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OCT 1982



SECRET COUNTER-INSURGENCY CONFERENCE IN PUERTO RICO

We have learned that on August 28-September 1, 1978, a secret conference of top imperialist security experts from different nations met to instruct puppet Puerto Rican officials and police commanders in San Juan. While our knowledge of this "Special Seminar on Terrorism in Puerto Rico" is very incomplete, what we do know throws some light on our enemy's plans. This applies to both Puerto Rico in specific and to the entire U.S. Empire in general.

While the ostensible purpose was to plan police security at the then-forthcoming Pan-American Games, this secret gathering largely discussed new and increased repressive measures against the entire Puerto Rican nation. The major theme of the meeting was to apply the counter-insurgency methods tested and found useful in other countries to Puerto Rico.

We should expect everywhere in the U.S. Empire that as the struggle deepens in coming years, that revolutionaries will face the specific tactics and strategies already tested elsewhere. These will not, of course, be necessarily applied wholesale. The internationalization of experience, of learning from the most advanced situations abroad, applies to the enemy as well as ourselves, and should push us to further our own knowledge as a basic necessity in anticipating our enemy's moves.

The counter-insurgency experts who gathered at the invitation of the P.R. Attorney General's Office were certainly very experienced, in some cases ranking figures in organizing repressive campaigns:

. U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton, at that time Director of the U.S. Office on Combatting Terrorism, U.S. State Dept. (this body is supposed to coordinate all U.S. military & civil efforts in this field), and now U.S. Ambassador in charge of de-stabilizing Nicaragua.

. British General Richard Clutterbuck, author of textbooks on counter-insurgency, now at Exeter College.

. General Querrolo of the Uruguyan Army, who helped lead the military campaign that defeated the Tupamaro movement.

. Dr. Richard Mulder, the Dutch government negotiator for South Moluccan hostage incidents.

. Reinhard Rupprecht, then Vice President of the Bundeskriminalamt in West Germany, active in campaign against the Red Army Faction fighters

. Robin Bourne, Canadian Deputy Solicitor General for Police and Security, the actual coordinator of repression against the Quebec Liberation Movement.

. Inspector Ronald McIntyre, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

. Jay Mallin, at that time "Terrorism/Latin America Editor" for Soldier of Fortune magazine. This is the main mercenary recruitment propagandist journal for the armed white right and the C.I.A..

. Dr. Aaron Katz, Center for the Study of Human Behavior (a RAND-type counter-insurgency "think tank"). Katz was the actual organizer of this conference for the P.R. Attorney General and the U.S. Dept. of Justice. He had earlier organized a conference on "terrorism" in San Juan for Federal Judges that had been attacked by the Puerto Rican liberation movement as C.I.A. instigated.

. Colonel Louis O. Giuffrida, at that time Director of the California Specialized Training Institute. This is one of the leading "SWAT-team" and political repression training centers for police. He is now U.S. Director of Emergency Management.

In addition, F.B.I. agents took an active role in the conference. Consultation was also obtained from Bryan Jenkins of the RAND Corp., Israeli Ambassador Dov Schmorak, and Guiseppe di Gennaro, Director of Research for the Italian Ministry of Justice and Chairman of the U.N. Crime Commission. On the Puerto Rican side some 48 "key Puerto Rican officials at the highest levels of government and law enforcement" were there to be educated.

The material they discussed seems to hold few surprises for us; it is useful, however, in that it further confirms the pattern of imperialist planning. Two main elements that were covered were: changes in the legal codes to further restrict civil liberties and to accomodate anti-guerrilla campaigns; systematic "denial" campaigns to isolate guerrillas from their mass base.

1. The puppet P.R. officials made it clear that they hoped to learn more about revising their legal code, both to cover for more intensive and brutal anti-guerrilla campaigns and to ensure that captured suspects have no chance of exercising any "legal" rights. In their initial discussion with their masters in Washington, the P.R. Attorney General's Office said that a main goal of the secret conference would be:

"Preparation for the enactment of substantive laws making new offenses, defining more clearly certain aspects of terrorist conduct... possible revision of laws that restrict response on the part of authorities relating to arrest, search, detention and intelligence gathering ...Analysis and study of various anti-terrorist laws in effect in other communities, i.e. State of Internal War Act in Uruguay, the Canadian War Measures Act, the United Kingdom's Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1975, the Spanish Decreto-Ley of 1975, and the Mexican Federal Penal Code, with a view to...benefiting from aspects and applications appropriate to the socio-political context of Puerto Rico."

The laws that the puppet P.R. government found so important as successful models all share the characteristic of being fascistic martial law measures, completely negating individual human rights and authorizing the security forces to act as they see fit. The Canadian anti-FLQ laws, for example, expressly overrides the Canadian Bill of Rights. Under all these laws permanent roadblocks, identity checks, personal movement restrictions, compulsory body searches at mass checkpoints, "search and destroy" sweeps of cordoned-off urban areas, etc. are all legalized. While these laws do not openly legalize torture

of suspects and assassination, in the political environment of a fascistic military campaign the restraining factors of exposure and opposition by democratic elements is difficult to organize.

The process of prosecution and trial--involving bail, admissability of evidence, rights of the defense, sentences, etc.--was viewed as equally important. In the crude round-ups of the imperialist security forces, it is common that many of the arrested have no evidence against them. It is important to the imperialists that when the situation warrents, they can "flexibly" revise their laws so that no legal defense is possible. The Uruguyan, Canadian and U.K. laws, for example, all provide for detention without trial. The German "Lex Baader-Meinhoff" laws prevented guerrillas from having adequate legal representation--and even imprisoned defense lawyers who were too energetic as co-conspirators with the accused. These are the models for a future Puerto Rico.

As we know, the enemy intends to alter bourgeois democratic legality however it suits them. The printed "Background Materials" handed out to each of the Puerto Rican puppets emphasize this:

"There is no question that the breach of commonly accepted civil liberties has made it easier for the authorities to make arrests, acquire evidence, try defendants, and impose the sentences of the state."

The full import of this becomes very clear when they discuss, under the staging of a "fair trial" (by which they mean a trial in which the accused is certain of being convicted), all the possible ways that the defense can be hindered. This carefully planned harassment begins with placing the defense lawyer under a "gag order" and ending up with keeping the defendant "in solitary" so as to create "psychic consequences of such isolation...prisoners have lost their minds; their nerves have been shattered forever; they have been driven to suicide." This is just assassination by subtle means.

2. The conference pushed the importance of the government constructing a "Denial System". This is the systematic effort to "deprive the terrorist of resources needed for survival". Under this is included leadership, weapons, safe houses, etc.. Much of this discussion was very routine: "If open guerrilla warfare escalates, it may become imperative that known leaders of extremist groups be immobilized and kept out of circulation...Denial of funding opportunities open to the terrorists, i.e., legitimate channels of acquiring funds. ('Defense Funds')..."

Incidentally, General Querrolo of the Uruguyan Army helped lead the discussions on "Denial System". No wonder the imperialists wanted to keep this conference secret from the Puerto Rican people. It isn't hard to envision the popular anger at having a bloody torturer from the Uruguyan Junta instructing Puerto Rican police on how to take care of the pro-independence movement.

It is the "resource" of political contact with the masses that the "Background Materials" emphasize most strongly, over and over. It is evidence that they recognize that the political consciousness of the masses is of primary importance. They repeatedly underline how the populace must receive only the government's propaganda, and must be prevented from sympathizing with the armed struggle ("A wedge must be

driven between the terrorist and society", etc. etc.).

. Control of the media (press, radio and TV) was covered as a necessity: "To speak of idealism and truth in journalism or the public's right to know, is less than realistic and only pandering to slogans. In the matter of terrorism...it is of vital importance that the media take a conservative line..." And later: "The media, which has the power to aid as well as hinder the terrorists, should never be permitted to demonstrate the terrorist as an ordinary human." This takes on great significance when we review how the media pictured Carlos and Maria Torres, as well as other FALN prisoners of war.

Also examined were the internal rules adopted by the leading U.S. media corporations. These are as we might expect, and should cause counter-insurgency experts little lost sleep. CBS-TV News, for example, has a secret rule that only the President of CBS can approve "live" TV interviewing of a guerrilla---since their hard policy is that no revolutionary statements can be broadcast "unedited".

. Using terror to discourage public demonstrations of support for the guerrillas--or even normal "labor strikes" that might arouse anti-government feeling is recommended: "The level of force and hurt employed by the security forces should also take into effect the symbolism and potential value of intimidation..."

. "Overreaction" or excessive violence is labelled as "dangerous" because it angers the masses, creating support for the armed struggle: "It is also important that the security forces not be perceived as guilty of meaningless overkill in weapons utilization or conduct." This truth contradicts what the experts have just said about using "intimidation" of the masses.

The experts urge that the ideal is to choose the exact level of repressive violence needed in each specific situation: "Overresponse, on the other hand, although it may accomplish a given tactical objective such as the neutralization of a specific individual, group of individuals, or 'target', may do so at the expense of more people becoming disaffected from the government and its aims and more closely allied with the dissident forces or causes."

This is even seen to be true for sentencing of captured revolutionaries: "The policy of the Prosecutor's office concerning sentences must be to press for sentences that will remove the terrorist from society, but will not result in the creation of a symbol of 'popular resistance' or a martyr." We can recall the comrade from the Puerto Rican Socialist League who was given a relatively light sentence, moved far away to a prison in Florida--where he allegedly committed "suicide".

It is this consideration of limiting security force violence that most obviously betrays the contradictions within imperialist counter-insurgency policy. No imperialist army or police force yet seen on this earth has proven capable of limiting their brutality. In every

case, without exception, the enemy has viciously and indiscriminately persecuted not only the ranks of revolutionary supporters, but those of democratic-minded people and the communities of the oppressed.

And against revolutionary fighters the security forces cannot stop from lurching into the most trigger-happy excesses. The "Background Materials" themselves admit that armed struggle is followed by "the stimulation of possible vigilante or 'death squad' attitudes" among the police. Further, these experts themselves are visible straining at their leashes in their desire to kill all revolutionaries.

On one page the words "Do not overreact" are followed on the very next line by: "Only one side can truly survive. If the terrorist cannot be neutralized, nothing less than the death of a terrorist will keep him from repeating his act. Terrorists cannot be rehabilitated." In other words, the puppet Puerto Rican police are being told to kill and kill and kill. Just like in Uruguay.

Our Puerto Rican comrades are very familiar with this and other such conferences secretly convened by the imperialists. They are well aware that US rule over their nation is not only food stamps but also terroristic conspiracy. The importance that imperialism places on suppressing their independence movement is, however, often underestimated by others. The stubborn national sentiments of many Puerto Ricans (as exemplified by the growing ties between the labor movement and the armed struggle) is taken quite seriously by US imperialism. Even within the walls of the Empire national liberation is inexorably coming.

The struggle over Puerto Rico is a strategic encounter in terms of the entire US Empire. This is why preparations for the most drastic counter-insurgency campaigns are quietly underway at the same time as the neo-colonial Statehood strategy is being nosily advanced. US Ambassador Quainton told the puppet police and officials that the US government considers Puerto Rico as "the front line of battle." And this secret gathering demonstrates how those imperialist officers whose profession is combatting communism view the Puerto Rican revolution as a matter of international concern.

AFTER THE BATTLE OF BERUIT

The Palestinian Revolution has just won a historic political-military victory over the Zionist settler-colonial regime in the recent Lebanon fighting. The main points in this victory are clear: the Battle of Beruit pierced the cult of Zionist military invincibility, marked the change in the relative balance of power between the Palestinian Revolution and Israel, and strengthened the leading role of the PLO both within the Palestinian Nation and internationally, while exposing the maneuvers of all reactionary powers. U.S. imperialism is pretending that the PLO was defeated, but the truth of our Palestinian comrades' great victory can be read in the popular celebrations of joy that have greeted the PLO fighters all over the Arab world. The masses have seen things very clearly.

It was with justifiable pride that Wafa, the Palestinian news agency, said: "We taught the Arabs how to fight. We proved that the Israelis were not invincible. We held them off longer than any Arab army in history." The Israeli war machine, lavishly equipped by U.S. imperialism with hordes of tanks, jets, artillery and ships, struck in vain at the PLO defenses in West Beruit. The terrible price in human suffering inflicted by the Zionist criminals through their constant bombardment of the civilian population should not conceal the Israeli failure.

Naturally, the shaken Israeli generals are trying to cover up the evidence of their military failure by claims of "victory". The Zionists are still trying to appear all-powerful; they are pretending that they could have captured West Beruit at any time they wished, and supposedly only stayed their final blow at Washington's request.

This supposed Zionist restraint didn't prevent them from daily attacks of the most savage kind on West Beruit by jets, artillery and even naval bombardment. Nor did this supposed restraint halt the Zionists from what they now admit were feverish efforts to assassinate PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat during the seige. There was no holding back or restraint of any kind. Rather, the Zionist fascists Begin and Sharon were trying for a "final solution" to end the PLO. They failed completely.

The much-vaunted Zionist military machine did not enter West Beruit because it could not, because it was forcibly stopped in its tracks by the Palestinian fighters. On Aug. 4, 1982 the imperialist forces tried their long-awaited, decisive assault on West Beruit. That day three heavy armored columns tried simultaneous frontal assaults to break through the PLO lines. Israeli officers were boasting to their Lebanese fascist allies that: "It will all be over in a few days."

All three Israeli tank assaults were thrown back by the PLO forces. Zionist losses were significant. At the central Museum Crossing checkpoint the PLO let the Zionist armored column advance a few hundred yards into their territory before springing the trap, suddenly destroying Israeli armor in a storm of anti-tank rockets. The Zionists officially admit to eighty-three casualties that day. They quickly lost twenty tanks and fourteen armored personnel carriers

blown up without gaining anything. PLO Chairman Arafat's assertion that the Revolution could turn West Beirut into a "Stalingrad of the Arabs" was proven to be no exaggeration.

While in theory it might have been possible for the Zionist military--who outnumbered the combined Arab defenders of West Beirut by some two-to-one--to capture West Beirut through costly frontal assaults, suicide attacks, and weeks of bloody house-to-house and street-by-street combat, that was politically very difficult at that time. The thousands of Zionist casualties which would have resulted were unacceptable to the Zionist settler public. The N.Y. Times reported from Jerusalem earlier:

"The country may not be prepared to accept such casualties. Large demonstrations against the war have already taken place. The opposition Labor Party has argued against an attack on West Beirut. A poll of 1,164 adults published today in the newspaper Yediot Ahronot found only 29% favoring 'breaking into Beirut', as the survey's question put it, and 68% in opposition."

So the careful planning and organization by the PLO structure, the growing military ability of the Palestinian forces, the revolutionary "contempt for death" of the besieged fighters, all came together in forcing the Zionist war machine to back down. The Begin-Sharon plan to physically exterminate the bulk of the PLO was defeated.

The Zionists Can Get No Stronger

This victory was a signal of the changing balance of power between the Zionist settler-colonial regime and the oppressed Palestinian Nation. While Israel is still distinctly more powerful, the relative balance is shifting. The Zionist war machine cannot get more powerful than it is today. On the other hand, the strength of the Palestinian Revolution is growing rapidly. Even the imperialists admit this fact. It was partly in desperation at their inability to halt this growing Revolution that the Zionists decided to strike out at the PLO's main base area in Lebanon. So this confrontation itself had its immediate roots in the changing balance of power.

The PLO's growing relative strength was confirmed by the many dissident Israeli Army reservists who returned from the fighting to protest the invasion. These Zionist dissenters are not radicals, not "doves", not pro-Palestinian. They are Zionist settlers who have become aware that they are starting to lose the war. The Associated Press dispatch of June 30, 1982 said: "The essence of the soldiers' complaint is that they do not believe the Palestinian guerrilla problem can be solved militarily."

The Associated Press quotes one Israeli Sgt. Yeshoshua Yashuv as saying that "he had seen how small squads of guerrillas could stop elite paratrooper companies. 'When we heard the Chief of Staff saying on the radio that there was a military solution to the terrorist problem, everybody in my company burst out laughing.' " Even the arrogant Zionist soldiers are starting to fear that they cannot defeat the Palestinian Revolution.

Both the U.S. media and the Euro-American liberals have emphasized almost solely the plight of Palestinian refugees as victims. They are indeed that, but they are also making their own history

of liberation. During the confrontation the PLO's military forces grew at a considerable rate, almost doubling in size. The active forces of the Revolution are much stronger today than before the U.S.-Israeli extermination campaign. Beruit was a rallying call for the patriotic youth of dispersed Palestine, and indeed for revolutionary forces throughout the Middle East.

As an example, we can see this process at work even in Jordan, under the repressive rule of the openly pro-U.S. Hashemite Kingdom. Two battalions of regular P.L.A. troops, comprising some 700 soldiers, left Jordan for Lebanon.* Two thousand new Palestinian recruits left with them to join the PLO forces. Of these fighters some 59 were killed, wounded or captured, 265 returned to a heroes welcome in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, and roughly 2,300 are still confronting the Zionist invaders from new positions in the Bekaa Valley or by the Syrian border. Most of these fighters have no intention of disarming or disengaging at this time.

Similarly, the Palestinian youth of the refugee camps and West Beruit joined the struggle by the thousands. Many in an armed capacity. Prime Minister Begin whined in dismay that among their prisoners in Lebanon "we have sixty-six children from the ages of twelve and thirteen who held machine guns in their hands." The Palestinian "RPG Boys" became famous (the RPG is the "rocket propelled grenade", the standard, Soviet-design, shoulder-held anti-tank weapon). Trained to use anti-tank rockets, these young teenagers hid in the rubble of destroyed buildings, sending off streams of rockets at the invaders. The Zionists believed that well over one thousand "RPG Boys" fought them, and whether the number was greater or lesser it's obvious that they were an unpleasant surprise to the Zionist army. And a sign of what the future holds.

The Mercenary Nation

On their side, the Zionist settler-colonial regime has already reached the zenith of their strength. They are armed and indeed over-armed. More jets, tanks, cluster bombs, radar, etc. etc. will not help them capture one additional guerrilla. Their invasion and attempted annexation of Lebanon has strained them to the limit. While Begin claims that his new episode of empire-building will not harm the settler economy, the army has admitted that the cost alone of outfitting the Zionist occupation in Lebanon for the coming winter (shelters, winter clothing, gear, roads, etc.) will eat up 5% of the entire 1982 Israeli Gross National Product.

* The Palestine Liberation Army (P.L.A.) is made up of regular military brigades, each one attached to the army of a specific Arab state. While the brigades are P.L.O. units, they are designed to fight in integration with existing Arab armies in conventional warfare with Israel.

Due to manpower being tied up in the invasion, Israeli industrial exports fell by 20% last summer. Their Zionist currency, the Shekel, lost 50% of its value during the invasion, and the "normal" Israeli inflation of 130% per year is expected to rise to some 250% per year. Their slowly eroding military situation and the permanent economic crisis are the material basis of the growing political polarization and instability. Just as in the former settler-colony of "Rhodesia", as the revolution gradually intensifies more and more European settlers run away to enjoy their privileged lives in greater safety elsewhere. Some Israeli sources have estimated that as much as 10% of the total Zionist citizenry has already fled abroad, mostly to the U.S..

This instability within Israeli society comes from the specific nature of their oppressor nation. This is a temporary nation, an artificial nation. Israel is an imperialist clone forcibly implanted within the Arab world. Like all European settler societies Israel was built on the foundation of armed conquest, stolen land and super-exploited Third-World labor. Israel's unique peculiarity, however, is that it is literally a mercenary nation; the Zionist settlers are artificially maintained by U.S. imperialism as a paid, anti-communist police over the Arab masses. The first business of Israel is not trade or agriculture or industry, but going to war (which is why they are so good at it).

Because of the costs of the Zionist society's abnormally developed militarization and extensive social subsidies for their settler way of life, the Israeli government's annual budget equals the entire Israeli Gross National Product. This is only possible because of the "aid" (which is better understood as pay) given to the Zionist settlers by their U.S. imperialist masters. The U.S. Government annually gives the Zionist regime \$785 million in economic funds and \$1.8 billion in military funds; an additional \$1.1 billion annually flows in from Zionist organizations abroad, primarily from the U.S.. Without this outside income the Zionist settler-colonial regime would be bankrupt, without its little empire and its citizens as poor as the rest of the Middle East.

This complete Zionist dependence on U.S. imperialism is admitted in a March 1982 report of the U.S. Agency for International Development, which notes that U.S. money: "...enables Israel to pay for weaponry, fuel and other civilian imports...without heavy reliance on high cost commercial borrowing, depletion of its foreign exchange reserves, or economic depression."

Zionist settler society is not, therefore, even capable of sustaining itself just with the "normal" device of super-exploiting colonial Arab labor. The Zionist settlers' mainline addiction to working for the U.S. can be grasped by the fact that these various U.S. payments amount to an average subsidy per settler man, woman and child of almost \$1,000 per year. That is, the average Zionist family of four receives an indirect U.S. subsidy of approximately \$4,000.00 per year. While much of this goes to power the Zionist war machine, part of this pay subsidises Zionist civilian consumption and social services. This is the key to the "Israeli miracle"; the little nation of refugees that in one generation went to drive Phantom jets and Mercedes-Benzes. Each Zionist settler is on U.S.

imperialism's payroll--an artificial nation of attack dogs.

In the past while U.S. imperialism has kept up at least a show of distance from Zionist crimes, these supposed differences have usually been only cosmetic. So that in theory Washington was unhappy with the Lebanese invasion. In reality the invasion was preceded by the separate Washington visits of Begin, Sharon and the Zionist head of military intelligence; visits to have their plans approved by the U.S. masters. And by "coincidence", on the day of the invasion not only President Reagan, but also the vice-president, the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the White House foreign policy advisers, and all the other top imperialist officials were out of town on "working vacation" or "tours", and thus unavailable for press questioning.

In February 1982, some five months before the invasion started, the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) predicted (with an accuracy that shows their grasp of the situation):

"...the coming Israeli attack on Lebanon will be of a different kind; the enemy may attempt a major military attack against the revolution, the LPM (Lebanese Patriotic Movement-ed.) and the Syrian forces, occupying South Lebanon. This coincides with the overall imperialist plan, for the occupation of South Lebanon would give the U.S. the opportunity to extract concessions in exchange for Israeli withdrawal. In this context, the U.S. policy of supporting the regime and speaking of its unity (i.e. the Lebanese government-ed.) is complimentary and not contradictory to the Zionist designs in South Lebanon.

So that underneath the cosmetic and tactical "disagreements" between imperialism and the Zionist regime has been unity. In this context we should mention that the Zionist war machine has only a limited life of its own; primarily it exists as an extension of the U.S. Empire. Israel has received over half of the total U.S. military funding distributed worldwide since 1951. That's how important the Zionist military has been to U.S. imperialism's plans.

The Israeli military is integrated into and dependent upon the U.S. industrial-military complex. Fifteen thousand U.S. companies send the Zionists a constant stream of radar parts, missiles, jet fuel, medicines, cannon shells, tanks, jeep parts, special metal alloys, and all the other essential needs of a technological military. Without the daily U.S. shipments the technologically muscle-bound Zionist war machine would literally soon stop functioning. We can see that their own fascistic super-development poses major contradictions for them.

It follows that such a large military investment for U.S. imperialism carries with it large demands. U.S. imperialism adopted Israel as a frontier garrison to smash at Arab anti-colonialism, at Nasserism in Egypt and at Arab socialism in general. So long as the Zionist settlers did the job their U.S. masters were willing to pay them billions of dollars and back them in committing any and all crimes against the Arab masses. But U.S. imperialism's servants must produce the desired results, must meet their masters' goals--or else be discarded like yesterday's newspaper.

Contradictions of Zionism & Imperialism

The fundamental structure of U.S.-Israeli relations is coming under increasing stress. Antagonistic contradictions between the needs of U.S. imperialism and those of the Zionist settler-colonial regime become more and more visible. This is of the utmost importance.

Amilcar Cabral said twenty years ago: "...imperialism is quite prepared to change both its men and its tactics in order to perpetuate itself; it will make and destroy states and, as we have already seen, it will kill its own puppets when they no longer serve its purposes. If need be, it will even create a kind of socialism, which people may soon start calling 'neo-socialism'."

In Zimbabwe the imperialists used the Smith regime and the "Rhodesian" settlers, but summarily dismissed them in favor of Afrikan "neo-socialism" when the settler regime proved unable to defeat the Afrikan guerrillas. This is the Zionists' greatest fear: that their imperialist masters will discard them as ineffective in favor of Arab neo-colonialism.

while Washington is still using the Zionist weapon to the utmost, the imperialists do see that it isn't working as they hoped. The PLO grows stronger year by year, and in its struggles is helping push forward the general revolutionizing of the Arab world. The French, Swedish, Italian and other European imperialists have already begun backing away from the Zionist regime, if as yet only in a tactical sense. In Sweden the imperialists have conceded defacto diplomatic recognition to the PLO, even providing the PLO mission with an embassy building, cars and other services. As the recent meetings between Arafat and the Italian President and Arafat and the Pope show, European capital is starting to woo the PLO, doubtlessly hoping to find neo-colonial weak links somewhere. More slowly and reluctantly even U.S. imperialism is feeling forced to look down that same road.

We can see the mounting contradictions by looking at Zionist annexationism. The invasion of Lebanon may have been caused by the immediate political-military situation, but the annexation of Lebanon had long been pursued as a Zionist goal. In 1955 Zionist official Moshe Sharett recorded in his "secret diary" that General Moshe Dayan had just proposed a plan for annexing Lebanon:

"The only thing that's necessary is to find a Lebanese officer, even a major will do. We will win his heart or buy him with money or get him to declare himself the savior of the Maronite population ... (then) the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, occupy the necessary territory, and create a Christian regime that will ally itself with Israel. The territory of the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel."

So the present occupation is just the end product of a carefully followed plan by the Zionist regime since 1955. Today Dayan's plan is a reality. How "temporary" the Zionists intend their occupation to be can be seen from the fact that they are building a new highway system linking southern Lebanon to Israel. In their

occupied zone the Lebanese government's provincial Governor has admitted to the press that he must salute Zionist officers, even in his own office. The Lebanese army (itself a rightist force) has been disarmed in that area, while the puppet militia of Major Saad Haddad works as the Arab police of the Zionists.

However, today's Begin-Sharon expansionism takes place in a different context than the earlier annexations of the Zionist Labor Party. The rise to power of Begin's Likud coalition represents the political hegemony over the Zionist masses of the most extreme and reactionary tendency in Zionist politics. Prime Minister Begin is the traditional leader of what was once considered a "fringe" group--the so-called Jabotinsky Party.

Their founder, Vladimir Jabotinsky, was the first theorist of Jewish fascism. He envisioned in 1920's Poland the armed migration of Jewish youth to Palestine to found a fascist state of their own. The Jabotinsky Party imitated the philosophy, uniforms and thug tactics of Mussolini's fascist Italy. They were so discredited among the Jewish people in Poland that during the heroic World War II Warsaw Ghetto uprising, when the doomed Jewish community took up arms against their Nazi oppressors, the Jabotinsky Party was the only Jewish organization that was refused permission to join the uprising.

At the time of Begin's first fund raising trip to the U.S. in 1948, a number of prominent Zionist intellectuals issued a public protest. Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, Rabbi Cardozo and many others were among the signers. The protest statement said in part :

"The public avowals of Begin's party are no guide whatever to its actual character. Today they speak of freedom, democracy and anti-imperialism, whereas until recently they openly preached the doctrine of the Fascist state..."

"Within the Jewish community they have preached an admixture of ultra-nationalism, religious mysticism and racial superiority. Like other Fascist parties they have been used to break strikes, and have themselves pressed for the destruction of the trade unions. In their stead they have proposed corporate unions on the Italian Fascist model.

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"...It is all the more tragic that the top leadership of American Zionism has refused to campaign against Begin's efforts, or even to expose to its own constituents the dangers to Israel from support to Begin."

Even as early as 1948 the leaders of Euro-American Jewry were willing to accept fascism--so long as it was Jewish fascism.

We have gone back over this brief history to show how discredited and desperate a leadership the Zionist settler-colonial masses are willing to take up. Now the fascist leader Begin sits in the Prime Minister's office, while outside in the streets a fanatical

demonstration of hundreds of thousands of Zionists chants the Likud slogan--"Begin, King of Israel".

Begin and his cohorts present one consistent answer to the crisis facing Israel: They have launched an expansionistic campaign to genocidally exterminate the Palestinian people, while militarily and economically moving to take over the Arab world. They envision founding a greater Zionist empire, run by their new "master race". With such wealth and power the Zionist ruling class will at last be free of their dangerous subservience to U.S. imperialism; the loyalty of the Zionist masses will be ensured by a new and higher standard of living. At least this would all happen if the Zionists' bloody fantasies ever came to be.

The rise to power of this soiled and bloody fascist grouping indicates the depth of the crisis within Israel. The social-democratic Labor Party was unable to put down the Palestinian Revolution and unable to end the economic crisis. The Zionist settler society turned to the fascistic Likud to solve these problems. As warlike and aggressive as the Labor Party rule had been, it wasn't aggressive enough. Now we see the Sharon-type fascists, who are not only eager to do the dirty work, but who can be used by imperialism and later blamed and discarded.

These Israeli fascists are ideologically unable to admit that even now, only mid-way in the liberation struggle, they can no longer defeat the PLO by military means alone. To every new PLO step forward the Zionist regime's only response is to raise the stakes, to strike out with larger and larger military adventures. Unable to end PLO activity on the West Bank, in Gaza, within the Zionist borders, the Begin-Sharon fascists see the only solution in physical and social destruction of the far-flung Palestinian communities. This is genocide in no uncertain terms. Begin himself has set the tone by publicly defining the Palestinians as only "a two-legged animal", subhumans who can be wiped out by the new "master race" of Zionists.

Lebanon has been a first test of this new "final solution" policy. One Israeli military spokesman said: "The idea of humiliation, of being there and seeing the PLO escape, and with a political victory, is unbearable to us." General Sharon ordered the exits from West Beirut blocked to all Palestinian civilians, and day after day the Zionists massacred Palestinians and working class Lebanese by the thousands with indiscriminate phosphorus and shrapnel bombing.

On July 11, 1982 Sharon's headquarters told the press that if West Beirut fell into their hands they would bring in their fellow fascists, the Lebanese Phalangist militia, who would be "turned loose to 'mop up' the predominately Moslem West Beirut after a departure of the guerrillas." Notice that the target of the fascist "mop up" would not be the guerrillas, but the Palestinian community as a whole. Is there another government in the world which is so out of tune with world opinion that it can proudly announce in advance that it intends to stage a massacre of unarmed civilians?

Gen. Sharon has said that his final goal there is to so reduce the Palestinian people in Lebanon that the broken and disorganized survivors can be split up and scattered amongst the Lebanese population. Under threat of death, the isolated Palestinian families would then be forced to renounce their nationality, disband all social and political organizations, and "become Lebanese". Thus, according to Sharon, within one generation there will be not one Palestinian left in all of Lebanon (as the Nazis used to say, "judenfrei").
This genocidal blueprint will not succeed.

The Zionists have indeed raised the stakes very, very high. In deciding to mercilessly dispossess and commit genocide against the dispersed Palestinian Nation as a whole--on West Bank schoolchildren and merchants as well as unemployed laborers in camps outside the Zionist borders--the Zionists have forced more and more Palestinians to pick up the gun. The Zionists have helped unify the Palestinian Nation behind the revolutionary leadership of the PLO. Around the world the Zionist regime has completely discredited themselves and created millions of new friends for the cause of Palestine.

Even inside Israel there are some settlers who shrink back from this final, irrevocable descent into barbarism. One Zionist peace group has written: "Those who shall sober up from the collective intoxication will have to admit that the Palestinians are the Jews of our era, the small, hunted people standing alone against the best weapons..."

The Begin-Sharon fascists are now gambling not only with Israel, but with all that Western imperialism controls in the Middle East. They are pushing to further destabilize the region, possibly even overthrowing imperialism's closest Arab allies in their crusade to dominate the Arab world. Like Hitler, the Likud prefer to drag everything down to ruin with them rather than give up their ambitions of empire. This attitude is not shared in Washington, London or Paris. US imperialism is still backing their Zionist client-state in trying for a "final" military solution; but since Israel continues to fail, Washington will place more and more emphasis on a neo-colonial political solution to their "Palestinian problem"

The new Israeli empire-building has sent a shock-wave through the reactionary Arab regimes. A perceptive article on the Fez summit in the Sept. 12, 1982 NY Times reveals the contradictions within imperialism,

"Arab regimes were also stirred to act by their...fear that their own populations, local as well as Palestinian refugees and immigrants, would turn against them..." As long as Israel was content to 'colonize' the West Bank, southern Lebanon and the Sinai, it seemed remote for many Arab leaders. But now Israel is seen as 'an imperialist regional power' that reaches far into Arab territory, said Sayed Yassin, an Egyptian writer. Reflecting a widely held view, he cited the Israeli attack on the nuclear reactor in Iraq, regular

overflights of Saudi territory, the takeover of most of Lebanon, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's warning that Damascus is within reach of Israeli artillery and his call for the creation of a Palestinian state in Jordan.

"Soon, other Arab intellectuals say, Israel may try to dictate to governments as far away as Cairo or Baghdad and may threaten military action to prevent a nationalist Arab faction from taking power in some Arab country.

"Such thoughts, these intellectuals say, have persuaded Arabs to give first priority to the issue of Israel, even in the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia, which formerly saw the Soviet Union as the primary threat to their region."

US imperialism's Zionist weapon is now threatening to destabilize or even invade the very Arab regimes so closely allied to Western imperialism. The PLO could well say that "The chickens are coming home to roost." Unrestrained Zionist empire-building is throwing gasoline on the fires of the Arab Revolution, arousing the Arab masses in country after country. The contradictions are obvious.

At some point in the future Washington may find it more strategic to let "Israel" go to join "French Algeria" and "Rhodesia" in the graveyard of departed settler colonies. It will not be until their military situation is hopeless, however, since both US imperialism and its Zionist servants need to crush movements of the oppressed with campaigns of military annihilation. The Zionists are just apprentices at genocide compared to their US masters.

What has already taken place is that the Zionist garrison state is becoming its opposite--it is attacking US interests as well as defending them, reaching for its own empire rather than just serving the US Empire, creating chaos rather than imposing order. And in this growing chaos the Arab Revolution has developed to a new level.

On Leaving Lebanon & Beyond

The PLO evacuation of its major rear base area in Lebanon and the spread of the confrontation into other Arab lands has led to a new period of struggle, to new and more complex conditions. This in itself is nothing unusual for the Palestinian Revolution. What is primary at this time is the sharp political polarization in the Arab world. This will cause a certain measure of turbulence, uncertainty and disunity in the short run--and in the long run is a necessary stage in the unfolding struggle for correct revolutionary strategy.

We can see this polarization in how the withdrawal from Beirut is being interpreted. The reality of protracted war, of revolutionary struggle, is that from single organizers up to whole military divisions the forces of the revolution must shift locations quite often, and usually on short notice. In few cases until the final stage of the war can base areas be held in a fixed manner against major imperialist annihilation campaigns. The Chinese Red Army, we recall, retreated out of base areas under attack many times. The PLO itself had to

shift its main rear base out of Jordan after "Black September" in 1970. As we have said earlier, for the PLO to have fought off the Zionist mechanized army to a standstill, and then managed to withdraw its forces intact, was a signal victory. For that matter, just to have advanced to the point of having such a battle was a victory. As P.F.L.P. leader George Habash put it: "Thank God! At long last I have lived to see a Palestinian army fight the Israeli army!"

However, Arab reactionaries are saying that this withdrawal means that the "military option" is now impractical, and that therefore the PLO's main energy must be centered on the "diplomatic option". This is but another way of saying that the PLO should accept a force-fed imperialist deal with the Zionist regime, a deal of co-existence under which the Zionist settler-colonial regime would forever occupy the bulk of Palestine. This is the bottom line of the neo-colonial Fahd Plan and its twin, the US Reagan Plan.

This contradiction is not external to the liberation struggle, but is also expressed within it. Not just the reactionary regimes but also some elements within the PLO are willing to reach a compromise with Israel via the so-called diplomatic struggle. Since no one has ever thought that diplomacy could overthrow the Zionist rule, all those who emphasize the "diplomatic option" are preparing to follow the late Anwar Sadat into Camp David.

Why should the withdrawal and relocation of forces from Beirut so negatively affect the PLO military situation? When we examine the withdrawal we can see how new conditions of struggle have been made; in no way, however, can it be said that the Revolution is now less able to attack the Zionist enemy. The overwhelming bulk of the withdrawn units were regular and semi-regular defense forces, whose specific role has been to shield the Palestinian liberation structures and the refugee camps themselves within Lebanon. These defensive forces successfully fought off both the Lebanese fascists and the main Zionist armies for some years. It is also true that, with the significant exception of the use of heavy artillery to strike at the forward Zionist settlements, most of these units had little offensive role. (Of course, their role in guarding temporarily liberated areas in exile was a giant step forward for the Revolution. Here we use "offensive" to mean actually striking into Zionist occupied territory.)

In any case military units that have been dispersed can be re-concentrated. Many, if not most, of those PLO units will undoubtedly have the chance for new struggles much sooner than imperialism thinks.

Here we see the differences in political line manifested in a very material way. Those Palestinian comrades who hold to the total destruction of the Zionist settler-colonial regime, and the socialist liberation of all Palestine, quite naturally place their priority on the strengthening of the revolutionary underground within the lands of Palestine itself. Militarily they see the birth of guerrilla war-

fare right within the Zionist occupation as the cutting edge of the struggle.

For example, Abu Ahmed Fuad of the P.F.L.P. Politbureau has said of his organization's strategy: "The first is to rely on guerrilla warfare taking place behind the ranks of the enemy in the occupied territories. We in the P.F.L.P. exert great efforts to build our forces within the occupied territories, and we believe these forces should have the lion's share of our efforts."

The P.F.L.P., D.F.L.P. and other Palestinian forces--as well as Lebanese patriots-- had prepared to conduct such a guerrilla struggle behind the Zionist lines in Lebanon. In only the first three weeks after the Beirut cease-fire the Zionist military command admits that these guerrilla ambushes cost it twelve soldiers dead, nine captured and twenty wounded (twenty Lebanese fascist troops were killed as well), while at most the Zionist army claims only nine guerrillas killed. The Zionist war machine can overrun whole countries, but cannot stop its daily losses to "the war of the flea". Infuriated, the Israeli Cabinet has issued empty threats that "Israel would not tolerate a war of attrition..." But they will have to tolerate it, since they are powerless to end it. How dangerous these increasing pinpricks are to the Zionist regime.

We can also see the steady development of militant national feeling, of political consciousness and will to do battle among the Palestinian masses within all of the occupied territory. Crowds of young schoolchildren armed only with rocks and sticks attack heavily-armed Zionist troops. Every week there are new Palestinian heroes and martyrs to be examples for their friends and relatives. The Revolution has gradually worked its way into each family. How then can the Revolution be militarily stranded and impotent, when it has the entire new generation of the Palestinian Nation to draw upon? And right within the walls of the Zionist fortress itself. We can see how empty the defeatist fear-mongering of the Arab reactionaries is.

The escalation of the liberation war has charged the political contradictions within the Arab world. The two-line struggle is becoming sharper and more clear to the masses. Once the reactionary Arab regimes (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Oman, Tunisia, etc.), who are completely capitalistic and pro-US, gave propagandistic verbal gestures and a few oil dollars in support of the Palestinian struggle. Now that the spreading Zionist operations threaten to swamp their own little kingdoms, these Arab allies of imperialism are desperate to end the war on a non-revolutionary basis. Arab reaction is therefore increasingly pushing for co-existence between the Zionist settler-colonial regime and a supposedly independent Palestinian neo-colony on the West Bank. This mini-state would be a disarmed buffer zone protecting Israel, watched over by the imperialist forces of both Jordan and Israel itself.

The P.F.L.P. points out: "The political report of our 4th National Congress stressed that the Camp David agreements are the political expression of the overlapping interests of imperialism, Zionism and

Arab reaction. It was our analysis that Arab reaction, which opposed Camp David verbally and superficially only, would make its way to Camp David, but probably calling it something else, in order to merge politically, economically and militarily with the Zionist-imperialist alliance... "

The two-line struggle is in this way more and more out in the open. As the Zionist regime throws its war machine step by step deeper into the Arab world, annexing Palestinian lands as fast as they can be settled, the Arab regimes resist less and less. The contrast between neo-colonial co-existence with the Zionist settler-colony and the emergence of protracted revolutionary war to victory inside the Zionist occupation is very distinct.

Within the PLO there are heavy pressures to go along with any settlement with Israel that imperialism may work out-- just so long as it concedes at least a small part of Palestine for the PLO to set up a government. Since 1973 Al Fatah, the strongest liberation organization and the dominant voice within the PLO, has been willing to make peace on the basis of a division of Palestine with the Zionists. Fatah hopes that this would eventually lead to de-Zionization of all Palestine. It must be remembered that the PLO is not a communist party; nor is it the romantic guerrilla army that some think it is.

The PLO is a national united front of liberation, involving many political organizations and personalities, under the sponsorship of the Arab League. It works to unify and speak for the whole Nation. At this time there are unresolved class contradictions within the PLO, since it involves and gives political expression to moderate as well as revolutionary elements, national bourgeois as well as proletarian class views, bourgeois-democratic as well as socialist politics. There are Palestinian petit-bourgeois who would gladly settle for any mini-state so long as they had the chance to be ministers and officials.

There are West Bank landlords and merchants who urge the PLO to accept a neocolonial compromise because their own immediate class interests would be advanced, even if the Zionists continued to hold most of Palestine. Their businesses and property would be within the proposed mini-state; in contrast, the Palestinian masses would still be homeless and landless in exile. All this is an unavoidable part of the long political struggle to bring together the whole Nation.

It also must be remembered that the Palestinian Revolution is still rapidly developing. The PLO itself is relatively young, having only been formed in 1964 (by comparison, the PLO is four years younger than SWAPO). Not until this year's Lebanon confrontation did the PLO Military Command manage to actually combine the various armed units under one coordinated command. There is not yet a unitary Palestinian communist organization. The PFLP is perhaps the major Marxist-Leninist organization at this time. There are many other

communist groupings. This year, for example, new forces broke out of the old, revisionist "Jordanian Communist Party". The new split-off has taken the name of Palestinian Communist Party.* This is a positive development, although the new PCP has as yet no history of armed struggle, and does not operate in or speak for the struggle in either Lebanon or Palestine itself.

Palestinian communists are working in various liberation organizations and parties, while raising the need to build one party to lead the Palestinian Nation to liberation and socialism. Faced with betrayals from the Arab states and challenged by new neo-colonial schemes, the Palestinian Revolution advances. Most of the history of Palestine is still being won and created. Our Palestinian comrades have shown us that even while still struggling to unite, even while the communist party has yet to be built, great revolutionary strides can still be done by a heroic people. The growing neo-colonial schemes and betrayals point out how communist leadership is necessary to reach victory.

PALESTINE
FROM ONE GENERATION
TO THE NEXT
UNTIL LIBERATION

*An earlier party used that same name, although it was a Zionist party. Founded in 1922, this settler party used the PCP name until after the 1948-49 war. At that time they dropped the word "Palestinian" and renamed themselves the "Israeli Communist Party". Rakah, the present revisionist Zionist party in Israel, is the direct descendant of that party.