beirut, coming on the heels of the Israeli invasion of west Beirut and the artillery barrages into the Palestinian camps, it is clear that this massacre is not an isolated act. Rather, it is only the latest in a long history of genocidal atrocities committed by the U.S.-backed zionist storm-

troopers against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. These atrocities are further evidence that the intention of the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli government in the invasion of Lebanon has been not only to smash the military forces of the Palestinian resistance, but to massacre and disperse the Palestinian people. This is what the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachim Begin, meant when he said that the invasion of Lebanon would provide the "final solution" to the Palestinian question.

Israeli Zionists Coordinate and Organize the Massacre

In the wake of the worldwide condemnation of these atrocities the Israeli government has been trying to conceal its bloody role. The Begin and Sharon government claims that the Lebanese Christian militias are solely to blame for the massacre and that the Israeli government does not have even indirect responsibility. But, as the details of the slaughter have slowly emerged, the zionist government has been caught in one lie after another. Even their own statements point to the fact that the highest levels of the Israeli government planned and organized the mass murders in the Palestinian camps.

The Israeli zionists had been planning for a long time to invade west Beirut. It is reported that, following the forced withdrawal of the PLO, Israeli officials held detailed discussions with the fascist Lebanese militias to work out plans for the invasion, for the disarming and execution of Palestinian and Lebanese guerrillas, and for the use of terror against the Palestinian population with the aim of dispersing them and eventually driving them from Lebanon. (*New York Times*, September 30, 1982)

Defense Minister Sharon admits that immediately before the invasion started "a meeting was carried out with the Phalangist command in which the Chief of Staff and northern commander [of the Israeli army] participated, and during which we discussed the operations of the Phalangists and the entry of the IDF [Israeli Defense Force] into the western part of the city. And we spoke in principle of their dealing with the camps." (*New York Times*, September 23, 1982) Thus from the beginning the zionists coordinated the invasion of west Beirut and the occupation of the Palestinian camps with the fascist militias.

On September 15, seizing on the excuse of the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, the president-elect of Lebanon, the Israeli storm troopers began the invasion. The Israeli cabinet announced that "The

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Israeli Defense Forces have taken positions in west Beirut to prevent the danger of violence, bloodshed and anarchy." But this lie was exposed as in the first hours of fighting they had already killed at least 88 civilians and wounded another 254. (*New York Times*, September 20, 1982) Israeli troops surrounded the Shatila and Sabra camps during the day, and that night began shelling the camps with artillery. Many were wounded. Israeli tanks surrounded the camps to block any escape. And the Phalangist and other fascist militias were moved into west Beirut in preparation for them to enter the camps.

Initially the Israeli army claimed that it had no knowledge that the fascist militias were present and pretended that they must have sneaked into the camps. But later Sharon was forced to admit that on Thursday afternoon, September 16, "a meeting was held between the division commander [of the IDF] and the representative of the Phalangists to coordinate the entry of the Phalangists into the camp of Shatila" to carry out "search-and-destroy missions." (*Ibid.*) Following this meeting the massacre began. The fascist militias were escorted through the Israeli lines surrounding the camps. They were provided with provisions and the Israeli soldiers gave them food and talked with them when they emerged to eat and rest from their murderous labors. The Israeli army even lit flares at night to illuminate the camps to facilitate the carnage.

Sharon claims that the Zionists have no responsibility for the massacre because it had told the fascist militias that "it was forbidden to harm the civilian population, especially women, children and the elderly." (*Ibid.*) In other words, Sharon wanted the murder of the Palestinian men. According to Sharon these camps were "centers of terrorism in west Beirut" and the aim of the operations was the "cleaning out of terrorist nests." (*Ibid.*) Major General Amir Dori, the senior Israeli commander in Lebanon, says the mission was aimed at wiping out 2,000 Palestinian guerrillas who were so blended with the population that they were indistinguishable. (*New York Times*, September 27, 1982) Clearly the massacre of thousands of Palestinian men was the order of the day.

But even Sharon's claim that the Zionists were against the massacre of women and children is a lie. Heads of the Phalangist militias had been repeating over and over that they were out for blood and, as they have done in the past, they would massacre everyone in their path at the first opportunity. The Zionist commanders sent the fascist militias into the camps not to avoid a massacre, but to avoid the blame for the massacre which they were responsible for.



Demonstrators outside Begin's home in Jerusalem denounce the Israeli government on September 19, 1982 for the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut.

Despite their wriggling to escape blame, every new fact that emerges and every new statement by the Zionist officials clearly exposes that the Israeli government planned, organized and directed the attacks on the Palestinians and that they bear direct responsibility for the carnage in west Beirut.

U.S. Imperialism Backs the Zionist Barbarism in Lebanon

Like Begin and Sharon, Ronald Reagan has also been trying to cover up the role of U.S. imperialism in the slaughter on the streets of west Beirut. Reagan has been decrying the terrible bloodletting, voicing protests to Israel and whining for peace. But no amount of lies can wash the blood of the Palestinian people from Reagan's hands. From the beginning U.S. imperialism has backed the Zionist storm-troopers to the hilt. The cluster bombs, the tanks, the artillery and jets that have been used to murder Palestinian and Lebanese people have arrived in a continuous supply from the U.S. government to Israel.

But more. Not only has the U.S. government continuously propped up the Zionist state, not only has it backed the Zionist invasion to the hilt, but the Reagan government helped orchestrate the recent massacre itself. It is reported that the U.S. embassy was informed of the Zionists' plans to raid the Palestinian camps beforehand. (*New York Times*, September 27, 1982) They were also in touch with Elias Hobeika, a key leader of the Phalangist attack in the Shatila and Sabra camps. Hobeika, the chief of security and intelligence for the Phalangist militia, is the liaison between the militia and the Mossad, the Zionist secret service; he is also the liaison between the militia and the U.S. embassy in Beirut. (*New York Times*, September 30, 1982) Yet the Reagan government claims it knew nothing about the massacre and has no responsibility. What disgusting liars!

It is also notable that the negotiations to force the PLO out of Beirut were engineered chiefly by U.S. imperialism, which made lying promises guaranteeing the safety of Palestinian civilians. But, as we can see, this only prepared the ground for the Zionist invasion of west Beirut and the subsequent bloody atrocities. Once again the promises and "guarantees" of the U.S. imperialist gangsters have been proved worthless.

Now the Reagan government, having shed some hypocritical tears over the massacre, is continuing to back the Zionists by posing as a mediator and "peacekeeper." The U.S. imperialists are using this latest atrocity to send 1,200 marines to accompany the 2,700 French and Italian troops back into Lebanon as supposedly "peacekeeping" forces. This time the marines are fully armed and have been given sweeping authority to use their weapons to suppress any resistance from the Palestinian and Lebanese people. The Zionists have been put in an embarrassing position by the atrocities in Beirut. So now U.S. marines will be used to help them carry out their reactionary objectives.

Establishing the Authority of a Reactionary Lebanese Government

The stated aim of the imperialist "peacekeeping" force is to establish the authority of the Lebanese government in Beirut. But what is this Lebanese government? It is the representative of the most reactionary feudal landlords and big capitalists in Lebanon who are tied to imperialism. The president of the government is Amin Gemayel, the leader of the fascist Phalangist militia. The troops of

the Lebanese government have been put together from various Christian fascist militias, and there are presently moves under way to bring the Phalangist militia and Major Haddad's fascist forces under the Lebanese army's authority. These forces have long been backed by U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism.

Even now the Zionists are trying to strengthen their influence in the government. Recently, Israeli Prime Minister Begin emphasized that he would work to get the Zionist lackey, Major Haddad, into the government. Israel, Begin said, "will not leave Major Haddad in the lurch. I think Haddad should take part in the central government." Clearly establishing the authority of this government means to strengthen the hand of U.S. imperialism, Israeli Zionism and Lebanese fascism over the people. This has always been one of the main objectives of the Israeli Zionist invasion of Lebanon.

Speaking of the mission of the U.S. marines in Lebanon, Reagan emphasized that they are "to give a kind of support and stability while the Lebanese government seeks to reunite its people which have been divided for several years now into several factions, each one of them with its own army, and bring about a unified Lebanon with a Lebanese army that will then be able to preserve order in its own country." (*New York Times*, September 29, 1982)

How the Lebanese government is going about "unifying" Lebanon became clear within a few days of the massacre at the Shatila and Sabra camps. The Lebanese army raided the Burj al Brajne Palestinian camp, just south of Shatila and Sabra, and arrested some 600 people. All around west Beirut the Lebanese army, accompanied by Phalangist and other fascist militias, began disarming people, arresting thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, and arbitrarily harassing others. The terror that is being unleashed is aimed at stamping out any resistance to the U.S. and Zionist-backed Lebanese government and driving the Palestinians, many of whom have grown up in Lebanon, out of the country. It is reported that there is now talk of expelling the entire Palestinian population from Lebanon. The creation of a strong pro-U.S. imperialist, pro-Israeli Zionist government is being carried out at the expense of the Lebanese toilers and the Palestinian population.

Support the Heroic Resistance of the People!

Despite the savage Zionist invasion of west Beirut, despite the brutal massacres in the Shatila and Sabra camps, despite the reign of

terror that has been unleashed on the Palestinian and Lebanese people, their heroic resistance continues.

Although hopelessly outnumbered, the Lebanese left put up a valiant resistance to the Israeli stormtroopers' march into west Beirut. Reports continue to come in of the Lebanese fighters carrying out guerrilla attacks on Zionist troops and on the fascist forces of the Lebanese government.

As well the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people has marched on. Even during the brutal massacres, Palestinian fighters fought back. It was reported, for example, that after Phalangists lined up several hundred Palestinians against a wall to be executed, PLO guerrillas fired on the fascist troops, drawing them away and allowing some of the Palestinian captives to escape.

On the West Bank, in Israeli-occupied Palestine, struggle has also continued. Enraged at the brutal massacres, on September 23, demonstrations against the Zionists were held all across the occupied territory. In Nazareth the Zionist troops fired on the people, wounding 64. But the Palestinians fought back injuring some 25 Zionist policemen. On the same day the Palestinians launched a general strike that swept across the West Bank. These actions show that despite terrible suffering the Palestinian people continue to fight on.

The target of the Palestinian resistance is not the Jewish people, as the Zionists cynically try to claim, but the racist and expansionist Israeli Zionist regime. The racist, theocratic and militarist government of Israel is the oppressor of the Palestinians. The aim of the Palestinian liberation struggle is the overthrow of this unjust regime and the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people in a secular, democratic Palestine. They want to live in a Palestine in which every inhabitant, whether Arab or Jew, enjoys equal rights. And they want to live in a Palestine which will no longer be used as a tool of imperialism for invading and massacring the Arab peoples.

The crimes of the U.S.-backed Israeli Zionists show the need to step up the mass struggle here at home against U.S. imperialist aggression and war. Today, when the brave Palestinian and Lebanese people are in their hour of need, let all the working class and progressive people rally to their support and loudly condemn the U.S. imperialists and Israeli Zionist butchers. □

Lies can't hide the crimes of Zionism

More revelations about the massacres in west Beirut

In mid-September, the Lebanese Christian fascists, with direct Israeli support, carried out a gruesome massacre of over a thousand Palestinian men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in west Beirut. This crime outraged the working and progressive people all over the world. Even in Israel, there was a storm of protest. On September 25, for instance, 400,000 people took to the streets in Tel Aviv in a gigantic demonstration against the Israeli government.

In the beginning, the Begin-Sharon government took the stand of openly spitting in the face of anyone who protested. They vehemently denounced anyone who suggested that Israel was to blame for the massacre. But in the face of mountains of evidence proving the contrary, the arrogant stance of the Begin government only helped to widen the exposure of Zionism's criminal character.

In this situation, the proposal for a government-sponsored "inquiry commission" was brought forward to defuse the public indignation and help whitewash Zionism. This idea was first proposed by the social-democratic Labor Party, which until five years ago was the main Israeli ruling party. The Labor Party wants to use the inquiry to personally discredit Begin and his ruling Likud coalition. The Labor Party does not want to bring out the truth about Zionism but simply to replace Likud as the ruling Zionist party. They succeeded in utilizing

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the mass indignation of the Israeli people to force the Likud government to agree to the inquiry. Naturally the Likud too is interested to uphold the "honor" of zionism.

Thus it is not surprising that the very terms of the inquiry commission were set up so as to whitewash zionism. The commission, itself headed by leading zionists, is to pretend that such massacres are an exception, an unfortunate stain on an otherwise bright and spotless zionist record. It is to ignore that the basic aim of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was to exterminate the Palestinians and trample the Lebanese people. It is to ignore the similar tragedies, each on a lesser scale but cumulatively much larger, that occur daily on the occupied West Bank and the Gaza strip, where today a Palestinian farmer loses his land, tomorrow a university is shut down, and the day after some children are shot down in cold blood for demonstrating against zionist rule.

Nevertheless, the proceedings of the Israeli inquiry have proved to be of value, because they lift a tiny corner of the veil of the zionist hypocrisy. A tip of the iceberg comes into view. And this despite the fact that the really revealing material is being reserved for secret sessions. The hearings prove that Begin and the whole zionist ruling gang, far from being of impeccable moral character, are just a bunch of bloodthirsty gangsters, who cynically lie to the world and to the Israeli public as well. No matter what the zionist judges rule, the inquiry verifies that, contrary to all their lies, the massacres in west Beirut were organized from the highest levels of the Israeli state.

The first to testify in open session on October 25 was Ariel Sharon, the Israeli war minister. Sharon admitted that the Phalangist militia was sent into the Sabra and Shatila camps on the basis of decisions by the Israeli government. Indeed, he pointed out that this decision was a natural consequence of the decision of the Israeli government on June 15 "to integrate the Lebanese Forces [the Phalangist militia — ed.] into the campaign in Lebanon." He added that this plan "was repeated in Cabinet meetings since then." As well, Sharon acknowledged that Prime Minister Begin "knew of the decision in principle to enter certain places in Beirut."

These admissions blow to bits the original Israeli statements after the massacres that the Israeli government knew nothing about who did it, that the fascist militias must have sneaked into the camps, etc. However, after having admitted that the fascists entered into the camps upon Israeli orders, Sharon tried to establish what has become the Number One Big Lie — that allegedly the Israeli government

never conceived that the atrocities could take place. Sharon declared: "I want to say in my name and in the name of the entire defense establishment that none of us foresaw the atrocities...nor could we have foreseen them." He threw in the typical zionist propaganda line that "Not only are they [the atrocities — ed.] opposed to the values that we teach and were taught, but they are also opposed to the interests of the state of Israel in every sphere...." (All quotes from Sharon are from *The New York Times*, October 26, 1982)

But in his testimony, Sharon could not help but expose that this business about "none of us foresaw" is just a fairy tale. He admitted that the aim of the fascist Christian militias "was to create conditions that in the end the Palestinians would leave Lebanon." He pointed out that earlier during the war in Lebanon, the Phalangists had made "an attempt to destroy a camp called Mia Mia, near Sidon." And finally, he admitted that the Israelis knew perfectly well that the Phalangists were out for the blood of the Palestinians. He said, "Without any doubt, revenge does exist. Amin [the president of Lebanon — ed.] himself, to the best of my memory, at the funeral [of his brother, Bashir Gemayel, the Phalangist militia chieftain — ed.] on September 15, used the word revenge. The word revenge also appeared, I would say, in discussions that we had."

Moreover, this story of "none of us foresaw" doesn't hold up in the face of the fact that even at the September 16 Cabinet meeting, held right on the first day of the massacres, one of the Israeli ministers had raised the specter of atrocities being committed. What was especially interesting was Sharon's description of how this "warning" had been raised. He said, "My impression from the words of Deputy Prime Minister Levy was not opposition to the action. **Nobody opposed the action during that discussion.** His opposition was from the contention that said that the entry of IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) into west Beirut was intended...to maintain order, since according to his opinion, certain things may happen there which are not consistent with law and order. **He saw in this that we could be blamed afterward, and our contention would not hold up.**" (emphasis added) In other words, this zionist minister was not at all opposed to the Phalangists carrying out their crimes, but he was only concerned that Israel would be blamed. Now, there's typical zionist thinking!

Sharon added in his testimony that "Foreign elements are the ones that committed this act, which doesn't have a place in the world of cultured people." But he went on to praise those very same elements, the Phalangists, to the skies. He said, "The Christians of Lebanon,

the Lebanese Forces, are not a gang of hotheads. Presently, it's a very balanced establishment." This is of course not surprising considering the Israeli zionists have trained and armed the Phalangist fascists as their loyal lap dogs in Lebanon. The Phalangists are based on the ideas of the German Nazis and Italian Fascists who inspired their founder, Pierre Gemayel. They are self-proclaimed worshippers of Hitler. Nevertheless, to the zionists they are a "very balanced establishment." The zionist-Phalangist alliance thus shows the utterly rotten and reactionary character of Israeli zionism.

The following week, Major General Amir Drori, the senior IDF commander in Lebanon, testified before the commission. He directly contradicted Sharon's lie about no one allegedly having foreseen the massacre. He said, "Everyone somewhere conceived of this possibility." But, did they therefore do anything to stop the Phalangists from carrying out their atrocities? Of course not. Indeed, as every thinking person knows quite well, it was precisely because they knew exactly what the Phalangists would do that the zionists sent them into the camps in the first place.

Much has been made by the Israeli chieftains that they allegedly stopped the massacres once they knew they had taken place. But this lie too has been contradicted in testimony before the commission. On November 7, Brigadier General Amos Yaron, the commander of the IDF in Beirut, testified that the Israeli army permitted the fascist militias to bring in fresh troops and replenish their ammunition supplies on the second day of the massacre. This was done after he and his superior, Amir Drori, had allegedly ordered a halt to the activities of the Christian fascist murderers. Moreover he also pointed out that this order to halt did not mean the Phalangists had to leave immediately. As everyone knows, they stayed through Saturday morning, September 18, and continued to carry out their bloody acts. Incidentally, Yaron's testimony that the fascists were allowed to bring reinforcements directly contradicts an assertion Sharon had made in his testimony earlier that the Phalangists were not allowed to bring in any additional forces after the initial order to halt was issued.

On November 8, Prime Minister Begin delivered his testimony. His deposition was yet another incredible pack of lies. After admitting that the Israeli Cabinet approved sending the Phalangists into the camps, Begin too repeated the standard Big Lie that "it did not even occur to me...to think that the Phalangists if they were to enter the camps to fight the terrorists, would commit such atrocities or

massacre." However, like Sharon, he too acknowledged that the Phalangists were out for Palestinian blood in the name of "revenge." He too admitted that at the Cabinet meeting on September 16, the question of possible atrocities was discussed, not only by Deputy Prime Minister Levy but also by the Israeli Chief of Staff. But, Begin said, these remarks by Minister Levy did not attract his attention because he "was busy drafting a summary." In other words, the Israeli Cabinet knew quite well what was happening in the camps and saw no reason to oppose the murders. After all, the Israeli zionists had organized these things to happen in the first place. So why would some mealy-mouthed misgivings of a minister worried about Israel getting the blame distract Mr. Begin from his much more important work of drafting the summary of the meeting?

On November 18, another witness smashed up yet one more of the Israeli government's key lies about the massacres. The zionists have claimed that they stopped the massacres as soon as they first heard such things were going on. Most of their statements have claimed that they first heard of the murders on the evening of Friday, September 17, and immediately called a halt then. For some strange reason, however, the halt did not get carried out until the next day.

But Israeli Communications Minister, Mordechai Zipori, testified that he was informed by a reporter friend on Friday morning about the massacre and he immediately passed on the information to the Foreign Minister, Yitzhak Shamir. Asked what Shamir's response was, Zipori replied: "He told me, 'I heard it.' And that was it." (*New York Times*, November 19, 1982) Despite this, the zionists expect the world to believe that the word about the massacres then took more than half a day to reach the top levels of the zionist armed forces! What a farce! Meanwhile, Prime Minister Begin testified with a straight face that he didn't hear about the massacres until Saturday evening, and that too only from a BBC broadcast.

The hearings of the commission in Israel are still going on. No doubt, other interesting facts will emerge as the commission proceeds, despite the best efforts of the commission judges to remove anything really sensitive to the secret sessions. However, what has already emerged confirms that the Israeli Cabinet itself had organized the entry of the fascist militia into the refugee camps. This had been done with full knowledge of the nature of the Christian fascists, their aims of driving the Palestinians out of Lebanon, their intention of seeking Palestinian blood as so-called revenge, etc. It is the height of hypocrisy of the Israeli chieftains to plead that "none of us

foresaw"! Moreover, the facts have also confirmed that the much-ballyhooed talk of the Israeli order to the Phalangists to halt their crimes as soon as the Israelis knew is also a farce. Far from halting their operations, the Phalangists were allowed to bring in fresh forces, new ammunition, and even supplied bulldozers to cover up many of the bodies. This proves that the massacre in the Sabra and Shatila camps was organized and coordinated directly by the Israeli zionists.

Meanwhile, as these facts emerge indicting zionism for its bloody crimes, the U.S. imperialist news media are trying to cover over the exposure of Israeli zionism. They are waxing enthusiastic about how the judicial commission in Jerusalem proves the great merits of Israeli "democracy." Where else, they say, would such facts get aired in the open? No doubt this great feat of democracy will be joyous news to the tens of thousands of Palestinians the Israelis have murdered in the recent aggression in Lebanon. No doubt it will give comfort to the Palestinian people that no matter how much they are trampled on and murdered, the ideals of "democracy" live on in Israel.

What a caricature! The Palestinian demonstrations in the West Bank against this massacre are shot down in cold blood — but the zionist gendarmes are "democrats" because they replace the demonstrations with a powerless tribunal which will not imprison a single one of the zionist murderers! The zionists disenfranchise the majority of the population, the Palestinians, and force most of them out of the country — but they are "democrats" because they squabble among themselves. The only "democracy" in Israel is to decide which zionist dignitaries, those of Labor or those of Likud, will rule. As far as deciding whether Israel will be zionist or be replaced by a democratic Palestinian state, there is nothing for that but police clubs, jails, and the empty spaces left by the millions forced into involuntary exile.

The imperialists' applause for the zionists is of course hardly surprising. After all, the zionist commission will never discuss the other main perpetrator of the massacre in west Beirut — U.S. imperialism itself. It is the U.S. imperialists who have organized, armed and supported the Israeli aggression in Lebanon. Moreover, the Phalangists are not only lackeys of the zionists but also have long had close ties with the CIA. Today, in the wake of the massacres in Sabra and Shatila, the Pentagon has added an occupation force of over 1,000 marines to the tens of thousands of Israeli troops already in Lebanon.

These forces are being used to prop up the establishment of a reactionary and pro-imperialist Phalangist regime in Lebanon.

No one can expect that the murderers of the people in Sabra and Shatila will be brought to justice through the Israeli inquiry commission. The fraud of Israeli "democracy" offers no hope whatsoever for the liberation of the Palestinian people. The only answer to the zionist oppression is through waging the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the zionist state and establish in its place a free, secular and democratic Palestine, where every citizen, Arab and Jew, will enjoy full, equal rights. □

Israeli 'inquiry commission' exonerates zionist murderers

Now the inquiry commission has completed its mission. On February 8 it released its findings and declared that the Israeli government was completely innocent of organizing the slaughter. Instead, a few of the zionist ministers and generals were merely found to be "indirectly responsible" because they were somewhat negligent in allegedly trying to protect the Palestinian masses. On the basis of this fantastic lie, the commission recommended that the officials receive either no punishment or, at the most, a light tap on the wrist. This kind treatment shown toward Begin, Sharon and the other mass murderers only confirms that the massacres were no "accident" but officially sanctioned policy. It shows that Israeli "democracy" is a complete fraud.

The Commission Resorts to Pure Double Talk to Whitewash the Government

The actual findings of the commission all prove that the Israeli officials organized the Beirut massacres. The findings themselves point out that they ordered in the Phalangist militia knowing full well that they would carry out a massacre of the refugees. And they also point out that once reports started coming in to the Israeli authorities about massacres, nothing was done by the zionist officials to put a stop to it.

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But despite all this evidence, the commission denies that Israel has any "direct responsibility." They call "unfounded" the accusations that the Israeli officials should be regarded as "accomplices to the acts of slaughter."

How does the commission arrive at this astounding conclusion? Through pure double talk. First, it defines "direct responsibility" to mean not only having "prior knowledge that a massacre would be perpetrated there" but also "the intention that this should indeed take place." Then, even after acknowledging that "prior knowledge" existed, the commission discounts all that by falling back on the lie that the actions of the Israeli officials were unintentional! What amazing logic! Plainly the commission was going to use any cheap trick to find the Israeli government innocent.

The commission resorted to this absurd reasoning because the evidence proving the direct responsibility of Israel was so overwhelming. Let us proceed to examine some of this evidence released in the report of the commission. (All quotes taken from the *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1983, except as cited)

According to the commission report, the decision to send in the Phalangist militia was made by then Defense Minister Sharon and the Chief of Staff, General Eytan, on September 14, two days before the camps were entered. On September 15 Eytan "ordered the Phalangist commanders to effect a general mobilization" to invade the refugee camps. These actions of Sharon and Eytan were no sudden whim. According to Sharon's testimony they were based on the Cabinet's plans to integrate the Lebanese Forces [the Phalangist militia — ed.] into the campaign in Lebanon" and specifically into "certain places in Beirut." (*New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1982)

On the denials of "prior knowledge" by Israeli officials, the commission's own analysis is that "We are not prepared to attach any importance to [the] statements" that "when the decision was taken to have the Phalangists enter the camps, it could not be foreseen that the Phalangists would perpetrate a massacre." It adds that the testimony of those officials who claimed they could not foresee "were influenced to a certain extent by the desire of each of them to justify his action or lack thereof." Here, in polite terms, the commission admits that those officials who said they couldn't foresee a massacre were lying to save their own skin. It chides these officials for not following the example of "other personnel, both from military intelligence, from IDF [Israeli Defense Forces — ed.] branches and from outside the governmental framework, [who] warned — as soon as they

learned of the Phalangists' entry into the camps, and on earlier occasions when the Phalangists' role in the war was discussed — that the danger of a massacre was great and that the Phalangists would take advantage of every opportunity to wreak vengeance on the Palestinians." Thus the commission confesses that every one of the Israeli officials had prior knowledge that if the Phalangists entered the camps there would be a massacre.

Of course, those who warned of the massacre did not oppose the massacre either. For example, General Eytan, who ordered the Phalangists in on September 15, warned the Israeli Cabinet on September 16 that the Phalangists would engage in "an eruption [of revenge — ed.]...the likes of which has never been seen," and he added that "I can already see in their eyes what they are waiting for." (*Time*, Feb. 21, 1983) Yet the report states that Eytan did not oppose sending in the Phalangists anyway. As Sharon testified, the only reason that officials gave such warnings was that "we could be blamed afterward, and our contention would not hold up." (*New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1982) In other words these officials were not worried about the refugees but only that Israel would be blamed for murdering them.



Protesters in Jerusalem denounce Israeli Defense Minister Sharon for his role in the Beirut massacres.

Even when the reports of the massacre reached the Israeli military and Cabinet, not only did they not stop the operation, but they expressed their support to the Phalangist commanders and actively assisted them. The camps were entered at 6:00 p.m. on September 16. According to information in the report, it was only an hour later that the first report of a massacre was received. Stationed in the Israeli command post in Beirut, Elias Hobeika, the commander of the Phalangist operation, issued a command to kill 50 women and children who had been rounded up in the camps. An Israeli officer overheard the command and told General Yaron, the Israeli divisional commander. Yaron then talked personally to Hobeika. At 8:00 p.m. Yaron received a report from the Phalange leader inside the Shatila camp that stated "To this time we have killed 300 civilians and terrorists." Yet it wasn't until 15 hours later that a brief halt of the massacre was allegedly called by Yaron and his superior General Drori. On the afternoon of September 17, Yaron, Drori and Eytan met with the Phalangist general staff. The report admits that all three Israeli generals were well informed about the massacres and that none of them even questioned the Phalangist general staff about the subject. Instead, the report states, Eytan made "positive" comments about the Phalangist operation in the camps and ordered that assistance be given to them. The Israeli military then allowed the Phalangists to bring in fresh troops and new ammunition. They were even supplied with bulldozers to cover up the dead bodies. The massacre went on through the morning of September 18.

The Commission Lies About the Israeli Government's Intentions

On what grounds then does the commission dare claim that Israel did not have direct responsibility for organizing the slaughter of refugees? It claims that "no intention existed on the part of anyone who acted on behalf of Israel to harm the non-combatant population."

The intentional nature of the massacre is obvious not only because, as the report confesses, the Phalangists were sent in with the knowledge they would create a bloodbath. The intentional nature of the Israeli actions is proven a thousand times over by the fact that the Israeli authorities did nothing even when they knew the massacre was underway. And it is proven a million times over by the entire history of Zionist Israel, which can credit its origins to the terrorist massacres

of civilians by Begin's Irgun, and which has "advanced" on to its recent bombing of civilians in Beirut.

...
The commission's own findings disprove their claim that there was "no intention" of organizing a massacre. But the whitewash of Sharon goes much further. According to the imperialist magazine *Time* of February 21, 1983, a secret unpublished section of the commission report exists in which, "Sharon reportedly discussed with the Gemayals the need for the Phalangists to take revenge for the assassination of Bashir...." (p. 29, emphasis added) If, despite this sort of evidence, the commission can't find Sharon's actions intentional, then plainly it is because they are covering up for his crimes.

Racist Arguments to "Prove" Israel's Alleged Good Intentions

When the commission tries to explain the alleged good intentions of Israel they end up spewing the typical Zionist doctrine of racial superiority. According to the commission report, the Israeli officials must assume "indirect responsibility" for the massacres because they have "obligations applying to every civilized nation and ethical rules accepted by civilized peoples." It adds that Israel was responsible for "public order" in Lebanon because "the combatants in Lebanon belittle the value of human life" which "differs from the norm in the IDF." According to the commission the murderous IDF is the very epitome of civilization, while the Arab "combatants" in Lebanon are all savages. But isn't it the "civilized" IDF which arms and trains the murderers of the Phalange? And Israel should talk of the "value of human life" after bombing and terrorizing tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese! What gall!

Thus the report contends that the true Israeli intentions were to bring "civilization" to the so-called Arab savages. This is nothing but the standard justification of all colonialists and fascist occupiers for suppressing the "inferior" races. Indeed the "civilized" Zionists have long justified their forcible expulsion of the native Palestinian people from their homeland on the false grounds that before the Zionists arrived, there was nothing but barren deserts devoid of civilization in Palestine. The commission has thus inadvertently proved that the "noble" motive behind the Israeli actions in Lebanon is racism.

Israeli "Democracy" Exonerates the Mass Murderers

After accomplishing its shameless whitewash, the commission also made recommendations to the government. For most of the officials involved, including Begin, the commission recommended that no action be taken and that they continue to serve in their posts. The commission only moved against three people. It recommended that Defense Minister Sharon and the Director of Military Intelligence be removed from their posts. As well General Yaron was to be relieved as field commander for three years. Considering that Begin, Sharon and the rest organized the extermination of over a thousand Palestinians, these cynical recommendations are an outrage. They are tantamount to encouragement of future mass murders.

But the Israeli government is making a complete joke even out of these miniscule punishments. After some parliamentary haggling, Sharon was removed as defense minister but kept in the Cabinet as a minister without portfolio and Begin's right-hand man. He was then put on a ministerial defense panel and the steering committee for the current negotiations with the Lebanese government. Thus the final result of the grand "democratic" process in Israel has been the minor reshuffling of racist assassins.

The inquiry commission whitewash is also a sound exposure of the Labor Party in Israel. This party claims that it is the alternative to Begin. Yet the Labor Party has enthusiastically accepted the inquiry commission's whitewash of the Begin government. Their most "radical" objective to the Begin government is that it should simply remove Sharon from the Cabinet altogether. The Labor Party has taken this shameful stand because, while they want to embarrass Begin, they do not want to admit that Zionist Israel is being run by mass murderers. They want to hide the truth about Zionism and merely want to use the inquiry to help their chances of replacing Begin's ruling Likud coalition as the ruling Zionist party.

Many people have had their eyes opened to the evil nature of Zionism and imperialism by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its aftermath. The people's struggle will bring the Zionists and their U.S. imperialist backers to justice. □

Arab reaction stabs the Palestinians in the back

It is a striking fact that the U.S.-backed Zionist invasion in Lebanon has been met with little or no response from the Arab governments. As a Palestinian Liberation Organization spokesman has put it, "No one has responded or reacted," adding that "We have thus far not heard of one demonstration taking place anywhere in the Arab world, from the Atlantic to the Gulf, except those demonstrations taking place in our occupied homeland."

This silence is particularly deafening after all the rhetoric emanating from the Arab capitals in recent years about the possible use of "the oil weapon" and similar "stern warnings" against Zionist aggression. This silence also comes after repeated condemnations by these same governments of the Israeli-Egyptian Camp David accords. But now that the imperialist-Zionist aggression is at hand, it is being clearly demonstrated that among the other reactionary Arab governments the Camp David spirit of collaboration with the aggressor has also taken its toll.

The Carter-Sadat-Begin Camp David accords were supposed to secure peace. But they have only fueled the fire of Zionist aggression. They have only secured more billions of dollars of U.S. weapons for the Israeli war machine; they have only secured Israel's southern flank so that it can better wage war in Lebanon.

Today we find Egyptian President Mubarak shedding crocodile tears over the fate of his "dear Palestinian brothers." Meanwhile, a week after the Israeli blitzkrieg, Mubarak sent his foreign minister to Washington in order to assure Al Haig that the Egyptian govern-

ment's views on the crisis in Lebanon "are nearly identical" to those of the U.S. State Department and to again swear allegiance to the Camp David process of collaboration with the Zionist butchers.

Other reactionary Arab governments are also engaged in treachery against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. On the diplomatic level the two most active Arab governments have been the pro-U.S. and ultra-right-wing Saudi monarchy and the allegedly radical Syrian regime of Hafez Assad which has a treaty of "friendship and cooperation" with Soviet social-imperialism. On July 20, Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khadam and Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal held talks with Reagan at the White House on a joint Saudi-Syrian proposal on the conflict in Lebanon. The starting point of this proposal was in full accord with Reagan's position that the most essential and urgent matter is to evict the Palestinian liberation forces from Beirut. Reportedly what Prince Saud, Mr. Khadam and Mr. Reagan discussed was the question of how many billions of U.S. and Saudi dollars it would take to convince one of the Arab governments to accept the evicted Palestinian guerillas.

It should be remembered that the Syrians have played a dirty role in Lebanon for a long time. During the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, Assad dispatched tens of thousands of Syrian troops to Lebanon who fought on the side of the right-wing Phalangist forces against the Palestinians and the Lebanese left. In recent years the Lebanese fascist Phalange, Zionist Israel's close ally, has been bolstered by the Syrian presence, and it has been bankrolled in part by Saudi Arabia. The Syrian rescue mission for this fifth column of Zionist aggression was a key link in the chain of events leading up to the Israeli invasion.

The Syrian forces that had been brought in at the time of the civil war were still in place at the time of the Israeli invasion. But despite having forces in position to confront the Zionist invaders, Assad came to an undeclared agreement, accepting Begin's offer that the Israeli forces would not strike at the Syrian positions in the Bekaa Valley and elsewhere in Lebanon, if the Syrian troops did not attempt to challenge the Zionist invasion. Assad went out of his way to oblige, ordering his 60,000 troops to clear out of the path of the Israeli columns. Not surprisingly, despite all of Begin's public promises, the Israelis struck heavily against the Syrian armor and anti-aircraft batteries in the Bekaa Valley and the Syrian positions on the Beirut-Damascus highway. The Syrians fought back only enough to cover their retreat, to come to new truce terms, and to finally disengage from the battle against the invaders altogether. In a word, the Syrian regime, the

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regime which boasts most loudly of being the guardian of the Palestinians, stabbed the Palestinians in the back.

Incidentally, this Syrian treachery also cast light on the dirty role played by another self-styled ally of the Palestinian people, the Soviet social-imperialists. Defending the actions of the Assad regime, Moscow's close client, the Soviet revisionist mouthpiece *New Times* wrote that "It should be borne in mind that the Syrian forces in Lebanon were placed there with the aim, which still remains, of maintaining peace within Lebanon, and not of waging full-scale war." (*New Times*, No. 25, June 1982) In other words, maintaining the peace means suppressing the Palestinians and trampling on the people of Lebanon. But to resist the Zionist storm troopers, horror of horrors, that's not maintaining peace — it's waging war!

Indeed, the Soviet arms merchants do not supply such reactionary governments as those of Syria, Jordan, or Iraq with billions of rubles of weapons in order to assist the Arab resistance against Zionist aggression. No, these weapons are not to be raised against the oppressors of the Arab people. On the contrary, Moscow supplies these weapons for use against the progressive Arab masses in their struggle against these reactionary regimes and for use to check the Palestinian resistance movement. It supplies these weapons in order to sink the claws of Soviet social-imperialism deeper into the flesh of the Arab people. This is part of its strategy to turn the Palestinian and Arab peoples into bargaining chips at the negotiating table with U.S. imperialism where these two superpowers can carve up the oil-rich Middle East between themselves.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon is again exposing the treachery of Arab reaction. It is again underscoring the truth that the reactionary Arab governments are motivated by the selfish interests of the rich exploiting classes and that they are linked in a thousand ways with imperialism and social-imperialism. It is for this reason that, while a number of these governments have strong contradictions with Zionist Israel, these contradictions are often not so powerful as their deep fear of the progressive force of the Palestinian liberation movement.

The PLO spokesman did not mention it, but there have been reports of a number of attempts on the part of the Arab people to demonstrate against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. At the same time these attempts have been brutally suppressed by the reactionary regimes. It is no wonder that the Arab governments are refusing to grant asylum for the Palestinian revolutionaries: the Palestinians carry with them a great danger to these governments, the danger of



Arab reaction has repeatedly stabbed the Palestinian people's struggle in the back while posturing as their greatest champions. Photo shows the Palestinian militia in Amman, Jordan in September 1970 when the Palestinian resistance heroically fought back against a brutal suppression campaign launched by the troops of reactionary King Hussein. Arab reaction has not changed one bit since those infamous days of "Black September."

fanning the flames of the anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist and progressive movement of the Arab peoples.

According to reports, Palestinian refugees in Jordan also attempted to hold protests against the Zionist aggression. The troops of Jordan's King Hussein are reported to have opened fire on the demonstrators, killing a number. It was these same troops that perpetrated the September, 1970 massacre of thousands of Palestinians and PLO guerillas. King Hussein and the entire Arab reaction haven't changed their nature one bit since that notorious "Black September." □

Reagan's Middle East 'peace plan':

Continued support for zionist aggression, empty promises for the Palestinians

On September 1, Ronald Reagan announced what he called a plan for a "far-reaching peace effort" in the Middle East. Since the brutal zionist invasion of Lebanon, the rabid warmonger Reagan has dressed himself up as a minister of peace. Even while he made sure that the zionist storm troopers were more than well supplied with cluster bombs, artillery, tanks, jets and all of the other modern means of genocide, Reagan has been wringing his hands decrying the terrible human destruction. Even while the Reagan government pressured the Palestinian fighters, guns to their heads, to withdraw from west Beirut, thus clearing the way for the Israeli invasion and the subsequent massacre of thousands, Reagan tells us he was "engaged in a quiet, behind-the-scenes effort to lay the groundwork for a broader peace in the region." (This and all subsequent quotations from Reagan are from *The New York Times*, September 2, 1982.)

Obviously the question arises, why is this rabid warmonger, this ardent backer of Israeli zionism, talking about peace? The answer is equally obvious. Having struck a harsh blow at the Palestinian liberation movement, Reagan wants to use talk of peace to bring Israeli zionism and reactionary Arab governments together to try to bring further pressure on the Palestinian resistance forces, to split them and extinguish the flames of their heroic struggle. Reagan intends to combine bloody terror with talk of peace in order to strengthen the

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hand of Israeli zionism and protect the vital interests of U.S. imperialism in the oil-rich Middle East.

Reagan announced his peace plan on the same day that the last PLO guerrillas withdrew from Beirut. Unable to hide his joy, Reagan begins his speech, "Today has been a day that should make us all proud. It marked the end of the successful evacuation of the PLO from Beirut, Lebanon." Later, Reagan explains that this "victory" has created new opportunities for U.S. imperialist intrigues. "The Lebanon war, tragic as it was, has left us with a new opportunity for Middle East peace." Thus the slaughter of thousands upon thousands of Palestinians pleased Reagan.

But Reagan is still worried sick about the resilience and the ability to rebound of the Palestinian people. This is why he feels compelled to come up with these new schemes. Summing up the lessons of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, Reagan pointed out, "First, the military losses of the PLO have not diminished the yearning of the Palestinian people for a just solution of their claims; and second, while Israel's military successes in Lebanon have demonstrated that its armed forces are second to none in the region, they alone cannot bring just and lasting peace to Israel and her neighbors." In other words, Reagan has become frightened that the Palestinian resistance



cannot be stamped out by bloody terror alone and another means must be found.

This other means is talk and empty promises of granting the Palestinian people their "legitimate rights." Reagan put it this way, "Throughout this time period of difficult and time-consuming negotiations, we never lost sight of the next step of Camp David, autonomy talks to pave the way for permitting the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate rights." The first step of the Camp David peace accord negotiated by Democratic Party President Jimmy Carter in 1978, was the treaty between Israel and Egypt. This secured Israel's southern flank and gave it a free hand to invade Lebanon with the aim of crushing the Palestinian resistance. The second step of Camp David which Reagan has set out is an attempt to exorcise the Palestinian resistance by combining Israeli terror with promises of negotiations that might some day lead to Palestinian "autonomy." Despite all of the noise against this "peace plan" by the Begin government, Reagan's plan is simply a dressed-up version of the Zionists' own stated objectives. The Israeli Labor Party has already fully endorsed Reagan's plan and Reagan's differences with Begin are nothing other than minor squabbles that exist among the Zionists themselves.

Let us take a look at the provisions of Reagan's "peace plan."

Nothing Will Be Done That Might Possibly Harm Zionism

The first and most basic principle of Reagan's plan is that nothing can be done that might harm Israeli Zionism. Reagan stressed, "make no mistake, the United States will oppose any proposal — from any party and at any point in the negotiating process — that threatens the security of Israel. America's commitment to the security of Israel is ironclad."

But the Israeli Zionist state is situated in the homeland of the Palestinians. Israel was born through stealing the Palestinians' land, by murder, terror and expulsion of much of the Palestinian population. Today Israeli Zionism continues to exist on the basis of brutal racist oppression of the Palestinians still in Israel, of continuing expulsions of the Palestinians from their land, of forcible seizure of the land of other Arab countries. As long as the Israeli Zionist state exists, how can the Palestinian people obtain their "legitimate rights"? It is impossible! The protection of the "security" of Israeli Zionism means the perpetuation of the enslavement of and genocide against the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian People Are Denied the Right to Their Own Independent State

The second basic principle of Reagan's plan is the denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. Reagan violates the principle of self-determination twice over. First, he denies the Palestinians their homeland and restricts them to a fraction of it, the West Bank and Gaza. Second, even on this truncated mini-state, he denies the Palestinian people the right to determine their own destiny.

This is a fundamental question of democracy. Only the Palestinian people have the right to determine whether they will form their own independent state or federate with some other state. But Reagan bars them from this decision. He exclaims that, "it is clear to me that peace cannot be achieved by the formation of an independent Palestinian state in those territories.... So the United States will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza...." Thus Reagan has not only barred the Palestinians from the homeland in Israel but even from setting up their own state on the West Bank and Gaza. Reagan says that, "The question now is how to reconcile Israel's security concerns with the legitimate rights of the Palestinians." Reagan is resolving this question by throwing the Palestinian rights to the winds. Through empty promises of rights for the Palestinians he is trying to reconcile them to the security of Zionism.

Interminable "Autonomy" Talks

Here we arrive at the key to Reagan's plan — "autonomy talks to pave the way for permitting the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate rights." Under Reagan's schemes there will be negotiations to provide for some sort of "self-governing Palestinian authority" that will have no power. Then there will be a "five-year period of transition" for more negotiations between the U.S., Israel, and Jordan (recently Egypt and Saudi Arabia have also been mentioned as participants for these talks) over what is to become of the West Bank and Gaza and to make sure that "Palestinian autonomy poses no threat to Israel's security."

It must be pointed out that this plan was already set forward and agreed to by Israel and Egypt in the Camp David accords. It is now four years since those accords were signed and as yet there have still been no negotiations even on the question of the initial elections. This

is how matters stand with Reagan's peace plan: the Palestinians are to give up their right to their homeland, they are to put down their arms and guarantee the security of the Israeli zionist aggressors, they are to give up even the claim to an independent state on the West Bank and Gaza, and in return they are promised that there will be negotiations among the U.S. imperialists, the Israeli zionists and reactionary Arab governments. This is like asking the Palestinians to cut their own throats and then Reagan will grant them their "legitimate right" to bleed to death.

Zionist Settlements on the West Bank Are to Be Preserved

There has been a great deal of debate over the question of the Israeli settlements on the West Bank. This area is populated by over a million Palestinians. After Israel seized this territory in the 1967 war, it began to grab up Palestinian land, bulldoze their homes, and set up armed camps as the forward posts for the Israeli military. Today, Israel has stolen about one-third of the territory and it has set up some 103 settlements containing about 30,000 Israeli colonists.

As part of his peace plan, Reagan calls for "the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel." This means that Reagan is sanctioning the Israeli settlements that are already in place.

It is well known that U.S. imperialist policy has always been to voice words of protest against the increase of zionist settlements on the West Bank while supporting them in practice. Reagan's call for a "freeze" on settlements has proved to be another such case of U.S. imperialist subterfuge.

The day after he announced his peace plan the Israeli cabinet adamantly rejected any freeze on settlements and confirmed their plans to quadruple the settlements within the next few years to ensure that the zionists are in a position to annex the entire territory. Officials of the U.S. State Department said that they were not disappointed by the Begin government's stand since Reagan's suggestion to freeze the establishment of new settlements was not made to foreclose Israeli zionists' rights in the area but to convince Arab leaders to join the peace process. (*New York Times*, September 3, 1982) Reagan's every word turns out to be nothing but lying promises.

Autonomy Without a Shred of Power

In his speech on the peace plan, Reagan does not spell out what Palestinian autonomy would mean, should it ever come about. But from the Camp David accords, which Reagan is following, and from other statements by Reagan and the Israeli zionists some picture of Reagan's scheme can be put together.

In the first place the autonomy can be no threat to zionism. Therefore the armed camps and security forces of Israel remain in place and Israel will control the territory for at least a five-year transition. This means, among other things, that they will control the return of Palestinians who have been expelled from their homeland, enabling them to ban the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the organization of the Palestinian liberation movement and the only recognized representative of the Palestinian people.

Under the guns of the Israeli butchers a "self-governing authority" will be set up. Its "powers and responsibilities" will be decided by Israel, Jordan, and perhaps Egypt and Saudi Arabia, with the "participation" of handpicked Palestinian "representatives." This lackey authority would then design elections to a "self-governing authority administration council." Thus the Palestinians are granted "self-government" which will be administered by Israel and certain reactionary Arab governments, allegedly with the "participation" of the Palestinian people but excluding their representative, the PLO. And this is called Palestinian rights. What a sham.

After five years, if this setup proves to be no threat to Israel, and if U.S. imperialism, the Israeli government and Arab reaction agree, autonomy will be granted. But here too the Palestinians will have no power. According to the Israeli cabinet, Reagan's letter to them stated, "The definition of full autonomy as giving the Palestinian inhabitants real authority over themselves, the land and its resources, subject to fair safeguards on water."

What does this mean? First, the Palestinians will have at best limited water rights.

Second, there will be "real" authority over the land, but which land and how much authority is unclear. According to Reagan, "our view on the extent to which Israel should be asked to give up territory will be heavily affected by the extent of true peace and normalization and the security arrangements offered in return." In other words, the Palestinians are not even promised all of the territory, but it will be

parceled out between them and the Israeli zionists. Even Jerusalem is to be put up for negotiations between the Israeli rulers and the reactionary Arab governments. But the zionists have declared over and over that they will never give up Jerusalem, and Reagan has indicated that he agrees by announcing that he will not allow Jerusalem to be divided.

Furthermore, how the Palestinians are to defend the limited territory that they might be granted is also in doubt. Reagan calls for "progressive Palestinian responsibility for internal security based on capability and performance." This means a Palestinian police force might be permitted to be set up, but only gradually, unarmed and under the full authority of the Israeli occupiers. The zionists would like to find some Palestinian hooligans who will do the dirty work of controlling the Palestinian resistance for zionism. But only if such lackeys are found will a Palestinian police force be allowed.

Finally, the Palestinians are not even granted the right to decide what country, Israel or Jordan, that the West Bank will be attached to. This question too will only be decided by negotiations among Israel, Jordan and others.

When you add all of this up it means that there is little hope the Palestinians will ever be granted autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza, and even if they are it will amount to little or nothing. Even Begin, who has declared over and over again his determination to annex the West Bank, is agreeable to this kind of autonomy. He has said that the Palestinians can have autonomy "over themselves, not over the land." The zionists want the land, but they also want to disenfranchise the Palestinians. The zionists are afraid that allowing more Palestinians to be brought under the Israeli state will lead to the Palestinians outnumbering the Jewish population, and thus becoming a threat to zionism from inside Israel. Autonomy "over themselves, not over the land" is Begin's means of Israel annexing the West Bank and Gaza while disenfranchising the Palestinian population that lives there. Reagan's plan — offering autonomy, but no power — is offering essentially what Begin has called for.

Who Will Rule Over the Palestinian Autonomy?

As mentioned above, under Reagan's plan whether the West Bank and Gaza will go to Israel or Jordan is far from settled. For his part, Reagan states that, "The final status of these lands must, of course, be reached through the give-and-take of negotiations. But it is the



Youth defiantly wave the outlawed Palestinian flag in Galilee in the north of Israel. The fires of national liberation burn bright among the Palestinian masses, whether they live in refugee camps in Lebanon or Jordan, in the territories of the West Bank and Gaza occupied by Israel in 1967, or the original lands stolen from the Palestinians in 1948 such as Galilee.

firm view of the United States that self-government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable, just and lasting peace." Thus Reagan is holding out the promise of handing over the West Bank to Jordan in order to draw them into negotiations with the Israeli government.

It should be remembered that the Jordan of King Hussein is a fierce enemy of the Palestinian revolution. He is the author of the infamous Black September massacres of 1970, in which the Jordanian army attacked PLO bases and refugee camps in Jordan at the instigation of U.S. imperialism. Most recently, during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Hussein's troops opened fire on Palestinians demonstrating against the zionists, killing a number of them. Thus for the Palestinian people, annexing the West Bank to Jordan is far from a pleasant prospect. But Reagan considers this a possible solution. Hussein is closely tied to U.S. imperialism and the promise of trading "land for security" will help to pacify reactionary Arab governments, draw them even more tightly to U.S. imperialism, and keep Israel secure.

Of course, Reagan has not cut off the possibility of annexing the West Bank and Gaza directly to Israel. This is all a matter of negotiations and, as was pointed out above, Reagan plans to divvy up the

territory according to "the security arrangements offered in return."

The Palestinian People Fight for Their Rights

Clearly Reagan's peace plan is a solid gold fraud. It is an attempt to put out the flames of the Palestinian revolution by backing Israeli zionism to the hilt, by making empty promises of "rights" for the Palestinians, and by drawing reactionary Arab governments into the "peace process" to pressure the Palestinians into capitulation.

But the Palestinian people are not so easily suppressed. For decades they have made every sacrifice to win their liberation through struggle. Even as Reagan announced his plan, on the West Bank Palestinian teenagers confronted Israeli machine guns with rocks and bottles. Only days later, following the massacres in Lebanon, the Palestinians launched a general strike against Israel which swept across the West Bank. The Palestinian people are five million strong, they are determined, and they are gaining support even among Jewish people in Israel. Peace will not be found at the negotiating tables of U.S. imperialism, by conciliating with Israeli zionism or in the tender embraces of the reactionary Jordanian state. Peace can only be won through struggle, by overthrowing Israeli zionism and establishing a secular, democratic Palestine. This is the goal of the Palestinian liberation movement. Their struggle will triumph. □

Crocodile tears of the Israeli Labor Party cannot wash the blood off zionism

Since the siege of west Beirut, and especially in the wake of the massacres in the Palestinian camps, some of the American newspapers have suggested that the problem is not the system of Israeli zionism but simply that Defense Minister Sharon and Prime Minister Begin are madmen who are leading Israeli zionism astray down a path of death and destruction. It is reported that even the nuclear madman, President Ronald Reagan himself, believes that Begin has gone too far and that his government should be replaced. The Israeli Labor Party is presented as the alternative. It is being portrayed as a fighter against Begin's excesses, a party of peace, of reasonable men who uphold the "moral" and "humanitarian" traditions of zionism. But such heady, intoxicating claims fall flat in the sobering light of the Labor Party's own statements.

On September 22, the chairman of the Labor Party, Shimon Peres, addressed the Israeli parliament in what was portrayed as a fiery and scathing criticism of Begin and Sharon. What did he actually say? After wailing the "the slaughter of hundreds of innocent men, women and children in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Beirut were conducted by the lowest form of murderers, people who have lost their divine spark, their human image," Peres immediately absolved Israel of any and all blame. "I do not suggest for a second that anybody in Israel would knowingly lend his hand, directly or in-

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directly, to this shocking criminal act. And even as I come to call this government and its head to account, I must make clear that I do not accuse them of premeditated connections in any way to this heinous deed. And in the name of the unity of the nation I call upon all members of this house to exclude the Israel Defense Forces from this discussion. Let us leave aside our sons who are serving their nation faithfully. Let us not include the great and important organization that carries out orders, and which is blameless altogether: let us leave them out of this painful political controversy. We are sure that the Israel Defense Forces did not lend its hand to this spilling of blood." (*New York Times*, September 23, 1982)

Such is the "opposition" of the Labor Party. Begin and Sharon are trying to hide the hand that threw the stone. They say that the Lebanese Christian militias are alone to blame for the massacres and that Israel does not have even indirect responsibility for the slaughter. The Labor Party agrees, the Israeli role must be covered up.

But if this is what the Labor Party believes, then what is its disagreement with the Begin government? They complain only that Begin and Sharon have not done a good enough job in covering up their bloody tracks. Speaking of Bashir Gemayel, the assassinated Lebanese Phalangist leader, Peres points out that, "just as we were not involved in his election, or **should not have been seen as involved in his election**, so we should not, we must not be involved or **be seen to be involved** in the state of things created by the murder of the President-elect of Lebanon, and the acts of vengeance in its wake." (*Ibid.*, emphasis added) In other words, Israel has been caught in the act and exposed for the carnage it is carrying out in Lebanon. The Labor Party is embarrassed that Israel has "been seen to be involved" and complains bitterly that Begin and Sharon should have done a better job of whitewashing the whole affair.

It must be emphasized that the Labor Party has all along supported the invasion of Lebanon and all of the mass slaughter of the Palestinian and Lebanese people that this invasion has wrought. All along the Labor Party has supported the aims of this invasion: the forcible annexation of southern Lebanon by Israel; the setting up of a pro-Israeli, fascist regime in Lebanon; the crushing of the Palestinian resistance and the terrorizing of the Palestinian populace. The Labor Party does not even disagree with the invasion of west Beirut, only the "timing" of this invasion. (*Ibid.*) In short the Labor Party is in full accord with Begin and Sharon. They wish only to distance themselves from their crimes and to find a way to put perfume over the stench of

Israeli zionism's atrocities.

Still some might say that at least the Labor Party would not have carried out the massacres in the Palestinian camps; that at least the Labor Party would have had the sense to not send in the Christian militias; that at least the Labor Party still holds to the "moral" traditions, the "humane" past of zionism. But the criminal traditions of zionism and the blood on the hands of the Labor Party itself cannot be covered up. The Labor Party and its predecessors have headed up every government coalition that ruled Israel up to Begin's election in 1977. It presided over the Israeli wars of aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in 1956, 1967 and 1973. The name of Moshe Dayan, the notorious militarist and butcher of the Arab peoples, is linked to these aggressive wars, and he was embraced as a prominent leader of the Labor Party during these years. During the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon the Labor Party backed the efforts of the Christian militias to stamp out the revolt of the Palestinian and Lebanese toilers. And it was the author of the plan to set up a pro-Israeli state of these fascist hooligans.

The same day that Peres chastised Begin, Defense Minister Sharon dredged up the horrors of the rule of the Labor Party and chided Peres for his hypocrisy over the recent massacres. Sharon asserted, "When you [Peres — W.A.] were Defense Minister, there was an affair in Tell Zaatar.... Thousands of people were slaughtered. And Parliament Member Peres, where were the officers of the I.D.F. on that day, and that was an affair that occurred with foreknowledge." (*Ibid.*) Some Israeli journalists made it clear that Sharon was referring to the fact that Israeli officers were "advisors" to the Phalange militias in the bloody massacre at Tell Zaatar during the Lebanese civil war, and that Peres was the Defense Minister that directed this operation.

The bloody history of the Labor Party shows that the talk of a "humane" and "moral" zionism is a myth. Begin and Sharon's policy is not the exception, but the normal everyday practice. Zionism means massacres and war. It means theocratic rule, religious intolerance and brutal racism. It means genocidal terror against the Palestinians. There will be no peace in the Middle East until zionism is overthrown through revolution and Arabs and Jews live together in a secular democratic Palestinian state. □

Demonstrations across the U.S. condemn the U.S.-backed Israeli aggression in Lebanon

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon began on June 6. Right away, protest actions began to be organized. On June 11, for example, over 150 people marched through downtown Buffalo during the noon hour. The demonstration was militant in its denunciation of Israeli zionism and strongly denounced the U.S. government for backing the Begin-Sharon blitzkrieg.

On the following day, June 12, there was a series of demonstrations across the country against nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war. A million people marched in New York, San Francisco, at the Washington State-British Columbia border, etc. A section of the demonstrators loudly condemned the zionist aggression and carried banners and signs to that effect. The Palestinian contingents at the demonstrations were among the most militant contingents. The voices of those demonstrators who protested Israeli aggression stood in stark contrast to the official organizers of the marches who chose to say nothing against the Israeli war in Lebanon. This was a big exposure of the hypocrisy of their proclamations about being for peace in the world. But this was not at all surprising since they are allied with the Democratic Party which is one of the most vociferous champions of Israeli aggression.

On June 18, the mass murderer Begin, Prime Minister of Israel, came to New York to address the United Nations session on disarmament.

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On June 18, 1982, while zionist chieftain Begin spoke at the United Nations more than 5,000 people marched outside the UN in support of the Palestinian liberation struggle and vigorously denounced the U.S.-backed Israeli aggression in Lebanon.

ment. There he gave one of the most warmongering speeches. But outside, 5,000 demonstrators militantly condemned his presence and came out to show their solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people. On the same weekend, there were other protests elsewhere in the country. On June 19th, 3,000 people marched in Dearborn, Michigan and militantly condemned zionism and imperialism. Dearborn has one of the largest Palestinian communities in the U.S. and the people showed up in strength to display their solidarity with the struggle at home.

On July 10, demonstrations took place in many cities nationwide. In New York City, several thousand marched through midtown Manhattan and rallied at Union Square. In Washington, D.C., several thousand more showed their solidarity with the Palestinian resistance right in front of the White House. In downtown Detroit, 600 marched against the invasion of Lebanon. There were actions also in Los Angeles, Chicago, etc., while on the previous weekend protests had taken place in Cleveland and Philadelphia. And on July 17, over 600 people demonstrated in San Francisco. They denounced the Israeli siege of Beirut, declared their opposition to U.S. troops being sent to Lebanon and proclaimed solidarity with the Palestinian struggle.

On August 7, another demonstration took place in Washington, D.C. Over a thousand people participated, coming from cities as far

away as Chicago. They chanted militant slogans, including: **Reagan, Begin, you should know; we are all the PLO! and Jewish people — yes; Zionism — NO!** The demonstrators were mainly organized by Palestinian groups in the U.S.

In the last week of August, the Israeli War Minister Ariel Sharon visited the U.S. On August 26, supporters of the Palestinian people demonstrated in New York City while he addressed a conference of major Zionist organizations. A similar action took place in Washington, D.C. two days later when Sharon visited there.

On September 11, again thousands took to the streets in several cities against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and Washington's backing of the Zionist crimes. In Washington, D.C., several thousand marched through the streets of the city. In San Francisco, 700 people took part in the event. On September 18, hundreds marched in Austin, Texas.

On the weekend of September 19, the news began to arrive about the bestial massacres of thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese people in the refugee camps of west Beirut. Immediately, protest actions were organized in various cities. On the evening of September 20th, 500 people rallied in Dearborn, Michigan. They denounced Israel and U.S. imperialism for the massacres in west Beirut. The rally then organized into a car caravan to downtown Detroit. With lights on and horns blaring, flags were waved and slogans shouted along the way. In Detroit, 300 people picketed the Federal Building



From the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, thousands upon thousands of people have taken to the streets in protest across the U.S. and worldwide. Photo shows a section of a protest march in Detroit on July 10, 1982. The Marxist-Leninist Party had a contingent in this action which marched under a banner declaring in English and Arabic: "Long live the Palestinian Revolution!"

loudly and vigorously. They chanted such slogans as: **Begin (Reagan), Hitler are the same; the only difference is the name!** and **We are all PLO!** The picket continued for three hours, well into the night, while dozens of demonstrators occupied the offices of Michigan Democratic Senators Carl Levin and Don Riegle. On Monday, September 20, a demonstration of 500 was held at the Daley Plaza in Chicago, followed by another demonstration of 250 on September 24. On the 22nd of September, about 300 people attended a memorial in Buffalo. In Boston, on September 20, a militant demonstration held outside the Israeli consulate was attacked by the police. Other actions were organized in many cities, including New York, Washington, D.C., etc. The next weekend, there were memorial rallies in various cities across the country, including downtown Detroit, New York City, and so on.

Besides all the actions mentioned above, there were small and large protests in numerous cities across the country. They all symbolize the solidarity of the progressive people of the U.S. with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' valiant struggle against Israeli Zionism and its master, U.S. imperialism. □

On the movement against U.S.-backed zionist aggression:

Keep up the fire against imperialism and zionism!

In June, the U.S.-backed military machine of Israeli zionism stormed into Lebanon. There the Israeli aggressors and their Christian fascist puppets have established a brutal reign of terror, murdering over 15,000 Palestinians and Lebanese, maiming many others, and making hundreds of thousands homeless. The monstrous crimes committed in Lebanon have aroused the indignation of democratic and progressive people the world over.

In the United States, the country whose government is the No. 1 supplier of billions of dollars of weapons and other aid to the Israeli aggressors, the invasion of Lebanon has also outraged millions of working and progressive people. Thousands have taken to the streets again and again to protest the carnage in Lebanon. In these actions, the masses have squarely condemned the U.S. government for backing the Israeli zionist aggression.

The current protests form the biggest wave of actions in the U.S. against Israeli atrocities in years. They have brought together not only the Palestinian and other Arab immigrants and progressive Americans who have opposed zionist aggression for many years but also new forces whose eyes are being opened about Israeli militarism for the first time. This includes many Jewish people who had previously been misled by the lies of the zionists. This is a blow against the chauvinist exclusionism preached by the zionists. As well, the protests drew clear distinctions between zionism and the Jewish people, thus boldly refuting the lying zionist propaganda that opposition to Israel means anti-Semitism.

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The emergence of this movement is significant especially in the face of the powerful opposition it faces. The imperialist parties, both Republican and Democratic alike, are vigorous champions of Israeli aggression. So are the labor bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO and the social-democrats. And even within the movement against Israeli aggression, there are those who seek to tone down and eliminate any condemnation of zionism and imperialism. This works to reconcile the movement to the enemies of the Palestinian struggle, to the capitalist interests who are the real organizers and boosters of zionist aggression and oppression. This policy leads to turning the movement into a tail of U.S. imperialism's designs to crush the Palestinian revolution by organizing a deal between Arab reaction and Israeli zionism.

The Marxist-Leninist Party has actively participated in the protests against U.S.-Israeli aggression. In the movement it has raised high the banner of opposition to imperialism and gone widely among the workers and oppressed masses to mobilize them into the anti-imperialist struggle.

Problems Faced by the Movement Against U.S.-Israeli Aggression

The emergence of the wave of protests in recent months against the Israeli aggression is a very positive development. Israeli zionism is one of the bastions of U.S. imperialism. And the demonstrations have repeatedly condemned the U.S. government for standing behind the zionist aggression. Thus, another impulse has been provided to the movement against U.S. militarism and imperialism that has grown up in recent years.

The fact that thousands have taken to the streets on this question is especially significant considering the tremendous propaganda offensive carried out by the U.S. imperialist ruling circles to whitewash Israeli zionism and besmirch the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. And while thousands are demonstrating, many others are becoming aware of the reactionary and warmongering nature of Israel and Washington's support for it.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the development of this movement faces powerful obstacles. Only by confronting these obstacles can the movement grow.

On the one hand, there are the open enemies. The U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie stands solidly behind the Israeli zionist aggression. The Republican and Democratic Parties both fervently support the Israeli

war of extermination against the Palestinian revolution. In fact, the Democrats try to outdo Reagan in enthusiasm for the Israeli aggression. The top labor bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO have also long been among the most fervent boosters of Israeli zionism. Last month, the AFL-CIO spent over half a million dollars to take out ads in newspapers saying: "The AFL-CIO is not neutral. We support Israel." This ad fully endorsed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon including the siege of west Beirut.

It is of course not at all surprising to see the warmongers of the Democratic Party and AFL-CIO stand on the side of zionist butchery in Lebanon. After all, these same worthies also support Reagan's backing of the fascist war against the Salvadoran people. But what is especially significant is that many "liberal" heroes who posture as big "anti-war" and "peace" leaders have also openly supported the Israeli invasion. For example, the AFL-CIO statement was signed unanimously by the entire Executive Board, including such people as William Winpisinger of the machinists' union and Douglas Fraser of the autoworkers' union. These gentlemen promote themselves as "progressive" and Winpisinger is in fact a leader of the Democratic Socialists of America. They claim to be "opposed" to nuclear war and Reagan's policies in El Salvador, but they cannot find it in themselves to oppose the brutal war of aggression in the Middle East. This shows that their "anti-war" stand is just so much posturing.

There are many other examples of this. For instance, the organizers of the June 12 anti-nuclear protests, who are the leaders of the "nuclear freeze" campaign, chose to remain silent on the carnage in Lebanon. They are closely allied to the capitalist politicians and especially the Democratic Party "liberals." They refuse to condemn imperialism and instead hide under exalted words about "life" and "survival." Yet, strangely enough, they cannot find it in themselves to oppose the destruction of life where the oppressed peoples of Palestine and Lebanon are concerned. What hypocrisy!

What this shows is that it is not just the right wing of the Democratic Party but the largest part of the "left-wing" Democrats too who are supporters of the U.S.-Israeli aggression in Lebanon. These heroes are no friends of the struggle against war; they reek of imperialism, chauvinism and militarism no less than the Reagans, Begins, and so forth. As a result, the largest part of the "left-wing" Democrats are fervently opposed to the development of a movement here against U.S.-Israeli aggression. This is a very important lesson to take note of by all the activists who seek to advance the movement.

The treacherous stand of the "left-wing" Democrats should be used to show that Washington's policy in the Middle East is not the mistaken policy of this or that individual but the class policy of U.S. imperialism. It should be used to build the movement independent of both the Republicans and Democrats, including the "left-wing" Democrats.

Social-Democrats on Their Knees Before Imperialism and Zionism

The current atrocities being committed by U.S.-backed Israeli zionism are opening the eyes of many, many people. Zionism is suffering one of its greatest exposures. In this situation, certain political forces are working to make sure that those people whose eyes are being opened about Israeli aggression do not break with zionism and imperialism in favor of support for a truly democratic solution to the Palestinian question. These forces want to subordinate the protest movement against zionist aggression to the interests of zionism and U.S. imperialism.

First, this includes forces of organized social-democracy in the U.S. which are well known for being longstanding champions of zionist Israel. These forces are halfhearted and insincere in their alleged opposition to the invasion of Lebanon; they only mouth a few words in order to be able to influence the movement towards conciliation with zionism and imperialism.

Prominent among such forces is the Democratic Socialists of America and various liberal zionist circles around them. Take a look at the policy of the DSA on the war in Lebanon. The National Executive Committee of the DSA adopted a statement on Lebanon on June 20. This statement tried to mildly hint at some displeasure over the invasion of Lebanon but fell short of even doing that. Instead, it bolstered all the arguments of Begin and Reagan in support of the Israeli invasion. It was striking in its refusal to clearly condemn the oppressors and aggressors. Thus, while calling for the withdrawal of Israeli troops, in true Reagan-Haig fashion it linked this with the call for the withdrawal of "all non-Lebanese armed forces," including the Palestinian fighters! And while claiming to condemn the "massive bombing of civilian population centers in Lebanon by the Israeli forces," it linked even this with the zionist-inspired condemnation of the "reckless use of the civilian population as shelter by the Palestinian combatants"! Thus, by equating the oppressors and oppressed,

the DSA is not opposing Israeli aggression at all; it is merely providing a liberal hand-wringing cover for the crimes of the Israeli zionists. (Excerpts from the DSA statement are published in *Democratic Left*, June 1982, p. 12)

What is especially notable about the DSA's statement is not so much their defense of zionist crimes (they are well known for that), but their interest in diverting the protest movement towards this wretched pro-zionist position. The DSA statement goes on to say: "The local **organizations** of the DSA should join in protest against the Israeli policies in the occupied territories and in the conflict in Lebanon, but **only** under circumstances where our support for **both** Palestinian self-determination and the right of Israel to a secure existence is made clear." (*Ibid.*, emphasis as in the original) And what does the DSA's support for both Palestinian self-determination and Israel mean in reality? It means a tiny bit of lip service to Palestinian self-determination while condemning the Palestinian liberation struggle and upholding the oppressor state of Israel, a state whose very existence is based on the negation of democracy and the national rights of the Palestinians. This stand is in fact the general policy of U.S. imperialism — the Reagans and Carters are well known to mouth phrases about Palestinian rights while backing Israel to the hilt with billions of dollars of weapons.

The social-democrats of the DSA demand that they will participate in the protests against Israeli actions only under conditions where their pro-imperialist and pro-zionist policy is "made clear." What this boils down to is a demand that the protests eliminate the condemnation of Israeli zionism, that they conciliate with U.S. imperialism and that they do not vigorously support the Palestinian liberation struggle and the goal of a democratic and secular Palestine. This is nothing but a demand to subordinate the movement to zionism and imperialism.

Adapting to Social-Democracy

Unfortunately, among many of the official organizers of the protests against Israeli aggression, there are efforts being made to weaken this movement by adapting to the demands of social-democracy. Many of the demonstrations organized in this period are being called by coalitions which are dominated by revisionist and trotskyite political forces, such as the Workers World Party. These

groups have long claimed to be opponents of zionism and supporters of the Palestinian struggle, but today they are trying in a number of ways to eliminate or tone down the condemnation of U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism.

For example, certain forces in the coalition that organized the September 11 march in San Francisco tried to pass a rule that organizations participating in the event could not have their own banners and slogans and that the picket signs should not mention zionism or imperialism. This rule was rejected after comrades of the Marxist-Leninist Party opposed it at a coalition meeting.

Meanwhile, in certain other cities, efforts have been made to split the movement with the idea that there should be Palestinian and Arab demonstrations with one sort of politics and "American support" demonstrations with another sort of politics. This even went to the extent of refusal to mobilize American workers and progressive people to take part in Palestinian-organized events and vice versa, of scheduling conflicting events, and so forth. What this separatist policy boils down to is that the "American support" demonstrations should not be fully in solidarity with the Palestinian revolution and should not firmly condemn zionism and imperialism — they should not be "contaminated" by the presence of militant Palestinians vigorously declaring their support for the Palestinian revolution.

This separatist policy is reminiscent of cultural nationalist and bourgeois third-worldist views which have long been part of the arsenal of the opportunists. With demagogy about "third world peoples" being more revolutionary, they justify craven reformism and pacifism for the American workers and progressives. On the other hand, they refuse to distinguish between reaction and the revolutionary forces among the "third world people," thus serving to subordinate the revolutionary forces to the reactionaries. In the current situation, this is manifested in applauding or refusing to oppose Arab reaction, which is stabbing the Palestinian struggle in the back.

Why do the opportunists refuse to hit squarely at imperialism? Why do they seek to tone down the condemnation of zionism? It is to allow the imperialist politicians, especially the Democrats, to come into the movement on the basis of their hypocritical statements about "concern" for the loss of civilian lives, etc. But to do this is to narrow down the movement. It only helps to whitewash the role of U.S. imperialism as the chief backer of Israeli zionism. In fact, this stand only helps to bolster Reagan's strategy against the Palestinian libera-

tion struggle, which is to use the Israeli war machine to crush the resistance with fire and sword while portraying Washington as a "peacekeeper" and thus impose a reactionary neo-colonial solution on the Palestinian people through an accord between zionism and Arab reaction.

One of the significant features of the current movement against Israeli aggression is that many new people are coming into the struggle who had been misled by the lies of the zionists. This is a positive step. But many of these people oppose the militarist policies of Begin and Sharon as the policies of individual politicians in Israel, instead of recognizing that the existence of a zionist, theocratic and exclusivist state inevitably means the national oppression of the Palestinian people and expansionist wars against the Arab peoples. Our Party welcomes the new people into the movement and helps them move forward. But this can not be done through conciliation with zionism, even of its most liberal varieties, but by helping these people open their eyes to the real nature of zionist Israel.

In sum, the movement against U.S.-Israeli aggression can be advanced only through remaining firm against imperialism and zionism. Otherwise, the movement will be turned into a plaything of the imperialists for their dirty designs against the Palestinian people.

The Marxist-Leninist Party Works to Squarely Target Imperialism

The Marxist-Leninist Party has enthusiastically supported the growth of the protest movement against U.S.-Israeli aggression. Throughout the country, the branches of the MLP have vigorously participated in the demonstrations, with banners, placards and slogans firmly denouncing U.S. imperialism and zionism. The banners of the Party have boldly declared **Victory to the Palestinian revolution!** The Party has worked hard to provide a militant spirit in the various demonstrations and rallies.

Throughout this period, the comrades of the Party have gone widely among the workers explaining the issues involved in the war in Lebanon. Many leaflets were issued on the question. On July 6, *The Workers' Advocate* issued a special bulletin against the invasion of Lebanon. The July 20 issue of the newspaper carried a series of articles, explaining the objectives of the U.S.-Israeli aggression, the historical background of zionism and exposing the treachery of Arab



On September 11th, 700 people demonstrated in San Francisco against the U.S.-Israeli aggression in Lebanon. Photo shows the MLP contingent in the march. Through its work in actions such as this, its distribution of thousands of leaflets and newspapers among the working masses and other activities, the Marxist-Leninist Party has worked to orient the progressive masses along the path of stern struggle against imperialism and zionism.

reaction against the Palestinian struggle. In this widescale agitation, many discussions were held with workers on the need to fight zionism and imperialism. In a number of cities, including Buffalo, Seattle, and Detroit, meetings were also organized to discuss the issues involved in the invasion of Lebanon.

The entire work of the Party in this movement has been based on the orientation that the real force against the U.S.-Israeli aggression lies among the workers, oppressed nationalities and progressive masses generally. It is here that the appeal should be directed to build the movement and not to the warmongering Democratic Party politicians, sellout labor bureaucrats and social-democratic defenders of zionism. The war in Lebanon has provided an unparalleled exposure of the real nature of Israeli zionism — this should be used to strengthen the fire against imperialism and zionism and not to weaken it. It is along these lines that the prospects lie for the growth of the movement. □

**No to Zionist sabotage
of the struggle against anti-Semitism!**

Condemn the recent anti-Semitic attacks in Europe!

Over the last few years, several violent anti-Semitic attacks have taken place against Jews in Western Europe. Recently two more bloody incidents occurred. On August 9 in Paris gunmen fired machine guns and hurled grenades into a crowd of people at a restaurant in a Jewish neighborhood. The reactionary thugs killed six people and wounded twenty-two. Another attack occurred on October 9 in Rome. Grenades were hurled into a crowd of Jews leaving religious services at the city's main synagogue. A two-year-old child was killed and 37 others were injured. These attacks were launched against people on the basis of the fact that they were Jewish; this represents vile racist reaction. Our Party strongly condemns these attacks, as have progressive people worldwide. Anti-Semitism has been a long-established tool of capitalist reaction against the working masses. It is today actively promoted by numerous neo-Nazi fascist gangs which European capitalism has spawned and continues to nurture.

Meanwhile, the Israeli Zionists, in the midst of their wholesale slaughter of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, came forward with hypocritical statements of concern over the anti-Semitic atrocities in Europe. But it is not anti-Semitic racism that Begin and co. seek to fight. Rather, the Zionists have demagogically seized on these incidents in order to bolster support for Zionism in Europe and worldwide. It is well known that the Zionists falsely equate the interests of Jewish people with the reactionary interests of Zionism and Israel. But in fact, Zionism cannot be equated with the Jewish people.

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Among Jews, there are capitalists and workers. The interests of the Jewish workers lie with the working class of which they are a part, while Zionism is a reactionary political trend promoted by the Jewish bourgeoisie that preaches segregation for the Jewish people and unity with the imperialists against the Palestinian and other oppressed Arab masses.

To back up their false equation of Jews with Zionism, the Zionists promote the monstrous idea that opposition to Zionism and its murderous crimes is a sign of anti-Semitism. Thus the Zionist chieftains were quick to claim that the anti-Semitic murders in Europe were the work of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the result of a wide "anti-Israel attitude." What this reveals is that they are worried stiff about the fact that the recent bloodbath in Lebanon has thoroughly exposed the real expansionist and oppressive essence of Zionism. Worldwide sympathy and support for the Palestinian people has grown. Indeed, the carnage in Lebanon has helped to open the eyes of many Jewish people also who have been deceived by the Zionist lies. In fact, in both France and Italy, the influence of the Zionists showed significant signs of weakening. In this situation, the anti-Semitic murders were especially useful for the Zionists to consolidate their hold over the Jewish people. This is the despicable game the Zionists are playing with their so-called concern over the anti-Semitic murders.

France

Following the August 9 incident in France, for example, the Israeli ambassador in Paris instantly announced that the attack was the work of the PLO. This filthy lie was made without the slightest pretense of providing any proof. Indeed, it came in the face of a firm condemnation of the murders by the PLO representative in Paris. The false accusation by Israel clearly shows that the Israeli leaders were not concerned with finding the real perpetrators of the crime but in slandering the Palestinian liberation movement. At the same time, the Zionist organizations in France launched a vicious racist campaign against the Arab peoples, some even boasting that they would "kill them all." This expressed the typical topsy-turvy logic of the Israeli Zionists. It is they who launch a genocidal aggression against the Palestinian and Arab peoples, but the Palestinians and Arabs become guilty of anti-Semitic attacks simply because they have dared to stand up and fight against Zionist oppression!



The answer to anti-Semitic atrocities does not lie in Zionist-sponsored calls for separatism for the Jewish people but in the united struggle of the working and progressive people against anti-Semitism and fascism. Photo shows a section of the 200,000 people who marched in Paris on October 8, 1980 against a bombing of a synagogue a few days earlier.

Begin used the anti-Semitic atrocities in Paris to urge the Jews there to "fight" anti-Semitism by separating themselves off from the rest of the working people of France. Their best interests, he claimed, would be served by pledging loyalty to Zionist organizations and Israel. But for the Jewish workers to take up such a stand would be to tie themselves to the interests of the Jewish capitalists, who are the main backers of Zionism, and to world imperialism. This is a completely dishonorable course. The way to fight the anti-Semitic racism is not through nationalist exclusionism but through uniting with the working class and progressive movement against all racism, exploitation and oppression.

Using the hoax that the Paris murders were "the consequence of an anti-Israeli attitude," the Zionist organizations demanded that the French imperialist government suppress the anti-Zionist movement. A major demonstration in support of the Palestinian liberation struggle had been planned for at least one week before the August 9 tragedy. Immediately following the August 9 events, the French Zionist group Betar announced that it would physically prevent the demonstration from being held. No sooner had the Zionists issued their

gangster-style ultimatum than the Mitterrand "socialist" government ordered the pro-Palestinian demonstration banned. The French revisionist party and its allies, who had called the protest, capitulated to the demand of Mitterrand and the Zionists. This experience provided rich lessons about the mealy-mouthed "pro-Palestinian" posturing that the social-democratic party of Mitterrand sometimes engages in. In fact, the reactionary Mitterrand government took this occasion to step up attacks on Arab immigrants through "improved" border controls.

Despite the ban of the government and the complicity of the revisionists in it, a militant demonstration of some 300 people was held. Defying the threats of the police, a brief march was held which raised slogans such as "Reagan, Begin fascist assassins!", "Begin murderer, Mitterrand accomplice!" and others denouncing imperialism, Zionism and anti-Semitism. Active in this illegal action was the Marxist-Leninist party of the French workers, the Workers' Communist Party. The WCP of France issued a major statement in its paper *La Forge* titled "Combat Zionism and Anti-Semitism!"

Italy

The attack on the synagogue in Rome was also used by the Zionists to gain support for their despicable goals. Once again, without a shred of evidence, the Palestinian resistance movement was blamed, again in the face of a clear-cut condemnation of the murders by the PLO. The Zionists went so far as to make the ludicrous claim that the murders were caused by the fact that PLO Chairman Arafat had traveled to Italy to meet the Pope and various Italian political figures. Moreover, the Zionists in Italy also organized a reactionary demonstration outside the PLO offices in Rome to create further anti-Palestinian hysteria. And once again, the Zionists blamed a "widespread anti-Jewish attitude," i.e., the fact that there has been a big movement in Italy against the Zionist crimes in Lebanon.

The actions of the Zionists in Italy also provided a vivid exposure of their fraudulent claim to be fighting anti-Semitism. On October 11 the Italian trade unions called for a two-hour general strike to protest the anti-Semitic atrocities. But did the Zionists in Italy support this protest? No! They instead called on the Jewish people to boycott this action! This was done under the exclusivist logic that only the Jews can oppose anti-Semitism!

These events showed once again that the Zionists were not interest-

ed in fighting anti-Semitism, but in using the anti-Semitic attacks to slander the Palestinian resistance, bolster Zionist influence among the Jewish people and preach racist exclusivism among them.

Zionism Is Racism and Not an Opponent of It

The stand of the Zionists expressed in Europe is not in the least surprising. Since its origin, Zionist doctrine has mimicked the views of the most ardent Jew-hating racists that the Jews are "aliens" in Europe, America, etc., and should be separated off from the people of other nationalities and religions. These views are openly stated in the writings of the Zionist ideologues, such as in the book *The Jewish State* by Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism. Anti-Jewish racism suited the Zionists just fine because they wanted to exile Jews from the countries in which they had lived and ship them off to an exclusively Jewish state created through colonizing some other people's land. The present-day state of Israel fulfills this Zionist dream. It was created through the forced expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland and has existed through continual wars of aggression against the Arab people, the annexation of their lands, and brutal national oppression of Palestinian residents.

To achieve their goals, the Zionists have historically stooped so low that they have sought the support of the worst anti-Semites and the most savage colonialist and imperialist powers. Among others, they presented their colonial plans to the ministers of the Russian Tsar, pledging to help rid Russia of the "Jewish problem." The Zionist chieftains collaborated with Hitlerite fascism as well. There are countless facts which verify this. For example, the Zionist Revisionist Party led by Vladimir Jabotinsky, which is the party where Begin first got his political training, was openly built on the fascist model and even trained its cadets, brown shirts and all, in Mussolini's Italy. Meanwhile, the Stern gang, a split from Begin's Irgun, was closely tied with the Hitlerite Nazis who acknowledged the "common interests" between them. (See *The Village Voice*, October 12, 1982) The affinity between Zionism and fascism was fully spelled out in Jabotinsky's slogan: "Germany for Hitler, Italy for Mussolini, and Palestine for us."

And the efforts to establish a Zionist colony finally bore fruit under the protection of Anglo-American imperialism. Israel was founded and has ever since existed as an aggressive tool of U.S. imperialism

among the oppressed peoples of the Middle East. It serves loyally as a U.S. guard dog to defend U.S. imperialist oil and strategic interests in the region.

The history of Zionism shows that it is racist to the core. It is not interested in fighting the persecution of Jews and seeing Jewish working people fighting shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the working people in the countries where they live. This of course would interfere with efforts to encourage mass immigration into the Zionist colony; it would be an obstacle to lining up the Jewish masses behind the enslaving aims of the imperialist powers. Zionism only serves the interests of the Jewish capitalists, who are its biggest backers among the Jewish people, and Western imperialism, with which they are closely integrated into a single chain of imperialist and oppressive interests. □

On the path forward for the Palestinian liberation movement Part I

The war in Lebanon has created a new and difficult situation for the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. The savage invasion of Lebanon by U.S.-backed Israeli zionism has inflicted a serious blow to the Palestinian movement and the toiling masses of Lebanon. With the help of the Israeli occupation and thousands of imperialist troops from the U.S., France and Italy, a fascist government of the Phalange is being consolidated today in Lebanon. Thousands of Palestinian fighters have been forced to withdraw and dispersed among various Arab countries. Thousands of others languish in the prison camps of the Israeli and Lebanese governments. The Palestinian refugee masses in Beirut and southern Lebanon have thus been left defenseless, disorganized and cut off from their active elements. Thus, in all the areas with the largest concentrations of Palestinians — the occupied West Bank and Gaza, Israel, Jordan and Lebanon — the Palestinian national movement cannot operate openly among the masses.

The events of 1982 clearly signify that a major turning point has arrived for the Palestinian struggle. Of course, the Palestinians will rebound from this setback. Their history has repeatedly confirmed the resilience of this small but heroic people and their fighting spirit is still being shown every day with courageous acts of resistance on the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

This article has been reprinted from the January 25, 1983 issue of *The Workers' Advocate*, Volume 13, Number 1.

The question facing the Palestinian people is therefore not whether they will rebound. Rather, it is the question of what strategy and tactics must the movement adopt to organize the future onslaught of the struggle. The war in Lebanon has brought into question many issues of the strategy and tactics of the movement during its last phase. Today, wherever there are activists and sympathizers of the Palestinian liberation struggle, a discussion has already begun on the lessons of the past and the path forward. This article has been written as a contribution to this discussion.

Today imperialism recognizes that while the Palestinian movement had a setback, it is not crushed. Therefore it seeks to prevent the Palestinians from taking up the tasks required for rebuilding their revolutionary struggle. On the one hand, it continues with its unabated support for the Israeli zionists. On the other hand, it also sponsors so-called peace plans, with the help of the Arab governments, to entice the Palestinian movement towards capitulation. These days the biggest noise is being made about the Reagan "peace plan." This holds out an empty promise of "restoring Palestinian rights" through an accord between Israel and Arab reaction, especially the Jordanian monarchy.

The leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization is trying to cover over the difficult situation with official declarations of false optimism. Thus, they have even hailed the retreat from Beirut as a great victory for the movement. It is true that the Palestinians fought heroically in Beirut and southern Lebanon. Everyone knows this was a much more powerful resistance than that usually put up by the regular Arab armies during previous wars with Israel. But facts must be looked in the face, and it cannot be denied that the retreat from Beirut was a setback. Behind their false proclamations of victory the PLO leaders are showing their desire for a general accommodation with imperialism and zionist Israel.

This was exemplified in mid-October by Yasir Arafat's trip to Jordan. He met there with King Hussein, the notorious organizer of the Black September massacre of the Palestinians in 1970 and a key point-man for U.S. imperialism in the region. During this visit, Arafat agreed to the idea of a federation between a proposed Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

This is a serious step backwards. For years, the Palestinian movement maintained a fairly strong stand against the Jordanian regime and in fact directly rejected Hussein's earlier proposals for a "United Arab Kingdom." This stand was completely justified. The Jordanian

regime is a militarist state which is a key outpost of U.S. imperialism. It is propped up by U.S. and Saudi aid. A Palestinian political entity associated with such a regime would be a heavy straitjacket on any attempts to develop the struggle against Israeli zionism and it would suppress any attempts by the toilers to fight for their class interests against the exploiters.

This capitulationist stand of the PLO leadership highlights the bankruptcy of national-reformism. But this stand has not emerged out of nowhere. Its roots lie in the historical development of this leadership, and particularly in the national-reformist policy it has increasingly followed for the last nine years.

The present leadership of the PLO is made up predominantly of the leaders of the armed resistance organizations that emerged in the 1960's, such as Fateh, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and its offshoots, etc. These groups were initiated by the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. In the 1960's, they followed a policy which was marked generally by national-revolutionary features, albeit with weaknesses of various kinds.

The main features of this national-revolutionary policy included: recognition that the enemy of the Palestinian people was not just zionism but also its imperialist backers, especially U.S. imperialism; proclamation that the goal of the struggle was the overthrow of the racist and theocratic zionist state of Israel and its replacement by a democratic and secular Palestine; recognition that the struggle required revolutionary methods of fighting, including the armed struggle and the mobilization of the masses; recognition of the need to improve the social and economic position of the toilers; and, replacement of the narrow nationalist stand of the voices of Arab reaction with attempts to link up with the Jewish working masses in Israel.

As a result of these policies, the guerrilla organizations succeeded in emerging as a big threat to the imperialists and zionists and won the wide backing of the vast majority of the Palestinian masses. They received the support of revolutionary and progressive people worldwide.

However, with the October 1973 war in the Middle East, there was a turn in the general policy of the leadership of the Palestinian movement. Various weaknesses towards national-reformism which had existed all along now came to the fore. A euphoric assessment of the political situation in the Middle East was made, and on the basis of that assessment the Palestinian movement was asked to adopt the

path of "realism."

The "realism" advocated by the national-reformist policy centered around shunting aside the goal of the overthrow of the zionist state in favor of a "mini-state" on some part of the occupied territories. Liberation of a part of Palestine in the course of struggle would be one thing. But, despite the claims of the PLO leaders that a mini-state would be used as a springboard to carry on the revolutionary struggle, it in fact became the highest aim of their strategy. In addition, the national-reformist turn included toning down the opposition to imperialism in favor of preaching illusions that such a mini-state could be achieved peacefully, through the wheelings and dealings between the Arab regimes and the big powers, and subordination of mass mobilization and militant methods of struggle to the overall reformist strategy. Whatever heroic armed actions were organized were simply looked upon by the PLO leadership as methods to put pressure towards achieving a reformist compromise. In the absence of an overall revolutionary orientation, these became, in the main, isolated and diffuse acts. This, in effect, amounted to a policy of "national-reformism with guns."

But despite the national-reformist policy of the PLO leadership, their illusions about a "peaceful solution" remained just that, merely illusions. Imperialism, zionism and Arab reaction all showed that they sought to crush the Palestinian movement as they all feared its progressive character. And the Palestinian resistance was therefore forced to fight one battle after another to defend itself. In 1975 they were thrust into a civil war, along with their allies in the Lebanese left, against the fascist Phalange. When they were on the verge of victory, they were forced to confront the Syrian forces who invaded as a "peacekeeping" force backed by Arab reaction in support of the Phalange. And year in and year out, they were subject to incursions and attacks by Israeli troops and planes, including an invasion into Lebanon in 1978. 1982 brought the full weight of a large-scale Israeli invasion.

If the experience of the previous years wasn't enough, the 1982 war in Lebanon brought out in sharp relief the full depth of the bankruptcy of the national-reformist policy of the PLO leadership. It showed that the idea that the Palestinians can win their rights through the "goodwill" of imperialism is a fairy tale. Rather, the goal of crushing the Palestine liberation movement is one of the foremost aims of U.S. imperialism. Indeed, this is a key component of the offensive opened up in the region by imperialism to make up for its loss in the Iranian

revolution.

The war also showed the utter futility of relying upon the reactionary Arab governments. Arab reaction, both in its traditional monarchist garb and in its "progressive" phrasemongering cloak, worked to stab the Palestinians in the back. Today, Arab reaction is actively urging the Palestinians to make peace with Israel by reaching an accommodation through the diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist powers.

Within the National Movement, the Toiling Masses Need Their Independent Organization

The present situation in the Palestinian movement strikingly confirms the assessment made over 60 years ago by the Second Congress of the Communist International that:

"There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow farther apart from each other. One is the bourgeois democratic national movement, with a program of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation. The former endeavor to control the latter, and often succeed to a certain extent, but the Communist International must struggle against such control and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies." (Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Question adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920)

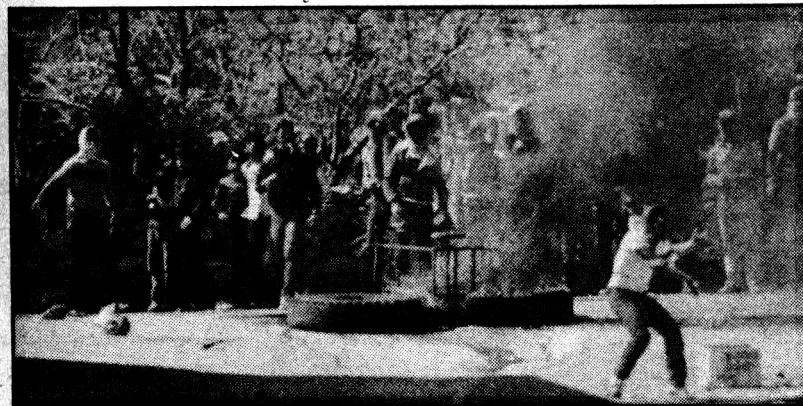
Today, the dominant current within the Palestinian movement, the PLO leadership, has historically moved from a generally national-revolutionary position towards national-reformism. This is not an extraordinary phenomenon. In fact, in 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International spoke to the question of petty-bourgeois parties in the colonial and dependent countries, pointing out, among other things:

"The development of these parties, as a general rule, follows a course from the national-revolutionary to the national-reformist position. Even such movements as Sun Yat-senism in China, Gandhism in India, Sarekat Islam in Indonesia, were originally radical petty-bourgeois ideological movements which, however, as a result of their service to the big bourgeoisie, became converted into a bourgeois nationalist-reformist movement...the

fact must not be lost sight of that these parties, essentially considered, are connected to the national bourgeoisie." (Thesis on The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, 1928)

Today, in the wake of the setbacks in Lebanon, the national-reformist leadership of the PLO seeks to make a shameful compromise with imperialism and zionism in favor of a very restrictive Palestinian governmental entity, a compromise whose key features will be to guarantee the security of the zionist state and give more room to the Arab bourgeoisie to enrich itself off the Palestinian toilers. The political realities in the Middle East may not grant this, but no matter what the immediate outcome, it is clearer than ever that this current in the movement cannot provide the guidance to the Palestinian masses to win their struggle.

No, the historic responsibility for carrying forward the Palestinian revolution rests squarely on the shoulders of the toiling masses. Besides the PLO leaders, the Palestinian movement has also seen another current, the action of the toilers for liberation. While this has been subordinated to and under the domination of the national-reformists, nevertheless it has been there. The movement has always shown that its backbone lies among the toilers — the workers,



Brave Palestinian youth hurling rocks at heavily armed Israeli troops on the West Bank in the spring of 1982. Pacification of the West Bank was one of the main aims of the brutal invasion of Lebanon. But this has failed and the territory continues to be the scene of unrelenting struggle against the Israeli zionists.

peasants and poor refugees. It is the masses who have always stood for carrying the struggle out with revolutionary methods. As well, in a number of instances, the toilers have shown that they not only stood for carrying through the national liberation struggle but also sought to express their own class interests. While this was present to a certain extent in the fight in Jordan against the Hashemite regime, it was seen even stronger in the civil war in Lebanon which pitted the toiling masses, Palestinian and Lebanese, against the fascist representatives of the Lebanese capitalists and landlords.

Today, the advance of the movement calls for the independent organizations of the toiling masses. Those who have given the movement its historic strength must organize themselves as the revolutionary wing of the national movement capable of fighting the sabotage of the national-reformists. They must come out as the most determined, consistent and resolute fighters against zionism and for national liberation, while simultaneously organizing to defend their class interests within the general national movement. In this way, they will place themselves in a position to make the outcome of the national struggle one that is most beneficial for the toilers.

But it may be asked, within the movement aren't there organizations which already claim to be the representatives of the toilers? It is true that in the 1960's, besides Fateh, another trend appeared, one which claimed to be Marxist and the champion of the workers and peasants. This included the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. But there has been quite a discrepancy between the words and deeds of these groups. Many fine-sounding things have been written and said by these groups but in practice, these trends, while having their own distinct problems, have also been afflicted by the same general problems as Fateh and the others. In the last nine years, as the PLO leaders took up national-reformism, the DFLP cloaked this policy in "Marxist" colors, while the PFLP became verbal "critics" of some aspects of this policy while trailing behind it in practice.

The rotten influence of Soviet revisionism and Castroism have especially played a strong role in these groups. They have generally subordinated themselves to Soviet revisionism. Thus they have been afflicted by the Soviet revisionist advocacy of class conciliation. The Soviet revisionists, it should be remembered, have since the 1960's been heavily involved in maneuvers with the Arab reactionaries and Western imperialists to find a "peaceful solution" at the expense of the Palestinian liberation struggle. The influence of Soviet revision-

ism has not only meant subordination of these groups to the national-reformism of the PLO, but also dependence on the so-called "progressive" Arab regimes promoted and supported by Moscow.

Thus, over the last nine years, in practical terms, there has been little differentiation in general policy among the different groups within the PLO. Therefore, the question of the toilers organizing independent of national-reformism requires organizing separate from the revisionist wing of the PLO as well.

For a Revolutionary Liberation Struggle

Any perspective of rebuilding the revolutionary movement of the Palestinians must begin with faith in the capacity of the masses to rebound. It must recognize that the forces for carrying forward the



A mass demonstration in the spring of 1982 against Israeli occupation of the West Bank. A coffin is being carried to symbolize the murder of Palestinians by the occupation authorities, a routine happening on the West Bank.

revolution exist. They are to be found especially among the large concentrations of Palestinians in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza, in Israel, Jordan and Lebanon. Among these masses, the vast majority are workers, peasants, poor refugees, etc.; it is they who must form the center of gravity to rebuild the movement.

The number one task is to build the independent organization of the toilers capable of fighting the influence of the national-reformists. While various kinds of organizations of the working masses must be formed, foremost among them is the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

The Palestinian movement has suffered a great deal from the influence of innumerable bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends. Different varieties of nationalism, such as Nasserism and Baathism, as well as Soviet revisionism and Castroism, etc., have all fallen on their faces on the Palestinian question. Many of these trends have cloaked themselves in "socialist" or "Marxist" colors of one sort or another, but in reality they have had nothing in common with Marxist socialism. Their fiasco has been the fiasco of national-reformism.

In contrast to all these trends stands the revolutionary ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. Only a party based on this ideology, incorporating the experience of the international proletarian struggle, and forming the vanguard of the proletariat, can build up the independent movement of the toilers of Palestine. Only such a party can lead the national liberation revolution and carry forward the revolution to do away with all exploitation of man by man.

The independent movement of the toilers should work within the general national movement. The toilers will of course have to work out the methods to deal with other forces in the movement. The toilers' movement may very well find itself in coalition with the bourgeois liberation movement, especially when it takes on a national-revolutionary character, but whether or not they make such agreements, they must preserve their political and organizational independence. Organizing independently does not necessarily mean leaving the PLO. But it does mean opposing the national-reformism of the present PLO leadership.

The toilers should seek to stand at the forefront of the liberation struggle. They must come out as the most consistent and determined fighters on this question. They must seek to have this struggle carried out by revolutionary methods. They must fight for the revolutionary overthrow of the Zionist state, keeping to the orientation that Zionist

Israel is a racist instrument of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. At the same time, they must fight against falling into reliance on any other imperialist powers, including Soviet social-imperialism.

The toilers must constantly expose the nature of the bourgeois and reactionary governments of the Arab countries. They must make sure never to rely upon these regimes for their liberation. At the same time, they should try to use contradictions between Arab governments and Israel to the benefit of the Palestinian struggle. Beyond this general orientation, the movement, in organizing in Jordan and Lebanon, will have to solve the problem of dealing with the repression by the regimes there against the Palestinian liberation movement. While defending themselves from the blows of reaction, the toilers must remember that the PLO leadership has historically vacillated in its attitude towards the attacks of Arab reaction, throwing away the fruits of the struggle of the rank-and-file fighters against Arab reaction. This is not surprising considering the ties of the PLO leaders with the bourgeoisie and Arab reaction. Indeed, only the class movement of the toilers can hope to properly take up this struggle.

The movement of the toilers should forge its ties with the working masses in the Arab countries and throughout the world. The other Arab toilers are a powerful ally of the Palestinian people, as the struggle against Israeli Zionism forms a central part of the revolutionary struggles of many other Arab peoples. An independent movement of the toilers would serve also as a big impetus to the revolutionary movements of the toilers in the Arab countries and this will undoubtedly rebound to the benefit of the Palestinian revolution.

The movement will also have to work out its attitude to the Jewish working masses inside Israel. The recent war has seen big cracks in the edifice of Israeli society. A wider protest movement emerged against this war than ever before. This has had serious limitations in that it has remained by and large within the framework of Zionist ideology. The national-reformists of the PLO have sought to influence these events by making overtures to Zionist social-democratic elements who favor a two-state solution of one kind or another. In contrast to this, the toilers should seek to highlight the anti-democratic and exploitative character of Israeli society and help the ferment inside Israeli society to break with Zionism and move towards the goal of the overthrow of the Zionist regime. The basic ally of the Palestinian movement among the Jewish people is the anti-Zionist revolutionary current which links up arm-in-arm with the Arab toilers of Palestine.

Finally, within the general national movement, the toilers must organize to defend their own class interests against capitalism and all the exploiters. Even when the revolution is in its national liberation stage, the independent movement of the toilers should carry out propaganda and education for the socialist revolution.

The toilers must seek to put their own stamp on the outcome of the national struggle. While the movement fights for a democratic and secular Palestine, the toilers cannot limit their perspective to achieving a liberal regime of the bourgeoisie. They must fight for the most decisive outcome of the anti-zionist national liberation stage of the revolution, which is not a liberal regime of the exploiters, but a revolutionary-democratic government of the toilers. But no matter what form the actual national liberation eventually takes, this is bound to open the way for the further development of the class struggle. The more the independent organization and mobilization of the toilers is achieved during the democratic stage of the revolution, the more favorable the conditions will be for the workers and peasants to carry forward the revolution to the socialist stage.

The Palestinian people have a difficult road ahead of them but they are already regrouping and preparing for the next onslaught against Israeli zionism and imperialism. This is seen in the battles that rage almost every day on the West Bank against the Israeli occupiers. Today the Palestinian people are searching out the road ahead for the next phase of their liberation struggle. The next upsurge is inevitable, and the coming forth of the toilers to the center stage will make the struggle more powerful than ever. □

On the path forward for the Palestinian liberation movement

Part 2

The evolution of the PLO leadership

In *The Workers' Advocate* of January 25, 1983, we published an article entitled "On the path forward for the Palestinian liberation movement, Part I." (See page 78 of this pamphlet.) This was written as a contribution to the reexamination of strategy and tactics that is currently going on in the ranks of the Palestinian liberation movement and its sympathizers in the aftermath of last year's war in Lebanon. This article noted that the PLO leadership is taking a dangerous capitulationist course of seeking an accommodation with imperialism and Israeli zionism. This fact has recently been confirmed by the meeting in Algiers of the PLO National Council. (See article on page 105.)

In Part I we explained that behind this capitulationist course lies the fact that the PLO leadership had over the last nine years increasingly moved away from their earlier national-revolutionary policy towards a policy of national-reformism. Our article pointed out that a national-reformist leadership cannot provide guidance to the Palestinian masses to carry forward their liberation struggle. Instead, the toiling masses must forge their own independent organization within the national movement to overcome the sabotage of the national-reformists and lead the struggle towards victory. The article sketched out some of the key issues involved in forging such an independent movement of the toilers.

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In Part I we briefly outlined the general evolution of the current leadership of the Palestinian movement. In the article below we wish to take a closer look at the history of this leadership.

What this survey of history shows is a complex process spanning three decades. It is significant to note that besides the evolution of the Palestinian leadership it also testifies to the great resilience of the Palestinian people. History has amply demonstrated their capacity to rebound from defeats. After the most savage attempts at suppression and many attempts to virtually exterminate them, they have shown their ability to regroup and mount their fight again and again. A number of critical junctures in history have seen the Palestinians learn from their setbacks to draw more revolutionary conclusions than expressed in the earlier phases of their struggle.

With regards to the evolution of the Palestinian leadership, we will trace how it arose from a political current which emerged in the incredibly difficult situation created by the establishment of Israel to give renewed expression to the national aspirations of the Palestinian people for freedom. By the mid-1960's this current had gained sufficient political experience to launch organizations that embraced a national-revolutionary position. With this they won the widest support of the Palestinian masses and the sympathy of all progressive people worldwide. It is precisely because of the energies unleashed by this movement that the Palestinian masses have written heroic chapters of valor and self-sacrifice in the long struggle against Israeli Zionism. It was this that lay behind the fierce resistance that the fighters put up in Lebanon last year against the Israeli aggressor army, the most powerful and well-armed army in the region.

The history will also show that at the time of the 1973 Middle East war the Palestinian leadership made a turn in their policy, away from a national-revolutionary position towards a more and more national-reformist stand. Throughout the last decade, despite the heroic battles put up by the Palestinian masses, this policy of the PLO leadership has been found severely wanting in the course of the many difficult trials forced upon the movement.

Such a turn in policy is quite characteristic for petty-bourgeois parties in the colonial and dependent countries. This was noted by the 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928. The basis for this lies in the fact that even when they are in the best of positions such parties remain essentially connected with the national bourgeoisie, the class which provides the base for national-reformism. Therefore, the toiling masses must organize independently within the na-

tional movement, both to ensure the most decisive outcome of the national liberation struggle as well as to defend their class interests and create the most favorable situation for the class struggle leading to the socialist revolution to end all exploitation.

The trend which formed the current PLO leadership was made up originally of organizations led by the petty bourgeoisie. This trend did at first separate off from the old bourgeois trends and organize independently with a national-revolutionary position. But as they came into the leadership of the movement, and, in particular, with their entry into the leadership bodies of the PLO, their connections with the Palestinian and Arab bourgeoisie were strengthened. As well, the ideological influences of bourgeois-nationalist currents such as Nasserism and of revisionism played a major role in conciliation with the bourgeoisie and reformism. In the 1970's the national-reformism of the Palestinian leadership was strengthened as a result of a series of factors, including huge sums of money that came into their hands both as a result of bribery from the Arab exploiters as well as the PLO's control of many businesses, etc. In the final analysis, the PLO leadership became in fact the representative of the Palestinian bourgeoisie.

It should be noted that when we describe the historical evolution of the Palestinian leadership, we are speaking of all the factions within this leadership. The PLO leadership is dominated by the leaders of Yasir Arafat's Fateh but it also includes a so-called "Marxist" wing made up of such groups as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This wing, which is not Marxist but influenced by Soviet revisionism, has been especially notable for great discrepancies between their statements and their practice. Many militant declarations have been made by them, but in practice they have been afflicted by the same general problems as Fateh. Thus over the last nine years, the DFLP cloaked the PLO's policy in "Marxist" colors while the PFLP made an early show of "criticism" of this policy while trailing behind it in practice. It may be noted that at the recent Algiers meeting, both these groups, while making loud speeches against the Reagan plan, went along with the PLO's final decisions and directly endorsed the proposals for association with the Jordanian hangmen regime.

The Roots of the Present Leadership

In 1948, when the state of Israel was set up, the Palestinian people

were put in an incredibly difficult situation. The overwhelming majority were uprooted from their homeland and dispersed in refugee camps. The old political trends and leaders had utterly collapsed and became discredited among the masses. The official leaders of the Palestinians from the earlier decades had followed a shameful course of repeated compromises with the British imperialist occupiers. At the time of the establishment of Israel, they were unable to organize any sort of mass challenge to the establishment of the Zionist state. This was testimony above all to the class basis of this leadership, which was in the main feudal and bourgeois.

The difficulty facing the Palestinians was further complicated by the fact that the advanced force which could have organized a truly revolutionary alternative fell into a position of compromise with Zionist Israel. The Palestine Communist Party, which had for decades worked hard to organize both Jewish and Arab toilers into a force opposed to imperialism, Zionism and reaction, adopted the position of support for the creation of Israel. This stand struck a hard blow at the prestige of Marxism among the Palestinian Arabs and isolated the party from them. This meant that, in the vacuum of leadership among the Palestinians, there was no Marxist nucleus in place to strive to organize the inevitable resistance of the people. (The CP degenerated into a reformist party and ardently embraced Khrushchovite revisionism. Although this party, now calling itself the CP of Israel, has grown in size somewhat, it remains loyal to the maintenance of the Israeli state.)

There was widespread discontent among the Palestinian masses and this grew as the years went by. This was connected to the general ferment that swept the Arab masses in opposition to the regimes of the Arab countries. This was a time of great anti-colonial and democratic motion throughout Asia and Africa. In the Arab countries of the Mideast, the defeat of the Arab governments in the 1948 war with Israel had served to intensify the hatred of the masses against the reactionary monarchies and other backward regimes which were all closely tied to Western imperialism. Thus, throughout the 1950's, nationalist currents, such as Nasserism, came up in one country after another to overthrow the old regimes. The young activists among the Palestinians gravitated towards these trends, took part in their struggles, and placed their trust in them. They hoped that the Arab countries under the new regimes would help liberate Palestine.

These nationalist currents did not represent the revolutionary aspirations of the workers and peasants. Their core generally came from

middle-level officers in the Arab armies, and they reflected the interests of the national bourgeoisie. These currents overthrew the monarchies and took certain other measures against feudalism. They also took certain actions against imperialism, especially in the early days of their rule. However, although the overthrow of the old regimes unleashed mass mobilizations, these currents feared the struggle of the masses and sought to contain and restrict them. Once secure in their power, they turned against the toiling masses and resorted to brutal repression if the toilers dared to throw up resistance. The main aim of these regimes was to consolidate their own bourgeois rule. As for their attitude towards the question of Israel, they did indeed have serious contradictions with Israeli Zionism. But they weren't willing to take on the sharp contradiction with imperialism or the revolutionary methods that would be required in order to mount a fight for the liberation of Palestine.

By the early 1960's, the proclamations of these regimes were already beginning to wear thin. The active Palestinian elements, who were mainly students and intellectuals, concluded that they could not rely on the Arab regimes to liberate Palestine but must take up the liberation struggle into their own hands. In this respect, the heroic struggle of the Algerian people for liberation from French imperialism played a powerful inspirational role. As the 1960's wore on, the Vietnamese people's national liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism also exercised a strong influence.

The Emergence of a National-Revolutionary Force

Thus the Palestinian activists began to launch their own organizations independent of the Arab governments. They put out publications, built up cells among Palestinians in different countries, and carried out a wide range of preparatory work towards launching an armed struggle against the Israeli regime.

Confronted by this restiveness of the activists and a general reawakening of the Palestinian national movement, the Arab governments set out to keep the movement under their control. They did not want to see the emergence of any independent revolutionary movement among the Palestinians. In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was thus set up by the Arab regimes at the initiative of Egypt's President Nasser. Although the character of the PLO was to change later, originally it was organized among the bourgeois and "respectable" elements within the Palestinian communities, and it

did not do much other than talk and issue statements. Its first chairman was Ahmed Shukairy, a lawyer who had held various diplomatic posts in Arab governments. Shukairy was notorious for such declarations as those calling for driving the Jews into the sea. This of course only did damage to the Palestinian cause; it was especially useful in the hands of the Zionists to bolster Zionism and slander the Palestinian struggle.

The emergent militant groups took part in the PLO's Founding Congress but refused to merge with it. They preserved their independent organizational identities. On January 1, 1965, the major one of these groups, Fateh (the Palestine National Liberation Movement) launched its first military action inside occupied Palestine. Subsequently other guerrilla actions were also carried out, both by Fateh and the predecessors of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). During this whole period, these groups worked in clandestinity and faced difficult conditions. They were subject to abuse and slanders and suffered a host of restrictions and general opposition from the Arab governments.

In June 1967, the Israeli Zionists launched a war of aggression against the neighboring Arab countries. In this war, the regular Arab armies suffered a bad defeat. The West Bank and the Gaza Strip were gobbled up by the Israelis. The results of this war however provided a powerful boost for the revolutionary movement of the Palestinian people. It led to overwhelming support among the Palestinian masses for the line that the only way forward was armed struggle by an independently organized Palestinian movement, not the Arab regimes. The defeat of the Arab armies also created a serious crisis for the Arab governments, especially in Jordan. There the Palestinian guerrillas were now able to build up strong bases among the Palestinian population. The guerrilla movement rapidly expanded and thousands poured into the resistance groups.

The Palestinian guerrilla organizations refused to abide by the cease-fire agreed upon by Israel and the Arab states. The armed struggle grew in force. On March 21, 1968, Palestinian commandos successfully held off a big attack by Israeli forces on a refugee camp at Karameh in Jordan. This had a strong impact on Palestinians everywhere and on the Arab masses generally. It won the resistance forces ever wider popular backing.

Indeed, the support for these organizations had grown so much that, by 1969, the old leadership of the PLO was removed and the PLO began to take on the character of a coalition of the entire national



Photo of armed Palestinian liberation fighters.

movement. Representatives of the guerrilla groups, especially of Fateh, came to dominate the new leadership of the PLO. Yasir Arafat, the leader of Fateh, was elected chairman.

But while a new leadership emerged in the Palestinian movement, the Arab governments did not give up their attempts to contain and hold back the movement. This was done with crafty methods at first.

In this period when the guerrilla groups had won great popular support and the Arab regimes were discredited for their defeat in the war, the Arab leaders all showered the guerrilla movement with praise. As well, a number of governments, such as Syria and Iran, set up guerrilla groups under their direct control. Others began to court the existing groups actively.

While the struggle surged forward, the plots against them by imperialism and Arab reaction intensified. In 1970, U.S. imperialist chief-tain Nixon put forward a "peace plan" called the Rogers plan. This was similar to the current Reagan plan. It held out the promise of Israeli withdrawal from some of the occupied territories in return for Arab recognition of the Israeli state. Nasser accepted this plan and closed down the PLO's radio station in Cairo. Jordan's King Hussein also agreed to it. The various groups in the Palestinian movement, some openly and others tacitly, rejected the Rogers plan.

In the background, preparations were underway by U.S. imperialism, Israeli zionism and the Jordanian regime to mount a massive assault against the growing strength of the Palestinian movement in Jordan. Thus came about the massacre of Black September and the suppression of the Palestinian fighters in that country. However, the Palestinian resistance was able to continue to operate in Lebanon and Syria. It successfully moved its major base of operations to Lebanon. This was achieved not out of benevolence from the reactionary Lebanese government but through major confrontations with Lebanese reaction and with the active help of the Lebanese left.

Thus, by the latter part of the 1960's, the leadership of the Palestinian movement was characterized by a generally national-revolutionary policy. They stood for mobilization of the masses and the need for revolutionary methods of struggle. They built up organizations of fighters throughout the concentrations of Palestinian masses, both among the refugees as well as inside the boundaries of Israel. The backbone of this movement came from the toiling masses, and the Palestinian leadership recognized the need to improve the social and economic conditions of the poor and toiling people. In this regard, for example, the Palestinian resistance organized educational and medical facilities among the refugee masses.

Politically, the leadership recognized that the enemy was not the Israeli regime alone but also imperialism which stands behind it. On this basis, they opposed the plots of imperialism encouraging accommodation with zionism and upheld the stand of overthrowing Israeli zionism through an armed revolutionary struggle. One of the most

significant achievements of the Palestinian resistance was its recognition that the goal of the fight for the overthrow of the racist state of Israel was a democratic and secular Palestine. This was a big blow to the anti-democratic theocratic concepts of the zionists. It was also a big step away from the narrow nationalism of the traditional Palestinian leaders and the Arab governments. The Israeli zionists were worried stiff about this idea as they realized that it would sooner or later help to exacerbate the class contradictions within Israeli society itself. And it did begin to attract progressive elements among the Jewish people, although in a limited manner, due to the rabidly racist character of Israeli society which requires much work to break through.

At the same time, the Palestinian leadership's policies were also marked by a series of weaknesses. These were seen in a number of ways. The main leaders, especially Fateh, argued for strengthening the role of the bourgeoisie in the movement while relegating the toilers to a position of trailing behind. This was done under the guise that since the Palestinian struggle was a national struggle, no class distinctions should be drawn. On the same grounds, they argued against spelling out any social content for the goal of the struggle.

Externally, their weaknesses showed up even more graphically. The opposition to imperialism was not completely consistent. Moreover, although in organizational terms they had separated off from the Arab regimes, they did not in fact sufficiently guard their independence and maintain vigilance against these regimes. Indeed, Fateh believed that simply by making a pledge of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries, they could protect the movement from encroachments by Arab reaction. The 1970-71 events in Jordan proved how false this was. Although, after 1971, the leadership as a whole did take a stand against the Jordanian regime, this too was not entirely a resolute one. Furthermore, they were especially plagued by illusions in the so-called "progressive" regimes like Syria.

The Palestinian leadership was also prone to illusions about Soviet revisionism. This was true especially of the PFLP and its offshoots. Even while they disagreed with the Soviet maneuvers to impose a capitulationist solution on the Palestinian movement, they continued to harbor hopes in the allegedly "socialist" character of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile the Fateh leaders sought to wheel and deal with the Soviet Union too as they saw it to be a big influential power.

A Growing Turn Towards National-Reformism

In October 1973, the Arab regimes bordering Israel launched a war to restore their territories occupied by Israel. A number of reasons had prompted these regimes to launch this war at this time. Prominent among these reasons was the pressure of the Arab masses who were still restive from the defeat in the 1967 war. The PLO also participated in this war. However, the war was terminated very quickly, due to the machinations of the superpowers and because the Arab regimes had no intention of pursuing the war to any decisive conclusions. Despite this, the war objectively had a number of positive results. Above all, the bad beating suffered in the early days of the war by the Israeli army destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the Israeli armed forces.

However, in the aftermath of the war there was a stepped-up campaign for reformist ideas from the Arab regimes and elsewhere. The Arab governments set in motion the idea that the results of the war had created a favorable situation to achieve a "peaceful solution" to the Palestinian question. These pacifists preachings were pushed on the basis of entirely unwarranted euphoric assessments of the post-war situation. Among other things, the Arab oil boycott of 1973 was used to fuel such euphoria. It was thus claimed that the balance of power in the Middle East had now shifted in favor of the Arab countries and that the Western imperialists could now be pressured into forcing Israel to come to an accommodation with the Palestinian and Arab peoples. This sort of propaganda was supported by both the Soviet and Chinese revisionists. It may be recalled that it was in this period that the Chinese leadership outlined its pacifist and class collaborationist "three worlds" theory which negated the power of the revolutionary struggle and replaced it with the bargainings of the "third world" countries with the big powers.

The leadership of the Palestinian movement fell prey to these preachings. They urged the masses to adopt an attitude of "realism." This "realism" meant shelving the goal of the revolutionary overthrow of the Zionist state in favor of the so-called transitional goal of a "mini-state" on some part of the occupied territories. It would be one thing to use any territory liberated in the course of revolutionary struggle as a base to carry the revolution forward, but this is not what the PLO leadership had in mind. Instead the mini-state actually became the basic goal of the PLO and was to be achieved through the diplomatic bargainings among the PLO and Arab governments and

the imperialist powers. As a result of this orientation, the denunciation of imperialism was necessarily toned down.

The PLO soon found itself the recipient of widescale diplomatic support from different governments and organizations around the world, and this only further fueled their euphoria over the prospects of a "peaceful solution." Official recognition came from the Soviet revisionist bloc, the Organization of African Unity, the Islamic Summit, the UN General Assembly, and so on.

Thus, with this turn in strategy, the leadership of the PLO moved away from their earlier generally national-revolutionary position towards national-reformism. In this, they were encouraged by the Palestinian bourgeois elements as well as the Arab governments and the revisionist powers. To be more precise, the PLO leadership actually adopted a policy of "national-reformism with guns." This meant that while there was allegiance to the armed struggle in words and the PLO kept their guns, the main stress of the movement was now placed in the field of diplomatic maneuvering. The Palestinian fighters did continue to carry out various heroic actions, but any militant struggle was subordinated by the PLO leadership to the reformist policy. They were mainly seen by the leadership as actions to provide pressure towards achieving a diplomatic settlement. Thus, without a general revolutionary orientation, many of the fighting actions simply took on the character of diffuse and isolated acts.

While the PLO leadership embroiled the movement in its diplomatic maneuverings, it failed to address many of the serious questions of moving the actual struggle of the masses forward. Thus, while in the 70's the upsurge of the Palestinians on the West Bank grew, the PLO leaders failed to deal with the question of properly organizing this movement. While being successful in winning the support of the more respectable elements, such as mayors, the PLO did not take up the task of organizing the masses, especially the toilers. As well, they did not work out how to link up the actions organized from outside Israel's borders with the struggle inside. The PLO leadership also generally failed to deal with the question of how to break progressive elements among the Jews away from Zionism and bring them into the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian resistance was forced to defend itself from increased attacks by imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. In 1975, the PLO had to fight alongside the Lebanese left in the civil war against the fascists of the Phalange. When the left was heading towards victory, the war was brought to an unstable standoff by the in-

tervention of the Syrian army on the side of the Phalange. The PLO fighters also had to defend themselves from increasing raids by the Israelis. In 1978 they fought against Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon. In all these battles, the fighters demonstrated great heroism and self-sacrifice, showing the great force that lies among the Palestinian masses in spite of all the reformist illusions created by the leaders.

Thus, while for nine years, the PLO leaders have been chasing a reformist accommodation, the actual events facing the Palestinian people have been repeatedly demonstrating the futility of their policy. Finally, it was the 1982 war in Lebanon which brought out in sharp relief that the national-reformist policy was built on nothing but an illusory house of cards.



Palestinian liberation fighters and Lebanese leftists on top of a destroyed Syrian tank during the civil war in Lebanon in 1975. The intervention of Syria on the side of the Lebanese fascist Phalange was another example of Arab reaction opposing the Palestinian liberation movement.

The War in Lebanon Reveals the Bankruptcy of National-Reformism

The basic premise underlying the PLO's reformist strategy has been that there can be a just "peaceful solution" through the diplomatic efforts of the PLO and the Arab governments to pressure the U.S. government away from its unequivocal support for Israel. The war last year again shattered this illusion into a thousand pieces.

The war demonstrated that all the powers the PLO counts on to achieve its compromise with Zionism — the U.S. imperialists, the Arab regimes, the European imperialists, etc. — supported the suppression of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon. To expect liberation for the Palestinians to be handed down by such forces is like asking for a cure from the gods of plague.

First, let us take the question of the U.S. imperialists. Over a whole period of time, the PLO leadership has toned down its opposition to U.S. imperialism in favor of a view that the U.S. government supports Israel simply because it is pressured by Israel and its influential friends in the American ruling class. From this, the PLO leaders conclude that countervailing pressure from the Arab governments and the help of so-called "pro-Arab" elements in the U.S. ruling class will win justice for the Palestinians.

But this is a totally false view of the U.S.-Israeli alliance. It is like suggesting that the tail wags the dog. The fact of the matter is that U.S. imperialism supports Israel because both of these states have a common interest in defending imperialist and capitalist interests in the region. Indeed, Washington considers Israel to be its most stable and loyal ally in the region.

Besides, it should be noted that the Israeli offensive in 1982 was part of a general U.S.-led imperialist offensive in the region to bolster reaction and crush the revolutionary ferment among the toiling masses. Especially since the Iranian revolution overthrew the Shah's fascist regime, the American bourgeoisie has been worried stiff about the prospects of the stability of their "vital interests" in the region. Thus, the Pentagon has set up the Rapid Deployment Force (now a full-scale military command) and ringed the region with bases, troops and treaties with the local despotic regimes. The aim of isolating and crushing the Palestinian liberation struggle has occupied a major place in this general imperialist offensive. This could be witnessed, for example, by the Camp David process, which weaned Egypt away from any semblance of opposition to Israel and strengthened the reac-

tionary government there as a bastion of U.S. imperialist interests.

As for the alleged "pro-Arab" tilt of some American ruling class elements, such as Secretary of State Schultz, this too is a mirage. These circles, while firm in their defense of Israel, only want to balance this by not forgetting to bolster the Arab allies of Washington, too, such as the Saudi rulers. Their so-called "pro-Arab" sentiment is only in favor of Arab reaction and does not extend to the Arab masses or the Palestinian people.

Some elements in the PLO have even gone so far as to suggest that Reagan is more pro-Arab and less pro-Israeli than the Democrats. On this basis they urge the Palestinian people to arrive at an accommodation with Washington while Reagan is in office. This flies in the face of all facts. The policy of the U.S. government in support of Israeli zionism is the common policy of both the Democrats and Republicans; it is the bipartisan policy of the capitalist class. But to concoct such maneuvers raises the question — how low can you go? To bow to Reagan is to hurry to appeal to the rabid Republican hangman of U.S. imperialism for fear that he will be replaced by a rabid Democratic hangman.

Second, the Lebanese war also revealed what lies beneath the pro-Palestinian rhetoric of the Arab regimes. For years, many of these governments have spouted all sorts of militant words about using the "oil weapon" to prevent the U.S. from backing Israeli aggression. And the PLO leadership actually placed their belief in such proclamations. But these too turned out to be nothing but empty illusions.

It is well known that the reactionary Arab regimes stabbed the Palestinians in the back during the Lebanese war. The Syrian troops did not come to the aid of the PLO fighters. All the Arab regimes agreed that the fighters must be removed from Lebanon. And from one corner of the Arab-speaking world to the other, these regimes worked against any attempts by the Arab masses to mobilize support for the Palestinians.

The treacherous stand of the Arab regimes was common to both the openly reactionary ones, such as the monarchies of Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and to the regimes which promote themselves as "progressive." This too was of course not a new phenomenon, as witnessed only a few years ago by the Syrian troops coming into Lebanon to intervene in the civil war against the Palestinians and the Lebanese left.

This stand of the Arab regimes proves that while many of these regimes have strong contradictions with the Israeli zionists, this does

not extend to real support for the Palestinian movement. In fact, they are all deeply afraid of the progressive force of the Palestinian movement. This is because these regimes are all representatives of the exploiters, the capitalists and landlords, and are linked with imperialism with countless ties.

Finally, certain major imperialist powers, who pretend to be sympathetic to the Palestinians to one degree or another, also showed their real colors during the Lebanese war. This was true both of the Russian social-imperialists, who claim to be one of the closest allies of the Palestinians, and the major European imperialists, such as Mitterrand's social-democratic government in France. While the wily European imperialists did not forget to shed a few hypocritical tears about the plight of the Palestinians, their real stand can be seen in the participation of French and Italian (and now British too) troops, alongside the U.S., in the "peacekeeping" mission to prop up a fascist Phalangist regime in Lebanon.

Thus, in the Lebanese war, all the influential powers which the PLO leadership has counted on to win Palestinian liberation came forth, either openly or covertly, to support the suppression of the fighters in Lebanon. The PLO leadership is unable to draw the proper conclusions from this fact, but it is no secret why this took place. All these forces have a common interest — the preservation of imperialist-capitalist stability in the Middle East. All the guardians of the established order see the Palestinian movement as a big threat to this imperialist stability.

And from their standpoint, the standpoint of exploiters, this is quite true. There is more to the Palestinian movement than the national-reformist character of its present-day leadership. There is as well a movement of the masses for liberation. This movement is directed against Israeli zionism, one of the chief cornerstones of imperialist domination in the region. This movement retains the outlook of settling accounts with the Israeli zionists in a revolutionary manner. It has a significant democratic and liberating character, which threatens not only the zionist and theocratic Israeli state but also deeply worries the reactionary Arab regimes. For all these reasons, the Palestinian movement has in fact repeatedly shown that it has a powerful progressive influence among the toilers throughout the Arab countries. It is these features of the Palestinian movement that lie at the root of the fear of the movement among all the imperialists and reactionaries.

However, the advance of the Palestinian liberation movement

requires overcoming the negative influence of national-reformism. The PLO leadership has shown that it cannot provide guidance to carry the struggle forward. Instead, the forces which have provided the backbone of the movement all these years — the workers, peasants and poor refugees — must now take the center stage. For years the toilers have been kept subordinate to the PLO leadership. Now they must take up the task of building within the national movement their own independent organization which is capable of leading the liberation struggle to victory. Organizing independently may not necessarily mean leaving the PLO; but it does mean opposing the national-reformism of the current PLO leadership. □

The face of national-reformism at the PLO conference in Algiers

In mid-February the Palestine National Council, the highest policy-making body of the PLO, met in Algiers. This was the first meeting of the Council since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year. The proceedings of this meeting confirmed that the PLO leadership is pursuing a dangerous capitulationist course. It has verified even further the need for a thorough discussion of the strategy and tactics of the Palestinian liberation movement.

In the post-Lebanon situation, world imperialism and Arab reaction are trying their best to prevent the liberation movement from taking up the tasks required for rebuilding the revolutionary struggle. Imperialism realizes that while the Palestinians suffered a setback last year, they are far from crushed. The Palestinian struggle continues to worry the imperialists a great deal; they remain haunted by the fighting spirit shown by the Palestinian fighters last year as well as the mounting acts of resistance on the West Bank. Therefore, while the Zionist offensive against the Palestinians goes ahead, a whole flurry of "peace plans" are being held up before the Palestinian movement to divert it away from struggle and towards pacifist illusions.

For their part, the Israeli Zionists have shown absolutely no desire to come to any agreement with the Palestinians. Instead they are pressing on with their annexationist and repressive policies on the West Bank, keeping up their occupation forces in Lebanon, and so

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forth. But despite all this, the imperialists and Arab reaction are urging the Palestinian movement to get down on their knees and agree to make peace with their oppressors.

All the "peace plans" propose capitulation; they only differ on how extreme the capitulation should be. All the plans — from Reagan's much touted one to the Soviet or Arab League proposals — agree that the security of the racist Zionist state in Israel must be guaranteed. They vary in detail, such as whether the Palestinians are to be "promised" a formally independent state on the West Bank and Gaza or simply some limited autonomy under either Israeli or Jordanian supremacy. But all of them have in common the fact that whatever entity the Palestinians may have must serve as a straitjacket on the development of their struggle.

The leadership of the PLO has chosen the course of embroiling the movement in deliberations over the fine points of these fraudulent imperialist maneuvers instead of taking up the tasks essential to rebuild the revolutionary struggle. Thus, the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council mainly spent its time discussing the "peace plans." It does not appear to have discussed the questions of strategy and tactics about how to overcome the difficult situation created for the struggle by the defeat in Lebanon.

Instead, the meeting covered over the difficult situation with empty talk about how the withdrawal from Beirut was a great victory. And it is not known what, if any, plans were made about how to defend the Palestinian refugees who have been left defenseless in southern Lebanon. It is well known that the refugees are continuing to suffer brutal oppression from both the Israeli Zionists and the fascist Phalangists. Incredibly enough, the Council did not voice condemnation of the Phalangists, who are today being assisted by imperialism and Zionism to consolidate a fascist regime in that country. As is well known, this regime is aimed against the Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese workers and peasants.

It also appears that the PLO Council failed to discuss the question of how to organize the mass struggle of the toilers and youth in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. This is incredible considering the fact that it is these territories which are today the main hotbeds of Palestinian resistance to Zionist rule.

Instead of dealing with the problems of the actual struggle, the Palestine National Council debated the details of various "peace plans," especially the Reagan plan. Much has been made in the U.S. press about the faction fights between "moderates" and "radicals" at this

meeting. But the fact of the matter is that while the most blatantly capitulationist stand of unequivocally endorsing the Reagan plan was rejected, still the final decisions agreed to by an overwhelming majority of the Council amount to a capitulationist policy.

Thus the Reagan plan was criticized by the PLO Council as "insufficient" but it was not rejected outright. PLO leaders went out of their way to stress this point. At the same time, while the Council refused to give the Jordanian regime a proxy to negotiate on its behalf, it nevertheless called for establishing a "special and distinctive" relationship with Jordan and approved the concept of a confederation between Jordan and an independent Palestinian state.

This amounts to a disagreement with the Reagan plan only on how bad a capitulationist accommodation the PLO leadership is willing to agree to, but it remains capitulation just the same. The key issue is placing the Palestinians under the tutelage of Jordanian reaction. Whether this is done on the basis of an autonomous Palestinian "entity" or a so-called "independent state" through a confederation does not make much difference.

The Jordanian regime is a regime of hangmen. It is the same regime which massacred the Palestinian fighters in 1970-71. It remains a brutal military outpost of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. gave an average of \$120 million in military aid in the latter half of the 70's and doubled this rate for 1980 and '81. Another \$100 million is given as "budgetary support," amounting to half the country's budget, thus covering operational military expenses as well. For all its reactionary services, the Jordanian regime is also propped up with Saudi petrodollars.

To agree to reconcile with such a regime and contemplate an association with it is treachery. Not only would it mean that the Palestinians on the West Bank would be replacing their Israeli occupiers with the Jordanian monarchy and military caste, but any such "state" could never hope to serve as a base to carry on the struggle for the total overthrow of Israeli Zionism. Such a political entity would be directly under the control of the Arab bourgeoisie and the ultra-reactionary Jordanian military caste.

While a capitulationist course was agreed to at the PLO Council, it was nevertheless arrived at as a compromise between different factions. These divisions continue to fester. However there are no factions in the PLO leadership which show any fundamental break with the PLO leadership's national-reformism.

Today, under the auspices of the Libyan and Syrian governments a

"radical" grouping is being put together out of a number of PLO factions. This grouping has made certain militant-sounding statements, especially directed against the Reagan plan. But they have no alternative program to offer to overcome the influence of national-reformism in the Palestinian movement. Some of their statements hint at taking recourse to terroristic methods of struggle. Historically, while the Palestinian movement has involved armed methods of struggle which were closely linked to popular mobilization and directed against political, military and economic targets of Israeli zionism, the movement has also at times seen a tendency of terrorism, expressed in individual acts of random attacks on civilians, such as was seen in a number of hostage-taking and airplane hijacking incidents in the early 70's. Terrorism, then and now, reflects an attitude of despair in the face of defeats and difficulty. There is nothing being offered by this "radical" grouping which indicates any real break with the PLO leadership's national-reformism.

Overcoming the sabotage of national-reformism calls for building up the independent organization of the toilers. Only this can fight the influence of national-reformism among the masses and work out the tactics for guiding the mass revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of Israeli zionism and its replacement by a democratic and secular Palestine under a revolutionary-democratic government of the toilers.

□

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