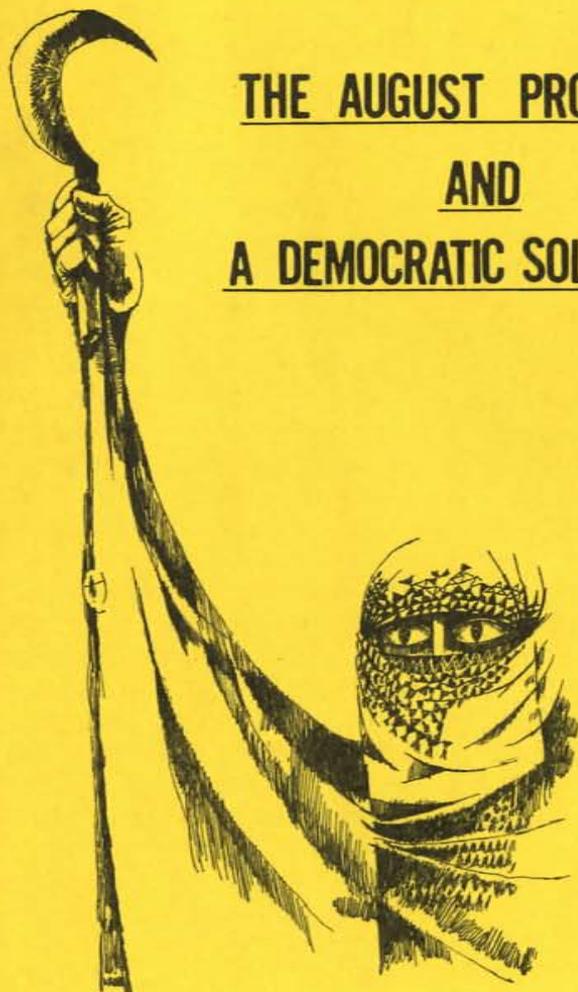


DPFLP

DEMOCRATIC POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

THE AUGUST PROGRAM
AND
A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION



DEMOCRATIC POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE
(DPFLP)

The following analysis was put forth by the Marxist-Leninist wing of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who later split from that front in February of 1969 and formed the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The DPFLP's analysis presents the progressive understanding of the struggle of the Palestinian people, in particular and the Arab masses in general, against Imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction. The analysis explains the failure of the Palestine revolts in 1936 and 1948 and the factors which caused these failures, it also explains the failures of the present Arab regimes, with their feudal-bourgeois ideologies, to bring about any internal or external change.

This analysis is also applied to the Palestine Liberation Movement and the forces that are working with it and against it. It states the necessity of the oppressed class to be equipped with a revolutionary ideology and to be able to implement it through the build up of the vanguard as an assurance of the continuation of the revolution along the path of progress.

The second article by the DPFLP (now the second largest guerrilla organization) presents a democratic-socialist solution to the Palestine - Israeli problem.

The implementation of these revolutionary programs has manifested itself in the creation of people's militia, popular councils and a united national front independent from unpopular outside forces.

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

BUFFALO

THE POLITICAL REPORT
OF THE
POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE*

The national Palestinian question cannot be separated, all through history, from the circumstances which involve Palestine and international struggles. A scientific historical review of the Middle East situation reveals that there is a dialectical relationship between the development of the Palestine situation and that of the Middle East in general and the immediate area surrounding Palestine in particular. The totality of these developments has decided, and is still deciding, the future of Palestine and its struggling people.

The modern history of Palestine ultimately proves the validity of this historical truth. The weakness of the Ottoman regime which was based on religious feudalism, in the face of European capitalism, prompted imperialism to covet the inheritance of the Ottoman Empire and to divide the "sick man of Europe." At the same time Zionism, led by Jewish capitalism, began to envisage the seizure of Palestine under the pretext of religion, in order to establish a Zionist racist movement encompassing Jewish groupings in different countries of the world. As a result of their common interests, the colonial-imperial powers and Zionism, which opposed the liberation movement of the Palestinians and the Arabs, formed one bloc in the face of the Ottoman Empire.

Following World War I, two of the imperialist countries—Britain and France—annexed the Arab East. (In 1917 Britain had published the Balfour Declaration which gave Zionism a national right for the Jews in Palestine.) The British attitude was not accidental, or an error on the part of its foreign minister, but was an objective result of its imperialist policy in the Arab East. The aim was to implant in the Arab world an armed human stronghold

(*) The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, *The Basic Political Report of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine*, August 1968.

for imperialism which would resist the Arab nationalist liberation movement whose success would threaten imperialist bases and interests in their entirety in this strategic area of the world. In addition, the attitude adopted by Britain was in compliance with Zionist aspirations to settlement, which agreed with colonial-imperial plans, and opposed Palestinian-Arab national liberation aspirations.

The Arab feudal regimes in Palestine and the other Arab states provided imperialism and Zionism with good opportunities to execute their plans for Palestine in particular, and for the other Arab states in general. Since their establishment the Arab feudal regimes—essentially bourgeois—have associated themselves with the colonialist-imperialist powers, i.e., the counter-revolutionary bloc, against the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements. The common interests of imperialism and the Arab feudal regimes have led to an alliance between them. Such an alliance is best exemplified in the protection accorded by imperialism to the Arab feudal regimes and the exploiting class, in addition to the protection it has given to its own imperialist exploiting interests. Furthermore, the Arab regimes protected the interests of imperialism since neither of them could exist in the area without the help of the other.

As a result of the dependence on imperialism of the Arab feudal, bourgeois regimes, they remained handicapped *vis-à-vis* Zionist aspirations, and the promises made by imperialism regarding the judaization of Palestine. These regimes were satisfied by merely calling on the "ally" Britain to understand the rights of the people of Palestine.

It is natural that the reactionary Arab regimes took such a defeatist attitude towards the judaizing of Palestine because, as a result of their feudal-bourgeois set-up, they could not confront the plans of imperialism and Zionism with the force of arms and popular national revolutions. Reactionary regimes, at all times and places—and this applies to the Arab states—fear the masses more than they fear imperialism. The confrontation of imperialist and Zionist plans requires arming and organizing the people and this is specifically what the reactionary regimes refuse to do, as they oppose national liberation in the Arab states and in the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Furthermore, the interests and existence of these regimes, by the very nature of their feudal-bourgeois structure, are intrinsically connected with the interests of traditional imperialism and neo-imperialism in the Arab world.

Thus since the beginning of the modern history of Palestine, it has become clear that the destiny of Palestine will be decided by the struggle of a national movement. This will be essentially a class struggle between the national liberation bloc on the Palestinian and Arab land and the enemies of the liberation movement, such as imperialism, Arab reactionary regimes in alliance with imperialism, and world Zionism.

Since the comprador, feudal-bourgeois classes, by their control over the suppressive, police-like agencies of the government, were able to dominate the leadership of the national movement, the destiny of Palestine was predictable. In spite of all the slogans put out by the governing classes, they adopted a cooperative and defeatist stand *vis-à-vis* the judaizing of Palestine. Instead of defying imperialism and opening a national front against it—but this is not in the nature of the reactionary ruling classes—these classes undertook, throughout the history of the Palestinian and Arab liberation movement, a policy of suppression and siege *vis-à-vis* revolutionary national forces. At the same time the ruling classes continued to cooperate with imperialism and protect their interests in the Arab world, foremost among which is the exploitation of Arab oil.

If one analyzes the history of Palestine, it becomes clear that the history and destiny of Palestine is decided by the totality of the circumstances involving Palestine and international policies and struggles. The modern history of Palestine is a proof of the truth of such an argument. The 1948 defeat came at the hands of religious feudal Palestinian leaders such as Hajj Amin al-Husseini, the bourgeoisie, such as the Independence Party and the Defence Party, etc., and the Arab feudal regimes exemplified in the Arab kings and presidents. This defeat gave direct evidence of the dialectic connection between the actual state existing in Palestine, the Arab world, and the international set-up. The disaster of Palestine and the creation of the "state of Israel" is the result of the Palestine-Arab dialectic.

* * *

This condensed introduction is necessary in the present decisive circumstances through which the Palestine question is passing in order to point out the inevitable connection between the developments in the Arab world and the destiny of the Palestine question. The developments which took place, and

are still taking place, in the Arab world and throughout the history of Palestine, touch, in one way or another, on the situation and destiny of Palestine. Any attempt to ignore such a question is suspicious; it is a reactionary, imperialist or Zionist attempt.

At the present stage the national Palestinian question is passing through its most difficult phase. To be more specific, since the June 1967 defeat, proposals have been made, and are still being made, by some Palestinian and Arab rightists calling for the isolation of the Palestine struggle movement from all the happenings and developments in the Arab area under the slogan of "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries." In the final analysis this slogan, at the hands of the Palestine resistance movement, has been transformed into "non-interference in Palestinian affairs," since what happened, and is happening, in the Arab land is dialectically connected with the Palestine question, and the lessons of 1936, 1948 and the 1967 defeat are still fresh and before our eyes. After June 1967 the Arab regimes did not isolate themselves from the Palestine question and whatever happens inside their countries touches on the Palestine question.

The reactionary Palestinian, who is partnered by the Arab reactionary rightist in his call for a separation between the Palestinian question and the Arab regimes, implants the beginning of a new political or military defeat. This defeat will lead to the liquidation of the Palestine question in accordance with the political settlement proposed by the Security Council on 22 November 1967. Such a call on the part of the reactionary Palestinian rightists aims at ignoring historical facts and obliterating the contradiction between the existing Arab regimes, which were responsible for the 1948 disaster and the 1967 defeat, and the question of liberating Palestine. With regard to the imperialist-colonialist-Zionist attack of June 1967, the Arab reactionary and defeatist regimes have issued suspicious statements concerning the dimensions of the national liberation movement within their countries. Similar statements have been made about the lessons and results of the 1948 disaster and the 1967 defeat, the responsibility for which falls on the existing regimes. At the same time these regimes continue to handle the Palestine problem on the basis of the Security Council resolution. Thus, the Palestine resistance movement should judge the Arab regimes on the basis of their actual stand *vis-à-vis* the Palestinian national problem. Otherwise, the Palestinian resistance movement will lose its Palestinian identity and will be transformed into a

"quantitative addition" to the present circumstances and to the existing Arab regimes responsible for the failure of the 1936 revolution, the 1948 disaster, and the 1967 defeat. Any public examination of the Palestinian national question cannot be isolated from the examination and criticism of the circumstances of the Arabs responsible for the "historical dilemma" which now faces the Palestine problem after the June defeat. The existing Arab regimes, and the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements, are faced with two basic alternatives *vis-à-vis* the Palestine problem. The destiny of Palestine depends on one of these alternatives: the liquidation of the problem, or the adoption of a popular liberation plan. Any judgement to be passed on these alternatives is not isolated from the work plans of the existing Arab regimes and the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements. The formulated plans, manifested in daily interpretations from the June 1967 defeat until the present day, will decide which alternative will be adopted, liquidation, or national liberation. The question of choice does not depend on the will, or intentions, or emotional and demagogic slogans, but on the daily work programs which the existing Arab regimes and the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements adopt and practise. To make claims contrary to the actual facts and adopt demagogic slogans is an expression of rightist reactionary behavior whose result will be another political defeat, or a military defeat which will be crowned by a political defeat.

Lessons from the June 1967 Defeat

The June defeat was not only a military one, but also a defeat for the totality of the class, economic, military and ideological set-up of the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements (official and popular). The feudal-bourgeois Arab regimes were not responsible for the June war and defeat because those regimes had already revealed, in 1948, the utter bankruptcy of their policies. However, the June defeat was not only a military defeat. In 1948 the disaster had been a defeat to the feudal-bourgeois regimes and all the class, political and reactionary practices that they represented. These regimes were responsible for the under-developed economy of Palestine and the Arab world, which was at the mercy of international capitalism. Furthermore, those regimes, because of their feudal-bourgeois structure, failed to solve the dilemmas of the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements, by achieving their countries' economic and political independence from international capitalism, colonialism and imperialism. On the contrary they

collaborated with the colonial powers to protect their class privileges in the economic and political fields. It was these regimes who sided with colonialism against the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements. Throughout their modern history they have followed a policy of encirclement and suppression towards the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements, (e.g., the 1919 revolution in Egypt, the 1939 revolution in Palestine, and the 1941 revolution in Iraq).

As a result of the nature of those regimes which are under-developed, feudal, bourgeois, weak and in alliance with colonialism and imperialism, they could not form modern national armies capable of protecting their countries and confronting the imperialist and Zionist policies in Palestine and the other Arab countries. Thus, those regimes entered the 1948 war with weak armies and only attempted military and political action within the geographical limit of the partition resolution.

The disaster and the creation of the "State of Israel" came as a result of Palestinian and Arab conditions which were dominated by feudal, bourgeois and under-developed regimes, in alliance with colonialism. Such results also indicate that the elimination of the state of Israel and the "liberation of Palestine" depend on the rejection of feudalism, colonialism and the bourgeoisie, the basic causes of the disaster. This is what the lessons of 1948 offered to the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movement. President Nasser was right when he said to his comrades that "the defeat was not decided in the battlefield, but here in Cairo," and "the liberation of Cairo from the feudal-bourgeois regime of King Farouq, in alliance with colonialism and Arab reaction, constitutes the basic requirement in the national work plan for the liberation of Palestine."

Thus, the basic point in the program of the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movement became the liquidation of the feudal-bourgeois regimes responsible for the 1948 disaster. The liquidation of these regimes has paved the way for the national liberation movement to overcome the dilemmas of the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements. Such liberation required the destruction of the under-developed feudal-bourgeois economy, linked as it was, with international capitalism, and the setting-up of a modern national economy (through industrialization and agrarian reform) independent of international capitalism. It is impossible to build reg-

ular or popular armies capable of taking part in a long term war against counter-revolutionary forces on the soil of Palestine and the Arab countries (Israel plus colonialism plus reactionary Arab regimes in alliance with colonialism) without building a solid economic base free of pressures exerted on it by international capitalism and colonialism.

Since the 1948 disaster the national Palestinian and Arab revolutionary movement has entered a new phase with regard to class, ideology and politics. In the light of the bankruptcy of the feudal-bourgeois regimes and leadership, which wholly allied themselves with the counter-revolutionary forces after the disaster, the national resistance movement began to adopt new class, ideological and political definitions. The basic features of such definitions could be traced back to World War II. The emerging petit bourgeois class, which perceived the bankruptcy of the feudal-bourgeois class with regard to the solution of national liberation dilemmas, adopted an active nationalist policy hostile to colonialism, imperialism and Zionism.

The new leadership proposed the establishment of an alliance between workers, peasants, the poor and the military. Thus, the petit bourgeoisie began to play the role of the leading class as their ideology became dominant.

This national struggle, which is basically a class national struggle, was expressed in the changing class, economic and political programs — officially represented in the United Arab Republic, Syria, Algeria and to an extent in Iraq — which aimed at disrupting the alliance between feudalism, capitalism and imperialism. This leadership also attempted to solve the dilemmas of national liberation and the democratic national revolution. It broke up the feudal economy which was bourgeois and compradoric in nature, and established an economy which depends in the first place on light industrialization. It attempted to solve the problems of the agricultural sector of the economy in favor of the wage-earning peasants and the poor. All this was done to establish an economic base, independent of world capitalism; and a national political and social base, hostile to colonialism, imperialism and Zionism; and to build modern, organized, national armies with which to protect the homeland and liberate Palestine. In face of the fierce national-class struggle, the forces of counter-revolution did not wait long. They began to plan the 1956 Anglo-French-Zionist aggression to liquidate the regime which was hostile to imperialism, reaction and Zionism, and which threatened the interests and

basis of the counter-revolutionary forces in Palestine and the Arab world. After the 1956 aggression, neo-colonialism — headed by the United States of America — attempted to patronize the Arab national liberation movement. But the national regimes resisted this encirclement and continued to fight their national battle against traditional colonialism and neo-imperialism. This continued in accordance with their hesitant petit bourgeois class nature. Eventually the Americans were convinced of the failure of their policy of peaceful encirclement to break the Arab national liberation movement, to liquidate the Palestine problem in the interest of Israel, and to re-arrange the class and political map of the Arab world for the benefit of the bourgeois-feudal regimes, which act as the material and political base for imperialism in the area and guarantee the security of the state of Israel.

Thus it was not the Arab reactionary regimes, but the nationalist regimes and the whole Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements who were responsible for the June war. Why did they fail? And with what work program did they face the June defeat?

Theoreticians of the Palestinian and Arab petit bourgeoisie, reaction and the bourgeoisie proper, gave explanations and analyses of the defeat which were limited to the educational, technical and cultural superiority of Israel and American imperialism which protects it. The Arab countries are under-developed, small and cannot "confront and fight" American imperialism which is far superior technically to any under-developed country in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This group of analysts concluded that to be able to defeat Israel we should become superior to it in education and technology.

Another group of petit bourgeois and feudal intellectuals attempted to explain the defeat in terms of technical military faults committed by this army or that, such as their unpreparedness in the face of the devastating surprise attack on the Arab air forces.

The Palestinian and Arab petit bourgeois and reactionary theoreticians and analysts deliberately neglect the facts of modern history in their analysis of the Arab defeat in June. They ignore the basic reasons for the acceptance of the six-day defeat, in spite of the heated slogans prior to 5 June, such as "inch by inch," "popular liberation war," "the policy of the scorched earth." These slogans formed the material objective antecedents to the following

result: the June defeat. If the educational and technical superiority of Israel and imperialism is the main cause of the defeat, what is the explanation for the ability of the North Vietnamese people to confront half a million American soldiers in addition to half a million soldiers of the Saigon Government? If we did not have the ability as a weak and under-developed country to resist and fight the United States, how can the ability of the Vietnamese and Cubans to fight against American imperialism be explained? And if the defeat was a result of a vast number of technical military faults, how can one explain the acceptance of this defeat and the disappearance of the above-mentioned slogans, particularly at a time when Vietnam is conducting its popular revolutionary war "inch by inch," both in word and deed, and its war is not devoid of set-backs and defeats?

If the people of Palestine and the peoples of the Arab world accept the analyses of the reactionary and petit bourgeois theoreticians, it will need more than a century to catch up with the Zionist-imperialist educational and technical superiority, and overcome the wide cultural gap between the under-developed agrarian countries of the Arabs and modern industrialized Israel, supported by American imperialism.

The facts of the modern revolutionary history of the under-developed nations expose and falsify the claims of reactionary and petit bourgeois theoreticians. They also disclose the basic cause for the Arab defeat in June, as well as the resistance of the small Vietnamese nation (30 millions), and of the Cuban nation (7 millions) in the face of American imperialism.

There are in Vietnam and Cuba national regimes composed of the proletariat and poor peasants, which use the material, cultural and moral potentialities of their countries to solve the dilemmas of national liberation, and the democratic national revolution. This is achieved by liquidating all the material and moral class concessions (feudal and bourgeois) and by the establishment of the solid material base for economic and political independence through heavy industrialization and agrarian reform. In society, the revolutionary classes head the alliance of classes and political forces which oppose feudalism, capitalism and imperialism. Such a national economic and political program can mobilize and arm all the revolutionary classes to solve the dilemmas of national liberation and foster the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Under such circumstances the slogan of popular libera-

tion acquires its practical connotations where the working and poor masses are organized into a popular militia force, partisan phalanges, and the regular national army in order to defeat imperialism and the local forces in alliance with it.

In the Arab world the problem is different: the circumstances and composition of the Palestinian Arab national liberation movement were responsible for the June war, and it is that movement which must be responsible for the reversal of the June defeat. The petit bourgeois class occupies the leading role in the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements and this class has led the entire range of the class, political, economic and military changes within the ideological, class and political structure of the petit bourgeoisie. In June 1967, this program was the one which was defeated. The economy that was set up by the petit bourgeoisie could not resist the Zionist-imperialist attack because it was a consumer economy based on light industrialization and agrarian reforms (the redistribution of land to raise self-sufficient production). Such an economy — following the closure of the Suez Canal — was forced to retreat and ask for assistance from the reactionary oil-producing countries, to be able to sustain itself.

As for the political and ideological relationship, this class remained at the head of the social-political pyramid and translated the alliance of the popular working forces into an alliance which put it at the top of this pyramid and the masses — workers, peasants, the poor, soldiers — at its base. Therefore the petit bourgeoisie remains in control of the totality of changes that are taking place in the Arab homeland and in the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements.

Because of the nature of the petit bourgeois class — which fears the popular masses as much as it fears the feudal-capital concentration — it could not through its ideological, political and class program "build a national war economy" independent of world capitalism. As a result the petit bourgeoisie could not break all its connections with neo-colonialism and world imperialism in general, and American imperialism in particular.

The petit bourgeoisie has gambled with the necessity of protecting the country and preparing it (economically, politically and militarily) for the liberation of Palestine. It gambled on the regular armies, refusing to arm the

people and train and organize them into popular militia forces, thereby putting the slogan of "popular liberation war," which they had superficially adopted, into practice.

Under such circumstances, and with this national program, the petit bourgeois regimes entered the June war, only to prove that such a program cannot resist neo-imperialism and Zionism. The moment the defeat of the regular armies became known, these regimes asked for (or accepted) a cease-fire, and all their revolutionary slogans — "fighting inch by inch," "the popular liberation war," and "the policy of the scorched earth" — evaporated.

The petit bourgeois regimes had to choose between two alternatives. The first alternative was to follow the Vietnamese and Cuban experience by drastically changing the national work program of their countries. This could be accomplished by mobilizing the material, human and moral capabilities of society and the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements, and by arming the masses and waging a revolutionary popular liberation war. This war should be directed against all the interests and bases of colonialism, Zionism and reaction in alliance with colonialism; and should apply the slogan "fighting Israel and those supporting Israel" by resisting all the counter-revolutionary forces which support Israel or which interact with those who support Israel. By doing so the balance of power would start to shift to the side of the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements, and the possibility of antagonizing the United States would become practical. Moreover, Arab human superiority — waves of fighting people — would overcome the Israeli-American technical superiority as happens daily in Vietnam and Cuba.

The second alternative was to stick to the positions and programs which prevailed before June 1967 and which resulted in the June defeat. This would mean that the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements would be forced to retreat continuously in the interest of Israel, imperialism, and Arab reactionary forces in alliance with both neo- and traditional colonialism. This is what actually took place and it was not by accident. The feudal-bourgeois regimes cannot wage a war on colonialism and imperialism since they have formed alliances with imperialism against their people and the national liberation movements. Since 1948 they have proved that they cannot protect the homeland and liberate Palestine and they have allied themselves wholly to

the counter-revolutionary camp. Moreover, the national regimes which are hostile to colonialism and Zionism are incapable — because of the nature of their petit bourgeois ideological class structure — of drawing up and executing programs for a “popular liberation war” since this would necessarily require them to give up all of their material, political and moral concessions in favor of the economic, political and military program of the “popular revolution” against Israel and neo-imperialism. In the course of history no class has worked in a manner harmful to its interests, and given up voluntarily its interests and concessions to save its country from disintegration.

The Vietnamese-Cuban course of action is the only course leading to victory for under-developed countries against the educational and technical superiority of imperialism and neo-colonialism. The rejection of this course necessarily means the adoption of a policy of retreat in the face of Zionism and neo-colonialism, led by the United States of America, enemy number one of the under-developed countries throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The progressive and reactionary Arab regimes, for the last fifteen months, have adopted the same positions and programs which were adopted prior to June and which resulted in the defeat. They have adopted the policy of continuous retreat. First they declared that the Security Council resolution was rejected, then they considered it insufficient, then ambiguous and demanded that certain clauses (especially passage through the Suez Canal) should be linked to the whole Palestine problem, and lastly they accepted the Security Council resolution as a whole without any conditions coupled with statements of re-assurance to Israel considering it one of the facts of the Middle East.

Any objective look at the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967, proves that its acceptance and execution means the beginning of the liquidation of the Palestine problem. The Security Council resolution is in itself an imperialist plot for the liquidation of the Palestine problem. The resolution stipulates:

- The right of each state in the Middle East to live within “secure boundaries.”
- Recognition by each state in the Middle East of the right of others to live.

- The right of “innocent” passage through waterways for all the states of the area without exception.
- Finding a “just” solution for the refugees.

Thus the Security Council resolution places the Palestine problem in a critical historical situation which necessarily and ultimately leads to the liquidation of the Palestine problem.

The demand put forward to the present Arab regimes and the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements is not to embark on a discourse on the Security Council resolution and what it offers the Arabs and Israel. Nor is it a discussion of the nature of the stand to be adopted by the Arabs. The question we put concerns the nature of the economic, political, military and ideological program which the Arab regimes and the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements will adopt. Will this program lead to the liquidation of the consequences of the June aggression, namely the liberation of Sinai, the West Bank and the Golan Heights, as a step in the direction of a long term war for the liberation of Palestine and the liquidation of the Israeli-racist-aggressive entity?

The presentation of the question in its proper context is a national need. It must be done in order to circumvent the Palestinian reactionary rightist intellectuals who call for the isolation of the Palestinian resistance movement from the development of the Arab region.

These same reactionary intellectuals, together with those of the petit bourgeois class, at times present their attitude towards the Security Council resolution as a tactical step. At other times they assert that it is an unavoidable necessity because Arabs cannot fight the United States with its educational and technical superiority. What applies to the United States also applies to Israel. Thus they argue that the acceptance of the Security Council resolution is a necessity.

Even those who reject the resolution, are requested to link this rejection with the need to establish a war economy and a military program of a different calibre from that which existed prior to the defeat. If not, their attitude of rejection becomes a demagogic false attitude of no value whatsoever; similar to the demagogic revolutionary slogans which were put forward before the June war and not applied.

The Arab Situation and the Palestine Problem

Fifteen months have elapsed since the June defeat and it has become clear, through direct analysis, that the Arab regimes and the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements have been incapable of judging critically the events which led to, and the results which came from, the June defeat. Further, they have been incapable of the crystallization of this judgement in a national revolutionary work program, which would be able to effect a series of changes in the Arab situation and capacities to prepare the area for a "popular liberation war" against counter-revolution (Israel plus Arab reactionary forces in alliance with neo- and traditional imperialism). It is natural that this should be so because the Arab regimes and the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements are not prepared under their present conditions (class, ideological and political) to put into practice deep-rooted policies which would prepare the Palestinian and Arab masses to resist the forces of counter-revolution. Instead, the Arab and Palestinian masses have remained, and are forced to remain, observers awaiting a miracle in an age when miracles do not happen. Furthermore, asking the present regimes to adopt a policy of "popular liberation war" is basically a fallacious request. These regimes will not harbor their antithesis, which could only ultimately clash with their nature, interests, and local and international relationships.

Instead of adopting a "popular liberation war" program, such as the Vietnamese-Cuban one, and resisting and struggling against the imperialist-Zionist attack, the Arab regimes have maintained the same program and premises which prevailed until June 1967 and resulted in the defeat.

This is what has made these regimes, whatever their class and whatever their policies, retreat continuously since June to the advantage of Israel and imperialism. The Arab regimes have not waged an ideological, political, revolutionary campaign throughout the Arab lands to start an armed and unarmed popular action to destroy the interests and strategic bases of imperialism, headed by the United States, which has outrageously supported and protected Israel since 1948. Instead the regimes retreated and started courting the United States by protecting all of its imperialist interests. It is a well-known fact that breaking Israel will come about by breaking American imperialism throughout the Arab land.

Instead of rejecting the liquidationist Security Council resolution, the Arab regimes ended up by accepting it and calling on the four Great Powers to guarantee it internationally and to force Israel to accept it.

Instead of immediately, without any hesitation, adopting plans for a "long term war" by drawing up plans for a war economy, arming the people, organizing people's militia units in addition to the arming of the regular armies, the Arab regimes adopted the policy of depending on the regular armies which had collapsed in the face of Israeli-imperialist educational and technological superiority in the June war. (Regular war is not to the advantage of the Arabs nor of any under-developed country involved in a national liberation struggle against forces superior in the field of education and technology.) This — at a time when it has become clear that national liberation wars in under-developed countries require numerical superiority to overcome imperialist technical superiority.

The Palestinian Resistance Movement and the National Palestinian Question

Following the June defeat the Palestinian and Arab masses put their faith in the Palestinian resistance movement to pave the way for a new course of action to promote the liberation of Palestine, in particular, and the Arab liberation movement, in general.

Has the resistance movement paved this way?

A critical analysis of the development and activities of the Palestinian resistance movement during the last 15 months will give the answer to such a question.

(1) *Within the Sphere of Arab Relations:* All groups of the resistance movement put forward the slogan "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries." How did the movement translate this slogan? It is clear that the Palestinian resistance movement is not required to take the place of the national liberation movement of each Arab state in its struggle to solve the dilemmas of national liberation and national democratic revolution. But it is also clear that the slogan "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries" is a double-edged weapon. In addition to meaning that the

Palestinian resistance movement should not take the place of the Arab liberation movement, it should also mean that the former should interfere with whatever affects the Palestine problem in the policies adopted by the Arab regimes. Otherwise the slogan, in the final analysis, will mean "non-interference on the part of the Palestinian resistance movement in Palestine affairs." The Palestinian problem cannot be separated from the developments taking place in the world. Such a step is a suspicious attempt to overlook ancient, medieval and modern historical facts. Following June 1967 the Arab regimes — in an attempt to face the imperialist-Zionist aggression — adopted the policy of finding "a political solution to the Palestine problem" through the liquidationist Security Council resolution. Thus a new relationship between "Arab affairs" and "the Palestine problem" has been established.

Reactionary Palestinians who, following the June defeat, put forward the slogan "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries" arbitrarily separated Arab affairs from developments in the Palestine problem. When it attempts to imitate the Algerian experience, the slogan forgets, or pretends to have forgotten, that the subjective and objective characteristics that connect the Palestine problem with developments in the Arab world and the policies of imperialism in the Middle East, radically differ from those of Algeria. Moreover, these reactionaries have previously determined to neglect the particularities of Israel and its difference from all other kinds of neo- and traditional imperialism.

Israel represents the spearhead and base for neo- and traditional imperialism in the Arab countries and the Middle East. Israel is supported by imperialism which gives it the freedom — according to imperialist plans — to participate in quelling the national Arab liberation movement which threatens the interests of imperialism in the Arab world. An observer should notice the link between the "promise to Judaize Palestine" and the imperialist invasion of Palestine and the Arab countries. Furthermore, he should watch the role Israel and Zionism have played since the defeat in responding to the imperialist plans drawn up for the Middle East to liquidate the nationalist regimes and the nationalist liberation movements in the area for the benefit of counter-revolutionary forces.

Israel represents a dynamic society which has expansionist aims in the area in addition to Palestine. As a society it is superior to the under-developed

Arab countries in the educational and technical fields. This makes its expansionist policy easier. The relationship between Israel and American imperialism necessitates the amalgamation of the national Palestinian and Arab liberation movements. In addition, Palestine is a part of the Arab world and its future is related to that of the Arab countries.

In spite of all this reactionary Palestinians neglect the facts of history and put forward the slogan "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries." This has quietly overlooked defeatist Arab stands with regard to the problem of Palestine. All groups of the resistance movement, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, went along with this reactionary demagogic slogan which was interpreted as "non-interference in the Arab stand *vis-à-vis* the Palestine problem." Not one of the resistance groups has passed a critical judgement on the June defeat or on Arab responsibility for this defeat after 20 years of preparation for the liberation of Palestine. Because of the principle of "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries," not one group has openly condemned the stands taken *vis-à-vis* the Palestine problem and the Security Council resolution. It is ridiculous to find Hajj Amin al-Husseini, who sold the 1936 revolution, openly criticize certain Arab leaders' statements regarding the Security Council's resolution in *Le Monde*, in May 1968, while all the groups in the resistance movement, including the Popular Front, kept quiet about these developments in the Palestine problem.

The Popular Front openly condemns this slogan in the context in which it has been practised for the last fifteen months. The resistance movement is not expected to substitute for the national liberation movements in the Arab countries, but it is expected openly to criticize the stands adopted by the Arab governments towards the Palestine problem and put the blame on those responsible for the defeat. If the resistance movement keeps quiet about the Arab governments with regard to decisions pertaining to the Palestine problem, then it will be plotting against Palestine.

(2) *The Question of Palestinian National Unity:* All groups of the resistance movement, including the Popular Front, have committed a basic error towards the question of Palestinian national unity, both on the theoretical and the practical level. This has come about through the leadership of the Palestinian right and its ideology and theories.

The resistance movement has neglected the modern history of Palestine in its understanding and application of the problems of "national unity." The policies adopted towards the question of national unity were reactionary and wrong. This has led to placing the reactionary classes at the head of the resistance movement. This leadership is the same one which has led the national Palestinian liberation movement and the national revolution to its failure throughout the modern history of Palestine. At a time when the sons of the revolutionary classes of poor workers and peasants and revolutionary intellectuals fight for the liberation of the homeland and rejection of the Zionist occupation, the military leadership of the resistance movement has placed political leadership in the hands of rich feudal capitalist groups which have had nothing to do with the armed struggle throughout the modern history of Palestine. The resistance movement has understood the slogan of "national unity" in an inverted manner. Thus the concept of national unity was formulated under the leadership of feudal elements, bankers, big merchants and reactionary Palestinians. The starting point was participation in the "Jordanian national front," which was composed of Palestinian and Jordanian reactionary elements under whose hands the people have suffered many hardships. The final point was the creation of the National Palestinian Congress which is composed of reactionary Palestinian elements headed by bankers and big contractors whose condition for joining the Congress was that they should be given its leadership, while the Popular Front and Al-Fateh should form its left and right arms.

The problem before us is not how to choose between acceptance or refusal of the slogan "national unity." The problem is putting this thesis in its proper perspective, nationally and politically.

We have already pointed out the treachery and failure of the feudal and bourgeois classes. This review also brings out one of the basic laws of national liberation movements, namely, that the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist classes which are capable of leading the national liberation movement and of carrying arms in the period following June 1967, are the same classes which fought against British imperialism and the plots to Judaize Palestine. These are the revolutionary classes in Palestinian society. They will lose nothing if they carry arms and fight until death, on the contrary they will gain everything — their land and their homes. This has been re-asserted after June 1967. Those who carried arms were the sons of the poor workers and wage-

earning peasants, while the sons of the feudal landowners and capitalists disappeared from the scene of armed struggle. In spite of all the experience of the national Palestinian movement and its basic lessons, the Palestinian right has been able to penetrate the leadership of the resistance movement and take over its political leadership for fifteen months since 5 June, under the slogan "Palestinian national unity" and the pretense that "the liberation question concerns everybody," at a time when historical facts, both before and after 1948, disprove these claims.

Palestinian national unity is a political necessity. But what sort of national unity? The sort of national unity which accomplishes liberation. It leads the resistance movement on the road to victory by mobilizing and arming the Arab masses. It awakens their basic and collective capabilities in the long struggle of resistance. This resistance will depend upon violence in the face of an enemy whose strategy is to deliver rapid blows and accomplish swift victories.

This unity is the unity of all classes and political forces under the leadership of the revolutionary patriotic classes which have carried arms throughout the modern history of Palestine. It is the sons of these classes who have answered the call to arms since June 1967. The modern history of the people of Palestine, and that of popular liberation wars in all under-developed countries, proves that the workers and peasant classes are the ones who are prepared to carry arms and fight a long term war against the enemies of national liberation, namely, imperialism and its agents.

National Palestinian unity should be based on the unity of the revolutionary fighting forces, under whose leadership all the class and political forces will be organized in an all-embracing national liberation front, committed to a national political and military work program for solving the dilemmas of national liberation and democratic national revolution.

Thus the Popular Front openly declares its condemnation of the slogan "national unity" in its present context and application. Furthermore, it condemns and openly criticizes its previous practices starting with its participation in the Jordanian national front and finally in the National Palestinian Congress.

The Popular Front puts the slogan "national unity" in its proper perspective, namely, as a unity whose vanguard and leadership are the revolutionary fighting forces. This slogan has to be exemplified in a radical national work program, the aim of which is the organization of a national liberation front to include all the class and political forces hostile to Zionism and world imperialism in general, and American imperialism in particular, and all the forces which collaborate with and are agents of imperialism.

The Palestinian Resistance Movement at the Present Stage

The nature of the practices of the resistance movement (Palestinian and Arab) during the period following the June defeat, have led to political results which in their totality form a relapse as far as the ideological, class and political lessons of 5 June 1967 are concerned. These results also form a relapse as far as the modern history of the national Palestinian popular liberation movement is concerned.

The resistance movement has come to the following basic conclusions:

(1) On the theoretical and practical level all groups of the resistance movement (including the Popular Front) have become captives of the ideology of the reactionary Palestinian and Arab right. They have actively participated in obliterating Palestinian and Arab class ideological and political contradictions. This has led to the defeat of the Palestinian and Arab peoples at the hands of the ruling regimes. These regimes have kept the masses, and the more radical and revolutionary classes, away from any responsibility for, or even participation in, the war. They have allowed the revolutionary forces to play the role of observers by limiting the concept of liberation to mean combat between the armies.

Consequently, the resistance movement has fallen victim to a series of demagogic slogans (such as "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries," "Palestinian national unity," "no right and left in the national liberation stage"). These slogans are used as a cover for the reactionary forces of the right and the Arab regimes, which have led to the defeat of the Arabs. Moreover, the resistance movement has applied these slogans within a context which has served the interests of the forces and regimes of defeat and not those of the Palestinian and Arab liberation forces. By doing this it has com-

pletely failed to expose and condemn the reasons, intellectual, class and political, which led to the 1948 disaster and the 1967 defeat. In fact the resistance movement has assisted in hiding the existing contradictions which have resulted in the defeat. It has also defended the Arab regimes that caused the defeat, and those Arab countries which are in alliance with imperialism and therefore against the liberation and progress of their people. This will ultimately lead to the failure of the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements.

(2) Through its dependence for arms on the Arab regimes, the resistance movement has allowed itself to be transformed into a tactical weapon of pressure in the hands of the regimes — pressure to be used to keep the Arab masses as observers awaiting relief from afar. All this is taking place in the name of the Palestinian resistance movement. This alternative has been put forward instead of arming and organizing the people in popular militia units, and preparing them ideologically, politically and economically for a long term war of popular liberation against Israel, and those who are behind Israel, throughout the Palestinian and Arab homeland.

In addition, the resistance movement is being used as a tactical means of bringing pressure on imperialism and Israel in order to attain a political settlement of the Palestine problem. It is hoped that the concessions demanded by Israel and imperialism as a price for the application of the Security Council resolution concerning withdrawal from the occupied territories will be minimized as a result of this pressure.

(3) In the light of such wrong policies and demagogic slogans of the resistance movement, the Palestinian and Arab masses have remained ideologically, politically and materially disarmed. They cannot protect and develop the resistance movement in the face of the possibilities of a "political solution," the basis of which would be "liquidating the resistance movement."

The resistance movement, by keeping quiet about the lessons of 1948 and 1967 and by its refusal to take a critical national stand towards the Palestinian and Arab situation (both subjective and objective) which resulted in the defeat, have disarmed the masses of the intellectual and political weapons through which the resistance movement could be protected. Furthermore, the resistance movement, by keeping quiet and not putting forward to the masses a program for a war of popular liberation, has assisted in opening

the way for demagogic slogans. Thus, when the possibilities of a "political settlement" are put forward, the resistance movement will only find superficial and limited support from the masses. This will be so because the masses are not armed and are not equipped with an ideological, political and national consciousness.

The Dilemma of Existing Resistance Movements

All groups of the Palestinian resistance movement are a part of the Arab national liberation movement because of their subjective constitution (ideological, class and political) and because of the objective circumstances which find their expression in the daily dialectical relationship between the dilemmas of national liberation and the responsibilities of the democratic revolution — Palestinian and Arab.

The dilemma of the Palestinian and Arab liberation movements is specifically the dilemma of the petit bourgeois class which has occupied the position of leadership since the Second World War. This class, because of its education and interests, which are anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, has recognized the failure of feudalism and the bourgeois class to solve the problems of national liberation and of attaining economic and political independence. It has also understood the dependence of the feudalist-bourgeois regimes on colonialism and imperialism.

Since the 1948 disaster the role and ideology of the petit bourgeois class has dominated the scene, thus enabling this class to lead the Palestinian and Arab national movements. The petit bourgeoisie put forward a work program, based on its class and ideological structure, to solve the dilemmas of national liberation as a step on the road to mobilizing the material and human capabilities of the masses to liberate Palestine. The main part of the program was based on the need to foil the alliance between feudalism, capitalism and colonialism (in other words, the counter-revolutionary camp) and to establish an alliance between the petit bourgeoisie, workers and poor peasants.

The June defeat put the programs of the petit bourgeois class and its leadership to the test. As was pointed out in the course of this report, the defeat proved their failure to withstand the imperialist-Zionist attack, and

to solve the dilemmas of national liberation in an under-developed country in this age — the age of colonialism and imperialism.

Thus the petit bourgeois class was confronted with two alternatives: either to adopt the Vietnamese-Cuban course of action to face the consequences of the June war; or to retreat continuously before the forces of counter-revolution and accept the liquidationist UN Security Council resolution of 22 November. The petit bourgeois class has chosen what best serves its interests and its class-ideological and political considerations, i.e., the Security Council resolution; the Vietnamese course of action has its own price, namely the totality of its class and political concessions. Of course the regimes of the 1948 disaster, the regimes of feudalism and the bourgeois class, blessed this choice and cooperated with it.

The Palestinian national liberation movement is of the same ideological, class and political structure as that of the Arab national liberation movement led by the petit bourgeois class. At the same time it represents one of the weakest groups in the national liberation movements in the area. This is the case because of a number of subjective and objective characteristics, headed by the contradictions of the Palestine problem and the large number of non-productive human beings among the dispersed Palestinian people.

From here we can touch on a basic characteristic of the Palestinian liberation movement. The petit bourgeois class, the leader of the Arab liberation movement, was able to eliminate the forces of feudalism and the bourgeois class from a leading position within the national movement, and was able to expose the alliance of these forces with colonialism and imperialism. Yet the Palestinian petit bourgeois class failed to remove this incapacitated bourgeois class from playing a national role. Thus the petit bourgeois class was able continuously to infiltrate the leadership of the national liberation movement and make it serve its ideological, political and class interests. Consequently — and following June 1967 — the Palestinian right supported by the Arab right was able to dominate the resistance movement through demagogic slogans and lead it within the scope of its theoretical and political beliefs. These beliefs serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and those of Arab reaction and destroy the means by which the Palestinian and Arab national movements can save themselves from imperialist-Israeli occupation. In the final analysis, these policies do not serve the resistance movement. They tend to

transform it into a tactical means of bringing pressure to bear. This pressure aims, first, at containing the national revolutionary uprising of the Arab masses. Secondly, it aims at minimizing the concessions to be made by Arabs in order to ensure the implementation of the Security Council resolution, which threatens the Palestine question, in its entirety, with liquidation. The leadership of the petit bourgeois class has failed to salvage itself and the leaders of the resistance movement. The reasons for this failure are: its adoption of hesitant ideological and political policies; its failure to comprehend the basis of a nationalist policy; and the domination of the ideology of the reactionary right over important sectors of it.

In spite of the belief that a popular war of liberation is the course of action to be adopted in order to achieve the liberation of Palestine and in spite of the high morale among the Palestinian people in the Arab nation, the leadership of the resistance movement, namely, the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, has put the resistance movement in a critical historical situation which has transformed it into a means of pressure.

The Course of National Salvation

The concept of armed struggle will necessarily result in an ideological and political dialectic among the members of the resistance movement and those outside it. Through this dialectic the more revolutionary and progressive elements will stress the necessity to overcome the present critical period by looking forward to the development of a more radical resistance movement. This will interact openly and responsibly with the masses, and refrain from the adoption of demagogic slogans.

The resistance movement will critically examine the experiment of the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements in order to point out the basic laws of failure and success. It will also draw up a program for national salvation. This will reject all proposals that aim at re-instating the pre-5 June programs — "reliance on regular armed forces and a swift regular war; a consumer economy dependent on capitalism; holding back the struggle against those who are behind Israel; and limitation of the war to the areas occupied after 5 June, 1967." The resistance movement considers the acceptance of the Security Council resolution of 22 November to be the logical conclusion of the programs which resulted in the June 1967 defeat.

The experience of the national liberation movement in our countries (Palestine and the Arab countries) is similar to that of the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It clearly shows that the road to national salvation and liberation of the homeland, together with the solution of the problems of national liberation, requires forces armed with revolutionary arms. These will be capable, in under-developed countries, of defeating the advanced imperialist powers in the fields of military effort and skill.

These experiences teach us — especially the experience of fifty years of failure of the Palestinian national liberation movement and the successful experience of Vietnam and Cuba — that the course of national salvation starts with, and depends on, the following:

(1) The adoption of a revolutionary scientific ideology (the ideology of the proletariat) which is anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, anti-reactionary and anti-under-development. The masses will be armed with this ideology, which will depend mainly on the more revolutionary and radical classes in society. Such classes do not have any interest in concluding a truce with imperialism, reaction and Zionism. They also do not have any interest in adopting a policy of retreat. The interests of these classes will be served by waging a bloody struggle by which they will lose nothing but will gain everything, i.e., nationhood, the homeland and true political and economic independence.

The experience of our countries and that of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have proved the failure and incapacity of the feudalist ideology to lead the national liberation struggle. They have also proved the futility of the ideology of the bourgeoisie which leads its country to depend on, and ally itself with colonialism and imperialism.

Furthermore, the ideology of the petit bourgeoisie has proved incapable of solving, and unprepared to solve, the dilemmas of national liberation or to adopt a policy of long term struggle against imperialism and the forces allied with it.

The national salvation course starts with arming the people with revolutionary ideas. These ideas are those of the revolutionary classes in any society, namely, the workers and poor peasants, whose sons are now taking part in armed resistance in the land of Palestine.

(2) The basic national political consciousness of the masses should be raised beyond the level of demagogic slogans. Our people are facing a modern enemy, supported by the strongest imperialist country, the United States of America. A scientific national consciousness, depending on direct analysis of our situation and that of the enemy should be the main basis in the relationship of the resistance movement with the masses and the man in the street. National political consciousness starts by unfolding the reasons and causes for the failure of the Palestinian and Arab national resistance movements and then putting forward a program for national salvation and liberation.

(3) Defeatist proposals and the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 should be rejected. Furthermore, the resistance should insist on drawing up plans for a war of popular liberation by arming and organizing the people in popular militia troops. In this way the war will become that of the people as a whole and it will be waged against Israel and those who are behind Israel. (These include the interests and bases of imperialism plus Israel plus the Arab forces which are in alliance with imperialism and the protector of its interests in our homeland.)

A long term war is the course of salvation and victory. For this way we must depend only upon ourselves. Everything must be mobilized for it — our economy and our lives — and to fight it we will be armed by the consciousness of the political ideology of the proletariat. It is also the only course to supersede the educational and technical superiority of Israel and imperialism, which depends on the strategy of a short-range war, the war of administering rapid blows and accomplishing swift victories.

The destruction of the counter-revolutionary forces and the breaking down of their morale and economy will not be accomplished unless a long term war is waged.

(4) A program of national salvation will reject all forms of retreat and embark on operations on a wide front. Our aspiration to achieve such a program will not be accomplished unless the dialectical argument going on between members of the Arab national resistance movement is reinforced. For this reinforcement of the dialectical argument will distinguish the leadership of the vanguard of the movement, armed with a scientific revolutionary ideology — the ideology of the proletariat. This rejects the Security Council resolu-

tion and will lead the organized masses in a long term war, depending entirely upon themselves.

Without this dialectic, the resistance movement will remain captive of the wrong policies, which have been persistently followed and have made it a mere tactical pawn, to be used to apply pressure in the hands of the Arab regimes.

The road to national salvation requires strong wills from the members of the resistance movement. National salvation rejects whatever is existing and pushes forward on a new course — the course of transforming the resistance movement into an organized mass movement. It is armed with political, material and radical national ideologies under the leadership of the vanguard fighting forces which are equipped with political consciousness and the ideology of the proletariat, hostile to Israel and imperialism and its allies throughout the Arab land.

The vanguard of the proletariat will bring about the national unity of all classes and political forces which are hostile to counter-revolution. These must be committed to a program of arming the people for a long term war under the leadership of the revolutionary fighting forces in a wide national liberation front.

The spirit of resistance will spread among the Palestinian people; it needs the vanguard which will lead it on the road of national salvation. Such a vanguard, through analysis and criticism of the Palestinian liberation movement, has not yet been born.

The young elements among the members of the resistance movement and the Palestinian people who are armed with a consciousness of scientific ideology should lead the dialectical movement to bring forth such a vanguard, which will lead the people with all its classes and national political forces on the road of victory, the road of a long term war.

A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINE QUESTION*

(1) Rejection of the chauvinistic and reactionary Zionist-colonial solutions which are based on recognizing the state of Israel as one of the facts of the Middle East area; because these solutions, besides contradicting the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in their land, consecrate the Zionist expansionist entity in liaison with colonialism, and are hostile to the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements and all the progressive and socialist forces in the world.

(2) Rejection of the chauvinistic solutions of some Palestinians and Arabs, which were put forward before and after June 1967 and are based on slaughtering the Jews and throwing them into the sea. It also rejects the reactionary solutions which are based on accepting the state of Israel within secure and recognized boundaries, as exemplified in the November Security Council resolution. The afore-mentioned solutions are put forward at the expense of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination in their land; and because the solutions implant in the Middle East area a racist, capitalist, expansionist state dialectically in liaison with world capitalism which is hostile to the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements, and all the progressive and socialist forces in the world.

(3) The struggle for a popular democratic solution for the Palestinian and Israeli questions, to be based on the liquidation of the Zionist entity exemplified in all the government establishments (army, administration, police) and all the chauvinistic Zionist political and labor organizations. The establishment of a people's democratic Palestinian state in which the Arabs and (Israeli) Jews will live without any discrimination whatsoever. A state which is against all forms of class and national subjugation, and which gives both Arabs and (Israeli) Jews the right to develop their national culture.

(*) The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, *The Palestinian Resistance Movement: A Critical Study*, Dar al-Tali'ah, Beirut, 1969, pp. 163-167.

(4) In accordance with the link of both history and destiny that exists between Palestine and the Arab nation, the people's democratic state of Palestine will be an integral part of an Arab federal state in this area. The Palestinian state will have a democratic content hostile to colonialism, imperialism and Arab and Palestinian reaction.

(5) The democratic solution put forward is capable of liberating the Arab and the Jew from all forms of chauvinistic (racist) culture; liberating the Arab from reactionary culture, and the Jew from Zionist culture.

(6) The democratic solution, being hostile to class and national subjugation, is capable of disassociating Palestine from imperialism, and converting it into a progressive revolutionary fortress on the side of all the forces struggling against imperialism and counter-revolution in this earthly world.

(7) The national liberation movement will only be able to realize the people's democratic state of Palestine, by armed struggle and a popular war of liberation against Zionism, imperialism and reaction and by eliminating the Israeli state and liberating the Jews from the Zionist movement. Only by continuous armed struggle against all chauvinistic, reactionary and colonial solutions, can we achieve the total and complete liberation of Palestine and the establishment of the democratic state which will encompass Arabs and (Israeli) Jews enjoying equal national rights and obligations; a state in the service of all the forces struggling for national liberation and progress in this world.

The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine calls on all the Israeli and Jewish elements and groupings who are hostile to Zionism and imperialism to support the above-mentioned solution and participate in the common Palestinian and people's armed struggle for the implementation of this democratic revolutionary solution.

A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION FOR THE PALESTINE PROBLEM*

by

Nayef Hawatemah

The Middle East crisis is becoming more and more complicated as a result of the attitudes of Israeli reaction and of American imperialism. Both of them are insisting on reaping the harvest of the consequences of the 1967 war. Their demands include recognition of Israel within secure frontiers which, far from corresponding to the pre-June 1967 frontiers, imply further territorial expansion at the expense of the people of Palestine and the neighboring Arab peoples. They also demand that a crushing defeat be inflicted on the Arab national liberation movement, and the class and political map of the Middle East be re-drawn in accordance with the interests of American imperialism in particular, and those of Zionism and Arab reaction in general. This was why the wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967 were fought.

In spite of the fact that the ruling class forces in Israel rejected the 22 November Security Council resolution, an objective observer cannot but remark that this rejection was not absolute; acceptance of the resolution was made conditional on new expansionist gains and negotiations with the Arab regimes (the Rhodes formula, for example). Even though the US approved the Security Council resolution, the American attitude is, practically and objectively, the same as the Israeli attitude, not to mention US ambitions to liquidate the petit bourgeois nationalist regimes in the area as a step towards the eventual repression and liquidation of the Arab national liberation movement.

Because the Security Council resolution stands on two legs, not one only (the withdrawal of Israeli forces to the 5 June frontiers, and, in return for this, recognition of both, the *fait accompli* which confronts the people of Palestine, and the secure frontiers for the state of Israel), the Palestinian resist-

(*) Published in *al-Hurriyah*, 12 January, 1970.

ance movement immediately rejected it, though naturally the reasons for this rejection were different from those of the Zionists. For acceptance of the resolution directly implies:

- (1) Endorsement of the conquest and loss of territory that befell the people of Palestine in 1948.
- (2) The liquidation of the Palestinian resistance movement to safeguard the frontiers of the state of Israel.
- (3) The continued existence of an expansionist state closely linked with American imperialism by virtue of the common interest of the two parties that Israel should continue to exist as an instrument for expansion and for the repression of the national liberation movement in the Middle East.

The Palestinian resistance movement therefore sees the Security Council resolution as a reactionary and imperialist solution of both the Palestinian and the Israeli questions, a view which is incompatible with that of most of the Arab regimes, which either accept the resolution or reject it in theory but in practice work along with it — Saudi Arabia is a case in point. What then is the solution?

The resistance proposes a democratic solution of the problem that calls for long term political, ideological and armed struggle, for only if the struggle is carried on in all three fields can it assume its truly practical and objective significance. The democratic solution proposed rejects all the chauvinistic solutions, whether Arab or Israeli, which were in existence until 5 June 1967 — Israeli expansion, or massacring the Jews and throwing them into the sea, etc. It also rejects the reactionary solution offered by the Security Council resolution. What it is striving for is the right of the Palestinian people to decide their own future in their own territory, which was seized from them by a nationalist, Zionist and imperialist act of usurpation in 1948, and the construction of a democratic popular state in the whole of the territory of Palestine, in which Arabs and Jews will enjoy equal rights and obligations, every one being entitled to develop his national culture in a democratic, progressive spirit. The constitutional form assumed by this state is not important — it may be a unitary state, or a federal one, on the model of Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia, or anything else.

With this end in view PDFLP submitted to the Sixth National Palestinian Congress, which met in Cairo in early September 1969, and at the same time, to the Palestinian and Arab masses, a "proposed democratic solution of the Palestinian and Israeli problems." Obviously, this solution can only be achieved through long term ideological, progressive popular armed struggle, and it must be supported by the common struggle of all progressive and democratic forces in the area, especially in the ranks of the Palestinian resistance movement, Israeli society and progressive Jews. This proposed democratic solution, in fact, calls on all progressive Israelis and Jews to organize themselves into an armed popular Palestinian front to ensure the day by day objective implementation of this solution. For as progressive and democratic trends grow stronger in the ranks of all the Palestinian resistance organizations, this solution will impose itself all the more forcefully on the citizens of Israel. Israeli reaction cannot always be watching Israeli society, and reactionary Zionist culture must inevitably disappear as progressive trends grow stronger in the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movement.

With this progressive aim in view, PDFLP has called for a dialogue to be initiated with Israeli organizations which follow an anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist line, although they have not yet arrived at a decisively progressive attitude in their understanding of the Palestine problem and the nature of the composition of the state of Israel. Such Israeli organizations are *Rakab* and *Matzpen*. PDFLP has published in *al-Hurriyah* several analyses of *Matzpen*, and in its pamphlets has clearly drawn the distinction between the attitude of this organization and that of the Zionist left — *Mapai* — and the Israeli reactionary forces.

The radical democratic solution of the Palestine problem is a long and complicated question in an area thick with reactionary regimes that are allied with colonialism and imperialism and steeped in a rightist reactionary culture. To use a Marxist expression — the prevailing culture is the culture of the predominant classes. It is an area, too, in which an essentially Zionist state has been established, a state with a double character, with chauvinist and expansionist ambitions. It has organic links with colonialism and imperialism, and, with its reactionary Zionist culture, plays a double role in the area, in addition to the fact that it is a state established on the conquest and the national usurpation of the people of Palestine. "A people that persecutes

another people cannot be a free people," as Marx said, and his saying has been borne out by the course of ancient, medieval and contemporary history.

In the Arab world, as is the case with the peoples of all backward countries, the only way to rout the counter-revolutionary forces and to defeat them by imposing solutions which will ensure that the people can choose their own future by themselves and in their own territory, is by adopting the Vietnamese method, the method of a popular war of liberation to overcome the technical superiority of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This is the course being followed by the Palestinian resistance movement, in preference to traditional wars, in which victory must go to the triple counter-alliance. In spite of the crisis which is now besetting the Palestinian resistance movement as a result of the composition of a number of its petit bourgeois leadership cadres, the left wing of the resistance, in bearing arms against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, is also fighting ideologically and politically for the development of the resistance movement along progressive and democratic lines. The daily growing victory of Vietnam is the result of a popular war led by a united liberation front in which the revolutionary communist party plays the central role in leading the operation of national liberation and the democratic revolution.

However complicated the Palestinian and Israeli questions, it is only through the insistence of the resistance movement, and its left wing in particular, on breaking the reactionary regimes and its rejection of reactionary solutions, that a new trail can be blazed towards the liberation of the peoples of the Middle East. Even if, for local and international reasons which cannot be discussed in the present context, the ruling and dominating regimes in the area succeed in imposing reactionary solutions and repressing the Palestinian resistance movement which rejects such solutions, the resistance movement will have achieved an important revolutionary advance if it sows the seeds of a violent democratic revolution in the Middle East in the near future. For the course of history is forward; adverse forces may sometimes compel it to take a step backwards, but this is only a preparation for two steps forward.

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