

## Oppose Zionist Expansionism!

# Israeli Trotskyists Call for Hebrew/Arab Workers Revolution

*Editors' Note: The following is a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist nucleus in Israel at a June 5 demonstration in Jerusalem protesting the Zionist occupation of Arab territories in the 1967 war.*

As every year since the 1967 War the left groups are holding a demonstration against the occupation [of Arab territories]. But this year the demonstration is taking place against the background of a governmental crisis, already several months old, the results of the recent [October] war and the efforts to arrange an imperialist deal.

The last elections for the Knesset, which took place in December 1973, proved that the Ma'arakh [the coalition of the Zionist "labor" parties] has been weakened—receiving only 54 representatives (in the previous elections they received 56)—and the strength of the Gahal [the rightist Zionist bloc headed by Menachim Begin] increased. This vote reflected a lack of confidence in the government, which was seen as inefficient in organizing the war. The governmental crisis is occurring under pressure from American imperialism to retreat from the Sinai and from the Syrian Heights.

The usual partner of the Ma'arakh for its coalition governments, the Mafdal [the National Religious Party], prefers not to participate in the new Rabin government but rather to set up a "wall-to-wall" coalition with the Likud [a rightist bloc which includes the Gahal]. As in 1956, under the pressure of American imperialism to retreat from the "Third Israeli Kingdom" (Ben Gurion's expression), the present line of division between the different wings of Zionism runs between those who accept retreat under U.S. government pressure (to be sure, giving up as little territory as possible)—the wing represented by Rabin and his possible partners in the next government, the Independent Liberals and the Civil Rights Movement (the liberal bourgeoisie)—and those who oppose any kind of retreat, the Likud-Mafdal, who pin their hopes on the replacement of Nixon by the Meany/Jackson wing of the Democratic Party.

### The Terrorist Action at Ma'alot Pushed the Jewish Masses into Begin's Arms

The terrorist action at Ma'alot, for which the DPFLP [Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] took responsibility, was the result of a desire to hit at the present imperialist deal, and that after Hawatmeh declaring three months ago his desire for a "peace" (i.e., capitulation to imperialism). This action pushed the Jewish masses into the arms of the Gahal and gave the Israeli government an excuse for its mass murder in the Palestinian camps of Lebanon.

As Leninists, the international Spartacist tendency of course opposes the imperialist deal and supports the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arab nation. But a new reactionary war could not obtain the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arab nation; only a proletarian revolution in the Near East under the leadership of a multi-national Bolshevik party [can accomplish this].

As Leninists we are prepared to give military support to the Palestinian masses, even when they are temporarily under petty-bourgeois leadership, if this leadership will undertake independent struggle against the Zion-

ist state or the Hashemites, or the other Arab states. But we cannot defend in any way measures such as hijacking or murdering of children—even when the Israeli government has a heavy responsibility in this matter as well, by refusing to exchange the political prisoners for the children. Not even the Israeli government's vicious mass murder in the Lebanese Palestinian camps can provide any retroactive justification for the terrorist action at Ma'alot.

### The War and the Israeli Left

The new situation, in which the Egyptian bourgeoisie has become a serious competitor with Zionism as the keeper of imperialist order in the area, must lead to repercussions not only among the supporters of Rakah [the pro-Moscow Communist Party] who believed in the myth of a "non-capitalist road" in Egypt, but also among all militants of organizations such as Matzpen (Marxist), Matzpen (Tel Aviv) and Struggle, which consider themselves revolutionary while holding the oversimplified theory that the Zionists are the imperialist fortress in the area against the Arab nations. This theory is used to help them justify their support to the Arab bourgeoisie in the last war. Among all the left groups only Workers Alliance (Vanguard) correctly defined the character of the last war as a reactionary war on both sides. But this fact is explained as a result of being influenced by Zionist pressure instead of that of the Arab bourgeoisie. This was proved by its refusal to adopt the internationalist position of turning the reactionary war into a civil war, turning the Jewish workers against Zionism and the Arab workers against the Arab bourgeoisie. By this act [the Workers Alliance] proved to be part of the same camp of those who block the way of the working class to reach Marxism.

### Pacifist Illusions and Anti-Fascist Hysteria

The new situation in the area, which has resulted in the growth of pacifist illusions on the one hand and the strengthening of the [rightist] bourgeois Gahal party in Israel on the other, has caused the left groups to oscillate between chasing after pacifist illusions and hysteria, seeing the danger of fascism everywhere. No matter to which side they are pushed, they are serving the Rakah and the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Palestinian and Jewish protest movements.

Rakah is connected with the Russian bureaucracy, which believes that "peaceful coexistence" is possible with imperialism, and has as its perspective support for the Zionist wing which agrees to go to the Geneva talks (Ma'arakh). It leads the anti-fascist hysteria, arguing that whoever opposes the imperialist deal is responsible for the fascist danger in Israel.

But Gahal is not a fascist party, and its strengthening is the reflection of the increasing hold of the Zionist bourgeoisie over the Zionist petty bourgeoisie. There is no fascist danger today in Israel. Fascism, a movement of petty-bourgeois despair, can appear only in a situation of social crisis, not merely a governmental crisis as now in Israel, in a situation in which the working class is advancing but blocked by its traitorous leadership. In such a situation, the petty bourgeoisie turns to fascism against the working class.

We need only recall that [Jewish



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Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin

Defense League leader Meir] Kahane's slate received only 0.8 percent in the elections to be convinced that there is no fascist danger in Israel. What is more, if there were a fascist danger, no wing of Zionism could stop it, only the independent mobilization of the working class, only the workers militias could play this role.

The Struggle group has since the war remained firm in its Stalinist politics by supporting the new imperialist re-division of Palestine as "a step forward." So also did Matzpen (Tel Aviv). The Matzpen (Marxist) group is connected with the revisionists of the United Secretariat, which for years has tailed after Nasserism and the petty-bourgeois Palestinian leadership (Hawatmeh) as part of the strategy of petty-bourgeois guerrillaism. (Guerrilla war is certainly not the proletarian path.) With the appearance of the Jewish protest movement, under the leadership of Moti Ashkenazi and with the slogans of "Ministerial Responsibility" and "Removal of Those Responsible for the Failure," [Matzpen (Marxist)] jumped onto this bandwagon.

Tailing after the leadership of this petty-bourgeois movement, it published the shameless leaflet entitled "Moti, Be Careful," in which it spread illusions

about the possible "progressive" character of the movement instead of struggling sharply against the protest movement leaders in order to bring potential militants into the revolutionary movement (which requires propagandizing the full revolutionary program). Why should any sane person join a grouplet like Matzpen if he can be a member of a mass "progressive" movement?

The political line which guides this group [Matzpen (Marxist)], expressed in its action proposal for the June 5 demonstration [against the occupation of Arab territories], is cooperation with the liberal bourgeoisie (Moked, Ha Olamhaze) utilizing the argument of the "fascist danger." This line is, of course, the line of the "anti-fascist front," i.e., the popular front. The only reason why [Matzpen (Marxist)] does not already have support for or entry into a popular front on its record is the political situation in Israel and not its political line. It is a fact that it accepts the [Front Communiste Révolutionnaire] in France as a model, while the [FCR] supports the popular front of Mitterrand.

The Workers Alliance (Vanguard) is doing its part to spread pacifist illusions by publishing the leaflet "Let's Hear the Voice of the Youth for a Truly Just Peace Between Nations." This Stalinist formulation hides from the working class the fact that peace is possible only after the working class takes power. In the center of its propaganda is the organization of a reformist labor party and a democratic constituent assembly as the solution to national oppression, an approach which is nothing but open Menshevism implying the possibility of a bourgeois solution to the national question.

Lately, it has jumped into the swamp of "Arab revolution" theories, the horse whose tail it is grabbing being Habash (PFLP) in contrast to Matzpen (Marxist) which was tailing Hawatmeh [DPFLP]. These two "Trotskyist" groups together are ready to spread any kind of illusion, but not to raise the central issue of the unification of the working class against the state power. Behind the pacifist illusions that the left (from Rakah to Vanguard) is spreading hides the danger of a new war that no kind of halfway measures, no kind of class collaboration will be able to avoid. Only the united struggle of the Arab and Jewish working class under the leadership of a multi-national proletarian vanguard party, which will take power in all the Near Eastern countries and which will build a Near Eastern socialist federation as a part of a socialist world, can put an end to

*continued on page 5*



BLACK STAR

Palestinian refugee camp

**Continued from page 3**

## **Israeli Trotskyists...**

the national oppression as well as break the bloody chain of reactionary wars.

### **The National Question and the Permanent Revolution**

Despite the reactionary nature of the Israeli state, it is clear that there exists a group with a common culture, common political economy and territorial concentration which fulfill the Marxist criteria for a nation. Recognizing the right of self-determination for the Hebrew-speaking Jewish nation (not all the Jews in the world) is necessary to any democratic solution of the national question.

The Palestinian nation must not pay the price of the tragedy of fascism in Europe, just as the Hebrew-speaking nation must not pay the price of the Zionist crimes. Two nations with the same equal rights exist in the same geographical territory. Any denial of the equal rights of the two nations only aids the spread of the nationalist poison.

Socialists must call for a bi-national workers state as part of a multi-national socialist federation of the Near East. But we cannot force this solution. The Arab and Jewish masses must be convinced that this is the correct answer. And although Leninists must argue that a solution of two separate *workers* states would be foolish and even reactionary, in the case that the masses choose a solution of two different workers states we would support this as well. It is clear that in such a situation the Jewish workers state would be smaller than the present Zionist Israeli state.

At the same time Jewish workers have a special responsibility, since their ruling class is responsible for the oppression of the Palestinian masses, to demonstrate solidarity with their Palestinian brothers through a political struggle against the reign of colonialism, racialism, religious nationalism and territorial expansion. Any kind of economist approach which avoids this struggle is the best help that socialists can give to the Zionists or Arab nationalism.

We must struggle against Arab nationalism to the same extent as against Zionist nationalism. As Leninists we understand that the nationalism of the Palestinians is a deformed expression of opposition against national oppression, but any kind of nationalism is reactionary because it hides the cutting line between the classes, between the oppressors and the oppressed. Any kind of support for Arab nationalism is simply supporting the oppression of the Arab masses by their rulers.

The conclusions of the theory of permanent revolution are completely clear in the Near East. There is no national solution under capitalism; a truly democratic solution for the national oppression, not only of the Palestinians but of the Kurds and the blacks in south Sudan, is possible only under a victorious proletarian revolution. The struggle against national oppression must lead to a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Any other approach, in the name of any kind of "tactics," is no more than a barrier to the revolutionary path of the international working class.

**DOWN WITH REACTIONARY ZIONIST AND ARAB NATIONALISM!**

**FOR THE MULTI-NATIONAL BOLSHEVIK PARTY OF THE NEAR EAST!**

**FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!**

**FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION THROUGH THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION!**

**FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PALESTINIAN ARAB NATION AND THE JEWISH HEBREW-SPEAKING NATION!**

**FOR A BI-NATIONAL WORKERS STATE IN PALESTINE!**

**FOR A MULTI-NATIONAL SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE NEAR EAST!**

18 May 1974