



**whither
the Palestinian
masses?**

'FLASHPOINT'SPRING ISSUE - NO. 4.MAGAZINE OF THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE SOCIALIST ACTION
GROUP

In January we held our first national conference, (a report of which appears in this issue); this was our first major step towards initiating some kind of national co-ordination between individuals and groups with ideas similar to our own. Our conference was relatively small and this in some way was an indication of the very serious problem which now faces us. This is the problem of the growing number of ultra-chauvinistic groups and individuals who are describing themselves as 'Zionists'. In so doing, they are denegating the name and making a mockery of all that zionism, as defined by Forochov and others, stands for. In this issue we have devoted much space to articles and programmes which re-state our definition of zionism in its true sense and within its true context, i.e. that of the zionist part of the international socialist movement. To all those, be they chauvinists or pseudo-socialists toying with the name 'zionism', we say you are now in your 'hey-day' but the future lies with us and we shall have to fight to make it ours!!

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Editorial

all is not quiet!

From Jordan the reports concerning the guerilla movements indicate some very serious and sad developments. El Fatah have finally and irrevocably shown their true colours by signing a pact with arch-reactionary Hussein. The virtual effect of this pact is to make El Fatah the 'official' guerilla movement and outlaw all the others. El Fatah has now of course 'incorporated' many smaller movements into its structure. Consequently, the already 'illegal', 'unofficial groups' - Habash's Popular Front and Hawatme's Democratic Popular Front, have been forced into a semi-clandestine existence. There are conflicting reports over the question of whether Hawatme's group continues to function; some reports say that members of this group have been forced back into Fatah as they have no other operational framework, others say - on the basis of the fact that the group's radio and weekly newspaper continue to function irregularly - that they are still operative. (There is no evidence that the D.P.F.L.P. actually produce the newspaper and run the radio). Whatever the truth turns out to be, there is little doubt that the forces of the left in the guerilla movement are severely depleted. The chauvinists have won a major, even if temporary, victory. This state of affairs suits all the reactionaries in the West Asia from the oil rich sheikhs of Dhofar, to the feudal overlord Fiesal of Saudi Arabia, to the bureaucrats in Cairo and the chauvinists in Israel. A socialist guerilla movement could have been a threat to the existence of all these people, a servile 'well-disciplined' movement firmly under the thumb of reactionary elements is the ideal pawn with which the reactionary Arab governments can persuade their working masses to ignore the class struggle and concentrate their efforts on the defeat of a 'foreign enemy' - the real class enemies being left unmolested at home.

However much we must have faith in the eventual evolution of a truly socialist guerilla movement, it is necessary to admit that at the present time this force has not emerged. It seems likely that a 'united' guerilla movement, possibly a combination of the P.F.L.P., the D.P.F.L.P. and Al Siuqa (as the main components) will now be formed. It is also suggested that Dr. George Habash will be asked to lead this group. If this is the case, we can be sure that this group will not take on any positive socialist characteristics (merely retaining the rhetoric of socialism) and if the personal example of Habash is anything to go by, it is inevitable that this group will become the victim of constant betrayals - it is to be remembered that Habash was 'unavoidably detained' in Korea during the active period of the Jordan crisis.

Against this background we must examine the way forward and we must appreciate that the road to revolutionary socialism in West Asia will be a long and hazardous road. In the immediate future, we may well have to give support to groups which are at best against chauvinism and at worst the propagators of a redundant liberal ideology. At the present time any kind of united Front against reactionaries in a situation of mounting reaction is a positive step forward: it is beyond doubt that ultimately the masses will appreciate the necessity of demanding a socialist system, all other systems having failed to meet their demands. This does not mean that socialists should cease to put forward socialist programmes and consistently encourage class warfare, but is merely a suggestion that for tactical reasons, at the present stage of development, some kind of unity of dissident groupings is important.

A N N O U N C E M E N T

ISRAEL SOCIALIST ACTION GROUP (ISAG)

CHANGE OF NAME

Comrades of the Israel Socialist Action Group have decided to change the name of the above organisation to bring it more in line with our declared aims and objectives. We have in no way altered our political position. We feel that any group which supports both the Jewish and Palestinian claims to national self-determination in the Middle East should acknowledge this in their name. We have therefore decided to call our group:-

ISRAEL-PALESTINE SOCIALIST ACTION GROUP (IPSAG)

PROGRAMME OF THE

FIRST SOCIALIST ZIONIST CONGRESS

In December (1970) the First Socialist Zionist Congress was held in Arnoldshain (nr. Frankfurt) in Germany. Comrades from most countries in Europe were present, the English representative was from the Israel-Palestine Socialist Action Group. Below we print the amended, minimal programme agreed to by the participants of the Congress. The original draft was presented by Dany Diner and Marek Glezerman from the Borochoy Group, Germany.

PREAMBLE.

Socialist-Zionism is the Zionist part of international socialism.

It offers the Jewish people emancipation as both Jews and human beings.

We recognise the theoretical possibility of true socialist emancipation for Jews as individuals, in any country.

But for the Jews as a people, there is no alternative to Socialist-Zionism.

1. Zionism is the national and socio-emancipation movement of the Jewish people. Its territorialistic aspect describes the means to this liberation, which can only be realised in Israel.

By the concept of a national framework, zionism offers the socio-economic normalization of the Jewish people. By its socialist character, Zionism offers to the Jewish people liberation as human beings. For this reason, Zionism without socialism is not a true movement of emancipation. The effect of this is to create zionist israelism. We reject the position of Israel as a state without the claim of zionist emancipation and see the *raison d'etre* of Israel in the permanence of the zionist revolution until the final aim of socialism is reached. Abstract etatism, which makes people into objects of the state instead of making the state the object of human needs is rejected; as is canaanite israelism and the conception of Israel which wishes to maintain the Jewish diaspora as an economic hinterland (chaluka-zionism).

2. In order to form the Jewish population (which became, through economic development in the diaspora, a people-class) into a people without classes, it is necessary, in this special case, to first establish socialism in one country in order not to take on once again for this region (i.e. West Asia), the function of a people-class. The tendency of our struggle must however be directed towards the further development of proletarian internationalism. For we are not the socialist part of zionism, but the zionist part of international socialism.

3. According to Berochov, the class interests of the Jewish proletariat are, as before, our starting point, socialism the goal of our struggle, zionism the mainpoint of our minimal programme. Today we add that our struggle for the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians, has become a condition sine qua non for the fulfilment of our zionist programme. This means that without recognition of the Palestinians as a nation and the emancipation of the Palestinians as a nation, our own emancipation (national as well as social) will be hindered and disturbed; for no people which suppresses another can be free.

4. We believe that national and social liberation must be conducted at the very same moment and not in two distinctive stages. Besides our fight in the international class struggle, we support every attempt at classpolarisation and the intensification of class-struggle inside the Jewish people, in Israel as well as in the diaspora.

5. It is the Palestinians and ourselves who are the forces which ought to contribute to the particularisation and de-chauvinisation of the West-Asian region because they oppose a nationalist ideology of unification - pan-Arabism, which stimulates a false 'zionism'. The existence of the Palestinians as a nation is dialectically connected to ours. By mutual national recognition, the way for revolutionary co-operation is open up to the creation of socialist unity in the whole of West Asia.

6. By the geopolitical position of the West Asian region, it is predisposed to be the central object of the imperialistic global strategies of the Big Powers in history and especially today. The peoples and nations of this region must recognise that only unity can transform them from an existence as the object of history and the Big Powers into the subject of their own destinies.

Their strategic position and the equality of interests with the revolutionary forces of the "Third World", gives them a place of a vanguard, which entails a challenge to fulfil a historic responsibility.

A FURTHER CONGRESS WILL BE HELD IN BRUSSELS DURING MARCH OF THIS YEAR. A DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABOVE PROGRAMME WILL BE DISCUSSED AND WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO GIVE A FULL REPORT IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF 'FLASHPOINT'.

Will Israelis accept a multi-national state?

THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHANGE IN ATTITUDES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Whereas Marxists are well aware that attitudes are essentially motivated by material conditions, it is necessary for us to consider the precise processes whereby attitudes can be changed as part of a growing socialist awareness.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL COHESION

"Social cohesion is only effective when it has a psychological counterpart in the feelings of members of the group. But whether such feelings can be created artificially by Education and Government Propaganda is a question of great importance to the political future of mankind." So spoke Bertrand Russell and with the weight that he gives to the question of social cohesion, much ethical backing is given to the programme of Socialist Zionists. But he also defines the real problem for Socialist Zionists, the need to involve Israelis in the change to a multi-national state.

To praise social cohesion should not be necessary. Social cohesion with a related interdependence of people is generally a situation of peace. This is our aim for Jews and Arabs.

INNATE HUMAN AGGRESSION

What of innate human resistance to social cohesion? I am not considering here "attitudes" which are thought to be learned, but a basic drive.

Russell claims "the real obstacle to world wide social cohesion is in individual souls. They are the pleasures that we derive from hatred, malice and cruelty".

Most psychological thought, in fact, supports the existence of an innate human aggression. Freud claimed that it came from the frustration of a death wish, while Melanie Klein saw a relation between the dependency of infants, and aggression.

And so some form of aggression can be considered as a relatively automatic function of the mind. This does not mean that the Capitalists and Conservatives are correct in declaring Human Nature evil, and that is that.

WE DON'T NEED WAR IN THE WAY OF OUR LIVES

The aggression exists but it only releases itself against others in the right environmental conditions for it to flourish.

If proof of this is needed, consider the people who are the core of this discussion: Israelis compared with Diaspora Jews. In Israel, there is not only the opportunity for aggression but a need for aggression. And it shows, as Irving Harowitz in "New Society" (October 1970) noted: "In place of meekness, arrogance in place of survival by

any means, there emerges an emphasis on the warrior instinct."

Thus the innate drive exists, but it is not necessarily external or always with blood. We don't need war.

THE ISRAELI ATTITUDE.

The Israeli looking at a multi-national state will say "impossible". This is his attitude and as it is important to him it is not a short term opinion but a "basic personality trait."

This basic attitude is learned in childhood. I. D. Halloran in "Attitude Formation and Change" says:

"The child gradually internalizes the controlling features of his social cultural environment in the form of attitudes, beliefs and values."

Whether the attitude survives depends on the groups with whom the individual refers, in later life. In Israel the whole Nation acting as a reference group reinforces the attitude.

THE JEWISH VARNISH.

What the Israeli child learns is his position in a persecuted race; now in a State where he is no longer persecuted - but where he must fight Arabs for survival.

This is the Jewish background. It is a varnish over the whole personality.

NATIONAL ISOLATION

Finally the State of Israel is isolated. This is why the State can exert such conformity pressures on the individual.

Israelis show the symptoms of the lack of external stimulants, despite access to the World Press and News. V. Laskshanono Rao of UNESCO noted one of these symptoms, in isolated villages in India - people are much more inclined to talk than to listen. I have noticed this quality in Israelis.

TO CHANGE THE ATTITUDE.

Having briefly described the personality which we must change for social cohesion, I must say that I do not intend to give a step by step account of how to remould the Israeli. All I want to do is to show that we can understand, we can change and we can achieve.

Education and Propaganda can remould. Education (i.e. presenting argument) to the young and Propaganda on the older Israelis. Propaganda is not a miracle washing powder; we have to beware of unexpected results. For example there are problems in using "fear" as a weapon. If fear is too great, people worry more about the emotion of the fear itself than on how to reduce it.

FRUSTRATION IS THE STRONGEST TOOL OF PROPAGANDA.

Propaganda used the emotions of love, hate, anger, fear, guilt. It uses the emotional needs- of feeling that issues are simple, the need to belong, to need to pinpoint an enemy to blame. The Propagandist knows the use of leaders and the appeal of authority to groups and crowds.

Playing with these emotions, the Propagandist creates displeasure with the present situation. Frustration is the strongest tool of Propaganda.

THE TIME TO THINK.

It is not difficult to imagine the use of those techniques of propaganda for the programme of the Socialist Zionist.

However what Israelis will need more than other peoples will be a stable State, less work, less fighting and more time to think.

In future "Flashpoints" I hope to consider specific application to Israelis and Arabs. But at least, I feel that this article has shown that we can understand, we can change and we can achieve.

STEVE FAITH.

SIACH DEMONSTRATION - 5/2/71.

SIACH (The Israel New Left Group) have again organised a militant demonstration in Jerusalem, in collaboration with a group apparently calling themselves 'Black Panthers' they were protesting against army oppression in the Gaza Strip. During the demonstration SIACH comrades had to fight with young members of the Herut (Right wing annexationist) Party. The fuzz locked on and did nothing to separate the two groups. This was not the case during another demonstration on a similar theme organised by the Haolam Hazeh Party (left of centre, pro-peace group), presumably those more 'respectable' protesters warranted police protection.

The demonstration serves to show the considerable courage of SIACH comrades who have fought a consistent struggle for the recognition of both Palestinian and Jewish rights to national self-determination in West Asia. The current mounting trend of chauvanist feeling throughout West Asia will only be defeated by groups like SIACH who have been consistent in their political position.

READING UNIVERSITY

IPSAG STUDY GROUPS

MEET EVERY THURSDAY

The current theme of discussion is a reappraisal of the Borochevist approach to Socialist Zionism.

MOST MEETINGS IN CHILDS HALL

FRIENDS ROOM AT 8.00 p.m.

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
ISRAEL-PALESTINE SOCIALIST ACTION
GROUP

At this our first conference we felt the need to bring together people from England (and, as it turned out, from abroad also) who had a genuine interest in establishing some kind of socialist confederation of Middle Eastern states; and, as most of the participants were Jews, to establish a working basis for a Socialist-Zionist platform. We wanted groups to be formed in other colleges and to initiate a dialogue with Arab and socialist students on the problems and tasks ahead in bringing revolutionary socialism to this area. At present some of the most valuable contacts between Jews and Arabs are being made outside the area of direct confrontation.

In all, about 65 people attended the conference, 15 observers from England, Holland, Belgium, Israel and Switzerland, and 50 representatives from English colleges and organisations.

The conference was divided into four main sections, the first was introduced by Gabriel Moked from Revolutionary Israeli Students in England. The position he advocated, similar to that of IPSAG, generated discussion on the nature of class struggle in the Middle East, the impossibility of "stages" in revolutionary development, and the necessity of waging class struggle at the same time as ensuring the right to national self-determination of all peoples in the region. His ideas on the nature of a socialist Confederation in the area were debated. The position of the Palestinians and the possibilities of forming a united front of all leftist forces was regrettably seen as a distant aspiration.

The discussion of tactics for establishing groups in other Universities revealed a fairly serious split in the conference. The basis of the disagreement was between those who were members of MAPAM (the United Workers Party) and those who believed in the pursuance of a more revolutionary line, free of MAPAM'S influence.

The longest session of the day was introduced by Danny Diner of the Borochoy group in Germany, generally regarded as the leading ideologist of the Socialist Zionist Movement in Europe. His recent analysis of the work of Ber Borochoy (founder of the Socialist Zionist Movement) was the basis of discussion. Firstly, he rejected Borochoy's notion of 'stages' in the class struggle, insisting that Zionism was impossible without the initial victory of socialism. Zionism without socialism was an abstraction, he explained, and that the territorial aspects of Zionism necessitated the creation of a Jewish state in Israel. This meant that if Zionist aspirations were to be fulfilled we should recognise the Palestinian struggle for national and social emancipation, as the Jews will never be a free nation if they are responsible for suppressing another. The necessity to intensify the class struggle both inside the Jewish people and in Israel is of prime importance. 'We must fight the rising tide of Jewish chauvinism which is working to destroy Zionism by insisting on the occupation of large areas peopled by Palestinians who would, given time, become the new working class of Israel - the Jews being the middle class - creating once again the anomalous position of a Jewish people-class. A discussion followed on the possibility of pan-Arabism being the force which might well unite the Jews and Palestinians, and on the crucial position of the Middle East region in imperialist global strategy. The major unresolved question was what would become of the Jewish bourgeoisie?

The last session, introduced by Micha Raesal from the Critical Zionists of Holland, described the position of movements similar to our own throughout the world. While pointing out the present, comparatively small size of these groups, he noted the apparent large

number in existence. Very active groups were working in North and South America, especially Uruguay. Socialist Zionists were involved actively with guerrilla groups fighting to overthrow the comprador regimes of these countries. In Europe contacts with Palestinians were beginning to develop, especially through the Israel-Palestine Committee. These developments were explained by Mony Elkiam (Belgium), the European Co-ordinator of the Committee.

DAVID BEER.

(This article originally appeared in 'Shell' - newspaper of Reading University Students' Union.)

CHINA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Soviet aid to Middle Eastern countries is very well publicised, only now are people coming to realise that China also has a substantial interest in the area.

COMMUNIST CHINESE AND SOVIET ECONOMIC GRANTS AND CREDITS EXTENDED TO MIDDLE EASTERN AND NORTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES

1954-1968
(Dollars in Millions)

Country	USSR	Communist China
Algeria	232	50
Iran	508	
Iraq	184	
Morocco	44	
Somalia	66	22
South Yemen		12
Sudan	22	
Syria	233	16
Turkey	210	
United Arab Republic	1,011	106
Yemen	92	40
Total	2,602	246

Source: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Communist Governments and Developing Nations: Aid and Trade in 1968.
Research Memorandum RSE-65 (Washington D.C., September 5, 1969).
NEW MIDDLE EAST, Dec. 1970.

Force of Palestinians & Jews

(The following article is drawn from a longer speech on a general theoretical approach to Zionism, presented by Dany Diner to the WUJS Conference in Ireland this year.)

The successful implementation of Jewish emancipation within its own socialist microcosmos is being hampered by antagonistic forces. This force is the movement of the Arab peoples towards unity; for if one bases oneself on the unity of the Arab region, and refers to the Arab nation as an entity - pan-Arabism - the inevitable consequence concerning our existence is a sharply contradictory position towards pan-Arabism, a natural incompatibility and a general situation where our existence turns into a retarding factor concerning the development of the whole region. As a Palestine centred movement is a natural contradiction to Arab unity and is bound to lead to particularism in this area, our existence in this region is justified as a particularistic one by the very existence of the Palestinians and leads to a regional self-understanding which includes various arabic and non-arabic entities in the west-asian area. Thus, a framework can be created which is not governed by national-minded ideologies, but by the desire foreconomic and social unity thus doing away with nationalistic ideologies of intergration which in fact are hampering the struggle of classes, hereby constituting the basis for a truly national and socialist emancipation. The function of our existence in the west-asian region is dialectically confirmed by the particularistic attempts at emancipation of the Palestinians and therefore, an arabic Palestine next to Israel cannot be a tactical moment for us, but must represent our historical legitimization. To the same extent, as the Palestinian emancipation as Palestinians without our emancipation will be impossible, since their specific existence is contradicted by pan-Arabism to the same extent our emancipation as Jews and as human beings without that of the Palestians will remain a shaky and superficial one, the destruction of which is inevitable. Both particularisms mutually support each other and therefore, have to take over a historic function: the introduction of a society without classes based on national self-determination and emancipation, which, because of a geographic situation, must be seen as the basis of a liberation from which the rest of mankind can expect valid socialist models. The introduction of this socialist model is by no means an ideolistic fantasy, but results from the situation of the west-asian region in general and from the situation of Israel-Palestine, in particular. The control over this transit function, which is supposed to justify more and more the interference of the Big Powers, constitutes for the peoples of the Third World a key either to further liberation or to further enslavement. To the same extent, as the situation in this country, was able to determine our history and our self-understanding, to the same extent, our fate will be determined by the over all function of this region. Zionism can further the liberation of the Jewish people on a territorialistic basis only when combining with the particularistic liberation with the universalistic one, whereby the first is a pre-condition to the second, the simultaneity of which is to be ensured indivisably by complete action.

PART OF A LETTER FROM A CANADIAN
COMRADE IN ISRAEL

The North American campus is more radical than the rest of society and I naturally assumed students everywhere to be more open-minded than the uneducated. I was proved wrong by the Union of Israeli Students. There is a saying that Tel Aviv University cannot field a football team because they are all right-wing. This atmosphere certainly prevailed at the annual conference of the UIS.

In their resolution on the Middle East they called upon the Government not even to consider any suggestion that calls for a territorial withdrawal without offering a true peace. Not to accept anything less than direct face to face negotiations between two warring sides of the conflict and finally (and this takes the cake) because of our historical right to the Land of Israel, our peaceful intentions, and that Jews and Arabs should live in peace in the Land of Israel, we call upon the Government to settle all areas of the Land of Israel with Jews, read: the occupied territories.

This chauvanistic attitude was attacked by representatives of WUJS and other Jewish Student Organisations of the Diaspora who were guests at the conference. They threatened to break off relations with the Israeli students if this resolution is passed. These sane words, the only ones heard at the whole conference were condemned by the Israeli rightists as being anti-Israeli and their loyalty to Israel was questioned by mentioning the progressive resolutions passed at the WUJS conference in September last.

On campus SIACH is trying to organise student opposition to the reactionary policies of the UIS and so far it has been very unsuccessful. We of the Left are certainly feeling isolated in the midst of extreme nationalist madness and we hope that our comrades will join us here, where the struggle seems exceedingly difficult.

AMICHAÏ.

STATEMENT BY SIACH (ISRAEL NEW LEFT)
THE FUTURE BELONGS TO ISRAEL AND PALESTINE

(This statement was issued at the height of the fighting last September in Jordan and was widely publicised in Israel. Since then the Israeli Government has returned to the Jarring talks, although this in no way implies that it has recognised the national rights of the Palestinian people).

The Palestinian Arab people is the main victim of the war in Jordan against the Palestinian organisations. The rejection of the policy of these organisations doesn't rule out solidarity with the Palestinians who are paying dearly for their struggle for national sovereignty.

Whatever the results of the fighting in Jordan, their struggle for self-determination will continue.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES THAT WILL ESTABLISH THEIR SOVEREIGNTY SIDE BY SIDE.

The danger of Israeli intervention in Jordan hasn't passed. THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE WARNED AGAINST INTERVENTION IN ANY FORM. Intervention will only deepen the chasm of hate and lessen the chances of a lasting peace.

The Israeli Government, that has just sabotaged the Jarring talks, must return to the conference table. It must declare its readiness to discuss peace with all factors involved in the Israeli-Arab conflict and first and foremost the Palestinian Arab people.

THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE TALKS, AS WELL AS SECURITY AND PEACE, DEPEND ON THE MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN ARAB PEOPLE.

THE NECESSITY AND NATURE OF OUR STRUGGLE

The political opinions of radical and liberal Jewish youth in the last three years have been formed with more controversy than those of our friends and comrades from different backgrounds - what should be realised is that not only the dilemmas arising from the Israel-Palestine problem, but the situation of Jews at this stage in late capitalism can and must be solved by the adoption of scientific philosophies such as Marxist-Zionism.

The dilemma has existed for most of us over a basic sympathy for Israel initially, and later a criticism of entrenched attitudes held by our elders and sympathy for the plight of the Palestinians, which has been catalysed by the desire to show solidarity rather than sympathy. This has produced chauvinists on the one hand and so-called "pro-Palestinians" anti-Zionists. However, those of us in Young MAPAM, IPSAG, the Israel-Palestine Committees and others have realised that the stereotyped "pro-Arab" and "pro-Israel" attitudes are false, and that our "two-sided struggle" against both these establishments need not be contradictory. We have investigated the situation more thoroughly and shown that by historical analysis the time nature of the conflict cannot be expressed as that of progressive anti-colonialists fighting an exclusivist society which is by definition imperialist. This is more difficult to express than the support for the PLO's "secular democratic multi-racial state," and our numerous oppositions to it (at present) in a short sentence; but the difficulty of our task should not divide us; in fact, as the media become more saturated with the fedayeen's views, those who want a more vigorous study of the problem turn to us. Also, we have realised that the only real liberation movement of the Jewish nation is Zionism, and that its past and present mistakes cannot be avoided by abdicating from the struggle, but by supporting its socialist wing.

One of the false impressions created is that Zionism is a reaction against assimilation and internationalism - whereas we are trying to show it as a movement which illustrates the fundamental difference between the forced assimilation and "tolerance" of a minority, and the self-expression of the minority, which is the absolute criterion of a free socialist society. Since we have to attack movements that are even more disgustingly fascist than normal because of their genocidal aims masked in humanitarianism, we have an extreme moral duty; but our work is also motivated by the realisation of the Jews' shaky position in the case of a mass confrontation against capitalism. This necessity of alerting Jews and allying ourselves with the progressives as the crisis in capital worsens is another duty of ours, since we stand to suffer directly, as has been shown with the black liberation movement in the USA and Jews.

Our task of smashing any Jewish chauvinism or racialism as part of the same struggle against the fedayeen betraying the Palestinians puts us in the part of the revolutionaries; we have chauvinism springing up on all sides, but progress is being made, as with the WUJC resolutions in the summer of this year; we only have truth on our side. We say "smash the fedayeen!" at the same time as "support for Palestinian self-determination!", if we can say this without condescension, it will lead to coexistence and solve the Israel-Palestine problem as we strive for real Jewish security and freedom.

ROBERT DAVIS.

A REPLY BY IPSAG FOLLOWS.

REPLY

Firstly we should like to make it clear that we do not believe in the existence of a 'socialist wing' of the Zionist movement. This implies recognition of the bourgeois 'Zionist Federation' and similar non-Zionist bodies. We believe that Zionism, as a minimal aim can only be fulfilled by its association with Socialism and therefore we totally reject those non-Socialists who describe themselves as Zionists. We are not the socialist wing of the Zionist movement - WE ARE THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

Secondly, it seems necessary to put on record a rejection of your loose use of the word 'fascist', in this context clearly in an incorrect manner.

Thirdly, while agreeing with much of what you say vis-a-vis the Palestinians, it is necessary to note that you take a very negative approach to their national aspirations, by saying 'smash the fedayeen' you are automatically condemning all those elements within the fedayeen movement which are socialist. Had the DPFLP not been destroyed it is possible that a genuinely socialist guerilla movement might have emerged, this is still a possibility. If you are to be genuine in supporting the Palestinian claims to national self-determination you must say that our present task is to establish contact with these socialist elements our main enemy being the bourgeois state and those who wish to preserve it.

IPSAG views any joint activities with MAPAM in a very circumspect manner. While the English branch of MAPAM is still yoked to the Social-Democratic Party of the same name in Israel and until MAPAM members prove themselves as socialist comrades in a general context we feel that co-operation in a full sense is impossible - it is not sufficient to take a socialist stand merely over the question of West Asia, the role of the socialist is to be part of the class struggle wherever he happens to be. Many MAPAM members have shown themselves to be genuine comrades but overall MAPAM seems to have been the victim of a total capitulation to bourgeois politics and policies.

WITHER COMRADE CLIFF?

In 1936 Yigal Glikstein, a Palestinian Jew wrote the following as part of an article for the left-wing Zionist Publication 'Lamifneh'.

Comparing Palestine with neighbouring Arab countries he concludes '... a Capitalist social structure begins to consolidate in the Arab village in Palestine because of Jewish immigration. This new structure rises relatively the fellahs' standard of living, enlarges the proletariat war front and thus creates the basic conditions necessary to improve the workers' situation in the country in their war for national social liberation.'

Yigal Glickstein left Palestine for England where he became known as Tony Cliff (the connection between the two names being obvious??). In 1969 I.S. member Comrade Cliff wrote (in an article for an I.S. pamphlet - "The struggle in the Middle East") ... 'Whatever the motivation that brought the Jews in, an increasing conflict between Zionist settlements and the Arabs was unavoidable. The Arab peasant on his very low standard of living, suffering from open or disguised unemployment, was there offering his labour and product for a very cheap price.'

BRITAIN'S SECRET WARLIBERATION STRUGGLES IN THE PERSIAN GULF:

This is a report of a talk given by Fred Halliday ('New Left Review') to an IPSAG meeting in February. While the Focus of our activities is the Israel-Palestine situation, we feel that we cannot view this in isolation from other liberation struggles in West Asia, for this reason we believe it necessary to concern ourselves with this very vital area of confrontation with Western imperialism.

Fred Halliday made it clear that his general position on the Israel-Palestine conflict was an 'independent' one and that his presence at a meeting organised by IPSAG did not indicate his positive support or otherwise for our views.

BACKGROUND

Speaking of the background to the present situation Fred Halliday pointed out that the whole area is extremely fragmented, little contact existed between the various parts, most of the inhabitants living in the mountains of Yemen and Iman.

Britain's involvement only began in the nineteenth century when she viewed the Gulf as an integral part of her global imperialist strategy. Britain's infiltration was slow but decisive, although at first she concentrated on building up the Port of Aden for trading purposes she soon expanded her interests and desired to have political control over the area, this she did by installing her puppets as the rulers of various parts of the Peninsular. American involvement was only evident after the Second World War.

The only area which was never colonialised, due to its isolation was the Yemen. In 1962 this 'fossilized medieval Moslem state' erupted into civil war. The conflict was between the 'republicans' and the 'royalists', it soon became evident to the left wing of the republican faction (supported by Egypt) that the leaders of the faction were little better than the tribal leaders of the royalists, as proof of this both sides formed an 'alliance'.

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

The left wing of the republican faction, who were disorganised both with the Egyptians who clearly were involved only for their own interests and the rest of the republicans began to call themselves Marxists/Leninists. (The name indicated their separatness rather than their ideology). At first they attempted infiltration of the Trades Unions and the army, this was curtailed by a brutal repression of the left.

Only in South Yemen is there some reason for optimism, although this is very much a British protectorate, there is a strong guerilla movement. This was divided between pro and anti-Egyptian factions. After June 1967 Egypt left the Yemen and the pro-Egyptian group naturally declined. In the same year the British left Aden and the guerillas came to power. Britain having successfully managed to sabotage the economy of the country has left Yemen in a sad mess, their only hope at present is to develop their fishing industry. Within the government there are constant faction fights, but they have been sufficiently united to prevent the old sultans and sheiks from coming back across the borders with British aided forces. The general position adopted by the government is to the left of Egypt, and independence of Russia and China, although they are receiving aid from the latter. Egypt, by her support of Britain's puppet government is not exactly gaining the confidence of the people!!

OMAN - FARCE AND REPRESSION.

Oman has been a British colony since the nineteenth century - the entire country is run by Britain, from the administration within the country to the Embassy in Britain. They have kept a number of highly inept Sultans on the throne, have fought off tribal risings and in typical British style have blamed the Sultans for their numerous misdeeds and blunders. This ignores the somewhat obvious fact that the Sultan is not allowed to do anything without British permission. The last Sultan was in all senses of the word, a fool; he attempted to close down primary schools because they were all propagating "communist" ideas, had a massive personal army and entourage of slaves, he became a complete recluse after an attempt on his life in 1966. (Most people in Oman believed he was dead as they never saw him). Not only was he an eccentric but also he imposed a most brutal rule on his country, justice was completely non-existent and the conditions in prisons horrifying, he attempted to completely isolate the country from the rest of the world. No one could leave or enter (except for the British), he even went as far as having a barbed wire fence erected around the capital.

RISING IN DHOFAR.

In 1965 a rising took place in Dhofar, a province annexed by Oman in the late nineteenth century. In many ways this is a unique area in the region. A separatist movement under the influence of Nasserism had started back in 1960, only in 1965 did fighting really begin, by the end of last year most of Dhofar, except for the capital and a little plain around it was captured by the guerillas. From 1968 large supplies of Chinese aid began reaching the guerillas. The government's response to the fighting was firstly to try and isolate the liberated areas, preventing food from reaching them and secondly they attempted blanket bombing of villages and supply lines, As in Vietnam this form of terrorism from the air failed to achieve its aims. Britain gave her aid to this operation.

1968 - A POLITICAL PROGRAMME EMERGES.

1968 was an important year for the Popular Front, at their Congress at this time they repudiated their past political position. And defined as their aim the struggle for "Freedom" and the defeat of the British and American Imperialism. A strong anti-Nasserite feeling ran through the Conference. Fred Halliday noted that this was about the only part of the Arab world he had visited where the people actually hated Nasser. The ideological direction of the guerillas was clearly towards Maoism. Everywhere people are reading the 'Little Red Book', pictures of Mao are abundant. The army began to insist on both political and military training.

MEANWHILE BACK AT THE F.O.

The first response of the British was to maintain a complete silence over the affair, then they decided to deny all responsibility for what was going on. In actual fact they had decided that the Sultan was becoming unsuitable for their purposes and that his 'Sandhurst' trained son would be a far more efficient puppet. Having failed to persuade the Sultan to hand over power to his son (who incidentally the Sultan locked up after his return from Britain) the British engineered a 'revolt'. Despite the fact that the old Sultan managed to shoot his foot off and kill some palace guards this was a very brief event. The new Sultan immediately set about making a number of reforms and attempting to modernise the administration, in this he needed the aid of foreigners. On the other hand he stepped up the war against the guerillas in Dhofar. Due to the practical impossibility of improving communications in the area the liberated areas seem to be safe, the main danger to the revolution is not a

physical danger but the problem of how to expand, without expansion an inevitable degeneration will set in in the comparatively small liberated region.

OIL

The main interest of British Imperialism in the area is clearly oil. There have been outbreaks of fighting all along the Gulf, this has really been more a case of armed insurrection rather than guerilla warfare. The British want the various emirates along the Gulf, to proclaim their 'independence' and then join them together in a 'Union'. Britain with her superior military power would then guarantee the flow of oil. What the British tend to forget is that whoever is in power in Oman (for example) they will not be able to cut off the supply of oil which would damage their own interests. British bases in the area are also important as links between Cyprus and Singapore. Britain maintains that her presence is only continued at the Sultan's request, it is indeed fortunate that "Mother Britain" is prepared to extend her benevolence to those less fortunate than herself, even if the aforementioned seems to need the persuasion of British guns and aeroplanes to assure themselves of her good intentions.

RELATION TO THE ISRAEL/PALESTINE CONFLICT

Fred Halliday outlined what he believes to be two false theses. The first being that the main enemy in the Middle East is Israel and therefore all Arab countries should unite against her. He points out that this has proved a good means of diverting the class struggle by focusing on a remote national conflict, he emphasised the necessity for continued class struggle in all the Arab countries. The second false thesis being that Israel is the guardian of the oil monopolies of the Middle East. On the contrary, he pointed out that Israel has a destabilizing effect in the Arab world. An illustration of this can be seen in the mass riots in Saudi Arabia which followed the June 1967 defeat.

Nevertheless he emphasised that it was not possible to delay to protest against the form of government in Israel until the Arab world was freed. The rights of the Palestinians are not a matter to be considered at a later date. Imperialism has been the cause of the Palestinian problem and is at the heart of the conflict within the Gulf. Both problems must be solved and Imperialism in the Middle East must be defeated.

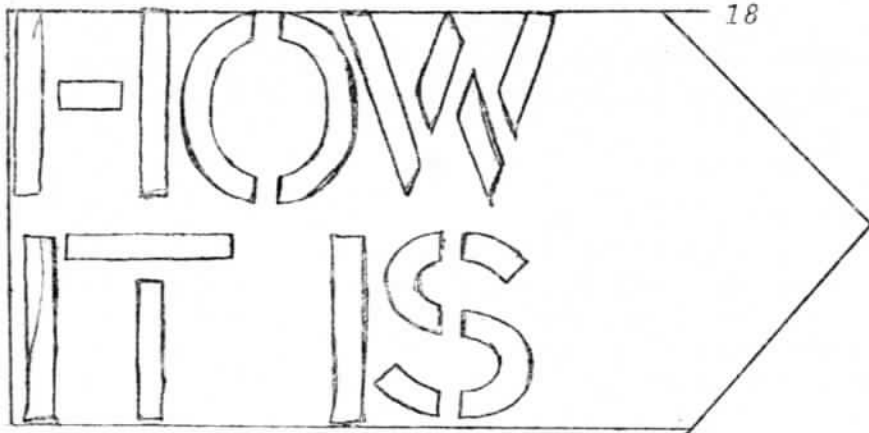
(Fred Halliday is the first British Journalist to have visited the liberated areas of Dhofar and it is to be hoped that we will be able to learn more of what is happening in this region and initiate some kind of discussion about it in 'Flashpoint')

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - ON ZIONISM

"The parallel between the situation of the Jews at the time of the coming of Theodor Herzl and the present situation of black people in America is fascinating."

"The facts of history show that the Jews were able to do precisely the same thing that Afro-America must now do ... The Jews did it. It worked. Now Afro-Americans must do the same thing."

("The Land Question" by Eldridge Cleaver, Ramparts. May 1968).



1970 - AN EXCELLENT YEAR FOR STRIKES IN ISRAEL!

Despite the disturbing rise in chauvanistic tendencies in Israel the Israeli working class have demonstrated that they have not lost their sense of working class solidarity and are not to be defeated by the bullshit fed them by the bourgeois press which tells them that they are traitors in a war situation when they strike. Needless to say the growth in capital investment and increasing profits, creating a sizeable affluent bourgeoisie in Israel is considered 'in the national interest.' The so called 'left-wing' press in Israel has yet again displayed its redundancy by attempting to persuade the workers 'in their own interests' to return to work and defer the embarrassing class struggle until a later date. 'Davar' the paper of the Histadruth (so called trade union movement) was especially vocal in its denunciation of the strikers. 'Al Hamishmar' the daily paper of MAPAM excelled itself during the time of the Nurses strike. When it informed the nurses of its 'deepest sympathy' with their claims but suggested that now was certainly not the time to persue these 'just demands'. The real left opposition in Israel has a massive task before them!

BREAKDOWN OF THE MORE IMPORTANT STRIKES

THE TEACHERS' STRIKE - lasted six weeks, was very militant, it is to be noted that the Teachers' Union has a fair number of SIACH members, in fact this is the only Union where they have any real foothold, their presence undoubtably contributed to the success of the strike.

THE POST OFFICE STRIKES

The Post Office in Israel has constantly been the scene of individual disputes. 1970 was no exception, sorting clerks, drivers and postmen have all been out, or engaged in 'go-slows' at least once during the year.

EL-AL MAINTENANCE CREWS

Another militant sector of industry. In 1970 there were two 'go-slows'. The Histadruth attempted a total sell-out of these workers.

POWER STATIONS

Despite the fact that the government threatened redundancies in Ashdod & Eilat workers continued to strike. The strike originated in Tel Aviv and was quick to spread.

AUTOCAR

A total shut down of the Autocar Company in Haifa by the workers employed there continued for around two weeks without Histadruth support. The pay rates here are about the lowest in industry.

This plant in Haifa has been the scene of continued militant action throughout the year. All action was initiated and carried out from the shop floor. The degree of militancy and organisation of the workers appeared to surprise management and the local Trades Council alike.

PURITANS DEFEATED

The religious puritans who are attempting to place a rabbinical stranglehold over the development of Israeli culture (and many other things besides) have suffered a minor set-back when the Knesset (Israel's Parliament) rejected a motion proposed by Agudat Yisroel (the Main Religious Party) to ban the musical "Kfotz" (Jump). Like "Hair" which is enjoying a very successful run, "Kfotz" contains nude scenes! It is to be hoped that these clerical biggots are given constant reminders of the fact that their ideology is irrelevant today.

SIACH RAISES PALESTINIAN FLAG ON CAMPUS

SIACH (Israel New Left Group) made a major demonstration of solidarity with the Palestinian people during November of last year. On three occasions they raised the Palestinian flag at the Hebrew University to show their recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to national self-determination. This was a courageous act in view of the fact that the Israeli campus is becoming a centre of reaction. Scuffles broke out during the demonstrations. It was felt that the whole incident was an end towards a polarisation of the situation, both sides becoming more numerous over three days, left wing students coming to appreciate that they had to act if their words were to have any meaning. Demonstrations also took place outside the home of Moshe Dayan and Deputy Prime Minister, Yigal Allon.

IPSAG expresses its full solidarity with SIACH comrades.

A PALESTINIAN CONGRESS

Plans have been made by a group of West Bank intellectuals, most of them from East Jerusalem, to establish a Palestinian Congress in opposition to that called by the Mayor of Hebron, Sheikh Ali Jabri.

MAPAM AID FOR JORDAN VICTIMS.

Despite the ambiguous position adopted by MAPAM towards the Palestinian guerrillas it must be noted that their activities during the 'Jordan crisis' last September are to be commended. They established a fund for the victims of the crisis and Bargali, the MAPAM Minister for Health urged the government to provide hospital facilities for victims in Israel.

MILITANT GROUPS FOR POOR ISRAELIS

Reports are reaching London that a 'Black Power' type movement is emerging amongst the Israeli Urban poor, especially in Jerusalem where plans for demonstrations and other activities are being made. Most of those involved are Jews of West Asian origin who are determined to fight the discrimination against 'Black' Jews and press the authorities to set-up aid for better social amenities.

(Information for this column has come from a number of sources notably the WJC Bulletin, Yedion Bulletin and Le Monde, CPI (Maki) Information Bulletin.)

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Kova Tembel (from Holland) in both Dutch and English

"Israel-Palestine" -(in French) magazine of the Israel-Palestine Committees.

Also from England - 'SEARCH'

And from Israel - 'NEW OUTLOOK'

The Borochov Press in Germany are at present producing a number of booklets and a magazine in English, these will be available from us as soon as they come out.

We also hope to obtain ACIID (a magazine from the U.S.) which contains translations from "Israel-Palestine".

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