

The Palestinian People will Smash U.S.-Soviet "Mini-State" Plot and Surely Gain Victory!

The struggle of the Palestinian people for the complete liberation of Palestine is one of the most important fronts in the International United Front against Imperialism. Their struggle, along with the struggles of other Third World people, is daily striking fatal blows, front by front, and daily weakening the Imperialists. Along with the proletarian movements in capitalist countries, the struggles of the Palestinian people and Third World peoples are undermining the very foundation of imperialism.

Driven out of their historical homeland, terrorized by the Israeli imperialist forces, hundreds of thousands of the Palestinian people are homeless and are forced to drift in the deserts or live like outcasts in refugee camps.

Malcom X once commented that the Palestinian people are, like all Arab people today, "one of the most politically conscious and the most spiritual people in the world." Thoroughly uprooted from their homeland, the Palestinian people are aroused by unprecedented oppression and have forged a powerful liberation movement.

Consistent support of the Palestinian liberation struggle is a major test for the US communist movement. In the US, where imperialist bribery in the form of conciliation to Zionism has a long tradition, the communists are under constant pressure to yield to opportunism. This bribery takes a rich variety of forms. The revisionist "C" P takes an outright social-imperialist position of recognizing the state of Israel and de facto rejecting the national rights of the Palestinian people. Many "left" organizations today, however, either evade or take a seemingly militant position but, in fact, sell out the Palestinian peoples national rights in favor of a "partial solution". The form of bribery, whether it be to please "progressive" labor leaders (such as D. Livingston of DC 65, who demonstrated in front of the UN against Arab "terrorism"), to yield to pressure of readership or membership in soliciting financial support, all serve to weaken the movement by denying full support to the national right of the Palestinian people.

The principal task in the young communist movement is to make a fundamental rupture from revisionism and to build an anti-revisionist communist party. To

make this break from revisionism, however, proletarian internationalism is key. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the modern revisionists.

The OL, tailing after the call for party building made by the RU, is making a feint to the "left" in order to distinguish themselves from the rightist Guardian. They now suddenly claim that the Guardian is a "wavering element in fighting modern revisionism." This, of course, is only a break in form, but not in essence. OL's position in support of the Shah of Iran, and their tailing after Arafat, is well known and represents a clear stand with the imperialists. On the question of Palestinian liberation, the OL and the Guardian for a long time had unity over the rightist line. The RU, although taking a correct stand on the Shah, had no grasp of either the general features of the national liberation movement, nor the particular features of the Arab people's struggle for liberation (the line struggle was not initiated by the RU, but was initiated by the Iranian Student Association.

What factors determine whether we will practice proletarian internationalism or chauvinism? The fundamental question is the stand. Whether you stand with the oppressed Third World people's struggle for independence, liberation and revolution, or with the imperialists and the reactionaries. Moreover, we also have to take painstaking steps to study, to grasp the general features of the national liberation struggle, and the particular features of the Palestinian struggle, in order that we take a correct position in support of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Now is the turning point of the Palestinian liberation movement!! The imperialists, after the October War, knowing very well that another war in the Middle East means the total victory of the Arab people and the end of their presence, are working over-time to implement the UN Resolution 242 and in particular the false concession-the Palestinian "mini-state"-to disintegrate the revolutionary movement and to liquidate the Palestine issue once and for all. They are also promoting the reactionary Arab regimes to take the lead in the Arab forces in order to safe-guard their long range interests.

A re-grouping of class forces has also been taking place since the October War. The powerful momentum of the revolution on

the one hand (as shown in the October War), and the would-be concessions of the imperialist's "mini-state" one the other, were all bound to throw some nationalist regimes and the national bourgeoisie within the PLO (represented by Arafat) into the camp of capitulation. Some of them are and will continue to collaborate with the imperialists in order to abort and ambush the accomplishments of the October War and to force a political settlement at the expense of the Palestinian people. This would have adverse effects on the future of their struggle and the genuine liberation of the Arab nations. The acceptance of the "mini-state" plan, the participating in the Geneva Conference, and giving up the plan to overthrow King Hussein of Jordan, all marked the desertion of the national bourgeoisie and Arafat from the revolution. PFLP and three other organizations have since withdrawn from the PLO executive committee in protest of the stand taken by Arafat. A break in the all-national united front of the PLO has begun; a new stage of the Palestinian revolution may be unfolding.

What are the basic factors that are operating in the movement?:

(1) The two tactics of the imperialists. The transition from armed imperialist aggression to would-be "peaceful settlement," from all-out extermination of armed resistance to the would-be concession of the Palestinian "mini-state."

(2) The unity and struggle with the Arab nationalist regimes. The unity with the consistent nationalist, anti-imperialist regimes such as Syria, Iraq, and Algeria, to win over the vacillating nationalist regimes such as Egypt, to isolate the reactionaries such as King Hussein of Jordan, Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and the Shah of Iran.

(3) The struggle between the two paths of the revolution: either the national bourgeoisie takes the lead, or the proletariat within the PLO consolidates its influence. Either the revolution will head towards the establishment of the rule of capitalism, or it will head towards the victory of a new democratic revolution as a setp towards a socialist revolution.

Hence, the correct or incorrect line towards the imperialist tactic, in particular, our understanding of the nature of the false "concessions" of the imperialists; the position towards the Arab nationalist regimes; and the position towards the national bourgeoisie within the Palestinian liberation movement will determine the victory or failure of the liberation movement in the immediate future.

OL-Guardian's Opportunist Stand Towards the PALESTINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

OL and Guardian's rightest position is



The national bourgeoisie, such as Sadat, turned his back on revolution and sought alliance among Middle East reactionaries and the imperialists/their direct representatives, like Kissinger.

clearly reflected in their position taken towards the Palestinian liberation. They tail after the national bourgeoisie in the united front against imperialism and do not understand the question of the direction of main blow, the importance of independence and initiative of the proletariat, ideologically, politically, and organizationally within the united front.

For them, there is no need for communists internationally to struggle over the question of which path for the Palestinian revolution.

From the experience of the Chinese revolution, Mao said:

"...the fact that certain elements among the national bourgeoisie are often past masters at deceiving the people. Why? Because apart from genuine supporters of the people's revolutionary cause, this class includes many who temporarily appear as revolutionaries or semi-revolutionaries, and who thus acquire a deceptive status which makes it difficult for the people to see through their lack of revolutionary thoroughness and their false trappings. This increases the responsibility devolving on the Communist Party to criticize its allies, unmask the fake revolutionaries, and gain the leadership. To deny the possibility that the national bourgeoisie may vacillate and join the revolution during great upheavals amounts to abandoning, or at any rate, minimizing, our Party's task of contending for leadership. For if the national bourgeois were exactly the same as the landlords and compradors and had the same veil and traitorous visage, there would be little or no problem of contending with it for leadership."

Failing to support the organized Marxist-Leninists and proletarian elements within the anti-imperialist movement, when they

do exist (such as PFLP and others) and to refuse to expose the national bourgeoisie's vacillating and capitulationist aspect is to abandon our duty as communists to give the fullest support to the national liberation struggle around the world. The OL and Guardian's rightest positions are manifest in their attempt to build up Arafat (OL even went so far as to print a poster of Arafat) who is not Marxist-Leninist and who is presently struggling against the proletarian forces within the Palestinian liberation movement. In addition, they also consistently tail after all moves by the anti-communist Sadat and Faisal, and even refuse to criticize the fascist Shah of Iran. Nowhere in the pages of the Call or the Guardian have they shown concern for the direction of the Arab movements or have they tried to educate the working class as to the collaborationist aspect of Arafat, or even Sadat, Faisal and the Shah.

Martin Nicolaus, in the series on Palestine in the Guardian last November, has nothing but praises for Arafat. "Arafat's speech in the UN, the fruit of years of bitter armed struggle against seemingly impossible odds, gave the PLO chairman an unassailable position as leader and spokesman of the Palestinian people." (Guardian, Nov. 27, 1974). Now, this statement stands in sharp contrast to Arafat's opposition to communists within the anti-imperialist movement. Arafat, since his capitulation to imperialism, has been promoted by not only the US imperialists, but also by the USSR as the sole leader of the PLO, in order to implement the bankrupt "mini-state" plan. The reactionary regimes in the Middle East are now solidly backing Arafat as a future partner. Here, Mr. Nicolaus tailed not only after Arafat, but the imperialists and the reactionaries in the Middle East as well. Mr. Nicolaus can only stress in his "analysis" that the Zionist and the pro-Zionist forces were dismayed about Arafat's speech in the UN. However, he refused to listen to the imperialists, who were quite satisfied with Arafat's speech. The Times stated that Arafat agreed to an independent state of the West Bank and Gaza, and that he offered his de facto recognition of Israel. (see "Why Sadat and Faisal chose Arafat," N.Y. Times Sunday Magazine, Dec. 8, 1974, and also "Which Arafat?" in the Sunday Magazine, March 23, 1975).

Lenin once said that the zigzags of bourgeois tactics causes a strengthening revisionism within the movement. It is no accident that the revisionist trend of the OL and Guardian jumped out both on the busing question as well as on the Palestinian liberation question, since both involve questions of phony concessions which weaken the revolutionary forces.

But what led to the OL and Guardian's deviations was not only the lack of understanding of the particular feature of the Palestinian liberation, but the fundamental question of failing to grasp the essence, the dialectics of the movements of "countries

want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution." This leads to their failure in grasping the essence of the world-wide united front against imperialism.

The first cardinal principle of proletarian internationalism is that we have to draw a clear line of demarcation between the oppressed nations and the oppressor, between the oppressed nations of the Third World and imperialism. On the one hand, we should unconditionally support all struggles of the Third World countries and peoples for independence, liberation, and revolution, as stated in Workers Viewpoint #2 (see our struggle against the Trotskyite "C" line on national liberation) and that we support the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles of the feudalists and national bourgeoisie (who may represent blatant self-interest) as long as their struggles are objectively anti-imperialist. That is why we unconditionally support the Arab countries' "oil weapon" during the October War, the unity of the forces against Israeli and imperialist aggression, the OPEC countries, and all raw material trade blocs, regardless of their composition, when they represent genuine anti-imperialist forces which weaken the power of the imperialists and super-powers.

However, although we promote the Third World countries' struggle for independence, which is led mainly by the national bourgeoisie in the state-to-state front, we cannot neglect the fundamental principal that it is the Third World people, in the final analysis, who are the moving force behind the anti-imperialist struggles. The victories in Cambodia and Vietnam clearly demonstrates that, though objectively anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie may weaken the dying grasp of the imperialists, only under the leadership of the proletarian party can the national democratic revolution be consistently guided down the revolutionary road to socialism.

Just from the history of the struggles of the Arab people, we can draw upon three important lessons:

(1) Historically, it is always the Arab people's struggles for independence that has pressured the ruling class to start wars against Zionism. Such was the case in the 1936 revolution; it was also clearly shown in the 1973 October War. The demand for the nationalization of oil corporations and the use of the "oil weapon" also came from the people's anti-imperialist movement. It is, in the final analysis, the people's movement that has moved independence struggles forward.

(2) The Arab people's struggles will go beyond the boundaries of the struggle for independence and the limits set by the bourgeoisie or the feudal kings.

The national bourgeoisie has dual character. They are anti-imperialist and, to some extent, anti-feudal, but they also have reactionary tendencies

Through protracted people's war and relying on their own strength, the Palestinian and Arab peoples, led by their Communist vanguard, will smash U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism's "NO WAR, NO PEACE" plots and surely gain national liberation.



to compromise and collaborate with imperialists and the forces of feudalism. (cf. "General Line", CPC). Typical of this vacillating character of the national bourgeoisie has been the case with Nassar and Sadat. They would compromise whenever the forces of the imperialists proved to be too strong as in the post-October War situation.

During the Oct. War, the Arab people wanted to continue the fighting even while they made plans to terminate the fighting. The people wanted total liberation and the destruction of Israel. So the growing movement of the Arab people sharpened their contradiction with their national bourgeoisie, and in particular, with the feudal kings. This is most clearly reflected in the historical experience of Hussein's collaboration with the US in 1970 to murder in cold blood the Palestinian resistance forces, and, more recently, the bloody suppression of the Dhofar liberation movement by the Shah of Iran. Failing to grasp this aspect of the national bourgeoisie, and in particular, the reactionary aspects of feudal kings, will lead us into the marsh of revisionism.

OL, in the name of supporting the Shah's anti-imperialist, will not take a stand against the Shah, which objectively takes a stand against the Iranian peoples' struggle and the peoples' struggle in Dhofar. This is not proletarian internationalism. This is social imperialism, pure and simple.

(3) Anti-imperialist struggles don't require or presuppose the existence of proletarian or Marxist-Leninist leadership. But to the extent that it has developed, it should strive to take the leadership in struggles against imperialism.

Since 1936, in the Middle East every revolutionary struggle inevitably led to the downfall of the old ruling class and the emergence of the new class leading the struggle. The proletarian forces have emerged in the course of the Pal-

estinian armed resistance and the Dhofar liberation movement. This will also happen in many other Arab countries.

And, as pointed out in the "General Line" (CPC):

On the basis of worker-peasant alliance, the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organize a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front, it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological, political, and organizational independence, and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

If the proletariat becomes the tail of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the revolution, no real or thorough victory in the national democratic revolution is possible, and even if victory of a kind is gained, it will be impossible to consolidate it." (General Line, p. 16-18, CPC)

OL and Guardian clearly do not understand this development and our internationalist duty to promote the proletarian elements in the anti-imperialist struggles. On the contrary, Mr. Nicolaus, defended Arafat and proceeded to criticize the "left-oppositional groups" within the Palestinian movement. For example, he condemned the withdrawal of the PFLP and others from the PLO executive committee as a "maneuver." (see Guardian articles on Palestine, Nov. 13 and 27, 1974). He does not understand that in the history of national liberation struggles, the proletariat may be forced to leave the united front with the national bourgeoisie and to wage resolute armed struggle against the bourgeoisie (similar to China in 1927, after the betrayal of Chiang Kai-

shek to the Chinese revolution and the massacre of the Chinese Communist Party cadres). Though it may be difficult for Mr. Nicolaus to make a correct assessment as to whether the withdrawal of the PFLP is correct or not, he could at least present their reasons for the withdrawal. Instead, he condemns their action, which may be a principled struggle for the proletariat, as a "bourgeois maneuver." On the one hand, he refuses to criticize the Shah of Iran. On the other hand, he is quick to denounce the communists thru whatever "loophole" he can find! Through his revisionist world outlook, he praises the feudal Shah of Iran while being obsessed with "ultra-left" communists! In essence, this position represents the pitting of the Third World people's struggles for independence against the Third World people's struggles for complete liberation and revolution.

Lenin said in an article "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" that:

There is not a single democratic demand which could not serve, and has not served, under certain conditions, an instrument of the bourgeoisie for deceiving the workers. To single out one of demands of political democracy, namely, the self-determination of nations, and to oppose it to all the rest, is fundamentally wrong in theory. In practice, the proletariat will be able to retain its independence only if it subordinates its struggle for all the democratic demands, not excluding demands for a republic, to its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Even though Lenin stated that in the first period of national movements, the essence of what he is saying - the dialectics between anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles with the struggle for class emancipation - holds as true now as ever before. Blind-folded by their petty bourgeois democratic "anti-imperialism", the forces like Mr. Nicolaus, the OL, and the Guardian cannot see this Leninist principle.

China's Position on the Arab and Palestinian Liberation Struggle and OL's Opportunist Distortions

A "shield" that the OL always used to justify their own reactionary position on the Shah of Iran is their distorted understanding of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. Since the People's Republic treats the Shah as an objectively anti-imperialist force, the OL feels that its own "policy" with regard to the Shah should be of uncritical support. This shows a total absence of a materialist understanding of the

present world situation as well as of the dialectics of the foreign policy of a socialist state.

The foreign policy of the PRC is subordinated to the general line of communist movement overall, "proceeding from the actual world situation as a whole ---based on concrete class analysis of world politics and economics as a whole and of actual world conditions". (A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement pp.4-5) For a socialist country, their foreign policy must --"develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation among the countries in the socialist camp (when it existed, now applying to socialist countries) in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of Five principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations." Most importantly here, the General Line goes on: "These three aspects are interrelated and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted" (Ibid.p.36)

China's foreign policy is one particular front of the overall class struggle, which, because of its status as status as a sovereign state, it can engage in. Peaceful coexistence is one part of the overall foreign policy, which is aimed primarily at combating and exposing imperialism's aggressive and warring nature. Through the policy of peaceful coexistence, a socialist state can show the people of the world who is really aggressive, who really starts wars of annexation and plunder, and who has to divide the world in its attempts at hegemony. Socialist China, as a state, follows a correct and revolutionary Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence with all different kinds of states regardless of their social system, whether it be imperialist, capitalist, or feudalist. This principle is a fighting principle in a particular front of class struggle against imperialism and all reaction.

This principle of peaceful coexistence, however, is especially important with regards to the present situation of the two super-powers with regards to the present situation of the Third World countries' fight against the hegemonic aims of the two super-powers. It can be used to united the Third World's struggle against the super-powers on the state-to-state front with the struggles for national liberation and proletarian revolution. It is part and parcel of the overall United Front against Imperialism, of uniting the many to defeat the few and destroying the enemy one by one.

How does the struggle on the state-to-state front objectively aid the class struggle in the Third World? In the article,

"The Middle East and the Super-powers' Contention for Europe," (Workers Viewpoint No.1.p.5) we said:

However, if we are to view the situation more closely, we will find that all these governments are supported militarily by either the U.S. imperialist or the Soviet social imperialist. To the extent that they can unite around their national interests on the oil issue against the Israeli Zionist, to that extent will the people in the area be aroused and expose the imperialists. On the other hand, to the extent that the oil boycott weakens the imperialists, to that extent will bourgeois and feudal regimes in the area be weakened. This is the dialectical relation between the movement for countries' independence and the movement for people's revolution. One creates the condition for the other.

The OL missed the whole dialectics of this relationship between the struggle on the state-to-state front and of the movement of the masses for national liberation and revolution. It is true and important to understand that the defense of socialist China is an important component of proletarian internationalism, as was for example, the defense of the Soviet Union during the Anti-Fascist War. Here, Iran, for example, is located on the Persian Gulf next to a sea route that can block the Soviet social-imperialist military containment of China, among other things. (See "The Middle East and the Superpowers' Contention for Europe" Workers Viewpoint, NO.1) It is correct, and in fact imperative that China should develop good state-to-state relations with Iran to establish deterrents to a potential Soviet social-imperialist invasion. But as the Chinese comrades themselves put it, "...But necessary compromise between socialist countries to engage in negotiations of one kind or another with the imperialist countries does not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should demand in the name of peaceful coexistence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggle". (emphasis ours.)

Now China would support a policy against imperialists and exercise their Proletarian Internationalism to the extent of "great national sacrifice". But OL would not take a stand against Shah of Iran. even without any danger of repercussions, without hampering any long-range fighting tasks against imperialism and all reaction. Where and what is the OL's state-to-state front? Whereby carrying out this task can further the revolution. And as a communist organization in the U.S. what is OL's understanding between the movements for countries want independence, nation want liberation,

and people want revolution? The dialectic that the OL should understand is that the 3rd world in general and Iran and Iranian peoples' anti-imperialist struggle in particular, has created conditions for proletariats in advanced capitalist countries to emancipate itself. That's the Iranian people's Proletarian Internationalism. Now the American communist should not only fight the US imperialism, though it is our main task, but also assist all revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people against imperialists and all reaction all reaction that are aided by the U.S. imperialism. This is the OL's concrete duty. So what's this fear of being "chauvenist" this or that? When it comes to support for Arafat, the "mini-state", criticism of ML movement in the Palestinian liberation, such as the PFLP, the OL does not "feel" chauvenist at all. But when it comes down to criticism of Shah of Iran, they suddenly "feel" its "chauvenist"! What else is it besides instinctive hatred for real revolutionary movement, the greatest locomotive of history, for peoples revolution!! What else is it besides OL's ass kissing prediction towards anything and everything that is authoritative and influential, follows and drift with stream and not standing up as communist should. What else is this beside the most negative trait of the petty bourgeois who just mechanically copy to evade communist responsibility. As Chinese comrades put it to the revisionist "How can you use the words of Marx to fight Marxism" !!!

"C"PSU and "C"PUSA's stand towards the Palestinian liberation movement

The Soviet Social imperialists and the revisionist parties, including the "C"PUSA and the "C"P of Israel, have been taling a lot about the popular, democratic struggles of the Palestinian people. But at the same time these revisionists have been taking a consistent stand against the national liberation struggles of the Palestinian people. The Soviet Union went so far as to openly state that "the Soviet Union's stand is in favor of Israel existing and developing as an independent sovereign state," and that "real progress towards a Middle East settlement will create prerequisites for the development of relations between the S.U. and all the states of the Middle East, including Israel." (N.Y. Times, Sept. 25, 1974). And most recently, Kosygin, the premier of the Soviet Social Imperialists, even came out saying that they will give "security guarantee to Israel."

The history of the Soviet Union's involvement in the Middle East is one of contention and collaboration with the US imperialists and Israel. In the June War of 1967, the Soviet Revisionists continued to "assure" the Arab countries that Israel would not attack them. When the war erupted

on June 5, together with US imperialism they hastily cooked up a "cease fire" in favour of Israel. Immediately following the war, the Soviet revisionists worked closely with the US to push for political settlement in the Middle East, to create a "no war, no peace" situation to facilitate their contention and division of spheres of influence. The UN Resolution 242, pushed by both the US and the SU, was a de facto recognition of the sovereignty of Israel, with secure boundaries, which denies the Palestinian people's national rights and treats them as a "refugee problem"

During the Civil War in Jordan, the Soviet Union not only supported Jordan's attacks on the Palestinian resistance movement, but also openly stated that she would act on behalf of Jordan if Iraq and Syria intervened to assist the Palestinian resistance movement.

During the Oct. War of 1973, the Soviet Union continued to ship manpower to Israel through the "emigration" of Soviet Jews after the war began, in order to strengthen Israeli forces. When the Arab people and Palestinian people started to win the war, the Soviet revisionists, in co-operation with the US, hurriedly drafted a resolution to impose on the Arabs and the Palestinian people. They called for an immediate "cease-fire" and charged that the Arab peoples' liberation struggle for independence "seriously menaces the maintenance of peace." The Soviet Union stated that she shared "the American desire to limit the conflict in the Middle East" and called for negotiations to work for "just and durable peace" based on the infamous Resolution 242. Every time the Arab and Palestinian people have risen in resistance to Zionist Israeli aggression, the Soviet Union has worked hand in hand with the US to impose their "just and durable peace." Of course, this "just and durable peace" is nothing except de facto subjugation of the Palestinian people's liberation movement.

Soviet Social Imperialism is dangerous in that it pretends to be in support of the Arab people's struggles. Its aim, nevertheless, is the same as that of US imperialism: to stamp out the fire of the national liberation struggles, to contend for world hegemony.

The true face of Soviet revisionism has been increasingly exposed in the Middle East and her influence lessened. Worried about losing out to the US, the Soviet Social Imperialists are now resorting to use their "support" of the PLO as a bargaining chip to pressure some Arab nationalist regimes to call for the Geneva Conference. This is why it is more important for us to expose the imperialist scheme of the Palestinian "mini-state," and their "support" of the PLO.

"C" PUSA has long been the faithful follower of the Soviet revisionists. For them the only road to solve the Middle East "conflict" is the Geneva Conference and the UN

Resolution 242. The "C" PUSA supported the existence of Israel and claimed that this was the only "correct" stand because it recognized the "right of self-determination" of the Jewish people. The "C" PUSA has also taken a consistent stand against the armed struggle of the Palestinian people for liberation by calling it a "terrorist movement." The recent changes in the positions of Arafat has won strong support from the "C" PUSA. The "C" P rejoiced over the "pronounced shift in its position in recent years toward greater political realism" and complimented the "abandonment of previous calls for the establishment of a singly Palestinian state through armed force and a de facto recognition of the existence of Israel." And it is of no surprise that the "C" USA has deep hatred for any genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces, and calls them the "terrorists." The "C" PUSA congratulated the PLO for the reason that "these extremist groups which do demand the destruction of Israel, led by George Habash's Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine, have rejected all negotiations and have withdrawn from the PLO." (Hyman, "The Palestinian Question and the Middle East Conflict." in Political Affairs, Jan. 1975)

The fight against imperialism, as Lenin put it, is a sham and humbug if it is not immediately linked up with a thorough fight against opportunism.

To educate the American proletariat in the spirit of internationalism, we have to wage relentless exposure of opportunism and chauvinism of all conceivable shades within the anti-imperialist movement and communist movement. We have to carry direct revolutionary propaganda and revolutionary mass action to support the Palestinian liberation struggle. We have to fight every deviation and evasion from that task. This is the only correct way for communists to support national liberation struggles of the Arab and Palestinian people today.

a Short History of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in the Middle East

1. 1948 - the downfall of the feudal bourgeoisie

The Palestinian people have had a long history of armed struggle for independence and liberation. As early as 1936-39, the Palestinian people revolted against the British colonial rule and fought for independence. Due to the collaboration between the Zionist and British imperialists, the reactionaries turned the revolutionary struggle into a conflict between the Jewish people and the Arab people. It paved the road for the UN to intervene and to impose a settlement to partition Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state.

This resolution of the UN was denounced strongly by the Arab people and Arab governments. Under heavy pressure from the

Arab people, the Arab leaders met in Cairo to plan for the war against the Zionists. They were divided and reluctant to wage war, however. Only Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon were pushing for war; Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, and Trans-Jordan expressed reservations. They decided to support a volunteer people's army but not to use their own national armies in a war against the Zionists. Despite their reluctance, the Arab people's fighting continued. War finally broke out in May, 1948, the day after the establishment of the "state of Israel." Unwilling and unprepared for war, the Arab countries were quickly defeated. Israel seized large tracts of Arab territory and occupied the Western half of Jerusalem. A million Palestinians were driven from their homeland by the imperialists to become refugees in neighboring countries.

2. 1952-67 - the rise of the nationalist regimes

The defeat of the Arab countries in the 1948 war paved the way for the downfall of the feudal-comprador governments. In this new stage, the masses were led by groups of young patriots, professionals, and army officers who mainly belonged to and acted through the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. In the late thirties and the early forties, these attempts took the form of political and military parties and organizations, both Pan-Arab and local. Starting from 1952 the petty bourgeois patriots led the Arab people to overthrow the reactionary feudal regime in Egypt. This nationalist revolution then spread to Syria, Iraq, Algeria, and the South Yemen. These nationalists, as represented by Nasser, advocated programs against colonialism, feudalism, and capitalism, and for national independence and "socialism."

The 1956 action of the Egyptian government to nationalize the Suez Canal, their resistance and defeat of the aggression of the Israeli and imperialist forces, their constant condemnation of Israel and "support of the Palestinian people's cause, are all clear examples of their anti-imperialist stand. The Arab nationalist regimes played a revolutionary role at this time. The imperialists tried to strengthen the reactionary kings, Faisal, Hussein, to safeguard their interests in the region. However, the nature of these nationalist regimes were conditioned by their nationalist ideologies, organization, and class basis. "This class is antagonistic to colonialism and reaction but at the same time wants to keep the privileges which it enjoys. It is this state of affairs that has defined the nature of the political, economic, military, and ideological programmes of these regimes." ("A Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine," P.F.L.P.) The fear to mobilize the masses -to wage a protracted people's war- due to their class interests, led them to heavy reliance on military build-up and conventional warfare programmes for the anti-imperialist

struggle. This contradiction crystallized in the defeat of the Arab countries in the June War of 1967 and the capitulationist stand taken by some Arab countries following the defeat.

3. 1967 June War - the bankruptcy of the nationalist regimes and the rise of Palestinian armed resistance

From the end of the Suez War, Israel, with the backing of the US, continued to carry out armed provocations against the Arab countries and unceasingly created tensions along the border. On June 5, 1967, Israel mounted a surprise attack on the Arab countries. In six days, Israel occupied Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of Jordan River, that part of Jerusalem under Jordanian administration, the Gaza Strip, and Syria's Golan Heights. Millions of Palestinians were driven to become refugees once again. This surprise attack by Israel led to a hurried united front among the Arab countries to fight back. Due to the total reliance on conventional warfare instead of people's war, however, the Arab countries were defeated.

The defeat of the Arab countries exposed the bankruptcy of the nationalist regimes' program for Arab liberation. It created the objective conditions which helped to accelerate the growth of Palestinian armed resistance. The Palestinians can no longer rely on the Arab nationalist regimes to fight for their liberation. The growth of armed resistance accelerated the process of terminating the stage represented by the nationalist regimes and thus prepared the way for the consolidation of a new revolutionary stage led by a new class capable, this time, of putting an end totally and radically to the contradiction between the Arab people and the imperialists. (cf. "Tasks of the New Stage, p. 8, P.F.L.P.)

4. Imperialist attack on the Palestine Resistance movement

During the second half of 1969 and the beginning of 1970, the resistance movement grew both in size and effectiveness and won strong support among the Arab peoples. This started to constitute the beginning of an Arab mass movement for national independence and liberation on a wide scale. The imperialists, frightened by the budding proletarian (Marxist-Leninist) ideology and organizations in the Palestinian resistance movement, and by its growing influence over the resistance and the Arab mass movement, decided to crush and eliminate the resistance. Some Arab regimes, such as in Jordan and Saudi-Arabia and Egypt, also feared the growth of a resistance movement which would someday challenge their existence.

In 1970, the Commando of the Palestinian resistance movement had openly condemned the acceptance of the imperialist's plans

for "just and durable peace" and had threatened to use violence to force a halt to acceptance of the Rogers Plan. The PFLP, for example, correctly analyzed the vacillation of some of the Arab national regimes and stated: "Egypt's acceptance of the Rogers Plan came as the logical step in the retreatist direction which the petty bourgeois military regime had found itself forced to follow, this despite its verbal and propagandist war." ("Tasks of the New State," p. 17, P.F. L.P.)

Then the resistance had achieved a level of military and political effectiveness capable of being the real obstacle in the implementation of the Roger's Plan. And these facts made it in the interests of the same Arab regimes to smash the resistance.

Washington, together with Jordan and Israel, prepared what was known as the emergency plan for Sept. 1970 under the leadership of Kissinger and Richard Helms (CIA director). Both the US and the USSR collaborated together in the extermination of the Palestinian armed resistance. King Faisal and the Shah of Iran had openly supported the plan. Nasser of Egypt went along with it until the killing was too heavy and the plan became less successful. This extermination campaign ended in the elimination of the open existence of the resistance movement in Jordan and the renewed domination of the regime over the Palestinian and Jordanian masses. The campaign, which lasted from Sept. 1970 to July 1971, caused the deaths of over 20,000 Palestinians. Nevertheless, they were unable to eliminate the Palestinian resistance movement.

And it is precisely after the failure of King Hussein's forces to eliminate the resistance movement that the US State Dept. and Nixon changed their tactic and came up with the Palestinian "mini-state" as part of the over-all settlement in the Middle East. Knowing the Palestinian resistance movement could not be ignored, the imperialists made a significant shift. Nixon stated openly that the US is "aimed at winning Palestinian support in the peace talk and their legitimate interests... should be respected." (N.Y. Times Nov. 16, 1970).

5. October War - Victory for the Arab people

The victory of the Indo-Chinese people's liberation struggle, and the mounting anger and frustration of the Arab people towards the aggressive policies of Israel, have led to the growing desire to liberate the occupied territories and Palestine. It was only under such tremendous popular pressure of the Arab people, and among the armed forces, that on Oct. 6, 1973, Egypt, Syria, and the Palestinian resistance rose in action against an armed attack by Israeli troops. The struggle of the armed forces and the people of Egypt, Syria, and the Palestinian comandos had won widespread support among the

people of the Arab countries and among most of the Arab governments. The Arab countries, by using oil as a weapon, for the first time, defeated the US imperialists and Israeli aggressors. This action was one of the demands that was raised by the Arab masses and Arab nationalist regimes and also supported by the reactionary Arab governments. Oil as a weapon pointed a new direction for the Third World countries' struggles and won strong support world-wide. It also forced the European countries and Japan to refrain from supporting the super-powers' aggressive policies in the Middle East.

When the Israeli forces were suffering heavy losses, total crisis, and demoralization; when the US imperialists were facing increasing isolation and economic hardship due to the oil embargo, the super-powers - the US and the USSR - imposed a "cease-fire" resolution in the Middle East. It was clear to the Arab people and nationalist governments then that if the war only continued for another three months Israel would have been in serious trouble and could have been destroyed. The Arab people would be able, once and for all, to liberate all occupied Palestinian territory. On Oct. 16, Sadat declared the acceptance of the cease-fire. He declared openly that he would recognize Israel and that he would urge some Palestinian leaders to participate in the Geneva Conference - another scheme fostered by the super-powers to impose "no war, no peace." Afraid of the massive mobilization and the revolutionary spirit of the Arab people, Sadat once again pinned his hope of liberation on the "sensibility" of the imperialists and Zionists.

Which Path to Palestinian Liberation?

Since the victory of the Oct. War, the conditions have grown steadily more favorable for the liberation struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people. Since the "oil weapon," the unity of the Arab countries, between Arab countries and other Third World countries generally have been strengthened. The Arab people have been aroused, and the people in the West Bank have started militant struggles against the occupation forces. Israel is facing grave internal crisis due to excessive militarization, but mainly due to the intrinsic character as an unstable, parasitic settlers' state, and as an out-post of the imperialists. The policy of the US is increasingly being isolated, so it will be increasingly difficult for her to wage another war in the Middle East with the **embargo of military bases in Europe.** The USSR is increasingly being exposed by her using arms supply to control Arab countries, and her open guarantee of Israeli security in the Middle East.

It is under these conditions that communists must be especially vigilant. The imperialists are working over-time to try to turn the victory of the Arab people into its opposite, thru false concessions, such

as the "mini-state." We must guard against every scheme of the imperialists to use false concessions to deceive the people and to disintegrate the revolutionary forces. Threatened by the revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary potential of the Arab people, the national bourgeoisie, such as Sadat, quickly turned his back to the revolution and sought alliance among the Arab reactionaries, Faisal and the Shah of Iran, and the imperialists. Sadat and Faisal want to seize all the recent gains, to strengthen all reactionary currents and to liquidate the revolutionary forces. They fully supported the imperialist scheme of the "mini-state" in order to liquidate the Palestinian issue once and for all. Suddenly, Faisal and Sadat are being promoted by the imperialists as the heroes of the Oct. War and the future leaders of the Arab world, while Arafat is being promoted by the imperialists to be the sole liberation fighter of the Palestine people.

Reactionary Forces wrest leadership of Arab Forces

Through the increase of oil prices and the oil embargo, the oil-rich countries were able to gain a great amount of wealth, some of which was used to finance the Arab countries and Palestinian commandoes during the war. This assistance also strengthened their influence and leadership among the Arab countries. Due to heavy military spending and internal economic crisis, both Egypt and Syria have liberalized their "socialist" oriented economies to encourage investment by the oil producing countries and to attract investments from the US, European, and Japanese. Sadat went as far as to sign a World Bank agreement that protects foreign investors against losses from nationalization. The oil producers have pledged \$3 billion to Egypt for development; the Shah of Iran has signed a protocol calling for \$850 million assistance in loans and other financial aid for a joint project last May.

These reactionary regimes, as regimes, as represented by Faisal, have been close allies of Zionism and the US for years. Even according to the N.Y. Times, Faisal's policy was "to prevent - at any cost - the radicalization of the Arab world." He favored a settlement with Israel as the surest means of immunizing the Arabian peninsula against radical contamination. He promised Kissinger, during the height of the oil embargo, to do all in his power to promote negotiations among Egypt, Syria, and Israel (see N.Y. Times Magazine, "Why Faisal and Sadat Chose Arafat?", Dec. 8, 1974). By the Rabat Summit Conference, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt had all publically endorsed Kissinger's step-by-step approach to bring about a "political" solution between the Arab countries and Israel. (see N.Y. Times, Nov. 30, 1974). Therefore, the successful conclusion of the 7th Arab Summit Conference in Rabat was not only

characterized by the increasing strength of the forces against imperialism, but also reflected the increasing consolidation of the reactionary Arab regimes in the leadership of the Arab countries.

They have also succeeded in getting Arafat to agree to the capitulationist policy of the "mini-state, to participate in the Geneva Conference, and to give up the idea of over-throwing Hussein. "Urged by Sadat, Arafat provoked a crisis inside the PLO expousing (nd for the first time) the acceptance of a Palestinian state limited to the West Bank, Gaza, and the Ham-mah region of the Golan Heights - whereupon the PFLP and other maximalists withdrew from the PLO. Thus Sadat made the PLO 'pal-atable to Faisal and credible to Kissinger,' (N.Y. Times Sunday Magazine, "Why Sadat and Faisal chose Arafat," Dec. 8, 1974). Arafat has been promoted by the Arab regimes, as well as the imperialists, as the sole leader of the PLO.

Why the Imperialists Chose Arafat

The PLO is a united front of more than thirty organizations for the liberation of Palestine. Arafat is the leader of the El Fateh, the largest organization within the PLO. The Fateh was formed in 1959 and it was the first group to raise the banner of armed struggle, in 1965. Therefore, it had played a historic, revolutionary role. However, the ideology of the Fateh is a bourgeois nationalist ideology. Arafat, for example, once said that "the important thing in any revolutionary movement is not propagating any ideology but actual action." (Basic Political Document, p. 69). The ideology of the Fateh is not socialist ideology; it is at best anti-imperialist and would capitulate whenever it is in their class interest. The class basis of the Fateh is petty bourgeois and national bourgeois. Arafat refused to make any class distinction among the Palestinian people and insisted that they all belong to a "new" class of refugees who cannot be defined according to class lines.

Arafat has openly condemned the mini-state plan (the Roger's Plan) under the pressure of the PFLP in 1969. In an interview, he stated that "the idea of the Palestinian state was aimed at aborting the liberation movement of the Palestinian people and their armed resistance." (Basic Political Documents, p. 95). Any Palestinian who was for the Palestinian state plan would have been called a traitor then. But what is his stand today? He had openly endorsed the Palestinian state, and according to the Times, he has sketched out proposals for the state's structure and resources already. But what about the total liberation and the re-unification of Palestine? The Times told us that it was only a dream for the pragmatist Arafat!! (N.Y. Times magazine, March 23, 1975). The Times had taken lot of space to explain the UN

speech of Arafat to convince the American people that he is "alright." In the editorial, the Times stated that "any interpretation of Arafat's speech as a declaration of war, not recognizing Israel's right to exist, totally missed the point." It said, "These interpretations avoided two important realities: the PLO's fall-back negotiation position is an independent state consisting of the West Bank and Gaza; and Mr. Arafat's offer to negotiate with Israel is a de facto recognition, which results in far less intent grief for him than would a statement of recognition, which Israel now demands. His willingness to sit down with Israelis preempts those demands." (N.Y. Times Sunday Magazine, Dec. 8, 1974).

After the stalemate of the "step-to-step negotiations" of Kissinger, the US bourgeoisie came out in the open to condemn Israel for the stalemate, to promote Arafat and to prepare the American public for accepting him. The Sunday Times Magazine again promoted the pragmatist, "peace-making" Arafat in a long, extensive article (see "Which Arafat?", March 23, 1975)

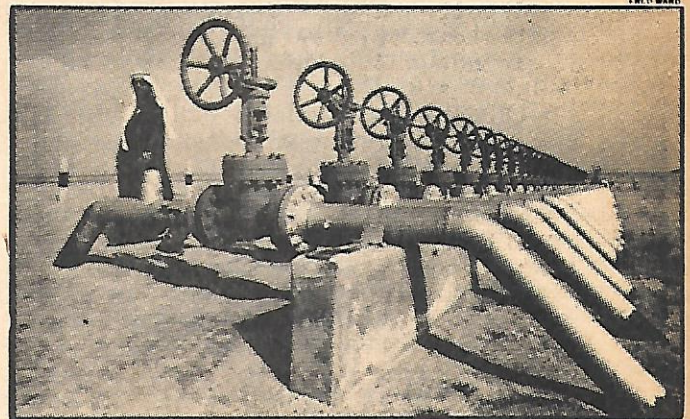
The Soviet Union, exploiting the stalemate, also invited Arafat to Moscow recently to discuss the plan to sponsor him and the PLO at the Geneva Conference. This is no accident that both super-powers chose Arafat; they know he will safe-guard their interests in the Middle East and that he will help to strangle the Palestinian revolution.

Two Line Struggle within the PLO

Up until the co-optation of Arafat, in 1974, the PLO had consistently rejected the UN Resolution 242, the proposal of the Palestinian "mini-state" as a plan to dissolve the resistance movement, and had proposed the formation of a Palestinian-Jordanian Liberation Front to overthrow the Hussein regime. On Sept. 16, 1974, however, the PFLP, the General Command, the Popular Struggle Front, and the Arab Liberation Front all withdrew from the PLO Executive Committee. They took the position that under the prevailing conditions - in terms of the balance of forces - that any settlement could only be for the interests of the imperialists, not for the Palestinian and Arab people.

The question of the Palestinian mini-state has become the pivotal question in the recent struggle within the PLO. The PFLP is against any attempt on the part of the PLO to set up a national authority on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (which cannot be a revolutionary authority that will lead to the total liberation of the people.) "...the acquiring of a national authority without struggle but by giving the other part of the land represents an abortion of the local revolutionary process and the first step in dissolving the revolutionary alliance of the Palestinian resistance internationally." ("Liberation, not Negotiation." p. 233)

The participation of the PLO in the Geneva Conference means the legitimization of the UN partition of 1947, and the Israeli aggressions since then. It will only serve to confuse the Arab people to which is the correct road to liberation: people's wars of liberation, or the "sensibilities" of the imperialist-Zionists. It also serves to disguise the true nature of the imperialists. This action will, therefore, disarm the Arab people ideologically and politically, and will greatly weaken the resistance movement.



The PFLP, with the other three groups, have since formed a Rejection Front. This Front is supported by the unions of the Palestinian people the trade unions, writers' union, student union, and the General Union of Palestinian Women. It has won support from among the Arab revolutionary forces: People's Front for the Liberation of Oman, the Arab Socialist Party-Syrian branch. It is also supported by the progressive Arab countries such as Iraq, Libya, Democratic Yemen, and Algeria. The struggle within the PLO is a fundamental question of taking a revolutionary anti-imperialist to liberation, or taking a retreatist class collaborationist path to the imperialists' trap.

In the era of imperialism, the united front against imperialism will have intense internal struggle: whether bourgeois ideology and leadership or proletarian ideology and leadership will prevail. This will determine the question of whether any anti-imperialist revolution can be carried through to its completion.

Chairman Mao said that in the new democratic revolution:

Without grasping the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, we cannot have a good grasp of our political line or of party building. One important component of the political line of the Chinese Communist Party is the policy both of unity with the bourgeois and of struggle against it. In fact, the development and tempering of the party through its unity and struggle with the bourgeoisie are an important component of party building. Unity here means the united front with the bourgeoisie. Struggle here means the "peaceful" and "bloodless" struggle, ideological, political, and organizational which goes on when we are united with the bourgeoisie and which turns into armed struggle when we are forced to break with it. If our party does not understand that it must unite with the bourgeoisie in certain periods, it cannot advance and the revolution cannot develop; if our party does not understand that it must wage a stern and resolute "peaceful" struggle against the bourgeoisie while uniting with it, then our party will disintegrate ideologically, politically, and organizationally and the revolution will fall! and if our party does not wage stern and resolute armed struggle against the bourgeoisie when forced to break with it, our party will likewise disintegrate and the revolution will likewise fail. (Selected Works, Vol II

"Introduction to the Communists")

In the Palestinian Question, the OL and Guardian promote all unity with the national bourgeoisie but no struggle against it. It means that when the communists unite with the national bourgeoisie, tail after the national bourgeoisie, and have no independence or initiative ideologically, politically, and organizationally, then the communists will not actively seize leadership and will surely fail. This is a passive united front, not an active one, and it will lead only to the disintegration of the revolutionary forces. This revisionist stand of the OL-Guardian led to their unconditional support of the class collaborationist Arafat; furthermore, to their condemnation of the PFLP's withdrawal from the PLO executive committee. They said, "We could find in it (the UN

speech) no hint that the PLO leadership intends to retreat from its stated goal of liberating the entire Israeli occupied land of Palestine from top to bottom." (Guardian, Nov. 27, 1975).

Martin Nicolaus, representing the OL-Guardian point of view, is truly a better defender of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself.

CONCLUSION

The Palestinian revolution is passing through a critical period. Although the outcome of the internal struggle of the PLO and the immediate future of the Rejection Front is not totally known to us, one thing we can be sure of, that the Arab people, as another sleeping giant, are awakened through the militant armed struggle against imperialism. The liberation forces, Palestinian armed resistance, and Oman liberation front, are growing daily through their heroic struggles against imperialism and local reaction. The militant unity among these liberation fronts are also growing. Class struggle within the Middle East countries is progressing in favor of the revolution. Proletarian elements are emerging. Thousands of industrial workers and students in Egypt have been demonstrating against inflation and low wages. These struggles of the workers have already forced the changes of cabinet in Sadat's government. In Israel, workers also revolted and protested against the high prices (60% inflation rate) and deteriorating living conditions. In Iran, workers and peasants carry on militant struggles despite the fascist laws. The conscious working class, coupled with anti-imperialist struggles, is shaping up a real leading force in the struggles against imperialism and all reaction. As Stalin said

The principal pledge of the victory of the revolution is the growth of the revolutionary activity of the vast masses of the working people, and the principal antidote to counter-revolution is the arming of the workers and peasants."

Stalin, On Chinese Revolution, P.38

We are fully confident that the Palestinian people will carry the armed struggle and smash the imperialist plan of the "mini-state". PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WILL WIN ■