



A NEW STEP ON THE ROAD TO SURRENDER

In the current issue of the Bulletin we have given priority to two conferences held a month apart - one the "Ministers' conference" convened in Kuwait, the other, the "Arab popular congress to support the Palestinian Revolution" took place in the end of November in Beirut. Although both had the intent of supporting the Palestinian Resistance, each had a different focus. The former, which is the topic of this article, was organized by the Arab states, while the latter was the result of the initiatives of the progressive forces of the Arab world. (See article on p2)

The Ministers' conference held in Kuwait was to draw up a plan for a so called "Arab Military Strategy for the liberation of Palestine and other occupied territories". Its name appropriately enough implied that it had nothing to do with the Arab masses. Foreign and Defense ministers of 12 Arab countries (Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait) in addition to a delegation from the Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO, met to lay bare the foundation of a united Arab plan to face the enemy. Ironically enough Mahmoud Riad, secretary general of the Arab League pleaded with the participants to leave all differences aside and unite. He said: "let us remove all disagreements which hinder the mobilization of our capabilities. We must quickly draw up a full plan in which the abilities of all Arab countries are used to stop and regain the conquered land".

Before we continue, it is necessary that we define the context in which the conference took place. The fact that this conference convened after the US elections, and in particular after Nixon's ascendance to a second term, is not an accident but a designed plan. Nixon had clearly indicated that the Middle East region is more and more becoming a primary, if not the primary, concern for the US.

The timing of the conference indicates that certain Arab regimes, whether they be "progressive" or reactionary (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Kuwait, Jordan), have more or less conceded to a "peaceful" resolution. Egypt and Jordan are signatories to the UN resolution 242, and all four countries have done their utmost to hinder the development of the Palestinian revolution as a real people's movement.

One of the ministers at the conference relayed a talk he had had with Secretary of State William P. Rogers prior to the conference. Rogers addressed himself to a "peaceful" solution between Israel and the Arabs based on the following three points:

- Direct negotiation between Egypt and Israel concerning the opening of the Suez canal - accompanied by an agreement for a partial Israeli withdrawal from Sinai;
- Partial (or initial) settlement in Jordan based on the Hussein and Allon plans;
- Partial settlement of the Palestinian question as part of the above plan.

If the above plan is to be pursued, which indeed it already is, it can

only mean that the vast majority of the participants of the "Ministers' conference" have already adopted capitulation as their policy. We ask Mr Riad then, whose capabilities are to be mobilized and for what purpose? Secondly, who called for the conference? The Kuwait conference provided a roof under which the so called progressive, petit bourgeois and overtly reactionary Arab regimes took shelter. As the conference proceeded it became clear that no serious discussions would take place. In fact the PLO and Syrian proposals, the only serious ones, were never discussed. Several of the delegations had requested that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine not be part of the PLO delegation. The PFLP, however, insisted on attending because it refused to allow any of the Arab regimes to divide the PLO.

The United Arab plan that was sought was not designed to place the revolution in gear to pursue the road of liberation, on the contrary it wanted to institutionalize and circumscribe the Palestinian Revolution.

The petit bourgeois Arab regimes have played a historically progressive role in the past, but we must also recognize with complete sobriety that such a political stance reaches a certain point beyond which it cannot advance. For example, Egypt is not interested in the liberation of Palestine as part of a mass Arab movement, it is however interested in regaining Egyptian territory lost during the '67 war. If the liberation of Palestine was ever the principal aim of these regimes, it has ceased to be so. These petit bourgeois regimes favour liberation only in the context of the status quo. More precisely, liberation to them is a process that is for all practical purposes totally isolated from the masses. So just as domestic politics in Egypt is exercised from the top down, we are in turn asked to adopt this model as the basis for national liberation.

The overtly reactionary regimes on the other hand attended the conference with the hope of gaining more credibility as to their proposed plans, i.e. Hussein's plan for a "united Arab kingdom". Though the conference did not adopt the proposal, it at least provided the reactionary regimes with the opportunity to reconcile some of their differences with the petit bourgeois regimes. In fact, the reactionary delegations were the ones that played the major role at the Ministers' conference.

One apparent by-product of the conference was the opening of the Syrian-Jordanian borders. Although the United Arab plan did not materialize, the continuing efforts on the part of certain Arab regimes to stifle the development of the Palestinian revolution, and the Arab mass movement continues. Though we welcome this failure on the part of the ministers we do so with caution. For we know that this failure does not mean the end of the incessant attempts to circumscribe the development of the Arab people's movement. Hence the order of the day is liberation through people's war, a path that knows no shortcuts.

ANTI-ZIONIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN PARIS.

As Golda Meir came to Paris to attend the "International Socialist" conference at the invitation of Francois Mitterand, the city became a military garrison. Mitterand is the head of the French Socialist Party which was in power when France invaded Egypt in the 1956 Tripartite aggression.

A few days before Meir's visit, Mahmoud Hamchari, representative of the P.L.O. in France, died of fatal wounds resulting from a bomb explosion in his apartment, which was planted by the Zionists a month before.

The French authorities, fearful of any public demonstrations protesting against Zionism, took precautions and officially banned all demonstrations and public meetings during Golda Meir's visit. To enforce these "security" measures, French troops were planted all over Paris.

In spite of all the "security" measures, public demonstrations took place on Saturday and Sunday, the 13th - 14th of January 1973.

Ironically, Golda Meir's visit was timed such that it coincided with Hamchari's death. Consequently, the demonstrations had a dual purpose behind them. One, to protest the French authorities laxness towards the Zionists; and secondly, to protest against Zionism, the same movement that caused not only Hamchari's death but also exile from his homeland.

The first of a series of demonstrations was called for and organized by elements of the French left in conjunction with Arab students and workers. Instead of gathering in one place, the demonstrators gathered in various parts of the city in groups ranging from 150-200 people. They relied on "hit and



run" tactics so as to confuse and pre-occupy as many of the stationed French troops in the area, hence, providing the chance for some of the demonstrators to reach the place where Golda Meir and Mitterand were conferring. After three hours, most of the groups met and led a demonstration of thousands in the streets of Paris. The police were following but were unable to catch up.

Throughout the demonstrations, leaflets were distributed and posters put on walls all saying:

"In Palestine
Like in Vietnam
The People will be victorious,
Golda and Nixon are assassins."

On Sunday, January 14, the P.L.O. and the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) organized a silent march. They carried Palestinian flags and placards denouncing Zionism. The French authorities in a desperate attempt tried to stop the march by arresting more than 80 marchers, but the march continued and the police were forced to retreat after thousands of marchers had reached the Mosque - their destination.

At the Mosque, representatives of the P.L.O., GUPS, the Arab Front to Support the Palestinian Revolution, and Arab workers addressed the crowd. They denounced Meir, Zionism and its allies. In addition, they fully affirmed their dedication to struggle, and their alliance to revolutionary forces throughout the world.

PFLP:

AMILCAR CABRAL

symbol of African liberation, fell but only physically.

Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, and a founding member was killed in front of his home in Conakry, Guinea on January 21, 1973. In a short introduction it would be impossible to give sufficient background on Cabral's achievements. Let it be said, however, that Cabral was a key figure in building a political party that has successfully liberated 80% of the country from the Portuguese colonial forces. The following is a letter that the PFLP sent to the PAIGC. In our next issue we will include a background article on the development of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau.

To the Comrades of the PAIGC:

Comrade Amilcar Cabral, a symbol of African Liberation, a Comrade in arms, fell but only physically. The Portuguese colonialists cannot eliminate or erase the impact Cabral has left behind. As a founding leader and Secretary-General, Cabral led the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) through many victories. He lived to witness the first people's assembly of Guinea-Bissau in the making. Now it is up to you, Comrades, to carry out the struggle to the end, to total victory.

We extend to you our deepest and revolutionary condolences for your great loss. But his death was not in vain, because all over the world the oppressed are in arms determined to free themselves from the chains



of oppression, colonialism and imperialism. Cabral was an outstanding example of a revolutionary dedicated to national liberation, and a leader of your national liberation movement. For we are in one struggle dedicated to free our lands and people from all forms of exploitation.

Let us remember Cabral's words as we carry out what he dedicated his life to:

"We must practice revolutionary democracy in every aspect of our Party life. Every responsible member must have the courage of his responsibilities, exacting from others a proper respect for his work and properly respecting the work of others. Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Masking no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories..."

Comrades, we join you in your sorrow, but we also join you in your struggle for national liberation, the common struggle of the oppressed.

In One Anti-Imperialist Front

We Stand United!

Long Live The People's Struggle

PATRIA O MUERTE, VENCEREMOS

Beirut 22/1/73

George Habash
Secretary-General
Popular Front for the
Liberation of Palestine

THE ARAB POPULAR CONGRESS IN SUPPORT OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The Arab Popular Congress to support the Palestinian Revolution which was held in Beirut during last November ended on Tuesday November 28th and issued a historically important political document. The following is the program of the newly formed "Arab Front" which was unanimously endorsed by the participating members. The document was adopted after extensive debate and discussion in the largest Arab national and progressive meeting in the modern history of the Arab world. All patriotic and progressive parties, trade unions and the revolutionary fighting movements took part, in addition, of course, to the Palestinian Resistance, represented by the PLO.

Objectively speaking, the congress was an expression of a new and advanced stage for the Arab National Liberation Movement. The realistic, advanced and progressive atmosphere dominating the relations within the Arab National Liberation

Movement, was expressed through the realization of this meeting. This, we believe, was one of the most important achievements of the congress: All efforts from some right-wing forces or infantile "leftists" were thus defeated. They are now more isolated than ever.

Nevertheless, this positive evaluation of the congress should not lead to the conclusion that the positions and policies of all participant forces and parties are now identical, or that differences and disputes have been completely eliminated. Such an achievement could not be accomplished now, and this congress cannot claim such a responsibility. Differences will continue for a longer period of time, however, they have at least been clarified. The common minimal consensus that was reached can be summed up as: The Palestinian cause is the axis of the present Arab struggle.

In a letter to the congress,

Comrade George Habash, Secretary General of the P.F.L.P., said:

"This congress is an advanced part of a number of revolutionary manifestations that are taking shape within the Arab popular struggle. These manifestations will develop to the extent of being capable of confronting the imperialist onslaught. One of these manifestations is the rising ebb of armed resistance among our masses in the occupied territories, and their inclination to reorganize their revolutionary activities in a more advanced form. This is being done through the various revolutionary party-organizations capable of mobilizing the masses and activating their dormant revolutionary capabilities. Among the other manifestations, as well, is the sharpening of the contradiction between the Arab masses and the reactionary forces throughout the Arab World. The role played by various dictatorial and other forces as a barrier between

the Arab masses and its enemies in the real confrontation has also been limited.

Within this heating situation, it has become a basic need of the historical people's struggle to create a framework for alliances among patriotic and progressive masses. This explains the importance of your congress and its success in adopting the political and organizational programs.

On behalf of the P.F.L.P., I want to express to you our great hope in the success of the congress. Its success will be in the interest of the Palestinian struggle as well as its effect in raising the level of Arab people's struggle against all parties of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary onslaught, as well as for the liberation of the Arab countries and the establishment of a united democratic socialist society."

THE POLITICAL PROGRAM OF THE ARAB FRONT

1. The Palestinian revolution and the Arab liberation movement are the targets of the ferocious imperialist-zionist-reactionary attack. These attacks are designed to subvert the existence of the Palestinian revolution, and to deny the Palestinian people of their national rights in liberating their entire homeland. In addition it is part of the design to impose the imperialist-zionist-reactionary "fait accompli", and to strike the accomplishments of the Arab liberation movement. It also aims at striking the will for resistance, the imposition of retreat (on the Arab liberation movement) and renewing the complete imperialist, especially American, dominance of the whole Arab nation, and to preserve the strategic, economic and political interests, particularly those related to oil in the area.
2. The imperialist, neo-colonialist and zionist powers along with Arab reaction and any other forces which are allied with them, are working in complete coordination, thus constituting one camp united by the same aim and purpose to halt the march of the Arab revolution (whose tasks for the national and social liberation are interlinked).
3. The zionist aggression does not endanger the Palestinian people and their national rights alone but it aims also at the struggle of the Arab nation for unity, freedom and progress. It plays also the role of an advanced post of imperialism in order to defend its presence and its interests in the area.
4. The struggle of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland and to restore their complete national right is organically linked with the entire progressive struggle of the Arab liberation movement, and the international revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. The armed struggle of the Palestinian people constitutes a principal component of confrontation between the Arab national movement and the imperialist-zionist-reactionary forces. The Palestinian national liberation movement which rejects all chauvinist solutions, fights with all means of armed and popular struggle for the liberation of its entire homeland and for liquidation of the zionist-settler colonialism and creation of a democratic society in Palestine where all inhabitants may live together irrespective of race and religion, with equal rights and duties. This society would be related to the struggle of the Arab nation for a united democratic national state.
5. The aggression of June the 5th 1967 and the attempts to liquidate the Palestinian resistance, in particular the September massacres in 1970, are the most ostensible manifestations of this ferocious attack which aimed at liquidating the Palestinian revolution in a direct strike against the Arab movement.
6. This attack took on various other forms of constant imperialist pressures. The continuous Israeli aggression and the successive liquidationist plans have all been stages in this attack aiming at paralyzing the will for resistance and imposing surrender and subjugation.
7. The enemy forces bet on destroying the unity and coalition between the Palestinian revolution and the Arab liberation movement as well as the unity of Arab progressive and national forces and isolating it from the allies and friendly anti-imperialist and anti-zionist forces. Enemy forces try especially to:
 - exterminate the Palestinian movement, in its role as the genuine legal representative of the aspirations of the Palestinian people, (this movement expresses the hopes through armed struggle against the aggressive enemy), and attempting to create suspected entities and puppet spokesmen.
 - isolate the Palestinian resistance from the popular movements in every Arab country, especially in the Jordanian-Palestinian area and break the unity between the resistance and the national and the progressive forces in every Arab country and on a national level.
 - Deepen the conflicts within the ranks of the Arab liberation movement, and to over-stress the secondary contradictions over the principal contradiction, and to employ terror and temptation in obliging some forces to accept compromise and semi-solutions.
 - Evoke cautious feelings towards the world anti-imperialist, anti-zionist and progressive forces and isolating the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab national liberation movement from these allies and friendly powers.
8. The Palestinian revolution and the Arab liberation movement share the common awareness that this revolution is not and cannot be the issue of the Palestinian people alone, and that the national and progressive forces are not invited only to support this revolution and to express their solidarity; but the Palestinian revolution is essentially an indivisible part of the Arab liberation movement. All Arab progressive and national forces have the same obligations as well as the same rights to participate side by side with the Palestinian people in this revolution.
9. From this rises the necessity of establishing an Arab front participating in the Palestinian revolution and depending on the following bases:
 - the unity of struggle and destiny between the Palestinian revolution and the Arab liberation movement against imperialism and zionism with their political, economic and cultural bases in the Arab world.
 - the establishment of healthy front-like relations among the different contingents of the Arab liberation movement based on reciprocal confidence and common struggle, and avoiding the emphasizing of secondary contradictions over the principal contradiction.
10. The aims of this Front shall be:
 1. To resist all liquidation plans which are based on the dedication of the zionist existence and the recognition of the state of Israel in what is called "secure borders", and reducing the Palestinian problem from a national liberation problem to a refugee problem, causing the disarmament of the Palestinian people and liquidating their national liberation movement, the price of settlements and complete and partial solutions for the problem of Arab territories occupied during the June 1967 aggression. The national and progressive Arab forces emphasize their support for the Palestinian resistance and its participation in fulfilling its strategy in this sphere.
 2. To participate in the different forms of struggle of the Palestinian people.
 3. To protect the independence of the resistance and the political, military and organizational existence of the Palestinian revolution in all Arab countries, especially in the countries bordering the occupied territories.
 4. To resist and uncover all plans aiming at the isolation of the resistance from the people's movement and to strengthen its unity with the Arab liberation movement.
 5. To support the efforts aiming at bolstering the Jordanian-Palestinian national front and its democratic national struggle to overthrow the reactionary puppet regime in Jordan, and to act on boycotting this regime, embarrassing it from the outside, and gaining material support for the Jordanian-Palestinian national front. The Jordanian field is considered to be the natural and basic starting base for the Palestinian revolution due to the unity of the Palestinian and Jordanian people, the unity of the Palestinian and Jordanian territories, and the economic, social and political unity.
6. To provide material support for the Palestinian revolution.
7. To provide political and informational support on both the regional and national levels.
8. To help in consolidating the cooperation and unity of action among Palestinian resistance organizations aiming at establishing a common front on strong political, ideological and struggling bases.
9. To support the Palestinian cause among world progressive anti-imperialist and anti-zionist forces, and the achievement of further solidarity with it on the international level.
10. To consolidate and strengthen the unity of action among the Arab liberation movement detachments aiming at establishing a common front uniting all Arab national and progressive forces on democratic bases.
11. To liquidate imperialist existence, economic, and strategic interests, particularly oil interests of imperialism in the Arab world, and the consolidation of an anti-imperialist course in the foreign policies of the Arab countries.
12. To face prudently the imperialist and reactionary forces in the Arab Peninsula and the Arab Gulf, which forms another enemy alliance against the Arab revolution by means of military foreign bases, robbing oil wealth, leaving the door wide open in front of direct and indirect zionist infiltration, giving up Arab dominion over islands and territories of the area, and isolating the democratic national peoples' movement and the progressive regimes by force. The support of the progressive national movement in this area and its popular democratic armed struggle, and facing prudently the zionist-reactionary policy in the Red Sea area, this policy which opened the way for the bases and zionist influence in order to dominate the entrance to this sea helping the zionist and imperialist oil interests.
13. To resist all forms of subjugation aimed at the popular movement in the Arab countries emphasizing upon the democratic freedom of the Arab masses to express their independent national hopes for complete liberation and upon the democratic rights of the political, popular and syndicalist organizations.
11. As for the organizational basis of this front, they are stipulated in the standing orders.

STANDING ORDERS & LEADING ORGANS

The conference after adopting the political program of the Front, adopted the following to be its standing orders:

Part one: Formation of the Front.

Article 1: The Front is composed of:

- Arab national and progressive forces and parties, and the Palestinian Resistance.
- Labor and peasant unions, syndicates, students, women and business organisations, and all other popular progressive Arab committees supporting the Palestinian Revolution.

Part two: Front Organs:

Article 2: The Front is made up of the following organs:

1. The Congress.
2. The General Council.
3. General Secretariat.
4. National Committees.

Article 3: The Congress is the supreme organ of the Front. The congress confers every two years to discuss current tasks and to propose the form of relations among its constituent parts and to adopt the general budget.

In case of emergency, the congress confers by a decision of the General Council or at the request of one third of the National Committees.

Article 4: The Congress alone has the right to amend the standing orders and the political programs at the request of the General Council or one-third of the National Committees and the consent of two-thirds of the National Committees represented in the congress.

Article 5: The Congress elects a General Council composed of the representatives of all the invited forces and parties - one for each - which approve the political program of the Front and its standing orders. The General Council confers every six months. In case of emergency, the General Council confers at the request of one-

third of its members or by a decision of the General Secretariat on condition that its agenda is prepared after being informed in advance. The General Council is to carry out the resolutions of the Congress, and to define the general policies of the Front in the period between the two congresses.

Article 6: The General Council fixes the number of members of the General Secretariat and elects them from its members. The General Secretariat chooses among its members a Secretary General and an Assistant Secretary General. The General Secretariat is to pursue daily works and the distribution of tasks among its members and the formation of whatever committees are needed. It expresses its observations concerning the activities of the National Congresses in the light of the Political Program, the standing orders and the resolutions of the General Congress.

Article 7: The formation of a National Congress in every Arab country from political forces, mass organisations, labor unions, progressive and national personalities. The Congress fixes the number of members of the National Committee and elects them from its members after approving of its internal rules.

General Rules:

Article 8: Standing orders will be stipulated for each of the Front's organs.

It is up to the popular organs to ask the assistance of subcommittees to undertake some detailed responsibilities.

Article 9: In all the organs of the Front, efforts must be made to take unanimous resolutions.

If this is not possible, resolutions will be adopted by simple majority, except in the case stipulated in article four of the standing orders.

In its final session the conference elected the following organizations and leading organs of the Front:

I. General Secretariat:

1. Baath Party (Iraq)
 2. Baath Party (Syria)
 3. Communist Party of Sudan
 4. Arab Socialist Union, Egypt
 5. National Front (PDR Yemen)
 6. National Liberation Front (Algeria)
 7. The National Movement in the Arab Gulf
 8. The National Movement in Morocco
 9. The National Movement in Lebanon
 10. The Palestine Liberation Organization
- The Arab Socialist Union in Libya, which boycotted the congress, will be given the chance to join as number 11.

II. Secretary General:

Mr Kamal Djumblatt - Chief of the Lebanese Socialist Progressive Party.
Several Assistant Secretary Generals were elected as well.

III. The General Council:

Members: One representative for each participating force.

Speaker: Mr Jalloul Malaika (NLF)

In addition, a permanent bureau was established, headed by a representative of the Lebanese Communist Party.

FORCES AND PARTIES OF THE NEW ARAB FRONT

Morocco

Party of Liberation and Socialism
National Union of Popular Forces
Independence Party
Moroccan Union of Work
The Moroccan Society for the Support of the Palestinian Revolution

Algeria

National Liberation Front Party

Tunisia

The Socialist Constitutional Party

Egypt

The Arab Socialist Union

Sudan

The Communist Party

Syria

The Baath Party
The Communist Party
The Socialist Union
The Socialist Unionists

Iraq

The Baath Party
The Communist Party
The Kurdistan Democratic Party

Jordan

The National Front
The Communist Party
Jordanian People's Revolutionary Party

The Baath Party

Democratic Yemen

The National Front

The Arab Gulf

The PFLQAG

The Bahrain Liberation Front

Kuwait

Movement of Democratic Progressists

Northern Yemen

The Revolutionary Resisters

The Baath Party

The Youth Organization

The Democratic Revolutionary Party

The Arab Peninsula - "Saudia"

The National Liberation Front

League of the Sons of the Peninsula

The Popular Democratic Party

Eritrea

The Eritrean Liberation Front

(Popular Forces)

The Eritrean Liberation Front

(Revolutionary Council)

Lebanon

The Front of National and Progressive Forces and Parties

Palestine

The Palestine Liberation Organization

VIETNAM

"We have done all that is humanly possible to reach positive results, which means peace that is inseparable from independence and liberty. It is for this that we have been waging our struggle for approximately thirty years."

First Minister - Pham Van Dong

1972, the year of American defeat in Indo-China. Nixon the murderer trying to deliver the "peace" he has been scheming. Alas! the B-52's carried Nixon's message of "peace". Unfortunately for Nixon, but fortunately for the Vietnamese, the U.S. bombers as they flew over Vietnamese skies had entered into a trap, a people's trap that downed about 35-40 B-52's. U.S. technology has been stopped once again. Xuan Thuy in Paris appropriately stated: "When a political will exists, all technical problems can be resolved."

As world public opinion condemns Nixon more vigorously everyday, the Vietnamese fully aware as to who is their real ally, have in turn called for an emergency meeting of the conference of non-aligned nations, to help end the war in Viet Nam.

Madame Binh said: "In the grave situation now obtaining in Viet Nam, this gathering is very necessary. It represents a positive and effective contribution to compel the U.S. government to call a permanent end to the bombing and blockade of the Democratic Republic

of Viet Nam, to cease the 'Vietnamization' policy and all U.S. involvement in South Viet Nam, to stop supporting the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu and to sign without delay the 'agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam.'

"It will also be a powerful demonstration of solidarity of the Third World countries in the struggle to defend the independence of

each nation and its right to self-determination in the face of the Imperialist's policy of violence and war."

As American Imperialism relies on its technological weapons, we will join the Vietnamese in their struggle against this brutal war by relying on the only weapon that U.S. Imperialism cannot defeat: People's War.

COMMENTARY...

"Mr. Thieu is not to be confused with a prime minister of a Scandinavian country who vaguely desires peace in a remote area of the world, where primitive yellow men are distracting world attention from the more important problems of more important people."

As for ourselves, we should not be confused as to the time such a paragraph appeared in the world press. It did not appear several decades ago when colonialism was a flourishing enterprise. It appeared very recently in an article written by the American columnist William Buckley Jr., ("Vietnam Maxims Reviewed", IHT, Nov. 7, 1972). And we are concerned, of course, by the second part of the paragraph.

Mr. Buckley's reference to the Vietnamese people, to the Indo-Chinese people as a whole, as "primitive yellow" people, and his reference to their struggle for na-

tional liberation as an infuriating happening that is distracting world attention from the more important problems of more important people, by which he surely means the white people, could not be more revealing of the racial mentality persisting in the western world, nurtured by the emergence and expansion of neo-colonialism and imperialism, after the steady decline of the traditional colonialist empires, which necessarily bore racialism as a complementary characteristic to colonialism.

Mr. Buckley could not have been more eloquent in revealing his racism. But as is always the case with racial attitudes and proclamations, the essential facts are overlooked. Buckley, in the first place, ignores the fact that what he calls the "primitive" people could not only pose serious challenge to the world's first superpower, but rendered its military might, developed by subordinating

advanced science and technology, virtually obsolete, in preventing the U.S. from achieving the objectives of its war of aggression against Vietnam, in spite of saturation bombing and a decade of fighting utilizing its ground, naval and air forces.

In the second place, he forgets that imperialism does not enter unnecessary wars, and this follows that the Vietnamese war that prompted the American imperialist intervention was not unimportant, but of prime importance; thus he cannot say that the Vietnamese struggle distracted the world, especially the U.S., from more important problems. The struggle was simply untimely for U.S. imperialism as an emergence of any other liberation struggle in any other third world country would be considered by the U.S. and members of the imperialist camp, because it interrupts the process of imperialism and its hegemony.

We did not touch on the color inference on purpose because Mr. "Billy Buck" Jr. was probably such a bright kid at the turn of the century, he skipped elementary education. That is why he is not familiar with the fact that the difference between white and yellow (or black for that matter) is that one is white and the other is yellow.

The IHT should be more intelligent than to allow Buckley's racism to expose what lies behind the allegedly liberal and objective face of the capitalist press!

TASKS OF THE NEW STAGE

THE SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

In PFLP BULLETIN No. 4, we published the first part of the TASKS OF THE NEW STAGE, the political report of the Third National Congress of PFLP. This part dealt essentially with the Objective Conditions of the Resistance Movement. In this issue we are publishing the second part of the Report, dealing with the Subjective Conditions. In our next issue we will be publishing a third part: The Left-Wing of the Resistance.

Objective conditions are not sufficient as an explanation for all the aspects of crisis of the resistance.

The picture remains incomplete without a look at the resistance movement itself, its class, its attitudes and programs. All these played and continue to play a basic role in clarifying matters.

The resistance movement in its present state does not possess the necessary conditions to enable it to defy imperialism. The resistance, because it is not led by a revolutionary party representing the working class, has no such theory when facing the difficulties of the battle and their solution for the benefit of the revolution and the provision of the subjective conditions necessary for victory. These are:

- a revolutionary theory to provide a clear vision of the battle.
- a solid party to lead the battle.
- a wide national front led by this party which mobilizes all class and political forces under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party.
- an organizational structure which creates in the consciousness of the revolutionary individual discipline, efficiency, and honorable conduct towards the masses. In this way he becomes both an example to and a leader for the people.

The resistance movement did not seem to be aware of these things.

It was and remains led by a group which represents on the whole an alliance between the bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie, with all that these classes represent in the way of intellectual and political oscillation, and organizational instability, together with the negative consequences of these on the revolutionary movement.

The left-wing forces within the resistance were:

- immature and had not completed their development into real Marxist-Leninist forces on the intellectual, organizational and combative level.
- disunited in their position; in fact, in most cases, they were opposing and fighting each other.
- unable, in terms of size and effectiveness, to impose their theoretical, political and military stands on the arena.

The fact that the resistance movement was led by a bourgeois class led to certain attitudes and mistakes which must be taken into consideration in explaining its predicament.

A. THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE REACTIONARY REGIMES

The structure of the resistance as a whole and its bourgeois leadership made it a dangerous mistake; i.e. the non-specification of a correct attitude and outlook with regards to the reactionary regime in Jordan.

The concentration of the main forces of the resistance in Jordan, and its vague position with regard to the existing powers there, meant its submergence in idealism and the absence of a clear definition of political attitudes towards basic and concrete issues. It is clear that all this was bound to have fateful consequences.

The Jordanian regime was established originally as a base from which imperialism and Zionism could fulfill their plans in Palestine. And its history is witness to this fact: it is totally, and organically linked to American imperialism. Consequently, it constitutes a force for oppressing the masses. It is part of the enemy's camp as far as the revolution is concerned. Despite all this the leadership of the resistance - because of its class and ideological structure and its lack of a clear vision - thought that the Jordanian regime (because of its inability to attack it after the June defeat and because of the deceptive slogans it used) could be a friend or at least a neutral force. Its occasional clashes with the resistance were explained away as partial conflicts or else the result of mistakes made by the resistance itself, and therefore they could be avoided.

It was on the basis of this mistaken evaluation

that the resistance movement formed itself openly to Jordan. Its military bases, organization, cadres, and locations were all exposed. It behaved as if it were working in a liberated area.

This evaluation was not the result of a partial error, or that of good or bad intentions. It was essentially the result of its inability to comprehend the dialectical link between imperialism and reaction at this stage of history, and its failure to see the mechanics of imperialist activity. This needs an outlook based on revolutionary theory - a working class theory - with its analysis of reality and its consequent manifestations.

The consequences of this manifestations were not merely military; they were also political and moral. Thus the degree of mobilization and readiness and the determination of the resistance to fight the reactionary enemy were not equal to the mobilization and determination of the organs of repression to crush the resistance. This became very clear during the September battle: the resistance was not only forced to fight in the open - which contradicts the principles of guerrilla warfare in its early stages - but leaders of some of the resistance organizations were victims of surprise. This stage of affairs continued during the battle and even afterwards (between September 1970 in Amman and July 1971 in Jerash), i.e. that it was possible to change the mind of the regime and to co-exist with it.

Had the resistance movement adopted, on the basis of a scientific revolutionary outlook, a correct political position towards the Jordanian authority (considering the part of the enemy camp) and consequently built itself underground, the result would certainly have been different.

The resistance would have been able to inflict heavy blows on the regime instead of vice versa.

B. THE OUTLOOK OF THE RESISTANCE TOWARDS THE JORDANIAN MASSES.

The main error committed by the resistance is not confined to its inability to adopt a scientific and revolutionary position towards the masses in Jordan.

It was necessary that the resistance, having come to depend, for its existence, mainly on Jordan, to clearly define its position in this area: a) who is the main enemy there? b) who is the friend capable of enhancing its power?

The leadership of the resistance did not undertake this basic theoretical and analytical process. It continued, therefore, to work on the principles of the «Palestinian people's revolution» against Israel and Zionism as though its relationship with all the forces in Jordan was of no concern and as though those forces had nothing to do with the battle.

The resistance considered itself as a purely «Palestinian revolution». That is, it did not interfere in the internal affairs of Arab countries, including Jordan where the revolution was located and upon which its continuity depended.

If the resistance movement had a clear scientific and revolutionary outlook it would have realized that the regime in Jordan was its enemy, and that the people of Jordan, who suffer from exploitation and repression, were its allies - allies with whom it could unify its struggle so as to change the balance of forces in Jordan in its favour.

The lack of a clear and comprehensive political outlook made the resistance neglect this central issue. This led the Jordanian masses to support the resistance at the beginning of its development, emotionally only. This was the result of the patriotic and nationalist feelings of the Jordanian masses. But emotional support is one thing and conscious revolutionary mobilization is another.

The nationalist feelings of the Jordanian masses did not withstand the mistakes of the resistance, which in turn reflected themselves negatively on their daily lives. The Jordanian regime capitalized on these errors by stirring up regional Jingoism which was to undermine the resistance movement's ability in mobilizing the masses. In fact, the Jordanian masses ultimately turned against the revolution.

The Jordanian masses did not feel as if they were part of the revolution, in spite of the fact that the revolution was against Zionism, imperialism and reaction, the simultaneous enemy of both the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples.

The precise conceptualization of the effect of these two political errors (i.e. inattentiveness to an internal enemy and negligence of a main friend both existing in the same area as the resistance itself) shows the role of these mistakes in the emergence of the difficult situation in which the resistance finds itself now.

There is a great difference between a situation in which the resistance faces the reactionary enemy in Jordan supported by the people in Jordan, and the existing situation where it faces a regime capable of mobilizing these masses against the resistance.

The leadership of the resistance behaved as if it were an alternative to the national Jordanian government, and as if it had, in its programs, a real alternative capable of fulfilling the tasks of the Jordanian national movement.

Moreover, if the leadership of the resistance - for one reason or another - attempted to address itself to the Jordanian masses, it would do this through their leaders who are a traditional symbol representing to the masses an organic part of the ruling class (and one of its instruments).

The leadership of the resistance movement, because of its lack of an analytical scientific outlook, has contributed to deepening the direction which was considered by American intelligence services (through its instructions to American information offices) as the main factor by which to end the resistance movement. That is the division between Palestinian and Jordanian. Thus the establishment

over the political and tateful situation currently being faced by the Palestinian people.

The law governing these relationships with the regimes is not a straightforward one. It is simultaneously one of conflict and alliance - alliance in the battle against Israel, imperialism and reaction, and conflict with these regimes with regard to the development of a strategy of a people's war of liberation and to the capitulationist solution of the issue.

The materialization of this law of conflict and alliance with these regimes - which in turn move in accordance with changes in the class-forces on which they are based - needs tactical capacities of the kind that the resistance, generally speaking, lacked. The resistance - in an opportunistic way, objectively speaking - gave dominance to the alliance with these regimes. This was, in its overall result, in the interest of the regimes and their policy of domination.

As a result of the general situation of military truce with the enemy, these regimes succeeded in playing an increasingly effectively role within the resistance and among its groups. Wearing a nationalist guise they were able, for three years, to establish for themselves a representative presence inside the resistance movement. Thus the resistance fell prisoner to the positions and policies of these regimes, despite all the slogans which rejected their guardianship and their attempts to contain it.

This tactical alliance resulted, in addition to the things we mentioned, in helping - in a major way and unconsciously - to delay the process of crystallizing new class and political forces in these countries.



of trade unions (labour, professional and student) for Palestinian only, helped - regardless of intention - to serve the policy of the reactionary regime.

The outlook of the leadership of the resistance was very limited. This manifested itself in several ways: a) its class analysis; b) its attitude towards the military establishment; c) towards the possibility of polarizing and encircling the offices; d) its attitude towards political action among the rural population and bedouins; e) its relationship with the feudal and tribal dignitaries whom the leadership of the resistance treated as if they represented or even constituted an alternative to the masses. All this helped imperialism to act and move freely.

C. THE RESISTANCE AND THE NATIONAL REGIMES.

The relationship of the resistance with the Arab nationalist regimes was not based on a clear scientific and revolutionary perspective which would define correctly its tactical and strategic positions.

The class basis of these regimes - which are antagonistic to imperialism and Zionism - makes them an ally, tactically speaking, with the resistance in the battle against Israel and reaction. But, because of their inability to face imperialism and Israel using the method of long-term popular war they stand, strategically speaking, in contradiction to the resistance movement. There are further contradictions

Thus it facilitated oppression by these forces, a process being continually carried out by the «nationalist» regimes. Undoubtedly the results of such behaviour are exceedingly dangerous to the resistance movement as an integral part of the general Arab liberation movement.

This point - as we shall see later - is related to a basic and essential issue, that is the immature outlook of the leaders of the resistance movement on the nature of the relationship between the struggle of the Palestinian masses with the total progress of the Arab national liberation movement, and the degree of their mutual influence. This outlook also viewed the resistance as a separate phenomenon unconnected with the Arab national democratic revolution.

D. THE RESISTANCE AND THE ARAB MASSES.

The view of the leadership of the resistance movement with regard to the Arab masses and the Arab national liberation movement was not based on a clear revolutionary vision of all the dimensions of the battle.

The resistance movement, because of its objective and subjective conditions, cannot be but part of the whole Arab liberation movement. Outside this movement, it could only fail to achieve its objectives.



The relationship between the Palestinian resistance with the Arab national democratic revolution in the Arab world and the struggle for socialism is not merely one of support and help; it is a strategic relationship in a single battle, practically speaking.

It was from the viewpoint of material and moral support that the resistance movement viewed the masses and the Arab national liberation movement, and not from the viewpoint of the strategic and commensurate alliance between the resistance and the national movement in the Arab countries. Nor was this movement considered - on the strategic level - as the genuine Arab ally without which the resistance would be unable to solve its strategic difficulties.

Such an acknowledgement helps in understanding what is happening and the way out of the predicament. It is ridiculous to think of the crisis of the resistance movement independently of the crisis of the Arab national movement, which remains, generally speaking, under the leadership of the petit-bourgeoisie. Despite this, the Arab national movement has been subjected on the one hand to the oppression of the reactionary regimes, and on the other hand to liquidation attempts by the military regimes.

It is also clear, and from the same perspective, that the forward movement of the Arab liberation movement and its success in polarizing the new and rising class forces and their mobilization and organization reflects itself, dialectically speaking, on the Palestinian resistance and contributes in solving an essential part of its problems.

E. THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PALESTINIAN MASSES.

The relation between the resistance movement and the Palestinian masses was not based on a revolutionary perspective which depends first of all on the masses and aims at their mobilization through political consciousness and organization, thus confronting it with its historical responsibilities:

- mobilization was propagandistic and demagogic.
- the relationship with the masses was elitist.
- military action was considered as an alternative to the struggle of the masses instead of being the most advanced form of such a struggle.
- the Palestinian masses on the whole supported the resistance movement, but the resistance did not take complete advantage of this support so as to increase it.

F. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL UNITY.

National unity constitutes one of the main factors in the confrontation with the enemy. Of course, the existence of a revolutionary party which adopts the theory of the proletarian revolution is one of the main conditions for the victory of the masses in its war against the imperialist, Zionist reactionary and superior enemy. Another main condition is the achievement of a national unity which compromises in a wide form all the forces which have an interest in defeating the common enemy. This condition cannot be ignored or dispensed with.

The leadership of the resistance has completely failed to realize the importance of national unity. All the forms which were presented to achieve what was called national unity were aimed at preserving a domination imposed from above and was to enable it to contain and dissolve the various forces which do not agree with it politically. These forms were presented without them having any clear program acceptable to these forces.

Such behaviour does not originate in a vacuum but is the results of the bourgeois and the petit-bourgeois mode of thought. These classes view the issue of national unity in non-class terms. That is, as an issue which floats above classes and is seen as a way of achieving its domination and dictatorship.

The move towards «national unity» was, for the leadership of the resistance, always based on emotional appeals and vague slogans; these avoid defining clear political and organizational lines which can form the basis of the comparative program representing the content of national unity and the foundation of the organizational programs which governs its internal relationships.

Many factors hindered the development of a minimum political and organizational program for the realization of one form of national unity. The most important of these factors was the role played by the Arab regimes in fragmenting and splitting Palestinian groups and the incitements (using various forms of lures, threats and corruption) of these groups against each other.

At the same time the fragmentation of the left within the resistance movement played a large part in obstructing the emergence of a form of national unity. This is so because some left groups - for tactical reasons related to their own plans - supported the appeals of the right and rejected the alliance with other left-wing forces, so as to impose on the whole movement a minimum-shared program.

judice, despite the fact that Japan's ruling class has been crazily carrying massive propaganda offensive against Palestinian fighting people.

"We are also glad to let you know that several groups of students and workers offered to hold the same kind of meeting in their own respective schools and working-places. They want to learn how their Asian comrades are fighting to liberate themselves. The posters and pamphlets you sent us were handed to those eager radical students and workers.

"Thank you very much for your kind co-operation. We hope that our activities here will build a bridge of solidarity and friendship between the western end and the eastern end of the Asian Continent."



Japanese comrades in Kyoto organized a Palestine Exhibition from 18-24 November 1972. The Exhibition, held in support of the Palestinian liberation struggle, ended in great success.

PFLP Bulletin has recently received a letter from the comrades in the Japanese progressive magazine "Shinsayoku-Sha". The letter has the following to say on the Exhibition:

"Our Exhibition festival which was held in the busiest main street of Japan's oldest city, Kyoto, attracted many people who were eager to know truths and facts about your heroic struggles against our common enemy, World Imperialism, and its agent, Zionist Israel. We felt emboldened to know that so many people support your brave struggles, not swayed by the pro-Zionist pre-

THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF P.F.L.P.

The inability of the leadership of the resistance movement to establish a minimum shared program (capable of development) for national unity obstructed in turn the rapid mobilization and organization of the Palestinian masses. It also hindered the acceleration of the revolutionary situation and popular alliances at the Arab and international level. Furthermore, the superficiality and facetiousness of all the forms which were developed for national unity led to the preservation of the fragmentary state among the patriotic and progressive Palestinian forces. This lowered the political and fighting effectiveness which the resistance could have achieved against the Israelis, the imperialist and reactionary enemy.

G. BACKWARDNESS IN MILITARY SCIENCE

The importance of adopting revolutionary violence in solving the contradiction between the masses and its imperialist, Zionist and reactionary enemy dictates the importance and necessity of acquiring military thought and sciences together with the principles of using revolutionary violence in dealing with an enemy advanced militarily and technologically.

The revolution in order to protect itself and to deal with the enemy, needs to follow a number of military principles. These principles are what protect the revolution in its early stages from annihilation by the enemy.

The resistance movement was not based militarily on such a foundation (secrecy, proficient use of weapons and tactics, avoidance of confrontations, adequate standards of training, right types of weapons).

Furthermore, the resistance depended, in its propaganda, on traditional attitudes to armed action, e.g. glorification of martyrdom and of suicidal heroics, the encouragement of a spirit of adventure, etc. This was done in spite of the fact that popular armed struggle is a political science which depends on accurate and studied principles and on the development of a collective sense of struggle, disruptive, combative intelligence and on the accumulation of a very large number of small victories which can be used to achieve a strategic victory.

This lack of a revolutionary military science led to serious mistakes: a) these were reflected in the failure of most of the resistance groups to achieve armed organization inside the occupied territories; b) they were also reflected in the attempts of the leadership to hide this failure by issuing a large number of false reports.

Apart from the Gaza strip, the leadership of the resistance has proved, in its combative experience inside the occupied territories, its inability to absorb the military technology of people's war as well as

its incompetence to learn from the political science that is based on the experience of victorious national revolutions in the world.

H. NATURE OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE RESISTANCE.

The absence of a clear political perspective has also manifested itself in the lack of interest by the leadership in organized action. This is so despite the fact that the organizational weapon is the most effective weapon against a superior enemy.

Thus the internal relations which predominated within some of the resistance groups did not differ greatly from those found in any of the regular Arab armies except that they were less disciplined in the former. This led to the emergence of the problem of salaries and ranking.

The absence of organizational consciousness (which is probably the result of the ideological consciousness) was accompanied by a weakness in the political development of the fighters which resulted in:

- weak discipline.
- weak military and political effectiveness.
- a superabundance of privileges and formalities.

Our discussion about the resistance, its class structure and what this entails from mistaken attitudes and practices shows the importance of the subject. It is the basis which explains the reality of the resistance with its negativisms, mistakes and deviations. This in turn plays a part in explaining the present condition of the resistance.

There are a large number of examples which show the mistaken practices of the resistance: a) bureaucratic leadership; b) opulence and extravagance; c) lack of frankness towards the masses; d) empty and loud propaganda; e) political mistakes; f) lack of initiative or quick action; g) sectarianism (which was reflected in the national unity); h) misuse of weapons; i) inadequate training; j) dependence on military formalities; k) mistaken methods of fighting; l) laziness in the guerrilla bases; m) time wasting for the fighters; n) the abuse of the citizen by some of the fighters, who spoiled their crops or showed disrespect for their traditions etc. All this can be explained in terms of the ideological and class structure of the leadership of the resistance.

The resistance movement represents, objectively speaking, a force against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Thus it earned the support of the Arab and Palestinian masses. It remains to this day a vanguard of the Arab liberation movement. However, the nature of the formation of its leadership and the consequences of this contributes towards explaining the nature of its present crisis.

"You Can Never Loose" KNMF

The PFLP Bulletin received a letter from the Comrades in the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Foundation (KNMF). The Foundation was set up on the 12th of May 1972 shortly after the death of President Kwame Nkrumah. The comrades stressed their conviction that the unity of Africa is the means to face all the threats of imperialism. Speaking of the Palestinian struggle, the secretary general of KNMF stated in his letter:

"Comrades, as for your fight, the justness of your cause, your firm conviction of it and your unshakable fighting decision shows that you can never loose."

He went on to say:

"We of the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Foundation express our iron-firm support of your struggle against Imperialo-Zionist aggression. You are really a source of inspiration. Onward to victory people of the tri-continent!"

We, in the PFLP, highly appreciate the feelings expressed by our comrades of KNMF and assure them of our earnest desire to strengthen our relation with all the anti-imperialist forces of the world. At the same time, we take this opportunity



to reassure our comrades in arms that our fight against Imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism as well as all sorts of discrimination and exploitation goes in line with our fight against Zionism and its settler colonialism in Palestine and the reactionary Arab regimes, puppets of Imperialism. We are determined not to lay down our guns before a final defeat of imperialism, and all its manifestations, is brought about.



THE CLASS ORIGINS OF ZIONIST IDEOLOGY

STEPHEN HALBROOK *

The following article, "The Class Origins of Zionist Ideology", written by Dr. Stephen Halbrook, originally published in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, (Autumn, 1972, Vol. II, No. 1) of the Institute of Palestine Studies. PFLP BULLETIN is republishing this article in two parts. In doing so, we wish to note that the views expressed do not necessarily reflect the position of the PFLP.

The following is the first of two parts:

A frequent tendency of contemporary Zionist writing has been to minimize the colonialist and class features of the Zionist movement prior to the creation of the State of Israel. These interrelated features nevertheless emerge clearly in the works of the original Zionist leaders, and are very prominent in the writings of Theodore Herzl, founder of organized Zionism. When, for instance, Herzl requested Cecil Rhodes in 1902 to throw his authority behind the project for Jewish settlement in Palestine, it was in these terms that his letter presented Zionist aspirations to the English colonialist:

You are being invited to help make history. That cannot frighten you, nor will you laugh at it. It is not in your accustomed line; it doesn't involve Africa, but a piece of Asia Minor, not Englishmen but Jews. But had this been on your path, you would have done it by now. How, then, do I happen to turn to you, since this is an out-of-the-way matter for you? How indeed? Because it is something colonial.¹

In addition to his willingness to identify Zionism with the cause of white settlerdom, a striking theme to be found in Herzl's writing is the orientation of the proposed Jewish state to the requirements of private capital. Among his proposals was one urging the creation of a Jewish company which would "organize trade and commerce in the new country."² This company would be funded and controlled by Jewish financial and banking groups, who could expect substantial returns for their endeavours:

The easiest, fastest, and most certain method would be for the great banks to found the Company. The present great financial groups could raise the necessary funds in a short time by merely consulting together... The credit of our great financiers would have to be placed at the service of the National Idea...

The great financiers, moreover, will certainly not be asked to raise an amount so enormous out of pure philanthropic motives; that would be expecting too much. Rather may the promoters and stockholders of the Jewish Company look forward to considerable profit, and they will be able to calculate beforehand what their chances of success are likely to be.³

In Herzl's vision, these profits would be astronomical: "One million would produce fifteen millions; and one billion, fifteen billions."⁴ "All the immense profits of this speculation in land will go to the Company, for it is entitled to such an unlimited premium, like any entrepreneur, in return for having borne the risk."⁵

It was somewhat symbolic that the original draft of *The Jewish State* was entitled *An Address to the Rothschilds*⁶ and intended for the private use of the Rothschild family.⁷ For the Zionist programme from its outset aimed at forging an alliance of interests with different sections of the world's political and economic elite. The precise manner in which this elite could expect to gain from the process of Jewish colonization in Palestine can be best perceived through an examination of the thinking that formed the basis of Zionist ideology and exercised a deep influence on the outlook of the movement's leading figures.

PRECURSORS OF HERZL

Prior to Herzl, the most important Zionist writer was Moses Hess who founded Zionist ideology in *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862). Originally an adherent of socialist and anarchist views, Hess repudiated most of these⁸ and devoted his energies to Jewish nationalism. While official Zionism was later initiated by Theodore Herzl, virtually the whole theoretical programme of both classical and modern Zionism can be found in Hess.

In *Rome and Jerusalem*, Hess develops in great detail the plans he and French imperialist writers were making for the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine, advocating "the founding of Jewish colonies in the land of their ancestors, to which enterprise France will undoubtedly lend a hand."⁹ After praising the recent French incursion into Syria, he discusses the Suez Canal and Eurasian railroad projects, which signified that "our lost fatherland [will] be rediscovered on the road to India and China that is now being built in the Orient. Do you still doubt that France will help the Jews to found colonies which may extend from Suez to Jerusalem, and from the banks of the Jordan to the Coast of the Mediterranean?" If so, Hess recommends *The New Eastern Question* (1860) by Ernest Laharanne, who was the private secretary of Napoleon III during the period of growing French imperialism in Syria.¹⁰

This agent of Napoleon advocated support of Jewish colonization of Palestine by "the efforts of international Jewish bankers" or by a general subscription paid by all Jews.¹¹ He went on to clarify the interests European imperialism as a whole had in the seizure of Palestine:

What European power today would oppose the plan that the Jews, united through a Congress, should buy back their ancient fatherland? Who would object if the Jews flung to the decrepit old Turkey a few handfuls of gold, and said to her: "Give me back my home and use this money to consolidate the other parts of your tottering empire?" No objections would be raised to the realization of such a plan, and Judea would be permitted to extend its boundaries from Suez to the harbour of Smyrna, including the entire area of the western Lebanon range...

European industry has daily to search for new markets as an outlet for its products. We have no time to lose. The time has arrived when it is imperative to call the ancient nations back to life, so as to open new highways and byways for European civilization.¹²

Hess wholly endorses Laharanne's reasoning, and extends the analysis further in a note. After extolling French conquests in Egypt, Syria, and other areas in the East, Hess writes:

After the work on the Suez Canal is completed the interests of world commerce will undoubtedly demand the establishment of depots and settlements along the road to India and China, settlements of such a character as will transform the neglected and anarchic state of the countries lying along this road into legal and cultivated States. This can occur only under the military protection of the European powers. Sagacious French diplomacy has always planned to annex the Orient to the precincts of culture. Undoubtedly, envy, which has caused the French to oppose the liberation of Italy, will also affect the French Oriental policy with desires for conquest and domination.

But this was not objectionable, Hess concludes the note, because the Ideal must be based on material interests, and anyone who argues to the contrary is a hypocrite.¹³

In the text Hess continues, addressing himself to Jews:

A great calling is reserved for you: to be a living channel of communication between three continents. You should be the bearers of civilization to the primitive people of Asia... You should be the mediators between Europe and far Asia, open the roads that lead to India and China—those unknown regions which must ultimately be thrown open to civilization.¹⁴

"Civilization," in fact, was a euphemism for European domination by force. The inhabitants of the regions concerned, those "wild Arabian hordes and the African peoples" living in a land which "no one should inherit but the Jews" would not be consulted beforehand, and the settlers would need to be imposed upon them: "a police system must be established by this [Colonizing] Society, to protect the colonists from the attacks of the Bedouins..."¹⁵

Hess wrote at a time when it appeared that France would actually settle Jews in Palestine.¹⁶ Why the Jews? "It is to the interest of France to see that the road leading to India and China should be settled by a people which will be loyal to the cause of France to the end... But is there any other nation more adapted to carry out this mission than Israel..."¹⁷ Apart from Jewish religious links with Palestine, and mutual cultural and racial affinities, economic benefits would accrue to both parties in the imperialist-colonialist alliance. "For Jewish colonization on the road to India and China, there is no lack, either of Jewish labourers or of Jewish talent and capital. Let only the germ be planted under the protection of the European powers," — i.e., others as well as France, for Hess noted proposals similar to Laharanne's by U.S., German, and English writers¹⁸ — "and the tree of a new life will spring forth by itself and bear excellent fruit."¹⁹ "If the Jews, with the help of France, should originate a mass migration of their oppressed brethren into the Orient, it will take place only because the Jewish colonists will find a better field for gaining a livelihood, and Jewish labour receive at least as much legal protection as it enjoys in the Occident."²⁰ Hess agreed that the first step would be a company for Jewish colonization to which settlers would pay ground rent and perhaps loan interest.²¹

A class analysis of the ideology propagated by Hess would reveal three basic interests to gain. One would be the upper bourgeoisie of the European imperialist states, whose commercial interests would benefit from a Jewish state in the Orient. Another was the Jewish workers who, taking advantage of and aiding in the conquest of Palestine, would constitute a workers' aristocracy and receive short run privileges. A third was the Jewish bourgeoisie, who would gain not only in a general way from the emigration to Palestine of the troublesome East European Jews who bred real or pretended anti-Semitism and most of whom Hess promised would emigrate,²² but also in particular by having their investments made safe in part by the programme Hess advocated. For although Hess praised the working man, and sometimes made mystical references to socialist principles, he attacked socialist revolutionaries and defended the idea of class collaboration. "A common, native soil is a primary condition, if there is to be introduced among the Jews better and more progressive relations between Capital and Labour."²³ In other words, he recognized the reality of class struggle among Jews and desired to palliate it. "On the common ground of Jewish patriotism, all Jewish classes will meet, orthodox and progressive, rich and poor." Hess "heartily subscribed in all detail" to the conclusions reached by a Jewish counterpart to Laharanne, one of which was that the Palestine colonization movement would be run by "a number of men who possess great influence or rule, by virtue of their wealth, men like Montefiore, Albert Cohn, Rothschild, Fould, and others... A large number of the rich and respected Jews of all parts of the world will undoubtedly join them."²⁴

Hess was to Marx as Weizmann later was to Trotsky: all were Jewish but the Zionists and socialists attacked each other on the question of class versus racial struggle. Hess reversed the Marxist view that racism was a cover for class interests and advocated a view of history in which "the race struggle is the primal one, and the class struggle secondary."²⁵ Attacking monogenism,

he claimed that the races are primal and essentially different and that racial characteristics are genetic and free of environmental influence.²⁶ He mystically referred to "racial instinct" and "the pure German race," argued for the "Jewish cult," and saw a natural antagonism between German and Jew.²⁷ (Apart from diverting attention away from the clash of class interests, this kind of thinking only added coal to the fire of Gobineau, Richard Wagner, and Georg von Schoenerer.)

Hess was not the only precursor of later Zionism. There was Rabbi Yehudah Alkalai, who as early as 1834 proposed Jewish colonization of Palestine and who later urged that the Jews "conquer the Holy Land by the might of their sword." "Much of his pleading was addressed to the Jewish notables of the Western world, men like the English financier Moses Montefiore and the French politician Adolph Crémieux..."²⁸ Similar elitism was shown by the rich Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, whose first expression of Zionism consisted of a letter in 1836 to the head of the Berlin branch of the Rothschild family. As a representative of the Jewish upper bourgeoisie, he saw that the Eastern Jews were "taken care of" by persuading a group to buy land for colonization near Jaffa in 1866 and by inducing the Alliance Israélite Universelle to found an agricultural school there in 1870.²⁹ "Alkalai, Kalischer, and Hess are an overture to the history of Zionism," but in this century "Hess, in particular, is ever more greatly admired."³⁰ Excepting Herzl, Hess is perhaps the most important Zionist ideologist. (This ignores *cultural* Zionism — as indeed this whole paper does — where such figures as Asher Ginzberg and the poets Bialik and Tchernichovsky stand out; but *political* Zionism was created by Hess and Herzl.)

HERZL

The most important figure in the study of classical Zionism is Theodore Herzl, the greatest Zionist ideologist and the founder of the organized world Zionist movement. Herzl, the son of a rich banker-broker, became a Zionist in 1894. Believing that Zionism was in the best interests of the Jewish upper bourgeoisie, he attempted to woo Baron Maurice de Hirsch and, after being unsuccessful, put his hopes in the Rothschilds, to whom he addressed the first version of *The Jewish State*. Herzl felt that these great leaders of the Jewish upper bourgeoisie were the logical ones to turn to, in part because they were already supporting colonization of Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe in Palestine and Argentina. The class struggles and class alliances of which Zionism is the reflection are revealed most comprehensively in *The Jewish State*. In fact, the work lends itself so well to class analysis because Herzl's methods consisted in openly spelling out how his plans would react on each class involved. The following are the class interests to which Herzl promised vast gains:

First, the economic interests of the European upper bourgeoisie, which were integral to the imperialist policies practised by the European powers. In what is perhaps the most revealing passage of the book, Herzl writes: "If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake the complete management of the finances of Turkey. We should there form a part of a wall of defence for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism. We should as a neutral state remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence."³¹ Explicit here is a triple power alliance: a deal with the Turkish imperialists which would "give us" Palestine (what the indigenous inhabitants thought was unimportant) in exchange for Jewish bourgeois management of Turkish tax exploitation; the new state would serve as a base for the European imperial powers against the "barbaric" Asians, in return for which these powers would prop up the Zionist colonizers. This explains why Herzl wanted the Jewish question "to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council" and why "the movement will not only be inaugurated in absolute accordance with the law, but it can nowise be carried out without the friendly co-operation of the interested governments, who will derive substantial benefits."³² Herzl specifically promised the European upper bourgeoisie a huge new market: "The states would have a further benefit in the enormous increase of their export trade; for since the emigrant Jews 'over there' would for a long time to come be dependent on European products, they would necessarily have to import them."³³

Second, the specifically Jewish upper bourgeoisie, led by the Rothschilds. A Zionist colony would benefit them in two ways. One was that it would act as a home for the Eastern Jewish emigrants who allegedly provoked anti-Semitism, thereby preventing the Jewish bourgeoisie from fully assimilating, i.e., from taking their place as inconspicuous members of the European ruling classes. Besides decreasing anti-Semitism on the part of those the emigrants competed with in the economy, the solution of the Jewish upper bourgeoisie to the problem, namely colonization, would also do a service to the non-Jewish bourgeoisie because it meant divesting Europe of a fertile source of revolutionaries. Early in the work Herzl complains that the poor Jews "become a revolutionary proletariat, the corporals of every revolutionary party," and that "we continue to produce an abundance of mediocre intellectuals who find no outlet, and this endangers our social position as much as does our increasing wealth. Educated Jews without means are now rapidly becoming socialists."³⁴ Thus the desperate and the intellectuals would be the first to go to Palestine.³⁵ Referring to the admitted exploitation of miserable workmen by big capitalists, Herzl reveals his intentions: "My desire is not to agitate, but to reconcile differences."³⁶ Herzl did not believe these interests had been reconciled because colonization had not been extensive enough. His object was to colonize on a larger scale, and to transplant the people on this scale a powerful idea was necessary: "The State Idea surely has that power."³⁷ If the representatives of big Jewish finance capital like de Hirsch and Rothschild initially felt uncomfortable with such a fantastic idea, it was because they were not as sure of its realization as the dreamer Herzl. But in retrospect it was Herzl who had the most foresight.

However, it was not only for this reason that he scorned "the fear

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¹ T. Herzl, *The Complete Diaries of Theodore Herzl* (New York: Herzl Press and Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), III, pp. 1194. Hereafter cited as *Diaries*.

² Ludwig Lewisoohn (ed.), *Theodor Herzl* (Cleveland: World Pub. Co, 1955), p. 252.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁶ Arthur Hertzberg (ed.) *The Zionist Idea* (NY: Antheneum and the Jewish Pub. Soc. of America, 1969), p. 203.

⁷ Lewisoohn (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 55; Lotta Levensohn, *Outline of Zionist History* (NY: Scopus Pub. Co., 1941), p. 31.

⁸ In his so-called radical days Hess had, in fact, previously published a work *The European Triarchy* (1841) which is an argument for an alliance of England, France and Germany to "civilize" the world. See Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem* (NY: Bloch Pub. Co., "The Jewish Book Concern," 1918 and 1945), pp. 20-21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30. Hess expressed his general imperialist sympathies with comments like: "But the soldiers of civilization, the French, are gradually sweeping away the dominance of the barbarians" on French imperial policies. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁰ Arthur Hertzberg (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 621-52.

¹¹ Quoted in Hess, p. 133.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 135-6.

¹³ Hess, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁶ Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1961), p. 11.

¹⁷ Hess, p. 148.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 132 and 142.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

²² Eg., *Ibid.*, p. 133, n. 9. The desire to divert East European Jews to Palestine was to assume especially large proportions as a motive for Western middle class Zionism towards the end of the nineteenth century with the great Jewish migrations from the Russian Empire.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 162 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 50, 127, and 111.

²⁸ Hertzberg, p. 104.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³¹ Lewisoohn, pp. 254-5.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 238 and 244.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and 247.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

STATE TERROR

"Wail Zueiter, representative of Fateh in Italy, is shot in front of his house in Rome."

"Omar Soufan, representative of the Palestinian Red Crescent in Sweden, is injured by a letter bomb."

"In Los Angeles, a bomb was placed in the house of a Palestinian after he participated in a TV discussion on the Palestinian problem."

"Adnan Hammad, a Palestinian student of medicine, is hit by a letter bomb. So is Ahmad Awadallah, a Palestinian worker in Copenhagen. The representatives of the PLO in Paris*, Libya and Algiers were also seriously injured by bombs. Letter bombs exploded in the post offices in Cairo, Beirut and Tunis, and others were sent to members of the Palestinian Resistance Movement. Militants and local supporters in Copenhagen, Paris, Rome and London and other places received warning letters and telephone calls. Threats were addressed on behalf of various "organizations" such as: "Friends of Free Lebanon", "The World Organization for the Individual's Welfare and Security", "Organization for the Human Rights", etc. These are some of the "humanitarian" initials which Israel used in signing its non-official terrorism. For the official ones - bombings of villages and refugee camps in Syria and Lebanon, invasion and blowing up of houses, experimenting with poisoned gases on children in South Lebanon - Israel uses the glorious signature of its army and Special Squads which are specialized in civilian massacres. This kind of terrorism is also called "mission against military targets". These "humanitarian", "non-official" bombs are supposed to be sent by local supporters of the Holy-Alliance,

*Mahmoud Hamchari, PLO representative in Paris, died of fatal wounds a month after the attack.

Imperialism-Zionism, who are shocked by the revolutionary struggle and violence of the Palestinian Resistance, and fanatically "worried" about the security of the world's innocent people. Spontaneous reactions and personal initiatives; this is what they want people to believe. It is a well-known fact that Wail Zueiter was shot in Rome by professionals who also used a false Cana-



MAHMOUD HAMCHARI.

dian license to rent the car used in the assassination; the bomb placed in the house of Mr. Hamchari in Paris was connected to the telephone to go off at the time he picks up the handle to respond; the letter bombs were rather advanced and perfected, and certainly could not have been of amateur making. For all these reasons, we accuse Israel and its intelligence service of carrying them out. These actions against Palestinian militants and their supporters abroad should be vehemently denounced. Progressive and revolutionary organizations are called upon to act in cooperation and vigilance against these actions of Israel and its allies.

In fact, this anonymous terrorism doesn't have the aim of liquidating single militants only. It is at the same time a part of a more general design. While letter bombs and murders were increasingly creat-

ing among public opinion the impression that there was a secret war going on, threatening "peace and security", Israel and its imperialist allies were demanding that the United Nations adopts resolutions and general measures against so-called "terrorism". Of course, these resolutions and measures were intended to be against the Palestinians and their supporters as well as against other national liberation movements. The aims of this campaign were:

- A propaganda attempt trying to show Israel as a "victim". The effects of this propaganda campaign and the solidarity of the complice countries, public opinion was supposed to accept Israeli terrorism against the Palestinian and Arab peoples and their countries as a legal defense.
- The official condemnation of the Palestinian revolutionary violence as "terrorism".
- Escalation of repression and racist campaigns against Arabs, and an improvement in police control on the supporters of the Palestinian cause and the revolutionary and progressive local forces.

The maneuver in the U.N. failed, thanks to the stand of the socialist countries and the majority of the countries of the "Third World" who voted against it. Instead, a juridical commission will be "studying" the question.

The suppressive plan is going on carried out by the intelligence services of Israel and many other Western countries. As a matter of fact, Israeli terror directed against Palestinian residents in Western countries provoke and increase investigations and repression against the Arabs, especially Palestinians and the local progressive forces, under the pretext (given by the police and supported by the bourgeois press) that this or that act of terror is "in fact a result of an internal struggle among the different

Palestinian organizations, who liquidate dissident members". Therefore, the investigations are directed against other Palestinians and Arabs and local sympathizers. Arabs are then expelled because "they make trouble and are of danger to general security".

In Paris, the police used the pretext of an anonymous "warning of bombs" to forbid a meeting of solidarity with the Palestinian Resistance, organized by leftist and progressive forces. It is now obvious that, in addition to the elimination and expulsion of militant Palestinians, the target is also to strike and prevent the unity and cooperation between the local revolutionary and progressive forces and the Arab militants. The Palestinian Resistance has become since 1968 a landmark for the revolutionary peoples everywhere, and the links of solidarity and cooperation are growing stronger and stronger since then. To the imperialist front, this unity and common mobilization are objectively dangerous. It is natural, that the imperialist forces use jail, arrest, expulsion and criminal terror in order to break our internationalist links and make us weaker. That is why we consider that now is a period of emergency in which strong and permanent mobilization is urgently needed.

Throughout this century, the revolutionary forces have proved themselves to be strong, organized and capable of defending themselves and of reacting against repression. This is the moment for maximum vigilance and more active solidarity and unity.



that if the present plan is realized, it could in any way damage property and interests now held by Jews," and that he wrote in reference to the rich Jews that it "would, rather, be distinctly to their advantage."³⁸ For over and over he reiterates the huge fortunes to be gained by Jewish big finance capital. First there would be the Jewish Company, patterned after the classic imperialist model. "The Jewish Company is conceived partly on the model of the great land-development companies. It might be called a Jewish Chartered Company. The Jewish Company will be set up as a joint-stock company, incorporated in England, under British laws and protection."³⁹ The company would be controlled by the leading Jewish financiers who would be rewarded, Herzl promised, with huge returns on investments.⁴⁰ Nothing would escape the domination of this financial elite. "The Jewish Company will be the liquidating agent for the business interests of departing Jews, and will organize trade and commerce in the new country."⁴¹ This domination would be guaranteed by finance capital's political control; Herzl argues for "a tight, centralized administration" — "I incline to an aristocratic republic" — in short: "Politics must work from the top down."⁴²

A third class Herzl speaks of is composed of the capitalists who would emigrate to Palestine, which included some upper bourgeois (excluding finance capital) and many middle bourgeois. Besides some of the above benefits which would be applicable here, Herzl names others. He argues for a great new entrepreneurial enterprise for these classes, which were either being forced into bankruptcy by the rise of monopoly capitalism or were simply searching for bold new business ventures. "Rich Jews... will be able to enjoy their possessions in peace, 'over there.' If they co-operate in carrying out this emigration scheme, their capital will be rehabilitated and will have served to promote an unexampled undertaking." Herzl goes into great detail to prove that the profits of emigrants will surely rise. "When we bring labour to the new country, we simultaneously create trade.... Jewish entrepreneurs will soon realize the business prospects that the new country offers."⁴³ The colony would offer long term investments and an exclusive national market.

The establishment of industries will be promoted by a judicious system of duties, by the supply of cheap raw material, and by the creation of a bureau to collect and publish industrial statistics....Industrialists will be able to apply to centralized labour agencies....Parties of workmen will thus be systematically drafted from place to place like a body of troops.⁴⁴

The workmen referred to would consist not only of unskilled but also skilled labour and even those who were formerly petty bourgeois, a class Herzl hoped would be forced to give up their trades in the face of Zionist monopolies and join the proletariat.⁴⁵ Herzl was an ideologist of the middle and especially the upper bourgeois; he expressed the interests of the petty bourgeois little more than he did the proletariat. The chronological order of emigration he expected was in inverse order to the gain each respective class would obtain: "those who are now desperate will go first ["Only desperate men make good

conquerors"]⁴⁶, after them the poor, next the well-to-do, and last of all the wealthy."⁴⁷ Each class would exploit, and reap the gains from, the class that preceded it. Massive resources of unskilled labour "will come at first from the great reservoirs of Russia and Romania"; they would be disciplined to the tune of not permitting them to own for a period of years the houses they built, of being paid in kind and not money, etc.; "the organization of all this will be military in character, with ranks, promotions, and pensions."⁴⁸

The poorest will go first and cultivate the soil. They will construct roads, bridges, railways, and telegraph installations, regulate rivers, and provide themselves with homesteads, all according to predetermined plans. Their labour will create trade, trade will create markets, and markets will attract new settlers—for every man will go voluntarily, at his own expense and his own risk. The labour invested in the soil will enhance its value. The Jews will soon perceive that a new and permanent frontier has been opened up for that spirit of enterprise which has heretofore brought them only hatred and obloquy.⁴⁹

The nationalist and racial superstructure in *The Jewish State* certainly does not obscure its class base. Nationalism and racial ideology were not simply added to give the argument an air of bourgeois respectability, but served very definite economic functions in themselves. Herzl's insistence on the Jews being "Ein Volk" ("One People") served to obscure the Jewish bourgeois exploitation of the Jewish working classes as well as provided fuel for the anti-Semites who hoped to divert the working classes in general from class struggle to racial struggle.⁵⁰

Herzl of course identified with Hess on the question of imperialism among others. As he wrote in 1899: "Who knows whether I would have dared to issue my book if the significant works of the German Hess and the Russian Pinsker had been known to me?"⁵¹ While Herzl did not stress the imperialist nature of Zionism at length in *The Jewish State* because it was so obvious, the history of the rest of his life is the history of Zionism dealing with one imperialist power after another. Before his early death, Herzl had personally dealt with the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Vizier of Turkey, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, the Kaiser Wilhelm, the Sultan Abdul Hamid, Joseph Chamberlain and other English diplomats, the Russian ministers Witte and von Plehve, Oscar Straus, the American ambassador to Turkey, the King of Italy, and Pope Pius X.⁵²

Zionism grew out of the historical age of European colonialism and

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-1, and 264 and 282.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-3.

⁴² It was significant that Herzl's classic converted Adolph Eichmann "promptly and forever to Zionism." For this and the manner in which the Zionists and Jewish big bourgeoisie collaborated with Eichmann against the Jewish masses, see Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (NY: Viking Press, 1963), pp. 36-7 and generally.

⁴³ "Zionism," in Lewinson, pp. 324-5. Leo Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* (1882) is not nearly as important as the work of Hess and Herzl. His solution was the same: to rid the world of the troublesome Eastern Jews, Palestine was to be colonized; leadership would be in the hands of the Jewish big bourgeoisie ("our greatest and best forces—men of finance, of science, and of affairs, statesmen and publicists"), who would go through the proper czarist channels and obtain the support of the Western governments to form the colony. Hertzberg, pp. 196-7. His racism is particularly blatant in speaking of the "Chosen People"; "unlike the Negroes, they belong to an advanced race..." *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴⁴ Lewinson, p. 70.

imperialism, and it was in this context that Herzl thought and acted. In the early years he dealt extensively with the Turkish imperialists, and amplified his proposal in *The Jewish State* that the Zionists would help in a financial way to prevent the tottering Turkish empire from collapsing in return for Palestine. Herzl proposed that Jewish bankers fund the state debts of the Sultan, and attempted to interest Rothschild and others in the idea. At the first Zionist Congress in 1897 he said: "The financial help which the Jews can give to Turkey is by no means inconsiderable and would serve to obviate many an internal ill from which the country is now suffering."⁵³ One of these ills was to be the growing discontent of the Arabs, who wished to be free of the Sultan. "Yet the Turkish Empire was to be interested in Jewish settlements on this premise: with the Jews a new and completely loyal factor would be introduced into the Near East; and a new loyal element would certainly help to keep down the greatest of the menaces that threatened the Imperial Government from all sides, the menace of an Arab uprising. Therefore when Herzl, during these negotiations, received cables from students of various oppressed nationalities protesting against agreements with a government which had just slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Armenians, he only observed: 'This will be useful for me with the Sultan.'"⁵⁴ Herzl's collaborator, the wealthy businessman Max Nordau, continued these same policies after Herzl's death in 1904; thus, at the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905, he made "a direct offer to turn the Zionist settlement into a bastion for the Turkish government, against the inhabitants of the country." In Nordau's own words, the Zionist colonists in Palestine and Syria "will resist any attack on the authority of the Sultan and defend this authority with all its might."⁵⁵

Herzl also attempted to interest German imperialism in Zionist colonies. As early as 1895 he began wooing the empire builder Bismarck, whose advice and aid Herzl craved. "Bismarck is now the touchstone and cornerstone of the plan," he wrote.⁵⁶ His intermediary with the German state was the Kaiser's uncle, the Grand Duke of Baden, a fervent advocate of Zionism. To him Herzl expounded the white man's burden and argued that the Zionists would colonize Palestine "as representatives of Western civilization."⁵⁷ "It is clear that the settlement of a neutral people on the shortest road to the East can be of immense importance for the German Orient policy. And what people is meant by that? That people which... is compelled nearly everywhere to join the revolutionary parties."⁵⁸ In other words, the German state had a dual interest in Zionism: to prevent revolution and create loyal colonizers.

to
be
continued

⁵³ Hertzberg, p. 229.

⁵⁴ Hannah Arendt, "Zionism Reconsidered" in Michael Selzer (ed.), *Zionism Reconsidered* (NY: Macmillan, 1970), p. 236.

⁵⁵ Avner, p. 31.

⁵⁶ *Diaries*, I, p. 126. See also I, 115-20 and II, 438.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Peter Buch, *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis* (NY: Merit Pub., n.d.), p. 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 292-4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

HUSSEIN IN SAUDI ARABIA

In early December King Hussein paid a visit to Saudi Arabia, his major ally in the Arab World. He was accompanied by his brother, Prince Mohamad, and his Premier, Ahmad Al-Lawzy, his foreign minister, political advisor and several high military officials.

That formation of the delegation underlined the significance of the King's visit, and the lengthy talks between him and King Faisal.

The statements made by Jordanian officials and the joint communique indicated that the visit had political, economic and strategic objectives.

a) Hussein wanted to coordinate with King Faisal before he visits the U.S. at the time when there are many indications as to a new U.S. initiative for a mid-east settlement. A Jordanian official actually stated that, "King Hussein will present his views to King Faisal before he leaves for the U.S."

b) Hussein was also seeking the Saudi King's help to put an end to the Arab political seige of Jordan, and the resumption of relations, especially with Syria and Egypt, so as to reinforce his position during the coming talks in Washington. The response of Faisal was reflected in the joint communique in which it was stated that both Kings "stressed the necessity of uniting all the efforts of the Arab and Moslem

world....and that the Arab countries must support Jordan which faces the longest line of defence against the Zionist enemy!"

c) It was also obvious that Hussein wanted additional economic aid from Saudi, for now Jordan gets an addition of 24 million dinars to the previous amount that was decided in the Khartoum conference, which had stood at 16 million dinars. (=U.S. \$

d) King Hussein on the other hand, in order not to have his Saudi visit seen as that of a pauper appealing to a prince, and to find a way out of the imposed isolation on Jordan, offered King Faisal his services as mediator by presenting a plan to resolve the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi concerning the Bureimi Oasis, rich in oil deposits. In this way the King retains his image as an "active" head of state, in spite of isolation.

The plan calls for the construction of a transport line between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi, and calls upon Saudi Arabia to construct in its turn, a port in Abu Dhabi, to facilitate pumping of Saudi oil into the tankers, and which would be at the same time, a Saudi port in the Gulf!

Abu Dhabi on the other hand would "benefit" from the ports and the railway revenues, and leave the Bureimi Oasis with its oil wealth to Saudi Arabia to reinforce its oil arsenal, through which to establish its hegemony over the area.

Hussein, it seems, got the approval of Sheikh Zaid of Abu Dhabi, who, as is known, depends a lot on the Jordanian regime, on its military, security and intelligence experts.

The importance and danger in the implementation of this plan is that the railroad and the port proposed, link the strategic belt the U.S. is constructing from Greece, the Mediterranean, Israel and Jordan, and Saudi Arabia with the Gulf, which is part of the U.S. strategy in the Indian Ocean.

"LET ARABS KILL ARABS":

WHAT IS JORDAN DOING IN THE GULF?

The visit to Jordan of Bahrain Defense Minister, Sheikh Hamad Bin Issa, high-lighted the role Jordan is playing in the Arabian Gulf, as a client state to U.S. imperialism.

Sheikh Bin Issa was reported to have held a series of talks with top Jordanian military leaders, at the time when the Jordanian regime is playing its role in furnishing the repressive regimes in Oman and the Arabian Gulf with military advisors, intelligence officers, military training and military officers in the armies of the puppet regimes who are engaged in actual fighting.

Actually, a Jordanian military mission had recently arrived in Bahrain to train the suppressive forces of the reactionary regime.

In fact, the ambassador of Jor-

dan in Muscat is General Abdullah Abdul Daim, who was the head of the military staff during the September massacre in 1970. He actually arrived in Amman (on September 2, 1972) for consultation with his government. A well informed source stated then that the Jordanian Ambassador will present a report to his government concerning the situation in the Gulf and relations between Jordan and Oman, wherever Jordanian military units are actually engaged in the war waged against the people, and their revolutionary vanguard there.

A Jordanian newspaper actually admitted the death of the Jordanian officer Ali Al-Damour, who was killed by the P.L.A. (People's Liberation Army) - of PFLQAG, during the battle of Murbat on the 19th of July 1972.



Sultan Qaboos (left) and Hussein. Behind are his ADC, Major Zaza, and (second from right) his doctor.

ELECTIONS IN BAHRAIN:

WHAT CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY?

On the 1st of December, only 22,500 Bahrainis delivered their votes in the ballot box, to elect the constituent Assembly. The authorities took "financial" pains to secure a favourable coverage of the event, in the mass media, and the bourgeois press did not fail in giving the Bahraini ruling family its money's worth of articles on the Bahraini democracy and the authorities tolerance towards dissent, opposition and the growing radical elements in the state.

The main theme was that Bahrain, with the latest elections, has crossed the threshold of constitutional democracy.

At this point, it is essential to point out several facts:

1. That only 22,500 of 190 thousand Bahrainis took part in the election.
2. That women were not eligible to vote - which means that the constitution deprives half of the society from the right of free franchise.
3. That only those men holding passports, whose age exceeds twenty years, reserve the right to vote. This derives its significance from the fact that a passport cannot be obtained except by those who are given the blessing of the intelligence service - run by the unquestionably experienced and capable of them all: British intelligence experts. Thus, it is clear that a big part of the population remains without passports. Moreover, the workers and poor peasants do not have - or are not given the time off by the bosses, to obtain a passport, under the threat of being sacked for absence!
4. Anyone sentenced by the authority courts in the past, or who is spending a prison term, does not have the right to vote. This point also derives its significance from the well known fact that the clash with the authorities has not ceased since 1956, and a great number of citizens have been sentenced by the authorities or kept under surveillance - thus a big portion is excluded from the

election process. The government reserves the right to keep away whoever poses a threat to security.

5. The ordinance fixes the number of members of the Constituent Assembly at 42, 22 of whom are elected and the others are appointed by the authorities.
6. The electoral constituencies were not distributed in accordance with the number of voters, but the authority gave areas controlled, and undeserved number of representatives, such as the southern area in Manamah Island.
7. The authority deprived employees - civilian and military - of the right to vote - knowing that the biggest portion of the educated are employees. Thus, it kept the field wide-open for the merchants and the landlords.

That was why no nationalist and progressive candidate nominated himself, and the portion of those who boycotted the game of democracy was quite large, as to call for propaganda expenses on the part of the regime.

Yet the general elections were a result of careful calculation of the deteriorating situation in Bahrain, especially after the military pullout of the British and the transfer of Bahrain from the weakening claws of British colonialism to the iron grip of American imperialism.

The clashes between the national democratic forces and the tribal reactionary regime, did not cease since 1956. It was accentuated recently after the agreement between Washington and the Bahraini ruling family, to lease the former British basis in Bahrain to the U.S. military, as an American spring-board in the vital Arab Gulf area.

This agreement which came as an essential complementary measure to the penetration of American capital in Bahrain and the Gulf area as a whole, was further evidence to the Bahraini people, on the extent of the puppet regime's subordination to U.S. imperialism. And the recent, so-called general elections and the promise of Constitutional Democracy, are means to deflate the explosive situation in Bahrain, at least temporarily.



Ghassan Kanafani
a word...a gun

A twenty minute, black and white 16 mm documentary film produced by the Central Information Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), is available now for distribution. Requests to be addressed through the BULLETIN, P.O.Box 212, Beirut, Lebanon.

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11th SESSION OF THE PLO NATIONAL COUNCIL

The National Council of the PLO, which held its eleventh session recently in Cairo, concluded with the adoption of important resolutions relating to the points on its agenda. It was difficult for us in the BULLETIN to include an adequate article on the issue in this number. In the forthcoming issue we will publish a special article on the Council meeting.

It is important however to note that the Council elected a new Executive Committee which met and appointed different tasks among its members. The following is the composition of the Committee, tasks, and affiliations:

- 1) Yasser Arafat (Abu Ammar), Chairman, Fateh.
- 2) Mohammad Zuhdi Nashashibi, Secretary General, a close associate of Sa'iq.
- 3) Mohammad Yousef Najjar (Abu Yousef), Political Department & Political Committee for the Affairs of Palestinians in Lebanon, Fateh.
- 4) Zuhair Mohsin, Military Department, Sa'iq.
- 5) Ahmad Yamani (Abu Maher), Popular and Mass Organisations Department PFLP.
- 6) Abdul Wahab Kayyali, Department of Education and Cultural Affairs Arab Liberation Front.
- 7) Kamal Nasser, Department of Information, Independent-close to Fateh.
- 8) Yousef Sayigh, National Fund, Independent.
- 9) Hamed Abu Sitteh, Department of the Occupied Territories, Independent.
- 10) Adib Abed Rabbah (Yaser), Dept. of National Relations.