

**TO WIN** 1988/11

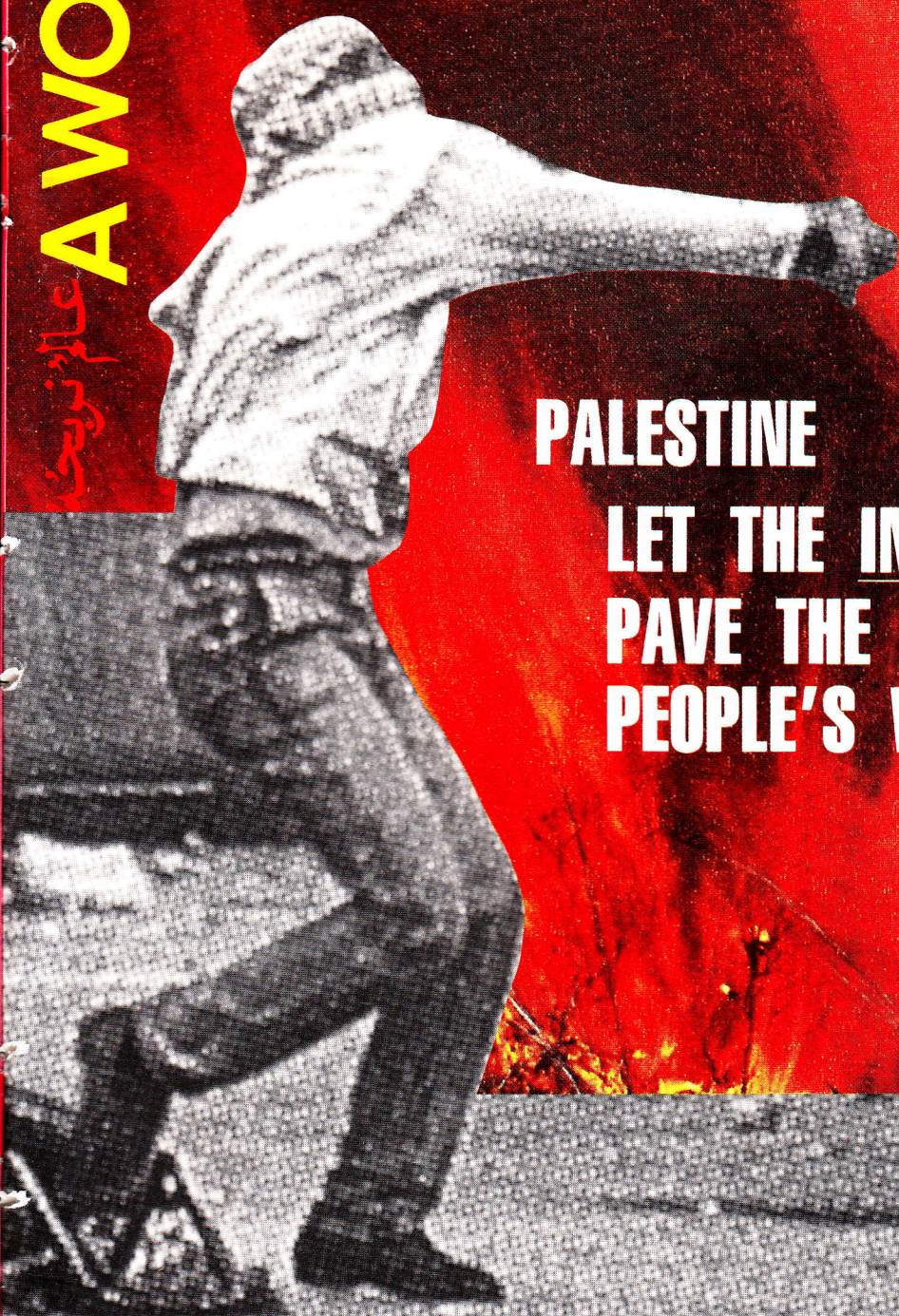
獲得的將是整個世界

ПОБІТИРАТЬ

UN MONDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिएसारादुनियापैदुनियाUN MONDO

**A WORLD**

عالم نرويجي



**PALESTINE**

**LET THE INTIFADA  
PAVE THE WAY FOR  
PEOPLE'S WAR!**





## **Sri Lanka**

Sri Lanka's beautiful sea coast is world renowned. But in recent years the former British colony of Ceylon has been more known as the site of bitter warfare pitting the reactionary authorities against Tamil liberation fighters. An analysis shows that, far from bringing "peace," the recent agreement between India and Sri Lanka is another attack on the Tamil fighters and a new obstacle to revolution on the whole island.

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THE PROLETARIAT HAS NOTHING TO LOSE  
BUT THEIR CHAINS, THEY HAVE  
A WORLD TO WIN. . .



PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

1988/11

## **Intifada**

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AUGUST, 1988

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# TO WIN

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UN MUNDO QUE GANAR KAZANILACAK DÜNYA

# A WORLD

जीतने के लिए सारा विश्व है

MONDE A GAGNER

جهانی برای فتح

UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

*A World to Win* has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12th, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world. It is not an official organ of the RIM. Its pages are open to all those on the same sides of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

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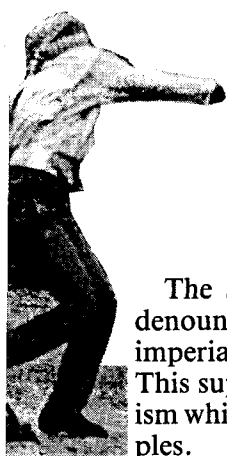
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## Second International Conference

# Resolution on Palestine

(March 1984)

The Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations denounces the continued suppression and massacres carried out by the imperialists, social-imperialists and their lackeys of the people of Palestine and of the Middle East in general. This suppression is yet another striking manifestation of the predatory nature of imperialism which thrives on the ruthless domination and exploitation of oppressed nations and peoples.

Today, as a result of the intensification of the crisis of the imperialist system, all of its contradictions have sharpened up. On the one hand, the contradiction between the two rival imperialist blocs headed by the U.S. and the USSR has intensified and is reflected in their war preparations. On the other hand, as the imperialists step up their vicious attacks on the oppressed nations and peoples in order to maintain their empires, the struggles of the oppressed peoples have also intensified. In the whirlwind of the present world situation, the imperialists are even more frustrated in the face of the national and social liberation struggles that threaten them, and they resort to every form of outrage in order to suppress and subvert these struggles and try to reduce them to pawns in their global contention for hegemony. Palestine, and the Middle East in general, is one of the regions where the heroic relentless struggle of an oppressed people for liberation and the ruthless suppression and subversion and manoeuvring of the imperialists is strikingly evident. Through the U.S. imperialist puppet state of Israel and other regional lackeys, the Palestinian people have been driven out of their country and have suffered massacres numerous times. In this, along with the imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. the social-imperialists too are equally guilty. Either through brutal suppression or through posing as mediators or friends, all imperialist powers have all along been actively engaged in obliterating the Palestinian people and thus doing away with another thorn in their side.

Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and the setback suffered by the Palestinian liberation movement and the revolutionary masses in general, the U.S. imperialists and their allies set up a puppet regime and even more directly took on the task of suppressing the masses. The social-imperialists, too, stepped up their rivalry by rearming and strengthening their lackeys in Syria, and by subverting once again the just feelings of the Palestinian militants and masses against capitulationist policies. However, imperialist suppression and machinations have not intimidated the masses who have risen up again and again in struggle. Today the plans of the imperialists, especially those of the U.S. imperialist bloc, are once again being confronted in a sharp manner with the just struggle of the masses in Lebanon. In this situation the imperialists continue to try to impose their domination through the force of arms (through both direct military aggression and the arming of forces allied with one or another imperialist bloc), hatching new conspiracies under cover of negotiations, and trying to subvert, misdirect and capitalise on the struggle of the masses.

The whole experience of the Palestinian liberation struggle up until today, and in particular the recent experiences, illustrate most strongly that genuine liberation from imperialism and reaction can only be achieved under the guidance of a proletarian vanguard armed with Marxism-Leninism, a genuine communist party. The need for such a vanguard, which cries out to be fulfilled, remains the pressing vital task to be accomplished for the victory of the Palestinian people in their struggle against imperialism.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls on the international proletariat to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people. □

# RIM Committee Statement in Support of the Uprising in Palestine

(February 1988)

Once again the Middle East commands the world's attention. But this time it is not strutting sheiks, feudal monarchs and reactionary demagogic Ayatollahs who hold centre stage, nor even the imperialists themselves, despite the massive military arsenals both blocs are pushing around the Gulf as part of their preparations for world war. All of this reactionary mess has been challenged by the stormy wind that swept out of another corner of the region: the mighty uprising of the Palestinians.

The battlecries of this new generation of the Palestinian revolution is a gust of fresh air in the Middle East, turning upside down much that passed for accepted truth. Although revolutionary struggle on this terrain has never stopped, the imperialist experts had read last rites to the Palestinian movement, some Israelis proclaimed that after their invasion of Lebanon the Palestinian question had become simply an "internal" Israeli problem, and the PLO leadership itself was sliding even further down the slopes of open surrender. Then the youth hit the streets, arming themselves with whatever was at hand, bricks, slingshots, Molotov cocktails, as they swore their willingness to fight till victory, even at the cost of their lives. What class-conscious proletarian does not burst with joy to see Israel's arrogant stormtroopers tremble before the fearlessness of the youth of Palestine!

The Zionists met the revolt with no mercy. They flooded the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza with heavily armed troops, they imprisoned, tortured and gunned down even ten-year-olds, beat old men and women, and before the eyes of the world set about breaking the arms and hands

of thousands. This was further testimony to what Israel's entire history amounts to: from its founding in terror and war against the native Palestinian people up through the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, Israel has been a settler colonial state, the most important setup of imperialism in the Middle East following World War 2. It is a vicious, bestial enforcer of reaction not only in this region but around the world.

The youth and the revolt they are at the forefront of have been forged out of the resistance of a nation to extreme colonial exploitation and oppression, including an international plan initiated by the victor imperialists in the aftermath of World War 2 to annihilate an entire people for the sake of ensuring their hegemony in the Middle East. The imperialists know that they face a new generation of revolutionaries who, unlike the established leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement, do not seek some accommodation in their rotten system and their disintegrating setup in the Middle East but are out to avenge all the crimes committed against this people. These youth and the revolt they are leading are cherished by the revolutionary internationalists, who are keenly aware of the opportunities that this development presents for shattering the grip of imperialism on millions of the oppressed. Spreading support for this struggle among proletarians and oppressed worldwide and battling the efforts of imperialists and reactionaries to distort and isolate it is a most heart-lifting, and a most welcome internationalist duty.

It is not only the Zionists who fear the uprising; the imperialist-backed reactionary Arab regimes have already rounded up many Palestinians in their own countries

and suppressed demonstrations of solidarity. While passing showy declarations of support for the Palestinian people, they desperately seek to stamp out the sparks of revolution which fly from Palestine and enflame their own subjects, who deeply support the Palestinian cause and understand that it is closely linked to the struggle for liberation in their own country.

While U.S.-backed Israeli stormtroopers meet the revolt with an iron fist, the imperialists and reactionaries employ counter-revolutionary dual tactics and step up talk of peace conferences and "reforms." The U.S. imperialists have even tried to distance themselves from Israel's brutal suppression, but it is well known that the Zionist state of Israel is a bloody dog trained by its master to understand that a public "no" means bite even harder. Their tactics include working hand-in-hand with Arab reactionaries like Hussein to consolidate a "responsible" Palestinian leadership favourable to the imperialist initiatives. Hana Siniora, editor of the Arabic Jerusalem daily paper *al-Fajr*, was released from an Israeli prison and ordered to Washington to "attend a conference on the Middle East" by the Israeli Prime Minister himself. Mubarak and Hussein have made highly publicized tours promoting an "international peace conference," with prominent support from U.S. Secretary of State Schultz. They create hope of a political settlement in order to encourage the idea that it is not the masses but the imperialists themselves who will decide Palestine's destiny and thus to reduce the masses to the role of a pressure group whose highest aspiration is supposed to be persuading the U.S. to use its influence to



“reform” Israel. As Mubarak declared, “We are giving hope to the people in West Bank and Gaza that there will be a solution.” Lenin observed that reactionaries make *promises* of reforms exactly when they are in deep trouble — more than ever, that is the time to step up the struggle to do them in.

The spontaneous movement cannot go on indefinitely. Advancing the revolution requires that those who today are throwing rocks and straining to go over to more effective forms of struggle must be trained so that tomorrow they are conscious soldiers in an army waging a genuine liberation war led by a proletarian vanguard capable of bursting through the reformist politics that have come to dominate the Palestinian movement and moving towards actually smashing the settler colonial state. If not, then sooner or later the imperialists will be able to regain the initiative and quench the flames of revolt, even if only temporarily. Seizing this kind of kindling to set Palestine ablaze with revolutionary war is impossible without a revolutionary headquarters based on the science and ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This the Palestinian revolution has never had.

Instead, various fronts have dominated the Palestinian political landscape. As the *Declaration* of the RIM says, analysing the experience of such fronts: “History demonstrates the bankruptcy of an ‘anti-imperialist front’ (or similar ‘revolutionary front’) which is not led by a Marxist-Leninist party, even when such a front or forces within it adopt a ‘Marxist’ (actually pseudo-

Marxist) colouration. While such revolutionary formations have led heroic struggles and even delivered powerful blows to the imperialists they have been proven to be ideologically and organisationally incapable of resisting imperialist and bourgeois influences. Even where such forces have seized power, they have been incapable of carrying through a thorough-going revolutionary transformation of society and end up, sooner or later, being overthrown by the imperialists or themselves becoming a new reactionary ruling power in league with the imperialists.”

Today, Yasir Arafat and the established leadership of the PLO, instead of unmasking the imperialists’ duplicitous manoeuvring and fanning the flames of the revolt, act as energetic aides of imperialism as they try to contain the revolt. Arafat has publicly called on the militants to refrain from going over to armed activity because, he says, this would give the Palestinians a bad image. In the eyes of *whom*? For the oppressed of the world, going over to a genuine war of liberation with actual prospects of defeating Israel would be a very good image indeed! But Arafat’s concerns are elsewhere: in the corridors of Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, Moscow, and Riyadh. For the flames of revolt, Arafat holds out not fuel, but water. Such policies are part of the strategy of the PLO to arrive at a settlement with Israel, in particular to try and get a Palestinian “mini-state.” This strategy is insidious most of all because it covers up the truth that without the violent destruction of the Israeli state there will be no

liberation for the Palestinian people. In its resolution of support of the Palestinian revolution, the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations, which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in 1984, stated that liberation “will only be achieved with the victory of the armed struggle of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.” No state which is concocted out of a political settlement brokered by the imperialists — and such a settlement is highly unlikely — will belong to the people, and any such state would undoubtedly be an auxiliary to Israel and/or one of the other lackey regimes in the region. Moreover, with this kind of capitulationist politics and world outlook in command, the revolutionary warfare necessary for achieving liberation will never develop.

Arafat’s “left” cousins like pro-Soviet (and pro-Syrian) George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh disagree mainly over *which* imperialist or reactionary regional power they prefer to subordinate themselves to. The leadership of the PLO regard the armed struggle as their “wild card” in their manoeuvring with the Great Powers, and so distort the armed struggle into a means of bringing pressure on the imperialists to negotiate and reduce the fighters themselves to bargaining chips. Is it any wonder the youth often mock what they call the “Cadillac revolution”?!

The absence of a genuine proletarian vanguard organisation and line is the principal reason why, despite tremendous sacrifices and the

heroic struggle of its fighters and the great support which this cause has won among the oppressed worldwide, the Palestinian revolution has failed to make important strides towards the actual destruction of the Israeli state, even in certain junctures that presented tremendous historical opportunities. A proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is essential to lead the revolution in such a way that it will rely on the Palestinian masses and the oppressed masses in other Arab countries, whose boundless revolutionary energy yearns for sustained activity, and unite with the revolutionary proletarians and oppressed throughout the world. Instead of this, these false leaders, whimpering about "practicality," put the movement at the mercy of the Arab regimes and the imperialists and social-imperialists and their various rivalries and intrigues.

Such treachery is all the more criminal as this uprising has proved again the truth of Mao Tsetung's analysis that, whatever their tactical strength, the imperialists and reactionaries are paper tigers. Despite their vaunted military prowess and their up-to-the-minute U.S.-supplied weaponry, the Zionist army has shown its weakness in the face of this mass revolt. How well would these cowardly thugs be doing if the thousands of youth in the streets today were part of a trained and organised red army of liberation targeting them with something more than stones and fighting with a military strategy and tactics appropriate for defeating Israel! The situation today urgently raises the responsibility of the revolution-

aries themselves: the problem for the revolution is not that there is any lack of energetic fighters for liberation, but that there is no genuine revolutionary headquarters to lead these fighters! Aren't thousands in the camps burning with the desire to take the struggle to a *higher* level against the Israelis?

The most pressing task facing the Palestinian revolutionaries today is the construction of a proletarian vanguard. The Palestinian revolutionaries can count on the support and assistance of all genuine revolutionary communists, especially of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement itself — indeed, the *Declaration* of the RIM is an excellent initial basis for charting the path of the Palestinian revolution and gathering the forces for a vanguard.

However great and real the obstacles might be, when have the objective conditions for fulfilling this task been better? The imperialists and the regimes in the Middle East are in crisis, and an entire generation is seeking a philosophy on the battlefield, amidst blood and fire. What banner will guide them? That of the Islamic fundamentalists, who pass their days decrying the imperialists but with the fall of night crawl into bed with them? Or will the discredited reformism of Arafat be allowed to gather new life?

The situation cries out for the creation of a force that takes up the science of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which traces the root cause of the oppression of the Palestinian people to the imperialist system itself, and which can deal with the politi-

cal and ideological complexities of the class struggle in Palestine, as it is conditioned by the world situation, and thus sweep away the confusion in the minds of the revolutionary masses so as to arouse them to fight not only for their national rights and homeland but for a social revolution against all exploitation and oppression, so that the Palestine that must and will be established on the ashes of the Zionist settler state will not be an ugly mirror image of present societies in the Middle East, with Palestinian bigshots in charge, or with a mere switch of imperialist overlords, but will be a new democratic society ruled by the former oppressed and exploited, on the path to socialism and communism, a red base area of world proletarian revolution providing a splendid example to the oppressed of the world of what a people's war waged by a revolutionary army under the leadership of a proletarian party can give birth to. The road is tortuous, difficult and laden with sacrifices — but there is no other way to liberation. It is along this road that the oppressed of the world expect the revolutionary Palestinians to advance. Comrades, we have nothing to lose and a world to win; as part of this process, you have the opportunity to take great strides towards wrenching a revolutionary Palestine out of the grip of imperialism!

Long Live Palestine!

For the Destruction of the State of Israel!

Long Live Communism!

The Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist  
Movement





By V.K. Sin

The "uprising of stones," the *intifada* as it is known in Arabic, has hurled the question of the liberation of Palestine before the world. The Palestinian people's story has been repeatedly buried by those who would like to forget them, as literally as the Zionist troops bury rebel youth alive today. The Palestinians were said to be victims at best, with neither past nor future, hapless refugees, wandering the world, maltreated wherever they stopped for a moment's rest.

Instead they are heroes, rising up against the seemingly overpowering might of the Israeli military machine, frontline fighters against oppression and injustice who have inspired other oppressed all over the world. But the Palestinians have accomplished much more. They have exposed the Zionist state for everyone to see: its troops methodically break the hands and arms of stonethrowing youth in living colour, imprison "suspects" in the sweltering camps of the Negev Desert, bury youth alive, tear-gas old men, women and children, killing many of them in the process. The Israeli Prime Minister has now called on civilians in the settlements, often members of the quasi-fascist Gush Emunim, to "shoot to kill" any youth with petrol bombs in their hands. It is a licence to kill Palestinians in the self-proclaimed "island of democracy in the Middle East."

# Israel: Imperialism's

Yet despite the full backing of the U.S. imperialists and despite all their high-tech weapons and the ruthlessness with which they use them, the Zionists have failed to smother the flames of revolt. The Palestinians have thus exposed another truth about Israel and its imperialist masters: though they have real teeth, they are ultimately paper tigers.

The revolt of the Palestinians against these reactionaries is a clarion call to all the world's oppressed, particularly to the other peoples of the Arab world who have themselves felt the jackboot of Israel and its imperialist masters on their own necks. The Palestinian youth have ridiculed the arrogant imperialist diplomats, with their peace treaties whose only purpose is to bring peace to their own rule of the region.

The Palestinian people are not numerous; they are about 4 million. Yet the struggle of this small people has marked world history. This is not only because their resistance has been courageous. History has also placed them at a point of critical leverage: squarely up against one of the most important setups of imperialism in the post-World War 2 colonial world, the Zionist state of Israel. In refusing to accept the theft of their homeland and their subjugation by the Zionists, the Palestinians not only stand at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, but they occupy a pivotal point in that battle.

This article will examine the nature of the enemy the Palestinian people face: its roots in Zionism, the establishment of the Zionist settler colonial state following World War 2, its role today in the Middle East and the world, and the real weakness that hides behind its professions of invincibility.

## Zionism: A Racist Tool of Imperialism

What has happened in Israel is not a beautiful idea gone wrong; it is not that Israel has departed from an es-

entially good programme, that it has "lost its way," as many commentators say. Israeli troops killing Palestinian youth is no violation of Israeli norms; it is what Israel is all about. It is what the Zionist stormtroopers did at the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982. It is what Israeli fighter pilots do all the time, when they drop cluster bombs on refugee camps, or target civilian centres like Beirut, where several thousand civilians were killed to soften up the entry for Israeli troops.

The ideological glue that holds the Zionist state together and has justified its many crimes is Zionism. Zionism holds that the Jewish people are God's "chosen people" and that Palestine is the land he chose for them. It has fed on, and promoted, the idea that Jews can never be assimilated with other peoples, and so must organise themselves into their own nation-state. It gathered particular strength in the ghettos of Eastern Europe and Russia in the late 1800s and early 1900s, in conditions where the darkest reaction and pogroms were the order of the day.

Nonetheless, Zionism was a marginal phenomenon until it was given a push in 1917 with the Balfour Declaration by the British, who then controlled Palestine. An official letter from the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Balfour, to the wealthy Jewish financier, Lord Rothschild, stated that the British government "view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this project."<sup>1</sup>

The Balfour Declaration was accompanied by assurances that the Arab population would be secure. The actual plans of the British imperialists were different. Balfour wrote privately: "The four great powers are committed to Zionism, and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future

# Attack Dog in the Middle East

hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land."<sup>2</sup> This shows how much even then the imperialists felt the need to set up a settler colonial base in that region in order to integrate it more thoroughly into the imperialist world. An element had to be injected from outside to give them a solid footing from which to carry out their exploitation of the region.

The Balfour Declaration aimed to set up a Zionist state in Palestine; it was also directed against the October Revolution. One purpose of this was to strengthen the "Zionist element" in the Zionist-Marxist mix among Jews in revolutionary ferment at the end of World War I and, as one commentator observed, to "detach Russian Jews from the Bolshevik party and so ensure that the Revolution would remain not only moderate but the belligerent ally of France and Britain."<sup>3</sup> This effort to manipulate progressive Jews was a portent of things to come.

Under the sponsorship of various international Zionist organisations, Jewish emigration to Palestine rose dramatically in the 1920s and especially with the exodus following Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s in Germany. It was also affected by strict controls limiting Jewish immigration to other Western countries.

The story of how the Zionist organisations dealt with the Nazis has been widely suppressed, for many Zionist leaders chose an ignoble path: collaboration with the fascists. In Poland with Pilsudski, in Austria and even in Germany itself, the Zionists established working relations with the Nazis in order to facilitate Jewish emigration to Palestine. Ben Gurion, long the Prime Minister of Israel, set forth the Zionists' priorities: "If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by

transporting them to Eretz Yisrael [Greater Israel], then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel."<sup>4</sup>

Jews constituted only a small minority in Palestine at this time.<sup>5</sup> Zionist plans for expanding Jewish emigration meant directly going up against the indigenous Palestinian people. Theodore Herzl, one of the founders of Zionism, explained how they intended to deal with this problem: "When we occupy the land, we shall bring immediate benefits to the state that receives us. We must expropriate gently the private property of the estates assigned to us. We shall try to spirit the peniless population across the border, by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country.... The property-owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly."<sup>6</sup>

This is just what the Zionists did. Despite all the later cant about "a land without a people for a people without a land," the Zionists were well aware even before founding Israel of the existence of the Palestinian people and had plans for the "removal of the poor." It was but a small step from such schemes to Deir Yassin, the village where several hundred Palestinian men, women and children were murdered by Zionist armed forces in 1948, in order to spread terror among the Palestinian inhabitants and cause them to flee the country.

## Setting Up the Zionist Encampment

Following the Balfour Declaration, the British gave strong support to the Zionist movement. British Mandate authorities facilitated Jewish emigration; they manoeuvred land dealings to allow the Zionists to get large plots of land cheaply; and

they authorised and armed the Zionist police squads used in the Palestinian Great Rebellion of 1936-1939. The events of 1936 were critical in shaping the relative strength of the Palestinian and Zionist camps after the war. The military correspondent for the Hebrew newspaper *Ha'aretz* wrote,

"The 1936 events actually involved a confrontation between two national movements, but the Arabs made the mistake of concentrating their attacks on the British government and army.... This confrontation with the British (and not with the Jews) caused the destruction of Arab military strength in Palestine, and was responsible for the partial elimination of Arab leadership in the country. After about three years of unequal warfare, Arab military power was destroyed; during this same period, however, the Jews, protected by the British, succeeded in building up their own strength.... British reprisals against the Arab armed groups and against the Arab population were much more severe than those against Jewish clandestine organisations a few years later."<sup>7</sup>

During and just after World War 2, British power was receding just as the Zionists' appetites were being whetted by increasing support from the U.S., who had taken over as patron of the Zionist movement. Certain Zionist elements even launched armed attacks on the British, including assassinations of British officials, the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem which resulted in the deaths of many civilians, etc. This was not considered a fight against an enemy, but a means of pressuring Britain to give in to demands for a Zionist state.

Britain was not, however, in a position to do this. The former masters of the Arab lands were being displaced. The U.S. imperialists, though allied with the British against first the Germans and later the Soviet Union, then still socialist, had begun to edge out the British and

prepare the way for their own rise to world domination. In the face of this as well as eruptions of revolt from the oppressed masses throughout their domain, Britain's former colonial position had become untenable.

The war's principal victors, the U.S. imperialists, began to manoeuvre to set up their own structure of domination in the Middle East. The situation they faced was complex. The French had run Syria and Lebanon, the British, Iraq, Egypt and Palestine, the latter having been set up as a Mandate under the auspices of the League of Nations following WW1. The Soviet Union, though presenting no immediate threat, loomed just north of the volatile region, and had emerged from the war as a world power. There were also the vast reserves of petroleum in the Middle East; as a U.S. State Department analyst wrote in 1945, "petroleum has historically played a larger part in the external relations of the United States than any other commodity."<sup>8</sup> The U.S. had extensive commercial ties, but shallow strategic roots in the region.

What they did have was a group which had grown up under the wing of the British imperialists and was ready-made and willing to act as a tool of Western, now U.S., penetration into the region: the Zionists. The American Zionist Organisation had become increasingly active during the war and was now a major financial backer of the Zionist project. At a meeting in Baltimore in 1942, it adopted a programme of increased Jewish emigration into Palestine leading to the formation of a Zionist state. U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt gave prominent support to the Zionist project, as did Truman after him.<sup>9</sup>

The events surrounding the sailing of the *Exodus* illustrate the way the U.S. manipulated the Jewish masses to facilitate setting up Israel. At war's end, tens of thousands of Jewish survivors of the Nazi concentration camps were huddled in refugee camps, awaiting international action on their fate. At this point, the Zionists organised the sailing of the *Exodus*, filled with refugees, to Palestine, where they knew that the



British were bound to refuse it entry. Tremendous publicity was given to the voyage of the *Exodus*, including a dramatic confrontation between the Jewish refugees and British soldiers at the port of entry in Palestine. Yet as the plight of the *Exodus* refugees was exploited to drum up sympathy for setting up a Zionist state for the Jews, it was consistently concealed that the major imperialist powers, including the U.S., had set up tight restrictions on Jewish immigration into their own countries. The U.S. had created conditions where they could exploit Britain's contradictions with the Zionists by cynically manoeuvring the refugees to Palestine to serve their goal of developing public opinion for setting up Israel.

In view of the vital strategic and economic importance of the region, the U.S.' own shallow roots there, and the ready availability of a reactionary force already under their influence, the U.S. imperialists made the decision to set up the Zionist settler colonial state and to pump it up into a key imperialist outpost. They chose the United Nations, then under their domination, as the forum for their manoeuvre. Unfortunately, at the critical moment of the U.N. decision to partition Palestine and the Zionists' subsequent declaration of the founding of Israel, the

one force that should have stood against the expropriation of the Palestinians and the imperialist-Zionist machinations failed to do so (see accompanying article on the USSR and the founding of Israel).

Because of the influence of revisionism in the socialist camp and the errors of the proletarian forces in the international communist movement, the U.S. imperialists went about establishing their new set-up without any organised revolutionary opposition. The U.S. had, as already noted, taken over as sponsors of the Zionist movement. In the showdown that followed with the Arabs, U.S. support for the Zionists was decisive. Not only did the Zionists have large supplies of American-procured hard currency with which to purchase arms, but the British had imposed an embargo on weapons to both sides — which, since they were at that time the exclusive suppliers of the Arabs, meant that this "even-handed" embargo worked to the distinct advantage of the Zionists. Western intelligence cooperated fully with the Zionist military. In the initial years of the establishment of the Zionist state, aid coming from the U.S. almost equalled the entire Israeli state budget.<sup>10</sup> Israel was indeed the offspring of Western imperialism, above all, the U.S.





*Israeli teacher with his students.*

The value to the U.S. of this new outpost was enormous. The U.S. was in the process of restructuring capital on a world scale following its victory in the war and was undertaking the strategic arrangements necessary to facilitate this. Not only had the imperialists of the Axis been defeated, but especially British imperialism had been knocked off its pedestal. This was the debut of what U.S. commentators called "the American century," an era they hoped would bring unchallenged world domination. In the Middle East, the U.S. was entering into a region rife with tumult, where feudal kings and sheiks sat uneasily over a seething volcano of nearly 100 million oppressed Arabs, up till then kept under control by the now tottering power of Britain and, to a lesser extent, France.

It was at this critical juncture that the Zionists were put in place. Testimony to Israel's strategic value for keeping the Arabs in line is that, from the period between 1945 and 1955, U.S. aid to Israel, with its 1m people, was *over six times greater*

*than to all the Arab states combined, whose population was dozens of times more numerous.*<sup>11</sup> Theodore Herzl had promised that, "We are going to Palestine as an expedition on behalf of civilisation. Ours is the mission of spreading Europe's ethical code out of the Euphrates."<sup>12</sup> The Zionists got their mission: they were now an armed-to-the-teeth enforcer of U.S. imperialist hegemony in one of the most vital regions on earth.

#### **Israel: An Imperialist Military Outpost**

From its birth, then, Israel has served above all else as a military outpost of Western imperialism. Its citizens are volunteer soldiers in a well-paid mercenary army. Its rabbis are military chaplains, its heads of state, commanders in the field. There is no more worth saving in the Israeli state than in any other vital military outpost of U.S. imperialism — or, to take a different example, than in a Soviet military base in Afghanistan or Ethiopia.

Israel has been completely dependent on external support from the beginning. It receives more aid per capita than any other state in the world, and the bulk of it is directly for military purposes. Official aid to Israel from 1948 to 1983 was equal to \$25.5 billion, two-thirds of which was for military needs. This exceeded the total U.S. cost of the Vietnam war.<sup>13</sup>

By far the principal source of this vast underwriting of the Israeli state has been U.S. imperialism. In the period 1973-84, U.S. aid to Israel accounted for 90% of all the foreign aid and grants Israel received, and it amounted to around 30% of total U.S. foreign aid.<sup>14</sup> In 1988, U.S. aid is pouring in at the rate of over \$3.5 billion per year. One writer observed wryly that at over \$1000 per capita, this is more U.S. federal aid than even the ordinary U.S. citizen receives.<sup>15</sup>

The configuration of the Israeli economy is determined fundamentally by its role as U.S. imperialism's Middle East gendarme. Israel has a high standard of living — per capita income is over \$6,000 per year — and extensive social services (if, of course, you are not a Palestinian in the 1967 Occupied Territories).<sup>16</sup> These are not evidence of Zionist "hard work" or "humanist concern" but rather are necessary to fulfill Israel's fundamental purpose as a military outpost — to attract new colonists and new troops for the Zionist military machine, and reward those already in service. And what would these amount to without the massive U.S. aid, which accounts for *over one-half of the Israeli government budget.*<sup>17</sup>

Israeli production is mainly production for war, to make the base not only as self-sufficient as possible but also to provide arms for its gendarme activity. As for the rest of the economy, it could almost be looked at as what the soldiers and their families are able to raise in their spare time on the base. Since the 1967 war, when the difficulty of resupplying Israel from the U.S. in a time of crisis became evident, production has shifted even more fully to war materiel, as machine guns and cannons took the place of textiles and traditional products.<sup>18</sup>

Arms production as a proportion of total production is the highest in the world.

These and other developments were underwritten and overseen by Western and especially U.S. imperialism. Patents, technology transfers, the substitution of grants for loans, the exemption from taxation of the heavy donations from Zionist organisations, and other "hidden" forms of aid have been provided by the U.S. and are estimated to be worth as much as several billion dollars extra in foreign aid per year.

The nature of this setup requires that Israel play its role constantly, that it be on duty all the time. It cannot survive otherwise — hence its unceasing military strikes around the Middle East. In other words, Israel cannot and will never have peace. Even if maintaining this constant war state means jolting millions of the oppressed surrounding it and provoking them to attack with ever mounting fury, and even if there are those who want to avoid reaping what the Zionist state has sown and who thus cry for a peaceful respite from the swell of revolt and struggle, this is impossible. Israel's very existence, its privileged position in the imperialist relations in the Middle East, its corresponding economic and social structure as well as its history, require it to slog onward in defense of its position. This is why no major military victory by Israel has ever brought the slightest pause in its military build-up. To the contrary. Military spending grew continually after both the 1967 and 1973 wars; the defense budget grew dramatically following 1973, averaging over 30% of GDP in the period 1974-1980<sup>19</sup>, and has reached 36% of GDP with the invasion of Lebanon. Comparable estimates for the U.S. are about 5-7% and for the USSR up to 13-15%.

Nor has all this been forced on poor embattled Israel by the relentless siege of the "sea of Arabs," as some Zionist apologists claim. This is the upside-down logic that American Western films promoted for so long with the hapless whites in the fort surrounded by marauding Indians. The Zionists went in on imperialist funds, expelled the indigenous people and expropriated the land for

themselves, set up one of the most militarised societies in the world, with an army and air force beefed up with the latest weaponry, including an arsenal of chemical and nuclear weapons — the latter being the only ones in the Middle East — all to enforce the reactionary social systems that oppress tens of millions, then dare to complain that they were forced to do all this!

The Zionists promoted themselves as a bastion of the imperialist West, and, indeed, they are one. Even a brief review of its history since its founding reveals that Israel has faithfully fulfilled this duty.

- In the Suez Canal war in 1956, Israeli forces invaded Egypt, giving the official explanation that this was a local police action aimed at wiping out fedayee fighters grouped in the Sinai (essentially the same lie they give for invading Lebanon today).

- Israel helps keep the Arab regimes weak and divided. It was common knowledge, for instance, that if the strong pro-Nasser forces in Jordan in the 1950s were to overthrow Hussein and seize power, Israel would seize the West Bank. Ben Gurion warned that if there were any change in the status of the Jordanian Kingdom, Israel "would insist on demilitarisation of Jordanian territory west of the Jordan river."<sup>20</sup>

- In 1967, Israel inflicted a serious military defeat on the Syrian, Jordanian and especially Egyptian militaries. The Israelis said the war was "defensive"; later, they bragged of the value of their "surprise" attack in decimating the Egyptian forces.

- All these events were presided over by the Israeli Labour Party, a member of the Second International of social-democratic parties.

- There was also the invasion of Lebanon in 1982; the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor; the bombing of Tunis, with 100 civilians killed as the Israelis claimed they were going after Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) headquarters; the shooting down of a Libyan civilian airline in the early 1970s, killing all aboard; and many other incidents. Indeed, Israel's Phantom jets have screamed out over the Arab deserts again and again, spreading the Western world's "ethical code," as Herzl called it, from their bomb-bay

doors, a code of strict obedience to U.S. imperialism and reaction. Talk of reforming Israel is talk of reforming an armed-to-the-teeth imperialist military base; against such an encampment one counts not on hopes of reform, but on revolutionary people's war.

### Israel: Imperialist Gunrunner and Spynest

Israel occupies a critical position in the imperialist world order of power relations. One of its specialties is counterinsurgency for the West; its war against the Palestinians has been a testing ground for developing tactics which have been used all over the world against revolutionary movements. Israel's Mossad has been vital to U.S. ability to rival and then replace the British intelligence network in the Middle East. The Mossad today has unequalled contacts and influence in all the secret police agencies in the pro-Western countries in the Middle East, and often has parallel networks of its own set up, even extending into Black Africa where, for instance, it engineered the overthrow of Milton Obote in Uganda and the installation of Idi Amin, who had been groomed and trained by Israel. It has become the point man in the Middle East for all the Western secret police services. No wonder the Palestinian revolution is held so dear to the hearts of the oppressed of the region!

Israel has collaborated with the CIA to provide Soviet arms captured in the Middle East to the contras in Central America, to Unita in Angola, to the MNR (the apartheid-backed rebels of Mozambique), and to elements of the Mojahadeen in Afghanistan. Such arms are not easily traced and allow the U.S. imperialists to step up their aid to their reactionary puppets without public scrutiny.<sup>21</sup>

The Zionists' most notorious connection has been with South Africa's apartheid rulers, with whom it has worked on the joint development of everything from water cannon to a tactical nuclear shell, which fits the needs of both reactionary states for close-range nuclear weaponry. Revelations by the former nuclear

technician Vanunu, who was later kidnapped from London and imprisoned by Israel, suggest that Israel has at least 100 operational nuclear warheads, including some high-yield thermonuclear weapons.<sup>22</sup>

In summing up the apartheid-Zionist collaboration, one commentator observes, "Such cooperation between two countries in the development of nuclear weapons proves an extremely high level of trust and intimacy in the relations between them.... An alliance cemented in plutonium is sealed in blood, and should be taken very seriously."<sup>23</sup>

Israeli officials aggressively promote their particular role in the Western imperialist division of labour. As Ya'acov Moridor, a minister in Begin's cabinet, proudly proclaimed,

"We shall say to the Americans: do not compete with us in Taiwan, South Africa, the Caribbean area... or in other areas where we can sell weapons directly and where you cannot operate in the open. Give us the opportunity to do this and trust us with sales of ammunition and military hardware; let Israel act as your agent."<sup>24</sup>

The overwhelmingly military/strategic character of Israel's position in the imperialist network of relations has given rise to some confusion. It is possible to be misled by this into thinking that since the imperialists are not extracting massive superprofits out of Israel in the same way that they are from Egypt, Iran, Chile or even South Africa, that the U.S. doesn't "materially benefit" from its relations with Israel and so the imperialist-Zionist axis is a matter of a chosen policy and not inevitable imperialist interest. Thus notions arise that U.S. commitment to Israel is a product of the influence of, for instance, the "Jewish lobby," and that this could be changed by countering Zionist propaganda and enlightening U.S. policy-makers about their "true" interests.

This is a distorted notion of imperialism as a system where every individual policy and act must be profitable. Consider, for example, the U.S. war in Vietnam or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan:

profit was hardly the major consideration behind either undertaking. The overall compulsion to make profit does drive imperialism to carve out its worldwide empire and, in the era where the world is divided up already, to redivide it and on that basis carry out renewed exploitation. But the overall defense of empire frequently demands major undertakings which are not, in and of themselves, profitable.

Israel has faithfully served the U.S. for four decades now as an enforcer of the post-WW2 division in one of the world's most strategic regions. How many times has Israel knocked one or another wayward Arab state into line — meaning solidly back into the lineup of the West? In no other region of the world, for instance, Latin America or the Far East, is there an imperialist gendarme that acts with the ruthless aggressiveness in defense of general Western interests as does Israel.

And what if the U.S. had *not* had a bully-boy like Israel, if instead they had been forced to maintain a massive *American*-manned military base in the Middle East to enforce their interests, with all the interventions and regional wars that would have meant over the years and the consequent loss of American lives? What would have been the ramifications of that for the U.S., including domestically?

Its overall role as imperialist gendarme is the main basis for the widespread and deeply felt hatred of Israel which pervades the region, as well as the ardent sympathy for the Palestinian people and their fight. It is not, as claimed by Islamic forces and some imperialist commentators, that the oppressed of the region are united in a common religious battle of Muslim versus Jew. Furthermore, this is why any force there that embarks on the path of new democratic revolution and seizing power for the proletariat and its allies will have to squarely face Israeli aggression. All this highlights the danger of trying to target Zionism as somehow independent of or separate from imperialism. Israel is not merely a loose ally of the imperialists — it is their direct outpost. Genuine revolution in the Middle East is impossible

without going up against the imperialists and *all* their agents, Israel among them. The path of targeting Israel while avoiding imperialism can only lead to capitulation to imperialism, and ultimately to its agents, including Israel.

Such a brutal, loyal attack dog is especially key for the Middle East. For the Middle East is not just any region. The "jugular veins" of Europe and Japan are located there. Through it flows the oil necessary for the functioning of those economies. It lies at the crossroads of three continents. The overall spiral of developments, pushed especially by the contradictions between the oppressed Arab and other peoples and imperialism as well as by rivalry between the imperialists, has led to the development of the Middle East as the most militarily built-up region in the Third World. The percentage of Soviet military aid going to the region is unrivalled elsewhere — just as it is for the U.S. where, for instance, almost half of U.S. arms sales in 1988 were to just two countries: Israel and Egypt.<sup>25</sup>

### Bribed Workers, or Mercenary Soldiers?

To understand Israel, one cannot take it as an isolated nation-state and look at what kind of jobs the workers have, their wages, etc., and on that basis arrive at a "class analysis" and a programme for "revolution" flowing from that, as Trotskyites and revisionists commonly do.

Israel is founded on a homeland expropriated from its actual inhabitants and converted into a military outpost for imperialism. The vast majority of Israeli citizens are immigrants or the first-generation offspring of immigrants. Quite often these people live in the very houses of those Israel has forced into refugee camps right across the borders. As Moshe Dayan bragged, "There is not a single Jewish village in the land which was not built on the site of an Arab dwelling place. Nahalal took the place of Mahloul."<sup>26</sup> Those who have come to Israel over the past several decades in order to occupy the land of the Palestinians and live in their homes and who benefit from a standard of living ac-



## From the Zionists' Mouth

Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country.... We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is a Palestine, at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan river), without Arabs... And there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer all of them; not one village, not one tribe, should be left... Only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb the millions of our own brethren. There is no other way out — Joseph Weitz (director of the Jewish National Fund), 1940

—The Palestinian Catastrophe, Michael Palumbo

There is no such thing as Palestinians... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people. — Golda Meir, Labour Party Prime Minister of Israel

— Sunday Times, 15 June 1969



Sabra and Chatila, after the massacre in 1982.

I favour partition of the country because when we become a strong power after the establishment of the state, we will abolish partition and spread throughout all of Palestine. — Ben-Gurion, 1938

—The Palestinian Catastrophe

In each attack, a decisive blow should be struck, resulting in the destruction of homes and the expulsion of the population. — Ben-Gurion, 1947

—The Palestinian Catastrophe

The issue at hand is conquest not self-defence. As for the setting of borders — it's an open-ended matter. In the Bible as well as in history there are all kinds of definitions of the country's borders so there's no real limit. — Ben-Gurion

—The Palestinian Catastrophe



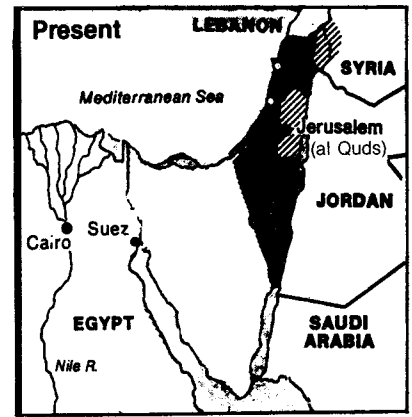
1946. Palestinians forced to flee their land.

The leaders of the two Zionist terrorist groups met to plan the attack (Deir Yassin — AWTW). By their own admission, from the very beginning many of the terrorists were intent on a massacre. According to the Irgun officer, Yehuda Lapidot, the Stern Gang 'put forward a proposal to liquidate the residents of the village after the conquest in order to show the Arabs what happens when the Irgun and Stern Gang set out together on an operation.' One of the aims of the attack was 'to break Arab morale' and create panic throughout Palestine. Benzion Cohen, the Irgun commander of the raid, later recalled that at the pre-attack meeting 'the majority was for liquidation of all the men in the village and any others found that opposed us, whether it be old people, women and children.

—The Palestinian Catastrophe, Michael Palumbo

Accept congratulations on this splendid act of conquest, tell the soldiers you have made history in Israel. — Menachem Begin after the massacre of Deir Yassin

—The Palestinian Catastrophe



Sabra and Chatila, after the massacre in 1982.

quired only by military service in the interests of Western imperialism are not simply being bribed, even if they work in a factory and belong to a union. Even the term "labour aristocracy" is too generous — they are mercenary settler colonialists.

The social-democratic cover of the Zionists, especially of the Labour Party type, has itself served the most reactionary ends. In order to develop their plans for Palestine, the Zionists were forced to go up against the fact that there was already a people living there. This fueled the development within British Mandate Palestine of what one writer called "a state within a state" — the embryo of the new Zionist state, financed largely from abroad by wealthy Zionists, developed as an instrument for carrying on the struggle to implant the Zionists as a viable political and economic entity. A more "normal" capitalist development, relying on the *laissez-faire* techniques of an earlier period, was simply not suitable for the circumstances of what amounted to an invasion. Hence the particular adaptability of "left" Zionism, an ideology which emphasized centralism, hard work and a sacrificing, pioneering mentality — all so as to better serve the purpose of war against the indigenous population and later, as regional gendarme.

The Histadrut, for example, was less a reformist trade union than a fighter, including militarily, for the settler interests of Jewish workers; it subordinated everything else, including trade union economic demands, to that.<sup>27</sup> The Haganah, the main Zionist armed force in establishing Israel, had its roots in militias growing out of the Histadrut.

Similarly, the kibbutzim, the cooperative agricultural settlements in the Israeli countryside universally hailed in the West for demonstrating the democratic cooperative potential of the Zionist state, play a critical strategic role for Israel. In the 1967 war, for instance, kibbutz members, only 3.5% of the population, composed a percentage many times higher in the elite combat units (paratroopers, front-line officers, etc.)<sup>28</sup> One commentator, calling the kibbutzim Israel's "school for

Spartans," attributed this to the values inculcated in the kibbutzim, including discipline, a big dose of Zionism, and proprietary feelings for the land which, he says, fuels desire among the kibbutz members to defend Israel.<sup>29</sup>

There is much speculation about the infighting in the Israeli government between Likud and Labour, and it is said that this is key to bringing peace to the Middle East. Whatever promises various Labour spokesmen may make when they are out of office and not so responsible for policy, the history of these social-democratic settler colonialists who launched the Zionist project and wielded power for well over two decades proves that they, no less than Likud, will enforce Zionist domination and overall imperialist interests and will combat the Palestinian revolution with every means at their disposal. As Rabin, the Labour Defence Minister who headed up the 1967 war and who today presides over the bloody suppression of the *intifada*, declared, "The only place we'll negotiate with the Palestinians is on the battlefield."<sup>30</sup>

As the *intifada* continues to rock Israel, observers report a further hardening of Israelis towards the Palestinians, with most Israelis favouring harsher security measures against the rebel youth.<sup>31</sup> While with the advance of the Palestinian revolution some Israelis will undoubtedly desert and go over to the Palestinian side, and many will flee any all-out conflict, there is every reason to assume that the majority will remain faithful to the Zionist state.

This will demand increasingly reactionary service from them — yet in an ultimately doomed cause. For the whole post-WW2 world order is coming apart and the imperialist world is being shaken by the deepest crisis. This has already called forth upheaval and rebellion in a number of places, and the Middle East will surely see explosions on an unprecedented scale. As it attempts to meet these, the Zionist state, already stretched thin trying to maintain its shaky occupation of south Lebanon and the West Bank and Gaza, will be pushed to its limits. Israel is already desperately seeking to make a deal

with the Soviets for a new influx of immigrants, yet fewer and fewer people want to come, and in the last few years net emigration has even exceeded immigration. Over half a million Israelis now live abroad. All this is especially threatening for the strength of the Zionist military, which has a percentage of recent immigrants higher than that of the population at large. All these problems stem directly from Israel's position as an imperialist gendarme, which demands that the society be kept on a constant war footing. Finally, and most fundamentally, the masses of oppressed the world over hate the settler colonialist state and support the struggle against it; even the Zionists' own masters hold them in ill-disguised contempt.<sup>32</sup>

### The Palestinians

The Palestinians have been dispersed by the establishment of the Zionist settler colonial state. Several million live outside historic Palestine, including in Jordan; many hundreds of thousands live in refugee camps, especially in Lebanon and Syria. Conditions in the camps are always difficult, often wretched. One of the main difficulties, however, is that while words of honey are ever present on the lips of the Arab countries' rulers, actual treatment by the governments is harsh and discriminatory.

Another 600,000 Palestinians live inside what is called the "Green Line," by which is meant the pre-1967 borders of Israel. The Zionists claim they are treated equally as Jews in "democratic Israel." They actually suffer discrimination in every sphere, enforced by an array of laws to protect the "Jewish character" of the state. These include laws forbidding the sale to non-Jews of land held by the Jewish National Fund, which holds the majority of the land in Israel, forbidding employment of Palestinians in certain industries and jobs, etc. And not only have the Palestinians been dispersed, but they are forced into the most undesirable, lowest-paying jobs.

After having seized the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the 1967 war, Israel negotiated their disposi-



tion with Egypt in the Camp David agreement. The understanding of this agreement was that Israel was not to undertake any sort of permanent settlements in the West Bank or Gaza Strip and was to begin measures preparing for withdrawal from these areas. Instead, there are now approximately 60,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank and 2,500 in Gaza.<sup>33</sup>

The settlements established by the Israelis are chosen above all for their military-strategic value. First, they are intended to break up any continuity of Palestinian territory. The World Zionist Organisation spelled out the strategy of the Zionist settlements early on: "State (Jordan) land and uncultivated land must be seized immediately. It would be difficult for the minority population to form a territorial continuity and political unity when it is fragmented by Jewish settlements."<sup>34</sup> Roads have been constructed so as to connect the Jewish settlements and bypass and isolate the Palestinian population. The general policy has been one of encircling Arab populations with Zionist settlements. Second, the Israeli settlements are to provide initial base areas against an invasion force. Though many settlements have minefields and even stocks of infantry and antitank weapons,<sup>35</sup> their military value is also symbolic — any Arab or Palestinian force that sought to drive the Israelis out of territory that the whole world admits is Palestinian would inevitably shed Israeli blood, thereby providing a pretext which the Israeli leaders would trumpet to justify the vicious retaliation they are so famous for.

The Israelis make great profits off the wretched conditions they keep the Palestinians in. There are at least 100,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza who work daily in Israel, perhaps 30% of them illegally, including many domestic female workers. On the Zionist collective farms, 20-30% of the Arab workers are children of 12 or younger. Within the "Green Line," Palestinians' wages are 50-60% of those of Israeli workers,<sup>36</sup> with almost no work rights. All this provides a bonanza of profits for the Israeli bourgeoisie, and has created conditions where Israeli Jews are less and less often to

be found in dirty, low-paying jobs and are more typically foremen, middle-level clerical workers, etc. The Palestinians within the "Green Line," though directly suffering blatant discrimination, do have a higher standard of living in imperialist-subsidised Israel than Arabs in Syria or Jordan, for instance. The Israelis love to point to this and certainly counted on this to placate the Palestinians' discontent. Recent events have showed just how wrong their vulgar view was.

There is another, more fundamental dimension to the Israeli development of the economy of the 1967 Occupied Territories than simply as a base for cheap labour: they are an occupied military zone. The counterinsurgency tactic of Israel has been the destruction of the local economy in such a way as to eliminate the basis for the emergence and growth of any revolutionary army on this terrain. This policy was developed especially after the 1968 battle of Karameh where the PLO held off the Israeli army and the subsequent attempts of the PLO to launch armed struggle in the West Bank. The Israelis declared that they were going to "dry up the sea" that the PLO guerrillas were trying to swim in.

As a key part of this policy, Israel has systematically destroyed the self-sufficient agricultural system of the West Bank, so that it cannot play any role in sustaining a people's army. In the guise of promoting exports of fruits and vegetables, the Israelis have undercut grain production. Control of water has been a key weapon for the Zionists in Palestine's arid conditions. West Bank Palestinians pay more for their water and have the rights to less water than their Israeli neighbors, so that farmers "find their land worthless while within sight of their homes there are settlements with lawn sprinklers and brimming swimming pools."<sup>37</sup> Israeli water policy has contributed to a considerable reduction in amount of land cultivated by Palestinians.

The actual governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza is the Israeli military, which ruthlessly oversees every aspect of life. Educational textbooks are censored, teachers

reviewed by the Shin Bet, the Israeli secret police, and curfews are frequent. Within five months after the *intifada* began, around 5,000 Palestinians were jailed — one person out of every 300 in the 1967 Occupied Territories. Once someone is arrested, the Shin Bet has 18 days to interrogate them before they must be brought to court. Eighty percent of convictions in the West Bank and Gaza are obtained by confessions — torture obviously being the key "persuader."<sup>38</sup> As many as 2,000 Palestinians are in administrative detention, which means they can be held for up to 6 months without any charges being brought against them. And it is renewable. One of the main administrative detention centres is in the Negev Desert, far from the Palestinians' homes (as well as from any potential observers), where detainees are put in tents in temperatures that reach 45° C. Medicine and food are insufficient, beatings frequent. As of late February, of those killed by the Israelis, twenty-one had been asphyxiated by tear gas, including three babies less than 7 months old, one man 100 years old, and two women over 70, and at least seven people have been simply beaten to death.<sup>39</sup> And this, the Zionists assure, is the "only democracy in the Middle East."

#### Soviet Social-Imperialism versus Palestinian Liberation

The Soviet social-imperialists contrast their own role in the Middle East to heavy-handed U.S. domination and argue that they have no stakes of empire in the region and are thus the natural ally of all those held down by the U.S., especially the Palestinian people.

Since the restoration of capitalism there in the mid-1950s, the Soviet Union has never sought to promote any revolutionary transformation in the Middle East, and certainly not a liberation war to build a Palestinian revolutionary state on the ashes of Israel. On the contrary, it has continually advocated the "right to exist" of the Zionist settler state, and repeatedly called on the Palestinians to accept this. Gorbachev recently advised Arafat that "recognition of the State of Israel, consideration of

its security interests... is a necessary element of the establishment of peace and good-neighbourliness in the region."<sup>40</sup> Even after rupturing diplomatic relations with Israel following the 1967 war, when Egypt, then a Soviet client regime under Nasser, suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Zionist military, the USSR still managed to keep up contacts with the Zionists and even sent Israel huge numbers of Jewish immigrants (270,000 during the 1970s alone). This was a major source of military manpower for the Zionists, as large numbers of these immigrants were adults trained, educated and ready for military service. Jewish immigrants became a pawn in inter-imperialist contention in the region, as the social-imperialists, who on the one hand practice widespread anti-Semitism, on the other hand send cannonfodder to Israel (the USSR *only* grants exit visas to Jews to go to Israel). Israel, in turn, often demands the USSR ensure that all the Jews who leave actually end up in Israel, since many do not. The social-imperialists shut off the flow of immigrants or turn it on again, depending on their larger interests. Today, under Gorbachev, the Soviets have once again eased open the faucet, giving exit visas for Israel to over 1,000 Jews per month, as part of Gorbachev's offensive of expanding Soviet influence with Israel.<sup>41</sup>

Nonetheless the fact that Israel is solidly in the U.S. camp means the Soviets have had to fish for clients mainly among the Arab regimes. This has given rise to the phenomenon of the division of the Arab world into "progressive" and "reactionary" regimes, in Soviet eyes. What the Soviets mean by this is that no matter how comprador, reactionary and even feudal a regime might be, as long as this is in the service of Soviet interests the regime is really "progressive"; if it is in Western interests, it is "reactionary."

Syria is one of these so-called progressive regimes and is also the Soviet's main client in the area. Though Syria now receives hundreds of millions of dollars annually from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, it is in debt up to its neck to both blocs and its military is virtu-

ally entirely supplied by and dependent on the Soviets; Syria is consequently firmly in the Soviet bloc. There is nothing progressive about Syria: it is ruled by a feudal-comprador clan. Amnesty International lists 35 different kinds of torture that are used in Assad's prisons, which house numerous political dissidents of all stripes, including quite a few Palestinians who are too revolutionary for Assad. Assad's regime also indulges in frequent bloodletting of the oppressed peoples in Syria.

During the Lebanese civil war in 1975-76, Syria was at first allied with the reactionary Maronite Christians and their Phalangist thugs *against* the Lebanese "left" and the Palestinian resistance; this and the series of rapid reversals of alliances which followed show that Assad and Co. were out for their own interests above all.

It was during the civil war that at the Tal al-Zataar refugee camp in Lebanon, Syrian forces played a role similar to that of the Israelis a few years later at Sabra and Shatila camps, as they unleashed their then allies, the reactionary pro-Western Phalangists, to massacre over a thousand Palestinians, women, children, and old men, in a bloody effort to bludgeon particularly Fatah, the largest group in the PLO, into submission.<sup>42</sup> The Soviets, who furnished the arms with which such Syrian crimes were carried out, tut-tutted from the sidelines, but did little else. The Syrian butchery corresponded to their own interests to have a PLO that had been bloodied a bit, and so would be less independent and more submissive to overall Syrian (and Soviet) desires. But not destroyed — eventually the Soviets intervened to settle the "fraternal dispute." The Soviets have developed a relationship with Syria that has this parallel at least with that of the U.S. and Israel: Assad has learned to judge the tone of his masters' "no" in order to understand just how much further he can go in tearing into the PLO to keep it in line before he must really come to heel.

The Soviets point proudly to the "aid" they give the Palestinian cause, including arms to the PLO.

Yet a closer look at the kind of aid they give and what it is for only serves to further indict their imperialist character.

When the PLO first launched the armed struggle in the mid-1960s, when the shoots of guerrilla warfare were fragile, its direction and character unsettled, and when all the world's imperialists and reactionaries were united in denouncing and seeking to crush the armed struggle, with the Zionists striking ferociously at the guerrillas' roots within Israel and Jordan's Hussein unleashing the vicious suppression of the guerrillas in "Black September" of 1970, what stand did the Soviet self-proclaimed saviours of Palestinian liberation take at this decisive moment? Here is the Soviet's "support" for the PLO: "the concept of violent revolution, which the ultra-left opportunists seek to impose upon the national-liberation movement, has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.... Such 'revolutionary' postures can merely produce a schism in the united anti-imperialist front...; and hold up its further development."<sup>43</sup> The Soviets condemned those they called "crazy extremists amongst the fedayeen," whom they characterised as "governed by the slogan 'the worse it is, the better it is.'"<sup>44</sup>

The Soviets lashed out at anything that threatened to ignite the simmering masses of the region into revolutionary war. Their most rabid attacks were reserved for the great wave of revolutionary ferment which spread out over the world from the Cultural Revolution in China. Kosygin, President of the USSR, ranted, "Revolutionary slogans can work against the interests of the Arabs. Look at China. They are taking a very hard revolutionary line and say that if you go to war they will help you. But what can they help you with? Ten articles? A hundred meetings? Revolutionary ideas expressed in words don't mean anything unless they are backed by real power."<sup>45</sup> What vile contempt for the revolutionary science of the proletariat and the consciousness and mobilisation of the masses, which is the *basis* for taking up guns — which the Chinese did provide in large quantities — and seizing

revolutionary state power!

Key to Soviet plans has been an "international peace conference," which they have been promoting for over 20 years now. In this scheme the masses are passive bystanders with no role to play other than watching the Great Powers — naturally including the USSR — decide the region's destiny, or at most struggling to strengthen the Soviet position at the bargaining table, so that perhaps the Soviet patron will give them a bigger slice of the pie to be cut. This is a major way the social-imperialists have used to keep initiative in their own hands, to foster reliance by the forces of the Palestinian resistance on the Great Powers and to stifle the possibility of an eruption in Palestine of a real people's war capable of smashing Israel and carrying through a revolution against all imperialism.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to note that the Soviets are not opposed to all armed struggle by the Palestinians, but to what they consider "stupid illusions" that light arms and people's war are the road forward. Hence, while the Soviets send Israel Jewish immigrants for their army, they send the PLO tanks and other heavy weaponry and train their cadres in Soviet military academies to wage conventional war. For the Soviet social-imperialists, there is a certain logic here. The road forward that they are interested in taking is not the destruction of Israel, it is not the overturning of all the reactionary feudal and imperialist-backed forces in the region and the establishment of revolutionary rule by the masses.

What lies behind the seemingly diverse strands of Soviet policy in the Middle East is the following assessment: in the face of the U.S.' entrenched domination of the region, they cannot count on moving in and taking over big chunks of it piecemeal today but must instead manoeuvre as best they can to establish their influence with existing regimes and movements. Ultimately, it is only through defeating the U.S. and its bloc through world war and redividing the region as part of an overall redivision of the world that the social-imperialists can redraw the map of the Middle East, carry out realignments of different class

forces and consolidate their own hegemony in the region. Promoting capitulationist schemes today within the PLO and fostering methods of fighting which rely on their imperialist aid is, for the Soviets, not at all in contradiction to currying favor with feudal shieks in the United Arab Emirates: *both* are part of gathering influence and preparing forces to carry out a reactionary realignment of social forces in the Middle East, ultimately through world war (though the Soviets undoubtedly rely more on those bourgeois forces currently cut out of the U.S. division of the region and consequently ready to act to change it).<sup>47</sup>

Revolution and genuine people's war figures nowhere in Soviet calculations except as a potential threat to be crushed ruthlessly. For the Soviets, what role Israel itself would play in some future realignment depends no more on the justness of the Palestinian cause than does the propping up of Assad today depend on his being "progressive," which he emphatically is not. What counts are Soviet imperialist interests: while certain pro-Soviet PLO eminences undoubtedly dream wistfully of the consummation of the efforts of their patron, what may actually greet their long wait may surprise them, including even possibly a Palestinian bantustan under the dominion of a refurbished pro-Soviet Israel. As Gromyko spelled out: "As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there is only one kind of logic in foreign affairs: the logic of what is best for the Soviet Union."<sup>48</sup>

### The Arab Regimes, Israel and Palestinian Liberation

While revisionists like to divide the Arab regimes up into "progressive" and "reactionary," the entire framework of states and power relations in the Middle East today is a product of imperialism. The political entities of the Arab states were themselves carved more or less arbitrarily out of the living corpse of the Ottoman Empire. Today a motley gang of shieks, military officers, feudal clans and comprador presidents are perched over the rumbling mass of 100 million oppressed Arabs

and kept in place only thanks to the muscle of their imperialist sponsors. This entire arrangement of state relations is a flimsy house of cards, with the trump card at the centre holding it all together the most artificial creation of all, the Zionist settler state.

The pivotal position of Israel as an enforcer of the post-WW2 order established by the imperialists in the Middle East means that today, however much the various Arab regimes may huff and puff about the Zionists<sup>49</sup>, they are themselves terrified of the revolutionary process that would be required to destroy Israel. Mobilising the Palestinian and Arab masses in a people's war against Israel and its imperialist masters would call into question the entire system of imperialist state relations established after the war, including the very existence of these reactionary dinosaurs. Hence, while holding gala press conferences to praise the *intifada* and promise support for the liberation of Palestine, the Arab regimes, reactionary and so-called progressive alike, viciously stamp out the sparks of liberation which burst up among the Palestinians and their own subjects as well. Demonstrations in support of the *intifada* have been repeatedly broken up by Hussein's police; in Morocco helicopters were used to gun down demonstrators, which reportedly resulted in several deaths, while Kuwaiti authorities rounded up several dozen Palestinians immediately after the *intifada* broke out, and it was only when a temporary truce was established between Syria's Assad and Arafat that Palestinians were allowed to take to the streets of Damascus — for one day.<sup>50</sup>

The so-called support of the Arab states for the PLO often amounts to a form of "protection" money; by developing "friendly" relations with the PLO, they hope to head off the outrage of the Arab masses at Zionist-imperialist crimes and to convince the Palestinian resistance not to arouse their oppressed subjects in revolutionary struggle. Such "support" also seeks to turn the Palestinian resistance away from self-reliance and towards methods of organisation and struggle which



grow out of dependence on these huge "donations" from the Arab regimes, including by keeping the PLO bases far from those places where they could actually draw on any fighting strength from the Palestinian masses and even isolated from the populations of these countries. Developing these kind of ties with the PLO also has enabled the reactionary Arab rulers to keep their finger on the pulse of the PLO, to learn of its latest political and military plans so as to anticipate them with their own schemes.<sup>51</sup> This enables the Arab regimes to try to subordinate dissidence within the Palestinian resistance movement to their own intrigues and infighting, which ultimately means to the larger imperialist manipulations and rivalry as well.<sup>52</sup>

In order to advance, the Palestinian revolutionaries must be able to recognise *all* their enemies. As they succeed in charting the path for liberation and dealing ever sharper blows against the imperialists' chief prop in the region, they will undoubtedly not only draw the wrath of all the other agents of imperialism and reaction, but will also kindle sparks of revolution among the broad ranks of the Arab oppressed, threatening to ignite a prairie fire of revolutionary war throughout the region and burn to the ground all the structures of imperialism and reaction.

### **The Mini-state, the "Jewish Nation" and the Palestinian Revolution**

The mini-state so-called solution to the Palestinian problem has united behind it a wide variety of forces, including the Soviet bloc, social-democrats especially in Europe, certain Arab leaders and various so-called peace forces in Israel. The PLO itself adopted this in the form of an amendment to its Programme in 1974, where it is stated that a Palestinian state should be established as "a national authority on any liberated territory," by which all understand to be included the Gaza strip and especially the West Bank.

Though the different forces which support the mini-state solution each

do so out of their own interests, they share common arguments. First amongst these is that it is the only just solution, that the Jews should have their state and the Palestinians theirs, and that this will resolve the conflicts between them and lead to peace in the Middle East. This "common sense" argument is advanced especially by the imperialists, but has its advocates in the PLO, such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the pro-Soviet wings of the PLO, led by Nayef Hawatmeh, which claims to have made the "Marxist-Leninist" analysis that Israeli Jews have constituted themselves into a nation and thus have the right to self-determination.

This argument rips the national question out of its world-historic context. As the *Declaration of the RIM* states, "In our era, the national question has ceased to be an internal question of single countries and has become subordinate to the general question of the world proletarian revolution, hence its thoroughgoing resolution has become directly dependent on the struggle against imperialism." How does supporting an Israeli "right to self-determination" advance the struggle against imperialism? To argue that Israeli Jews constitute a nation and that the masses of Jews should be viewed as simple victims of imperialism and Zionism ignores that they are mainly being used by imperialism to subjugate the entire region. Indeed, what this argument does is ideologically justify imperialism's key outpost in the region and thus strengthen imperialism itself.

In a certain sense, even if Israeli Jews had emerged as a "nation," it would not change the essential point, for such a nation would be nothing but a settler colonial nation and would merit only destruction as a political entity, i.e., as a state.

But the Jews are not a nation. Religion, by itself, does not determine a nationality, and this is as true of Judaism as it is of Christianity or any other faith. Lenin pointed out long ago that, as in the case of almost any religion, Jews were everywhere. They still are. What, other than religion (and its corollary, religious intolerance) do Jews

in Kiev have in common with Jews in New York, Tunisia, Buenos Aires or even Tel Aviv? Indeed, the great majority of Jews do *not* live in Israel, but in the USSR or the U.S. The fact that one section of Jews has been installed in a specific geographical location by imperialism does not suddenly make them a nation. It may make them a *mercenary army base*, an appendage of the imperialists themselves — but not a nation with a *right* to self-determination, which in the case of the Israeli Jews can only mean a right to continued expropriation of the homeland of a people which it dispossessed and a right to continue serving the imperialists as the bully-boys of the region!

A more radical-sounding argument for the mini-state solution is that it would be a "tactical step forward" enabling PLO forces to gain some power so as to more effectively carry the struggle forward against Israel.

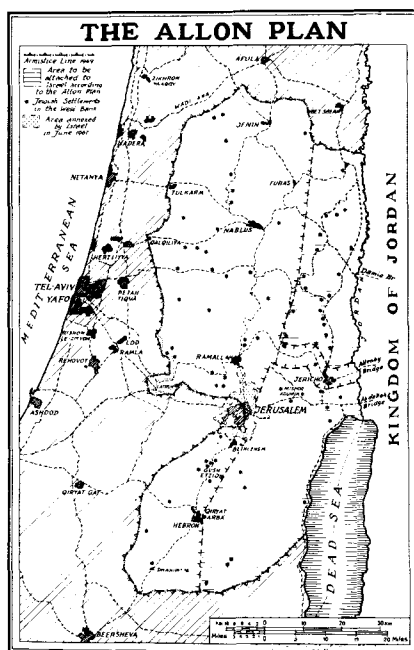
The imperialists have no intention of setting up a mini-state that would in any way become a base for ongoing revolutionary struggle. A look at some of the plans they have floated out for a mini-state shows just how unrevolutionary such a concoction would be.

Consider a proposal for a mini-state by an Israeli analyst whose thinking approaches that of the "left" wing of the Israeli Labour Party. He is insistent that any future Palestinian mini-state would 1) not have the right to have foreign troops of any sort on its soil, a provision which is explicitly directed against Soviet influence, and 2) would have to accept definite limits on its military capability, meaning essentially it would be allowed no more than a police force. As the Israeli analyst explains, the need of the mini-state for military power would be strictly limited to just enough to first, give the new state a certain amount of "dignity" and the "attributes of independence," and second, "protect the regime, contain rejectionist and other sources of domestic disorder, and enforce the state's obligation not to permit acts of violence against neighboring states to originate from within its territory."<sup>53</sup> In other words, guns in the hands of the

Palestinian mini-state would be there not to attack Israel but to shoot any Palestinians who dared attack Israel! And such proposals as this one are considered *too generous to the Palestinians* to gain the support of any real authorities in Israel or the U.S., who envision far more stringent guarantees for Israel's security!<sup>54</sup>

The Israeli Labour Party has explicitly written into its programme a prohibition against giving up the bulk of the West Bank, so none of its proposals would even envision going that far. The Allon Plan, for example, which is the main proposal floated out by the Labour Party, proposes to carve up the West Bank, leaving the future mini-state virtually entirely surrounded by Israeli troops, including to the east (see map). This exposes the so-called mini-state solution as amounting to a pitiful bantustan like those in South Africa, with Black faces presiding over actual South African apartheid domination. This is the only kind of mini-state that the imperialists *might* set up. There is nothing revolutionary about such a scheme, because it fails to resolve the fundamental question of the oppression of the Palestinian masses and simply perpetuates imperialist-Zionist rule with Palestinian faces on top.

More fundamentally, however, the imperialists themselves have no intention or even the real capability of setting up a mini-state with any credibility. Neither of the two imperialist blocs has the hegemony necessary to carry out such a volatile rearrangement of the existing division of the region. The Western bloc knows that such a move would set into motion processes that can throw the region into qualitatively higher political turmoil and instability. To go in and attempt a reorganisation of the borders and the state system in an area as strategically central to world dynamics as the Middle East demands a certain hegemony — the kind, for instance, that the U.S. had coming off its victory in World War 2, when it decisively ruled the imperialist roost and carried out a worldwide restructuring of capital and the strategic arrangements, including the creation



*Labour mini-state plan. Lined area to be kept by Israel.*

of Israel, that it needed to enforce the new division of the world.

The U.S. no longer has this kind of unparalleled hegemony and consequently, it does not have the ability to set up any authentic Palestinian state, even a pro-Western one. First, Israel itself was set up and structured for years now to act as an aggressive attack dog, constantly on the prowl, with a consequent drive to expand continually, into south Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank, etc. To take the 1967 Occupied Territories away from Israel and set up a mini-state, however reactionary, would cut against this fundamental dynamic of the Zionist state, and hence weaken the imperialist position. Secondly, because any such state would still be erected under the wings of an Israel ruling over the core of the former Palestinian homeland, there would inevitably be festering discontent against Zionism and imperialism, which would create instability and continued revolt by the Palestinian masses. Setting up a Palestinian bantustan is not going to end the determined struggle of the Palestinian masses. Finally, such instability would give manoeuvring room for the Soviets, and the U.S. imperialists are not going to accept an arrangement which would allow any possibility of this. Moshe Arens, a Likud minister without portfolio, argued in the summer of 1987 that

even Soviet participation in an international conference "cannot provide the proper framework and pressure-free atmosphere needed to resolve what is not merely a question of territory and borders but of Israel's very existence. It can only severely harm Israel and increase Soviet power and prestige in the Middle East."<sup>55</sup> U.S. policy has not varied from this.<sup>56</sup>

The Soviets are not today capable of reversing this state of affairs, and so establishing a mini-state is not a serious objective of Soviet strategy in the region. This is one reason why the Soviets have been so singularly inactive around the Palestinian issue, while settlement proposals flurry around Afghanistan, Angola, etc. They prefer to try to continue to capitalise on the Arab regimes' contradictions with Israel, expand their military presence, including through arms sales, entrench themselves where possible and bide their time for more favourable opportunities. At the same time, they continue to identify themselves with the mini-state solution so as to present the USSR as an ally of those held down by the U.S. and Israel.

Thus the Soviets cannot today overturn the U.S./Israeli-imposed power alignment, but the U.S. is no longer capable of effectively shutting the door to Soviet influence within any conceivable mini-state solution, much less using it to halt all rebellion on the part of the oppressed Palestinians. Hence the deadlock, and the unlikelihood of any motion towards establishing a Palestinian mini-state in the 1967 Occupied Territories.

Thus, under present conditions, the mini-state solution is not a feasible solution for the imperialists. More importantly, it is not a revolutionary solution for the masses. Promoting the mini-state solution not only holds up an illusory quest for the Palestinian masses, it also rejects the only path for liberation for the Palestinian people, which is people's war to establish a new democratic regime on the ashes of the Zionist settler state. A new democratic republic of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of their proletarian vanguard, will lead the masses in struggle for the

elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation including those which existed even before the formation of Israel, such as feudal exploitation and oppression and the oppression of women, but which the Zionist state has reinforced and to which it has even added new forms of exploitation and oppression. Such a state will inspire and assist all the oppressed to follow. Even before victory the revolutionary people's war necessary to found such a new democratic Palestinian power would certainly draw in masses from surrounding countries into the battlefield to realise this beautiful future, and give a powerful impetus to the world revolutionary movement.

In sum, there is no peaceful solution to the oppression of the Palestinian people, and there is no peaceful way the map of the Middle East can be redrawn. Dramatic changes will come only through war: either imperialist reactionary war, leading to new realignments in the region and a new round of exploitation and oppression, or revolutionary war, to destroy Israel, liberate Palestine and shatter the entire imperialist order. Forty years of struggle against national oppression, forty years of genocide and misery brought on the Palestinian people by imperialism, Zionism and all the other reactionary forces in the region, has done nothing but strengthen the material basis for the revolutionary struggle in Palestine to win victory and make a tremendous contribution to the world revolutionary movement. The times cry out for revolutionary vision and the determination to make great leaps forward, not for half-hearted capitulationist schemes like the mini-state.

### The Future

Worldwide developments, including the inter-imperialist rivalry between the two blocs, has created a situation where neither can decisively reorganise relations in the Middle East and resolve the Palestinian conflict on favourable terms. Yet the status quo is itself untenable, at least for long. As the *Declaration of the RIM* analyzes: "The post World War II world is rapidly coming apart (Continued to p. 79).



# The Soviet

At the time Israel was founded in 1948, the Soviet Union was still a socialist state under the leadership of Stalin. The policy the Soviet leadership took towards the founding of Israel was nonetheless profoundly mistaken and had serious negative consequences for the revolutionary struggle.

The international communist movement had burst into the Middle East with the salvos of the October Revolution. The Comintern had encouraged and worked towards the development of a communist movement in Palestine, with some success; it had, under Lenin's and then Stalin's leadership, denounced Zionism as a tool of British imperialism. In admitting the Palestine Communist Party in 1923, the Comintern had, for instance, stressed the need for it to "support the nationalist freedom of the Arab population against the British-Zionist occupation."<sup>1</sup> But twenty-five years later the USSR gave the Zionists support at the decisive moment of Israel's founding.

While a full analysis of the roots of this error is beyond the scope of this article, it is worth exploring the immediate reasons behind the Soviet decision to recognise and, for a time, actually support the Zionists.

First, the international communist movement did, in its majority, support the formation of the Zionist state. China under Mao was the major exception. A very large shipment of arms to the Haganah was provided by Czechoslovakia in 1948; the infamous Stern gang, with Menachem Begin in its leadership, ran underground presses out of Bucharest, Budapest and Prague as late as 1949; the Soviets denounced Arab resistance to Israel's founda-

tion and even provided the Zionists with planes and pilot instruction which were used in 1948 against the Arab armies fighting the formation of Israel.<sup>2</sup>

Probably the key turning point was the Soviet vote in the United Nations. Earlier the Soviets had called for a solution which did not partition Palestine. When this stand was defeated, however, they opted to support the U.S.-backed proposition for partitioning Palestine into an Arab and Jewish state. Shortly thereafter, the Zionists unilaterally declared the establishment of Israel and set out militarily to erect the state, and Palestinian and other Arab forces counterattacked.

At this important moment the USSR stood, not with the Arab masses, but with the Zionists. Gromyko, who later was among those leading the overthrow of the socialist state after Stalin's death, and who went on to become the leading social-imperialist politician he is today, cast the Soviet vote in the U.N.; he explained the decision, "We cannot agree with the assertion which implies that the decision on the partition of Palestine is aimed against the Arabs and the Arab countries. It is our deep conviction that this decision corresponds to the fundamental national interests of both Jews and the Arabs."<sup>3</sup> *Pravda* condemned the Arab armed resistance to the founding of Israel in as "an unlawful invasion," and declared that "unprovoked aggression against the young Jewish State will encounter the harshest judgement of the people of the Soviet Union and the progressive peoples of the whole world."<sup>4</sup>

Many explanations have been offered for the Soviet position.

# Union and the Founding of Israel

First, Soviet declarations of the “national rights” of the Jews may well have been a diplomatic manoeuvre. Stalin, as Lenin before him, had explicitly polemicised against the view that the Jews were a nation, pointing out instead that Judaism was a religion. There is no reason to suppose that this view had changed.

Instead, it may be that this was an effort by the Soviet leadership to use the Zionists’ temporary conflict with the British to play up the contradictions between the aging British colonial setup and the new-coming U.S. imperialists to prevent one or the other from consolidating a grip on the area.<sup>5</sup> One effort to lend strength to this argument claims that the Soviets believed that in the Zionists they had a force at their disposal that would act somewhat independently of the two Western imperialist powers. The USSR did have great prestige among the masses of Jews because of its unparalleled efforts to rescue Jews from the Nazis and because it had born the brunt of the war effort in Europe. Further, a high proportion of the Zionist leadership had roots in the Soviet bloc countries. Of Israeli Cabinet members in the period 1948-1972, almost one-third were of Russian origin and 70% were from the USSR or East Europe, including Golda Meir, Ben Gurion, Shamir, etc.; there were even significant Zionist tendencies which spoke of building the “future dictatorship of the Jewish proletariat over Jewish lives in Palestine.”

It should be kept in mind that at this time, just following World War 2, the contradiction between the socialist camp led by the USSR and the imperialist camp was very intense; the U.S. imperialists were putting

extreme pressure on the heavily devastated USSR. But however correct it may have been for the revolutionary forces in the Soviet leadership to combat this imperialist encirclement, this could not be done on the basis of subordinating the world revolutionary movement to the interests of the socialist country of defending itself by trying to heighten contradictions amongst its enemies. As the *Declaration of the RIM* states: “the defence of socialist states must always be subordinate to the overall progress of the world revolution and must never be seen as the *equivalent* (and certainly not the substitute) for the international struggle of the proletariat.”<sup>6</sup>

If the Soviet leaders were attempting to use contradictions amongst the imperialists, it must be said that such a tact was misconceived at best and winded up backfiring on the proletarian leaders. It ultimately served only to grease the wheels of the Western imperialist manoeuvres in the region, enabling them to more easily stabilise their post-World War II hegemony, including through setting up Israel.

The policy of the Soviet leadership also had serious consequences for the Palestinian and Arab revolutionary movement. It can safely be said that the association of Marxism-Leninism with the Soviet recognition of and support for the founding of Israel greatly hindered the emergence of a revolutionary proletarian trend among the Arab and Palestinian forces and gave fuel to the growth of anti-communist bourgeois nationalist forces, such as the Arab Nationalist Movement.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the position that the Jews constituted a nation, and that Israel thus had some sort of “right to ex-

ist,” was slipped into the ranks of the Palestinian resistance movement and was to reappear later in the PLO, with very negative results.

It should be pointed out that the cancer of revisionism had already made great inroads into the international communist movement and even the top ranks of the Soviet party. For this reason, it is often very difficult to sort out the policy of the proletarian forces seeking to combat the imperialists, but making serious errors in doing that, from the revisionist line of those who simply wanted to set up their own social-imperialist rule. Nonetheless, errors were made, and grave ones at that. The recognition and support extended to the Zionists by the Soviet Union is part of the negative heritage of the international communist movement.

By V.K.S.

## Footnotes

1. Krammer, *Forgotten Friendship*, pp. 7-13.
2. Krammer, p. 101.
3. Behbehani, *The Soviet Union and Arab Nationalism: 1917-1966* (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1986), p. 58.
4. Krammer, p. 31.
5. Behbehani, pp. 82-84.
6. *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, p. 19.
7. These forces seized on the ICM errors and fanned the flames of anti-communism, promoting Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism and other ultimately capitulationist roads. It is ironic that many of these forces now in the Palestinian resistance, like George Habash of the PFLP or Nayef Hawatmeh of the DFLP, or more generally in the Arab world, turned around and after the restoration of capitalism in the USSR advocated unity with and support of the policies of the now social-imperialist state. The Comintern parties in the Arab countries were already infested with revisionism and reformism before the reversal of socialism in the USSR, and all certainly became revisionist thereafter. □





# Arab Reaction — The Other Enemy of the *Intifada*

The following article was sent to AWTW by J.K., a Tunisian Marxist-Leninist.

The outbreak of the popular insurrection in Palestine on 8 Dec. 1987 after the heroic glider operation against a Zionist military target, and its continuation for more than six months now, proves once again that the popular masses in this part of the Arab nation are determined to carry on the struggle for liberation. They have given the correct response to the reactionary Arab regimes which are hatching up political settlements with the enemy. The latest in the long series of plots woven behind the backs of the people are the decisions of the Amman Summit and especially the decision to resume relations with the Egyptian regime.

The revolutionary uprising of our people in Palestine has swept away such capitulationist schemes and has put forward the question of national liberation on the Arab level and worldwide after a period of stagnation and a series of Zionist-imperialist attacks.

## **The *Intifada*: Another Link in the People's Struggle against Zionism-Imperialism**

The conditions of oppression and homelessness suffered by the Palestinian masses, the barbaric raids against the refugee camps, the campaigns of persecution, imprisonment and torture of the patriotic militants, all these factors caused the

masses to revolt throughout Palestine, including in the territories occupied in 1967. This has dealt a blow to such expressions as "the state of Israel" and "the Arabs of Israel" which are now being promoted by the reactionary Arab leaders (including Palestinian leaders).

The Zionist rulers were planning an invasion of south Lebanon to avenge the fedayee glider operation. They sent thousands of troops into south Lebanon as part of their preparation for invading the villages there, in order to strike at the bases of the Palestinian and Lebanese resistance. But the uprising in the occupied territories caused much faltering in the ranks of the Zionists and caused them to give up their vicious plan, or at least to delay it. The spread of the insurrection and its continuation shows that the masses have chosen the road of struggle and revolution as the only path to liberation. The mass revolutionary movement, despite its still limited and spontaneous aspect, is a real blow to the idea of "Israel's legendary power" and its "invincible military force," etc.

After the insurrection broke out in Gaza it spread quickly among the Palestinian masses in the West Bank and later hit all of occupied Palestine (wrongly called Israel). The flame of the revolt blazed forth as the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, the Amman Arab summit and the resumption of relations with the capitulationist Egyptian regime,

which concluded the Camp David agreement, were all taking place. All the reactionaries stepped up their race for a "political settlement" of the so-called Middle East conflict. They seek a "peaceful solution" that subordinates the masses to the very imperialist forces that spawned the problem by creating and supporting their instrument of oppression and exploitation: the Zionist settler state.

The killing of four Palestinian workers by a Zionist military truck was the spark that set Gaza afire with popular protest. All the masses of the occupied land, men, women and children, went out in the streets in a violent mass movement, with the youth playing a heroic, leading role. This new generation was born amidst raids and massacres and daily destruction (extortion of land, demolition of houses, killing of their fathers, torture, etc.). This is an angry generation that has never known the taste of childhood, but has lived deprived of all the needs of a decent life and national dignity and has grown prematurely into little/big heroes ready to assume their responsibility to defend the land and pride of their people. They are armed with rocks and Molotov cocktails, burning bottles and eggs. They build barricades and set obstacles to attract the Zionist troops into narrow streets in order to fight them better. They are youth and children — armed with the sign of victory, unflinching when they face the ene-

my, defying Zionists and imperialists with all their heavy arms and tanks, their prisons and their barbarous torture.

The Zionists have failed to stop the march of these fearless youth, even though they raided camps and hospitals and broke into closed shops and houses, cut electricity and water to Palestinian villages and camps and imposed curfews on them. They tried to terrorise the Palestinian masses, but what happened is the opposite: terror and panic have struck the Zionists since the glider operation in which two fedayee fighters (one Syrian, the other Tunisian) sacrificed their lives to destroy the so-called security belt and take part in setting the whole of Palestine ablaze. All savage repression has failed to quench the flames of this popular revolt or stop the fearless advance of the youth against American-Zionist tanks and guns and bombs.

More than 150 have been killed, over 3000 wounded and many thousands imprisoned — the insurrection goes on. The Zionists have broken the hands of 1200 demonstrators, buried four Palestinians alive, caused the miscarriages of 100 pregnant women, besides the daily torture only equalled by the crimes of the Nazis. Fourteen Palestinians were burned alive in a hut, many have been thrown out of airborne helicopters. All this barbarous repression is aimed at terrorising the people into accepting Zionist-imperialist rule.

The Zionists and imperialists have yet to learn that it is impossible to stop the struggle of a people determined to fight for its dignity. The reactionary Arab lackeys of imperialism, as well as opportunists of all kinds, consider the Zionist settler state as an accomplished fact that must be accepted, and seek to conclude agreements with the Zionists such as Camp David, or through contacts between the kings of Morocco and Jordan and the Zionists. These lackeys officially recognise the Zionist-imperialist occupation and even justify it by pointing to the occupiers' military-technological superiority. The insurrection of the oppressed masses and the entire revolutionary history of

our people stand as proof that the people of Palestine as part of the whole Arab people will not accept the imperialist-Zionist "accomplished fact" but will fight imperialism and Zionism and their lackeys, the feudal class and the comprador bourgeois class in all Arab countries. On the basis of this shining truth, all the revolutionary forces of the nation are called upon to take part in the struggle.

The statement of the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement on the revolutionary struggle in Palestine pointed out correctly that the objective situation in Palestine calls for truly revolutionary leadership, which can be provided only by a Marxist-Leninist party armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only such a force is able to make use of a people's revolutionary army as the main form of organisation, and of people's revolutionary war as the main form of struggle, in order to eradicate Zionism and imperialism and, under the leadership of the proletariat and its party, to build a New Democracy which will develop into socialism and communism. The Marxist-Leninists in some Arab countries are aware that the subjective forces are lagging behind the developing objective conditions. It is their responsibility to develop into a vanguard party in order to lead the struggle of the popular classes of the Arab nation to a victorious conclusion.

In the absence (or weakness) of this subjective force, the struggle of the masses is liable to be limited and contained by reactionary forces. In fact, various reactionary forces are trying to crush the movement or make it serve their own goals. Along with the attempts of Murphy and Shultz to demobilise the masses by advancing so-called solutions and negotiations with some traitors in Jordan and Palestine, Mubarak called for "stopping the violence for six months," and Arafat declared to the French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur* (1 Jan. 1988) that "Negotiations as equal partners means the PLO and Israel sitting at the table of the International Conference."

The aim of the struggle of the revolutionary forces and the popu-

lar masses in Palestine as part of the oppressed and divided Arab nation is *not* to put pressure upon the superpowers and "Israel" so that they accept a mini-Arab state in Gaza and the West Bank led by the PLO and coexisting side by side with the Zionist state. This deal was refused by the people in 1948 and will not be accepted in 1988, even though that is the design of capitulationist Palestinian leaders. They intend to achieve this goal by peaceful means, through negotiation with the Zionists and with the help of Russian social-imperialism and even U.S. imperialism. They view the insurrection as an additional factor for convincing the Zionists and imperialists to negotiate with the PLO. This opportunist view of the insurrection is shared by the leaders of Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and is sustained by the Soviet Union and the reactionary Arab regimes.

But unfortunately for them, their capitulationist and liquidationist plans are not working. They are rejected by the Zionist enemy itself. And they are opposed as well by the Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary patriots and popular masses, because these forces struggle to uproot Zionist-imperialist-reactionary oppression through revolutionary violence.

#### For the Unity of the Arab People

The Arab reactionary leaders fail to understand why these capitulationist plans are not working even though they serve the interests of imperialism and fall short of the demands of the popular masses in Palestine and other Arab countries. The Arab kings and sheiks and the feudal and comprador classes as a whole have hatched such schemes ever since the Balfour Declaration in 1917, even before the creation of "Israel." The Hashemite feudal family ruling Jordan, for example, tried to annex the "Arab part" to their kingdom ever since the decision to partition Palestine in 1948; their history is filled with the blood of Palestinians and Arab patriots who refused this plan. The "Black September" massacre in 1970 is an out-

standing example.

The revisionist parties in the Arab countries, wrongly named communist, have stood against the liberation movement in Palestine and have accepted the division of the Arab nation by imperialism in the name of realism. They provide great theoretical and political support to the Zionists by calling for cooperation with the "democratic forces in Israel," including the Zionist revisionist party Rakah, and by promoting, along with the most reactionary regimes and the PLO, a reactionary theory of non-interference in Palestinian affairs, which means leaving the Palestinians to face the Zionist-imperialist occupation alone, without any assistance from other Arab revolutionary forces and the Arab masses as a whole.

Even though these opportunist and reactionary forces, including the Arab and Palestinian leaders and the Soviet revisionist puppets, do not question the existence of "Israel," the Zionists and the U.S. imperialists have so far rejected their capitulationist plans. Why?

It is true that only the Marxist-Leninists armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can give a theoretical and practical answer to this question. Their answer is drawn from a scientific analysis of Zionism itself, and from the historic struggle of the Arab masses for unity and national dignity.

Zionism is the most savage expression of imperialism, the form of imperialist oppression and exploitation imposed upon the Palestinian and Arab people. Before the era of imperialism, there was no such thing as Zionism (the first international Zionist congress was held in Basel in 1897). And now, without economic and military support from imperialism, there would not be such a thing as "Israel." The genuine Marxist-Leninists consider that there is not the slightest shade of distinction between "Israel" and imperialism, and therefore take incantations like "the right of Israel to exist" to mean "the right of imperialism to exist and oppress, etc." The reactionaries and revisionists and opportunists try to create illusions of such a distinction among the masses in order to dissuade them from taking the

revolutionary road.

The Arab regimes and the Palestinian leaders do know that there are no boundaries or limits "Israel" will settle for. It did not settle for half of Palestine in 1948, and since then its goal has been to expand and realise the Zionist dream of a "Greater Israel" stretching from the Nile to the Tigris River. It occupied Gaza and the West Bank, as well as the Golan Heights and the Sinai, then south Lebanon; it raided targets in various Arab countries (Tunisia, Iraq, etc.).

The reactionary Arab rulers and revisionist parties ignore the *imperialist-expansionist* nature of "Israel" exactly because they are vile guardians of imperialist interests, just as the Zionists are. They strive to prevent revolutionary war against Zionism and imperialism because such a war will blow up their puppet states and kingdoms along with "Israel." That is why the lackey rulers in the Arab countries have armed themselves in order to repress popular revolt. The insurrection in Palestine has put them in an uncomfortable position before the masses, so they are trying hard to stop it or contain it by setting into motion negotiations with the Zionists and imperialists. Instead of providing political and material support for the people in revolt, not to speak of military assistance, and instead of letting the masses volunteer to take part in the battle, the Arab rulers have held summits and issued declarations and speeches, and at the same time have savagely repressed mass demonstrations of support in various Arab countries and persecuted those who expressed their willingness to volunteer.

The Arab masses have always considered the struggle in Palestine as their own, and have expressed this position on many occasions. Some outstanding patriotic leaders of anti-imperialist insurrections in Palestine are from other Arab countries. (The Syrian leader Ezzedine Kassam led the great revolt from 1936-1939, and many militants from various parts of the Arab nation have been active elements within the Palestinian guerrilla groups and the Lebanese resistance.) The broad popular support in the Arab countries for the present revolt, despite the repression

imposed by the ruling dictatorships, shows the close relation between what is going on in Palestine and the Arab liberation movement.

The popular masses in many Arab countries demonstrated to affirm the united goal of national-democratic liberation and the necessity to mobilise all the popular classes of the nation to destroy the obstacles and artificial borders which imperialism is trying to preserve and reinforce. The reactionary lackeys of imperialism did not hesitate to savagely crush all manifestations of support. In Casablanca, Morocco, for example, military helicopters fired on a demonstration in which masses of people took part, many of them demanding the right to volunteer; four young demonstrators were killed and dozens wounded. In Tunisia, there were demonstrations throughout the country, especially in the capital and in the south. Over 6,000 people took part in one of the latest demonstrations in Tunis. The masses shouted slogans against Zionism and imperialism, but also against the Arab traitors and the local government, which they described as "a servant of the Mosad," especially after the assassination of a PLO leader in Tunis (Abu Jihad).

In Egypt, mass demonstrations have been met with various forms of fierce repression, including the use of guns. The puppet Mubarak regime is keeping the masses in Rafah (in the part of the Sinai under Egyptian rule) under armed control in order to prevent them from assisting the masses in revolt in the remaining part (under Zionist occupation).

In Kuwait, the government officially forbade demonstrations, whereas in Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other countries around the Gulf, the direct presence of imperialism and its control over the police and the army, together with feudal despotism, means that the masses of these countries suffer as much terrorism and oppression as their fellow Arabs in occupied Palestine.

This situation brings the popular masses, who consider the battle against Zionism as their own and are prepared to give unlimited support to the revolutionary people in Palestine, face to face with the reaction-

ary rulers of their own countries. They actually have to fight those rulers as part of their struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

### The Prospects: the Tasks of the Revolutionaries

It is obvious that the reactionary rulers of the Arab countries, as representatives of the Arab feudal class and the comprador bourgeoisie, are firmly united against the masses and their revolutionary forces. Together with the opportunists and revisionists, they form a reactionary united front backed by imperialism and social-imperialism worldwide. The masses need a force capable of uniting the popular classes of society in a revolutionary anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist front, to unite all the scattered groups of fighters into a revolutionary people's army, and to unite all these struggles into a revolutionary people's war. This uniting and leading force is the Marxist-Leninist party built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In the absence of such a party, the struggles in various parts of the nation are doomed to remain spontaneous, scattered and sporadic. Actually, it is the task of the Marxist-Leninist party to organise and unite the revolutionary masses and lead them in a people's war which will end only with the defeat of Zionism and imperialism and their lackeys. It must be pointed out that this is not the first insurrection in Palestine and in other Arab countries: the Great Revolt of 1936 continued for three years and developed into armed struggle against British occupation and Zionist immigration, but it finally failed because it was not led by the vanguard party of the working class, the only class that is thoroughly revolutionary and has nothing to lose but its chains.

We are in the presence of an oppressed nation struggling against Zionist-imperialist and feudal domination, a colonised, semi-colonised, semifeudal society for which the only path to liberation is protracted revolutionary people's war under the leadership of the working class, with the participation of all the popular classes of society,

that is the whole of society except the feudal and comprador bourgeois classes and the opportunist and revisionist forces that serve reactionary imperialist interests. This is the road of revolution charted by Comrade Mao for colonial and semicolonial countries, the road to national and democratic revolution leading to a new democracy, as a part of the world proletarian revolution (as he explained in "On New Democracy"). Actually, Comrade Mao did not only point out the way to liberation for the Chinese people and oppressed peoples of the world in general, he recommended that the Arab people follow the same road as the Chinese people. A conversation Comrade Mao had in 1965 with Ahmed Shukeiri, at that time the leader of the PLO, is of great importance for all the world's Marxist-Leninists. Comrade Mao addressed the Arab nation through Shukeiri, saying: "The Zionist movement is mobilised with all its forces against the Arab nation. You have to mobilise all the parts of your nation in order to act on all fronts. That is the strategic line which must be followed; otherwise Israel will try to combat you country by country." Comrade Mao added: "Imperialism created Formosa for us, and in the same way it created Israel for you. But we succeeded in destroying it thanks to the struggle of the Chinese people and their Long March. What if two million fighters from a nation that numbers more than 100 million marched across the river and into the occupied land? You say that the enemy will kill them all... It would be better for your cause if Israel committed such a historical crime." (Quoted by *Almustakbil*, No. 565, 19 Dec. 1987)

What then are the basic lessons to be drawn from the insurrection in Palestine and the present situation as analysed above, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought?

— The heroic *intifada* of the Arab masses in the occupied land of Palestine is the correct response to the schemes hatched by imperialism and its capitulationist lackeys. It proves that the Arab people have no choice but armed struggle as the only way to overthrow Zionism and imperial-

ism, as well as their local servants.

— The *intifada*, despite its spontaneous character and limited weapons, has filled the Zionists and imperialists with panic because they are defending an unjust cause, whereas the fearless people do not hesitate to make sacrifices because they are defending a just cause. The result of the struggle is not determined by the type of weapons used.

— When we point out the courage and heroism of the youth fighting the Zionist enemy, this does not mean that the people must continue fighting with these simple means, especially against a strong, well-armed, imperialist-backed enemy. The means and methods of the struggle must be developed into a protracted people's war as the only path to liberation, New Democracy and socialism.

— This task can only be fulfilled by a radical leadership representing the interests of the working class and the whole people. Despite their contradictions the reactionary and imperialist forces are united against the revolutionary forces of the Arab nation. This makes it vital to unite the Arab oppressed people in a united national democratic front and a revolutionary popular army under the leadership of a united Arab Marxist-Leninist party. The building of such a party is the central task of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in all Arab countries.

— Meanwhile, the Marxist-Leninists (individuals, groups and organisations) must encourage the masses to support the insurrection and fan the flames of revolt. They must combat the position of indifference and non-interference encouraged by imperialism and practiced by the Arab regimes and opportunist, revisionist and obscurantist parties. It is the responsibility of revolutionary communists to mobilise the people around correct slogans such as the right to fight the Zionist-imperialist enemy, the right to volunteer and to train, the opening of borders, etc. These slogans can only be imposed on the puppet regimes through struggle which will develop into armed struggle as part of the people's revolutionary war. □



There were several terrible attacks on Jaffa in April 1948. In the first one, some Zionists rolled a barrel of TNT into the town centre which crashed through the crowded Al Hamra cinema. As the survivors rushed out, they were mown down with Bren guns by Zionists waiting in two cars.... I remember another bomb was put in a communal house for the poor near the clock tower. We resisted these attacks as best we could. Once three Zionists were killed as they were planning an attack. We had a small iron factory where we tried to make weapons, but they were much better equipped with modern weapons which they had got from abroad and from the British.

On 25 April, it all came to a head. They attacked from the north and east with heavy cannons and machine guns. Everyone left their homes and fled to the old city on the sea shore. Some desperately tried to put their families and possessions into the small fishing boats, but the sea was stormy and they were thrown back onto the shore.... In the end we found a truck and our family with three others all climbed on. We had one suitcase with us: everything else was left at home.... When we got to Sbeel Abu Nabout we were attacked by a group of Zionists. The girl who was sitting on my knee was shot in the legs. I was hit in the arm, but the bullet hit the button on my sleeve and I wasn't injured. It took us seven hours to get to Majdal where we slept the night. Early next morning we travelled on to Gaza. There we were: us and a suitcase.

— From *Stateless in Gaza*

Photo. 1938. Some of the first fighters against Zionist settlements.



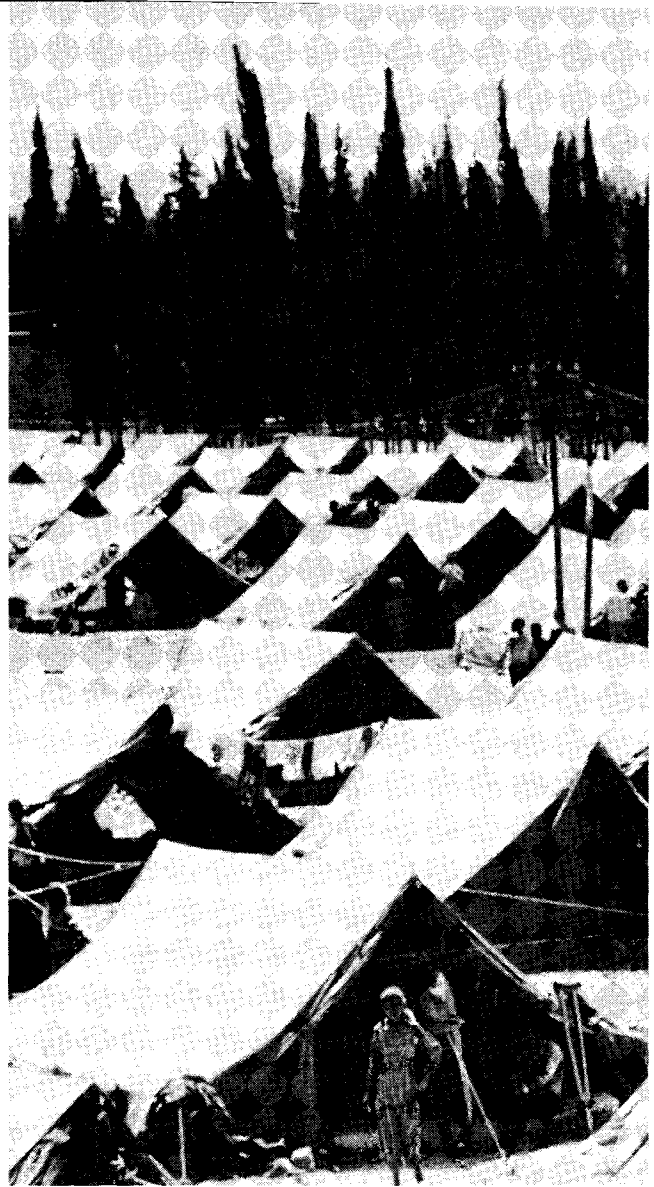


Palestinian people have been repeatedly driven from their homes.

I can't help but feel differently towards the town people. Sure we are all children of Palestine, but we in the camps are a dispersed, scattered people. You grow up with the feeling that you belong somewhere else — for me it's the village where my grandfather and father were brought up, among the olive trees and lands of Simsim. But my reality has been the Beach Camp. I grew up in the poverty and clutter of the camp, always in the shadow of occupation, a hand to mouth existence. It's painful to live in such a decaying environment. So I look at the town people as people apart from us. They've grown up with secure roots, relatively peacefully, while we've suffered curfews, arrests, assaults on our women and children. They do OK under occupation, they're the ones with the land, with something to protect, the big bourgeoisie. They splash their money around, go shopping in Israel and have dirty nights out in Ashkelon. They even throw parties in honour of the military rulers! We spend our nights locked in the factories in Israel, scratching a living, while the sons of the rich go strutting off to the universities of Europe in their new clothes.

I'm not saying that the rich don't suffer at all under occupation. The Israelis don't make distinctions between the Palestinians. But if you're rich you've got more flexibility, you're in a position to bribe the military. If you want your son to travel to Europe to study, for example, you lay on a big dinner, you collaborate. Those people have less sense of national duty, they're out for themselves. If it weren't for the occupation — I mean, if we had our own state — there'd be a social revolution against this injustice and exploitation. These people are robbing us of our wealth, our national wealth. But it's impossible to fight them now. And they are supposed to be the traditional leadership. How can I have any faith in their ability to represent me? Most of them have probably never even set foot in any of the camps."

— *Stateless in Gaza*

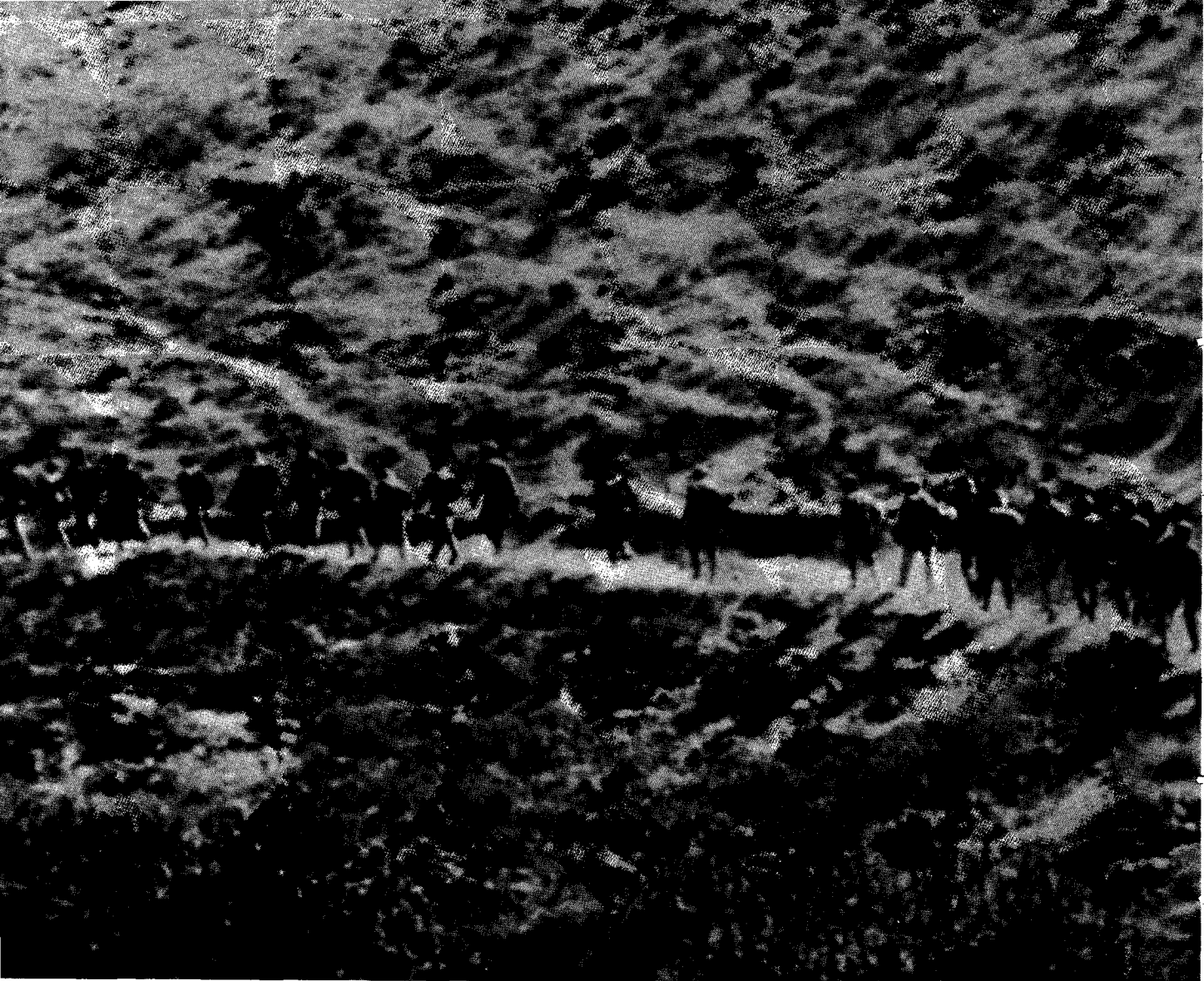


When I came here as a refugee in 1948, a family that I had never met before took my family in and gave us hospitality until UNRWA was established and we moved into the camp. There was some friction at first between the refugees and the people of Deir El Balah. We thought they were very old fashioned, especially in their dress and social traditions, and they thought we were taking their land and flooding their already very poor services. I think this friction has gone now, though. The Israelis don't ask if you are a refugee before they arrest you. There are plenty of people in Gaza town who have suffered more through occupation than I have. There are many people in Shujaiya for example who lost all their land in 1948 like we did, although they didn't lose their homes as well. We all have the same leadership and the same national aspirations. We are one people whether we are in Lebanon, the Galilee or Rafah."

— *Stateless in Gaza*







*A Palestinian guerrilla unit fighting in a mountainous region in the north of Palestine. Photo from China Pictorial, No. 1, 1970.*

**M**ao finally revealed that in 1949, after the CCP's victory, Israel had offered to recognise the new nation, but China refused this recognition, because 'we knew that all the Arab world was against Israel ... and we, on our part, cannot recognise Israel because it is a base for American, British, French and West German imperialisms'.

— From *China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World*, Hashim S. H. Behbehani.

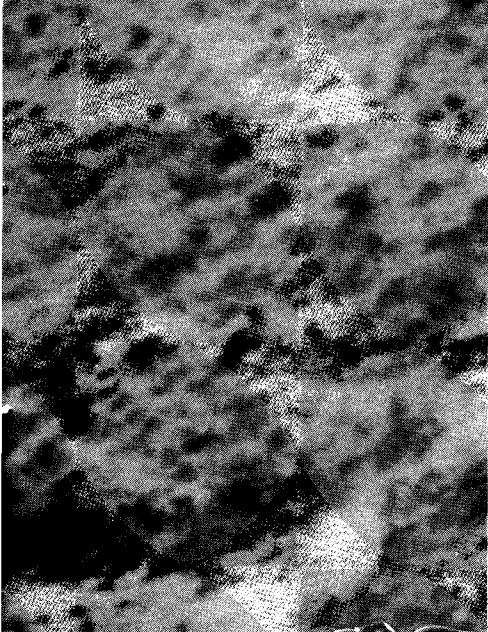
Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: 'if they (the enemy) fight we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out; they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction.' This is the way for the Arab people to deal with imperialism and its lackey.

— From *Peking Review* as quoted in *China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World*

**T**he Palestinian guerrillas whom U.S. imperialism has underrated have neither airplanes nor tanks, but by mobilising the people, relying on the people, daring to take up arms and fight the Israeli aggressors armed to the teeth, they have scored brilliant and magnificent military successes and have thus become 'the valiant shock fighters now striking at US imperialism in the Middle East'.... What is tragic for US imperialism and its followers is that they only see the role of 'Phantom' planes and the 'strength' of so-called modern weapons, but they can never see the great strength of the people. It is precisely the great strength of the Arab people that is deciding the destiny of the Middle East and will sooner or later drive the U.S.-Israeli aggressors into their graves.

— From *China's Foreign Policy in the Arab World*

China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung resolutely supported the Palestinian liberation movement. The above are excerpts from Chinese leadership when it was still revolutionary.  
— AWTW



In the wake of the incident last September, U.S. imperialism and its collaborator have stepped up their plot to set up a so-called 'Palestinian state' in a tiny area along the Jordan River. Their sinister purpose is to use political deceptions to inveigle the guerrillas into laying down their arms and extinguish the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle of the Palestinian people, thus liquidating the Palestinian revolution. The Palestinian people, however, have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the political skulduggery of U.S. imperialism and its collaborator. The Palestinian guerrilla organisations have issued numerous statements pointing out that armed struggle is the only way to solve the Palestinian question...

Although the criminal 'Palestinian state' plan has come to grief because of firm opposition from the Palestinian people, U.S. imperialism and its collaborator are not reconciled to defeat. They are still openly peddling their 'political solution' fraud and working behind the scenes to sow discord among the Arab nations and among the various Palestinian forces. In the face of the Palestinian people who are determined to persevere in armed struggle, however, U.S. imperialism's schemes are bound to fail, no matter how it goes from trick to trick...

In his solemn statement of May 20, 1970, the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: 'The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country.' The course of armed struggle of the Palestinian people against aggression and suppression and against a 'political solution' shows that the Palestinian people are invincible and that their just struggle for national rights will certainly triumph.

Recently social-imperialism changed its tactics and hypocritically pretended to 'support' the Palestinian people's armed struggle. It is clear to everyone that the purpose of this is to get control of the Palestinian armed forces and use them as chips in its dirty deals with U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, so as to realise its criminal plot of stamping out the Palestinian armed struggle and divide up the Middle East with U.S. imperialism.

— *Peking Review*, 14 May 1971

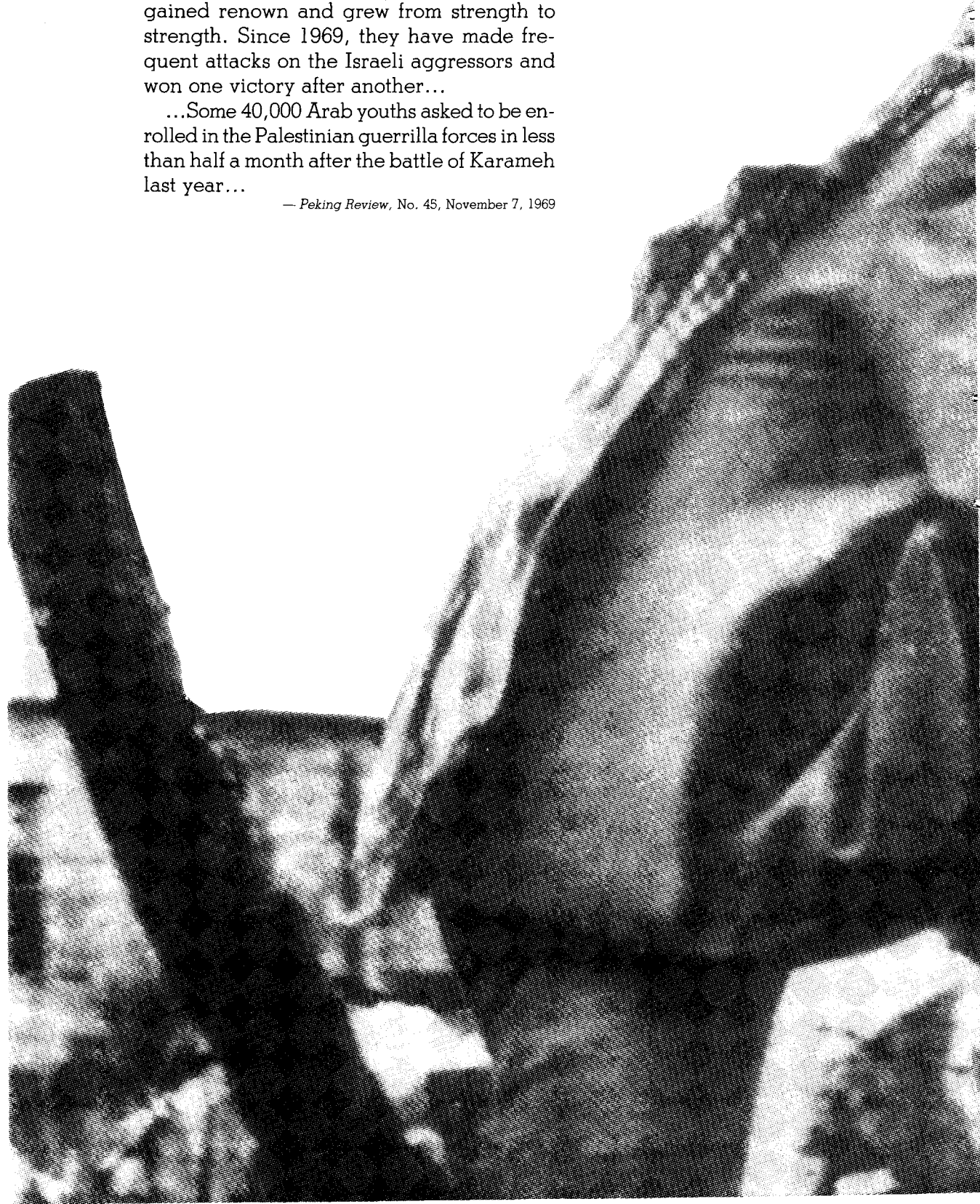
Citations were taken from the following books:  
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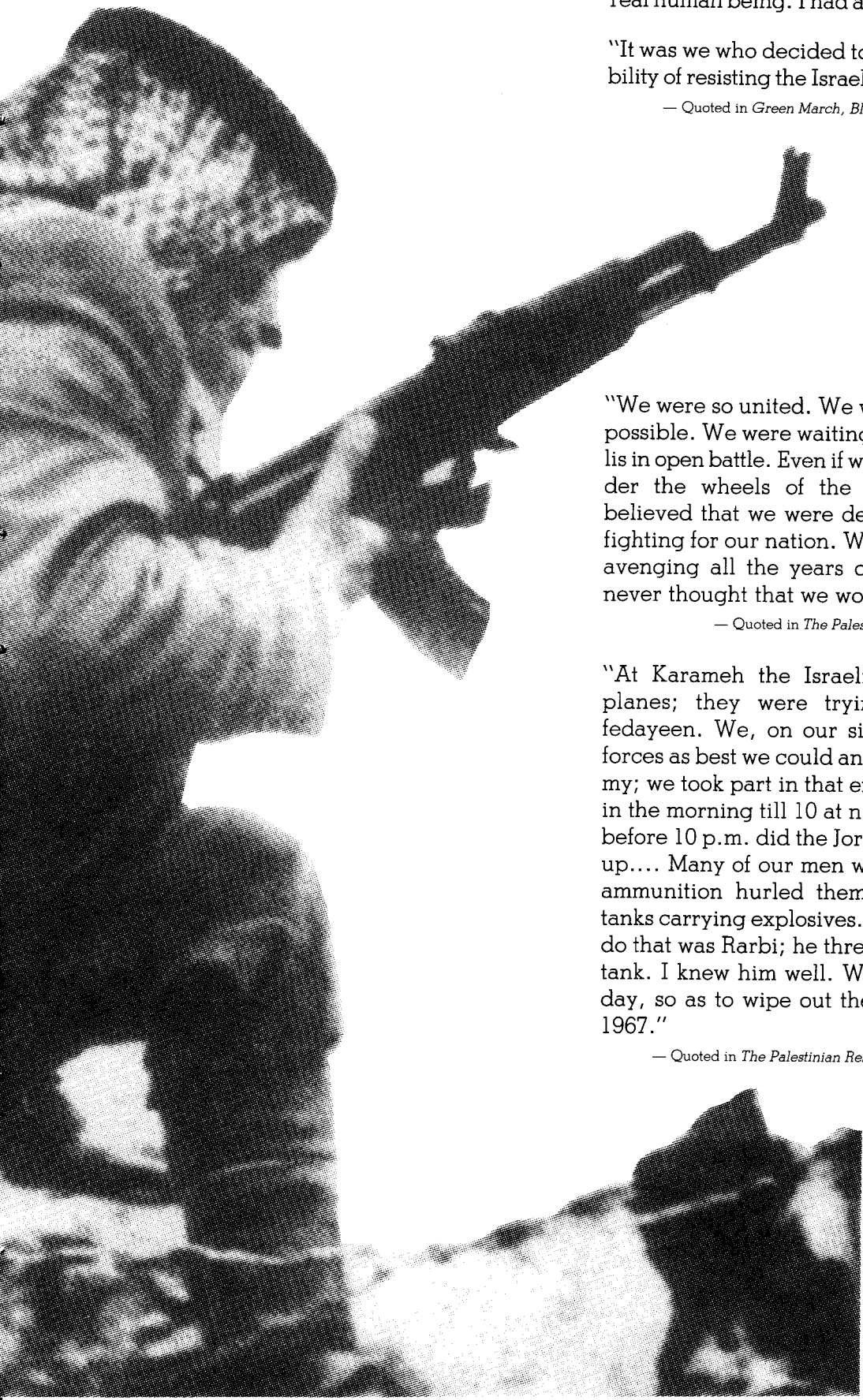
*Stateless in Gaza*, Paul Cossali & Clive Robson, Zed Books Ltd., London and New Jersey.  
*The Palestinian Catastrophe*, Michael Palumbo, Faber and Faber, London and Boston.

...In March 1968, the Palestinian guerrillas shattered the 15,000-strong Israeli aggressors' 'mopping-up' operations in Karamah, east of the Jordan River. Thereafter the guerrillas gained renown and grew from strength to strength. Since 1969, they have made frequent attacks on the Israeli aggressors and won one victory after another...

...Some 40,000 Arab youths asked to be enrolled in the Palestinian guerrilla forces in less than half a month after the battle of Karamah last year...

— *Peking Review*, No. 45, November 7, 1969





"For the first time in my life I felt that I was a real human being. I had a gun in my hand..."

"It was we who decided to take the responsibility of resisting the Israelis at Karamah."

— Quoted in *Green March, Black September*, John Cooley.

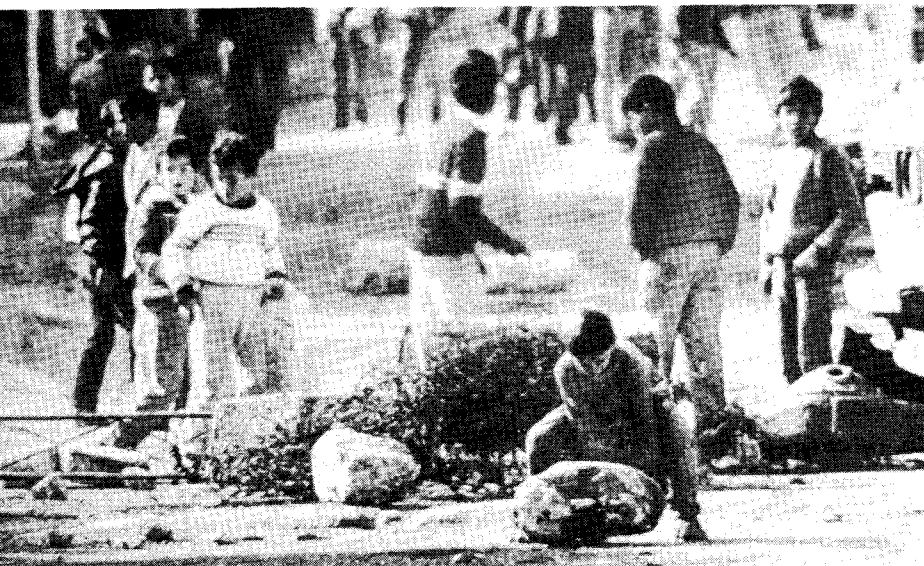
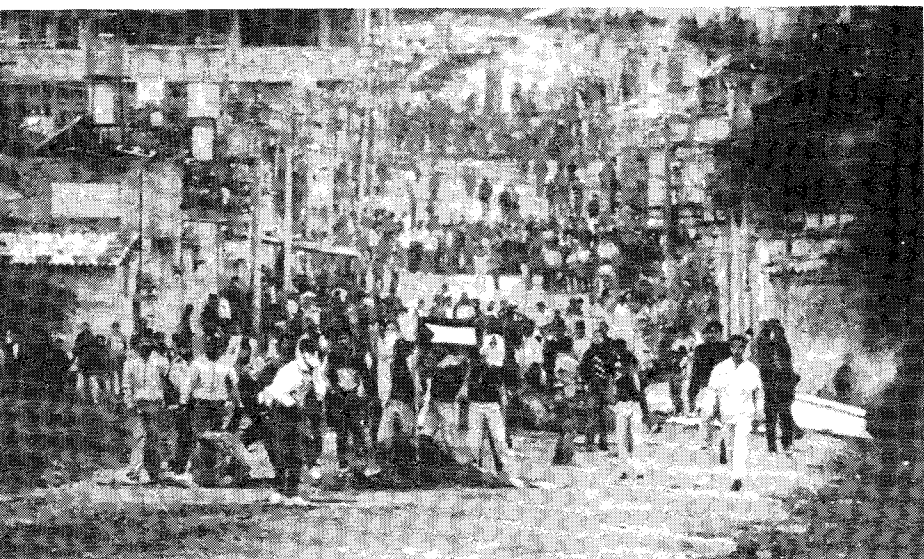
"We were so united. We were doing the impossible. We were waiting to fight the Israelis in open battle. Even if we were crushed under the wheels of the Israeli tanks, we believed that we were defending justice in fighting for our nation. We felt that we were avenging all the years of oppression. We never thought that we would survive."

— Quoted in *The Palestinians*, Jonathan Dimbleby.

"At Karamah the Israelis had tanks and planes; they were trying to crush the fedayeen. We, on our side, deployed our forces as best we could and fired on the enemy; we took part in that engagement from 5 in the morning till 10 at night. Not until just before 10 p.m. did the Jordanian army show up.... Many of our men who had run out of ammunition hurled themselves under the tanks carrying explosives. The first martyr to do that was Rarbi; he threw himself under a tank. I knew him well. We stuck it out that day, so as to wipe out the memory of June 1967."

— Quoted in *The Palestinian Resistance*, Gérard Chaliland.







**Of all things in the world people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people every kind of miracle can be performed.**

**— Mao Tsetung**

## INVESTIGATION

**Write Down,  
I am an Arab,  
My card number is 50,000,  
I have eight children,  
The ninth will come next summer.  
Are you angry?**

**Write Down,  
I am an Arab,  
I cut stone with comrade labourers,  
I squeeze the rock,  
To get a loaf,  
To get a book,  
For my eight children.  
But I do not plead charity,  
And I do not cringe  
Under your sway.  
Are you angry?**

**Write Down,  
I am an Arab,  
I am a name without a title,  
Steadfast in a frenzied world.  
My roots sink deep  
Beyond the ages,  
Beyond time.**

**I am the son of the plough.  
Of humble peasant stock.  
I live in a hut  
Of reed and stalk.  
The hair: Jet black.  
The eyes: Brown.  
My Arab headdress  
Scratches intruding hands,  
And I prefer a dip of oil and thyme.**

**And please write down  
On top of all,  
I hate nobody,  
But when I starve  
I eat the flesh of my marauders.  
Beware,  
Beware my hunger,  
Beware my wrath.**

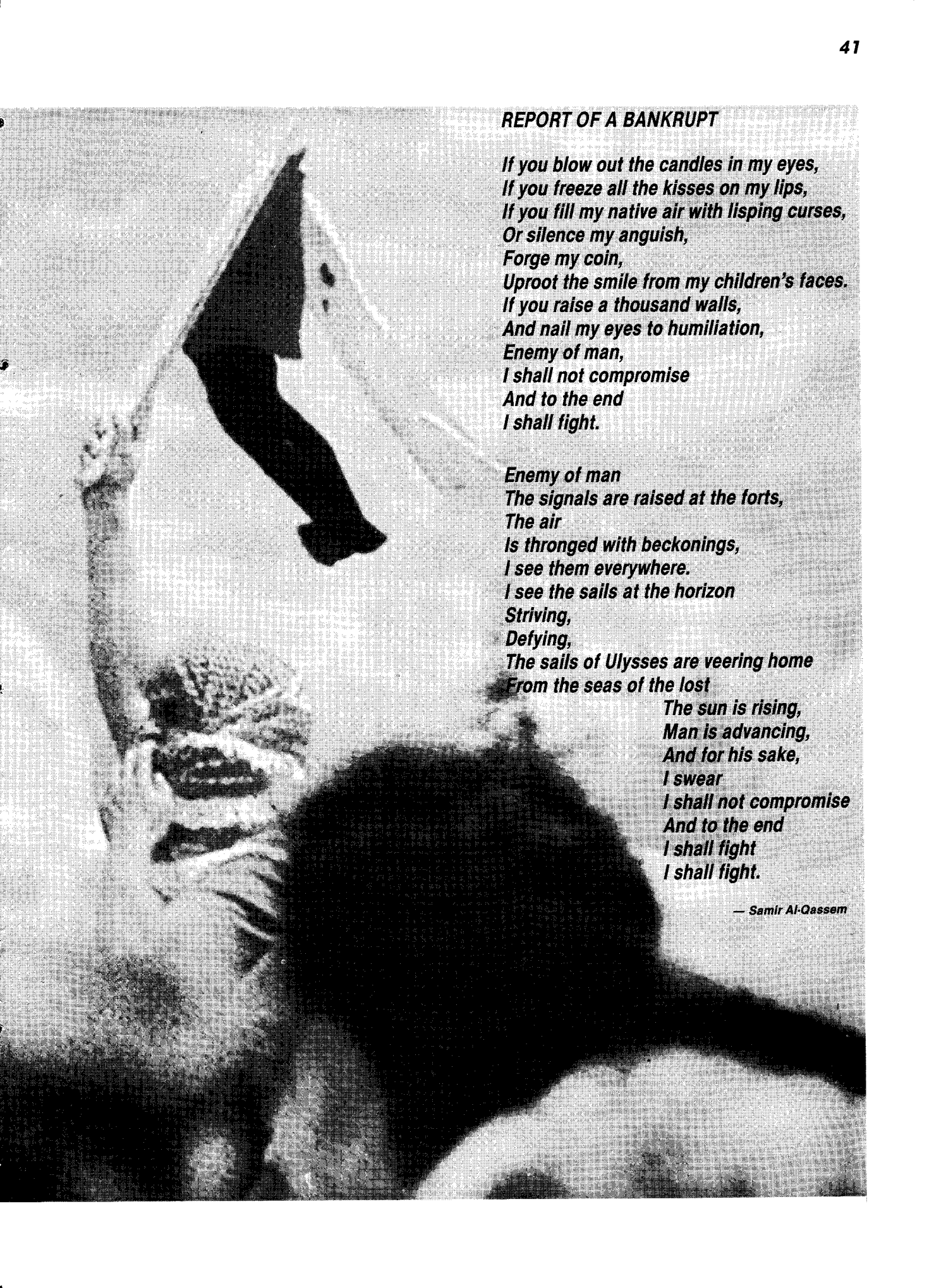
— Mahmoud Darwish

Palestinian poetry reflects some of the furious determination of the masses and has been a sharp-bladed weapon in their struggle. The poems printed here are from the especially militant period of the 1960s. In the period since then the works of some poets, such as Darwish, have been influenced by the revisionist lines in the Palestinian movement.

— AWTW





**REPORT OF A BANKRUPT**

*If you blow out the candles in my eyes,  
If you freeze all the kisses on my lips,  
If you fill my native air with lispng curses,  
Or silence my anguish,  
Forge my coin,  
Uproot the smile from my children's faces.  
If you raise a thousand walls,  
And nail my eyes to humiliation,  
Enemy of man,  
I shall not compromise  
And to the end  
I shall fight.*

*Enemy of man  
The signals are raised at the forts,  
The air  
Is thronged with beckonings,  
I see them everywhere.  
I see the sails at the horizon  
Striving,  
Defying,  
The sails of Ulysses are veering home  
From the seas of the lost*

*The sun is rising,  
Man is advancing,  
And for his sake,  
I swear  
I shall not compromise  
And to the end  
I shall fight  
I shall fight.*

— Samir Al-Qassem



**Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!**





The experience of  
liberation movements has  
shown that the success  
of a revolution depends  
on how much women  
take part in it.

— Lenin

**A**s a women's activist, I see my role as fighting for social change without which the Palestinian revolution can never achieve victory.

Women's role in the revolution is as important as men's, and we must have freedom to move and express ourselves on an equal basis with men. This struggle needs the support, co-operation and understanding of men. This is difficult in Gaza because our society is more religious and conservative and so we rely heavily on direction and a lead from the outside. We take strength from the successes of Palestinian women in Lebanon where the revolution has brought about dramatic change. My aim is to strengthen women's confidence in their own ability to shape their lives and future.... It is our men who impose these restrictions and refuse to allow us to go out. Many families won't allow their daughters to go out unless accompanied by their mother or brother. People must have confidence in women.

But it's very difficult to oppose your own society. I can defy and challenge the restrictions imposed by the occupation and authorities — the enemy who stole my land. I don't care if they become angry and punish me. But it's harder to defy the people of your own society who have the same aims of liberating our homeland. If I impose a siege on myself and stay at home, I won't be able to take part in the struggle.

— From *Stateless in Gaza*

**I**t is worse for women: the effects of occupation come on top of all the social factors.... I honestly think, and I feel this very strongly, that if our women had been more liberated, they could have played a very significant role in resisting the occupation, they could have been a very powerful force. As it is, half the population is cut out from participating. Some women are very active and you hear about them, but most are shut at home mopping their men's brows. But still, most people can't accept that the social restrictions on women have to go. Even those who realise this, will not actually do anything about it....

— From *Stateless in Gaza*





A seven-year-old boy was sent home under armed guard by Israeli judges at his trial to bring his brother Nafez, who was also to be accused of stoning Israeli troops. An hour later, the boy returned with Nafez, who turned out to be only four years old. The Zionist judge, adopting a smiling mask, chortled and wondered aloud whether this 'mere baby' could be the culprit. Other officials in the court chuckled too. Then Nafez spat back, "Yes I did it you bastards and I'm going to get you all."

*From the Revolutionary Worker*



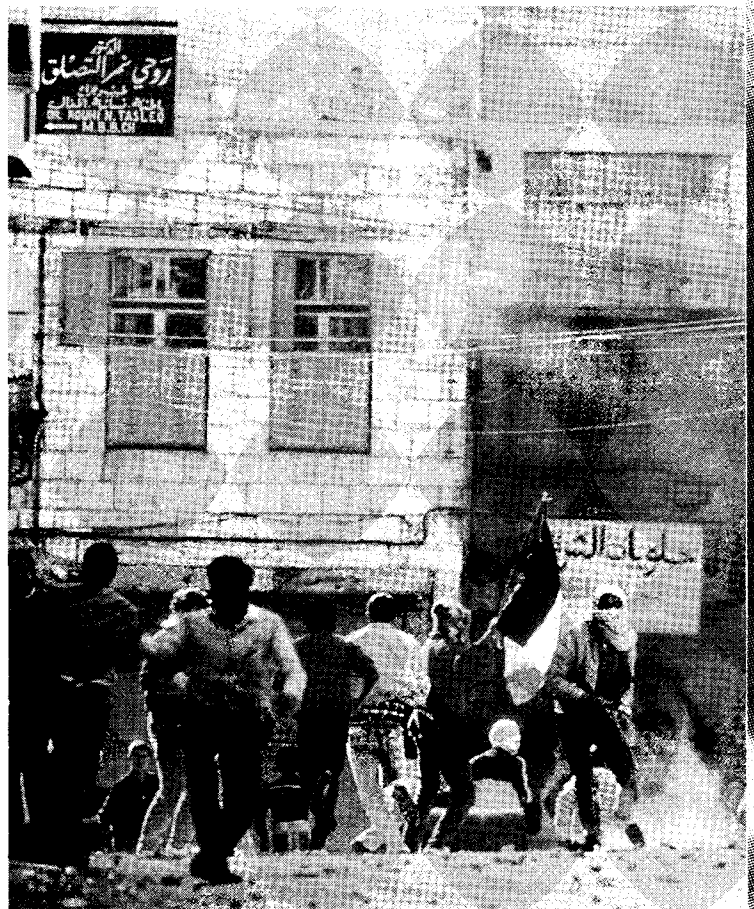
“The jails are our universities. If someone goes in blind they come out with 100 eyes.”

“You can see with your own eyes why we do this. You see our houses, the way we live here. We can't live here like human beings. We can't express our feelings. No one can hear us. This is our statement.”

“Everyday I become stronger. The beatings don't bother me anymore. You cannot beat all of the people because tomorrow they will beat you.”

“I could not help but watch the scenes by our house of young boys burning tires in the road without thinking of a Phoenix rising from the ashes.”

*From the Revolutionary Worker*





"Suspects" at a court in occupied Nablus.

"The feeling is growing that if something isn't done quickly to settle the Palestinian problem, we will find ourselves in such a psychological situation that everything will appear lost. The whole region will then sink into a deep abyss with the risks of upheavals difficult to contain."

— King Hussein of Jordan.



“It was a very uplifting experience. I have been there before. This time I saw that people are not afraid. They are not afraid to hoist the Palestinian flag on top of their house or a building, or to carry it with them.... One day I was in Ramallah, and people tied 2,000 Palestinian flags to helium balloons, the whole sky was filled with Palestinian flags.... You could see Palestinian flags everywhere, on houses, telephone wires, mosques and in the Old City of Jerusalem. People are not afraid to do this anymore. I mean, in the past, it was illegal, so you didn't do it, even though people resisted. Now there is no fear. Areas become liberated for a day or two, or for a week.... People are not afraid to throw stones. They are not afraid to confront the soldiers, to hit soldiers. They are just not intimidated anymore. It's so obvious that the Palestinians are now in control of their lives as much as possible, and the soldiers try and try and try to break this, but they just can't do it. There are new strategies every week by the Palestinians, to force the schools open, to stop buying Israeli products, to force the collaborators to give in.”

From *Democratic Palestine*



# بيان الحركة الثورية الاممية

Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) • Ceylon Communist Party • Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy] • Communist Committee of Trento [Italy] • Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD (M-L)] • Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), Mao Tsetung Regional Committee • Communist Party of Peru • Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist • Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group • Nepal Communist Party [Mashal] • New Zealand Red Flag Group • Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent [Britain] • Proletarian Communist Organisation, Marxist-Leninist [Italy] • Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh] • Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia • Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India • Revolutionary Communist Party, USA • Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic] • Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* was adopted in March 1984 by the delegates and observers at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The above are the participating parties and organisations of the RIM.

Available in the following languages (partial list): Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannada, Kurdish, Malayalam, Nepali, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish. 1£ plus 50 p handling. Make cheques payable to *A World to Win*.

For more information write the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement at the following address:

BCM RIM  
London, WC1N 3XX  
U.K.

# Afghanistan

## “Soviet Pull-Out Will Intensify the War”

The following interview was conducted with a representative of the Committee of Propaganda and Agitation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought for the Formation of the Communist Party of Afghanistan for the Emancipation of the Working Class (PAC). The following extracts deal exclusively with the current situation in Afghanistan following the signing of the Geneva agreement which calls for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The PAC is one of two Afghan Marxist-Leninist organisations (the other being the Revolutionary Cells of Afghan Communists) which have expressed support for the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* and called for the formation of a single vanguard Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. There is a need for a genuine vanguard party in all countries and where one does not yet exist the immediate task is to form one. Yet this truth takes on particular meaning in Afghanistan today, where the masses have been waging an heroic struggle against the Soviet invaders but where the proletarian leadership of the struggle is yet to be established.

Today the Soviet social-imperialists and the Kabul puppet regime have been badly battered by the struggle of the masses and are forced to attempt new manoeuvres to avoid disaster in Afghanistan, including promising to withdraw their soldiers. The non-revolutionary class forces which claim the leadership of the armed struggle are deeply divided as to the path to follow. The two imperialist blocs led by the U.S. and the USSR respectively continue to bang heads over Afghanistan even as they sign the Geneva agreements.

For these reasons, the situation in Afghanistan is a particularly sharp and concentrated illustration of the correct principle made in the *Declaration*; “the current intensification of world contradictions while bringing forth further possibilities for these movements also places new obstacles and tasks before them.” Only the timely establishment of the vanguard party in Afghanistan will allow the proletariat to seize these excellent new opportunities while steering clear of the dangerous obstacles.

The simultaneous development of two organisations in Afghanistan based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and supporting the *Declaration* is a reflection of the fact that other, non-proletarian, lines cannot lead the revolution to victory. The efforts of these organisations to work towards the establishment of the vanguard party

will no doubt have significant ramifications for the whole Afghan revolutionary movement—AWTW.

I want to talk a bit about the objective situation, the political terrain in Afghanistan today, particularly the situation with our enemies and the myriad divisions in their ranks, and why the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan represents an intensification of the war in a new form.

I don't think the pull-out will stop the war. There's no way that the crisis in Afghanistan and the Afghanisthan question will be solved by a treaty in Geneva, but it does mean a new stage in the war.

What is the nature of this new stage? It is very difficult to predict how it's going to go, but one thing that's certain and that the Soviet strategists are taking into account is that the U.S. will seek a bigger share of power and influence in Afghanistan through a new regime that would include pro-Western forces or the Islamic forces, the fundamentalists. The U.S. is going to go for a bigger chunk at this time because they're in a stronger position vis-à-vis the Soviets, who have been defeated on the battlefield. The Soviets, for their part, are predicting that their pull-out of Afghanistan will be followed by civil war. For the Soviets, it is a matter of taking advantage of the contradictions between the Islamic parties and the fact that the national liberation movement does not have a solid leadership, which really, in the end, could only come from a genuine communist party.

The Islamic forces form a big part of the resistance forces. Already there is a big split between the so-called moderates and the fundamentalists. They don't agree about what to do after the Soviet pull-out. There is contradiction over whether they should join together with the pro-Soviet forces, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) with its two factions, the Khalq and the Parcham, after the pull-out of the Soviet Union, or whether they should continue the war.

The fundamentalists are raising their slogan of fighting the government to the end, to the total collapse of the pro-Soviet forces and of liberating their “Moslem brothers” in the Soviet Union, raising the banner of Pan-Islamism to the point of trying to export the Islamic revolution of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand the more so-called moderate, pro-King Zahir [currently exiled in Italy] forces hold a different position. They don't think the question will be solved by continuing the war and call for a diplomatic approach, including forming a coalition government with the Khalq and Parcham. They are warning the fundamentalists that a hard



line could impede the Soviet troop pull-out. Some of them say, this is a peak opportunity, let's take advantage of it and let the Soviets withdraw and after they are gone then we can deal with the PDP, then we can destroy the PDP. There are forces friendly to the USSR, like the ex-prime minister of Afghanistan, Dr. Yusof, who are saying, let's compromise with the Soviets and tell them we'll have friendly relations with them after they pull out and we will keep Afghanistan a neutral country and not go against the interests of the Soviet Union, because the important thing is that the Soviets pull out.

Some of the Islamic forces are calling on the field commanders to report their daily activities to their respective Islamic party. This is how they are trying to organise the surrender of the commanders and the armed resistance forces in the villages when they feel the time is right to capitulate to the government and build the coalition government. They will ask the commanders and the people to surrender to the government with the argument that the government is no longer secular, it's not "communist," as they call the pro-Soviet regime, the so-called communist forces have turned into Islamic forces.

What the Soviets are counting on is that after they pull out the "moderates" will be attracted to the political vacuum and be drawn into the state apparatus and hopefully attract some of the armed resistance forces, who would surrender, go over to the government and supplement the Soviet soldiers coming out. The Soviets hope that a section of the population that resisted them will join the government troops, either as paid militia or soldiers of the Republic of Afghanistan. The Soviets know this can't happen overnight; that's why this so-called withdrawal is a process, spread out over nine months, or maybe over years. A civil war between the moderates who go over to the government and the fundamentalists who will resist joining the coalition government is exactly what the Soviets have in mind.

Let's go into the contradictions within the PDP itself, since the PDP's weakness is a part of what has made this retreat necessary. Factionalism has gone on for a long time between the Khalq and the Parcham, and the Soviets have not been able to unite these two puppets under the same banner. One faction has been killing the other and vice-versa. When one of the Soviet generals was interviewed about how long he thought the regime would last, he complained that the Soviets had been unable to unite these factions for the past eight years — it's time to pull out and see if these people can swim. The Soviets are admitting to the factionalism within the PDP, to its weakness, to the fact that it really is incapable of controlling the masses of people, that they are not really in command.

Within the Khalq faction there is another split into subfactions, the Nagib faction versus the Babrak Karmel forces. After Gorbachev took over, Nagib was promoted, replacing Babrak Karmel who was sent to the USSR for his "health."

Nagib is already trying to facilitate things for these so-called moderates. He took the word "democratic" out of the country's name to indicate that it is not a secular republic, and changed the colour of the national flag from red to Islamic green. Now he claims he never was really anything but a good Moslem. He goes to mosque every day to pray. In an interview, the German magazine *Der Spiegel* asked him how he feels when he goes to mosque, and he replied, "Well, I feel just like any other Moslem, obedient to my God." He was trying to send a message to the Western imperialists and to the fundamentalist Islamics that he is willing to compromise at any level, to grovel.

Now Nagib has been proposing the king be brought back. He made a trip to India to get his Indian "comrades" to ask the king to come back. Nagib said, "It's time for you to come and do your duty for the people of Afghanistan and stop the bloodshed and save your country." What is King Zahir's position? He knows that the question of Afghanistan is not going to be settled by a simple reform, by the Soviets pulling out their troops. There is an intense class struggle going on and the king does not have a solid class force to rely on. Even the Islamic forces are divided on how to view him. The moderate forces want the king to come back, while the fundamentalists are saying we don't want a king, we want an Islamic republic, led by someone like Khomeini. So the king wants to stay out of it until things clear up. The Soviets and Nagib are begging him to come back and take "any position in the government, even the most important position," as Nagib said, so as to stabilise the situation for them. And these people called themselves communists! But Zahir is holding out for a better bargain, because he knows that being the king is a valuable card.

I want to mention the U.S.'s delicate approach to the Islamic parties. The U.S. sees that the moderates are capable of creating a bureaucracy to run the government, and the U.S. is willing for such forces to dominate the regime, but at the same time the U.S. does not want a Khomeini-type regime headed by Gulbuddin and the Moslem fundamentalists. To a certain extent the U.S. has had to rely on the fundamentalists, because the latter are more organised and more determined to fight through to the end, but this sweet cookie has a little bit of bitterness inside. The U.S. is afraid that such a regime might become another Khomeini-type regime with which they could only have secret dealings, a regime which would not allow the open U.S. political, economic and military influence.

The U.S. would love to have Afghanistan in its sphere of influence, but they have other objectives as well, and they don't want to win it too fast. They want to kill two birds with one stone: to reap the maximum amount of anti-communist propaganda from the atrocities the USSR is committing, to bleed the Soviets to the end, as Reagan has said, fighting to the last Afghan, which is very clearly the

U.S.'s policy, and eventually win Afghanistan as well, which they would like to be able to use as they use Pakistan. Kissinger or one of the other think-tank types wrote recently that the Soviets, the "communists," really punished the U.S. by backing Vietnam against them, and it's the U.S.'s turn now, the U.S. should do the same thing to the USSR. They want to use Afghanistan as broadly and as long as possible for their anti-communist propaganda while preparing to grab Afghanistan for themselves. They are imperialists; they do need spheres of influence, and they need Afghanistan to strengthen their position in the area, alongside Pakistan, especially because of their problems in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf.

So the enemies are tremendously divided and disorganised. There are some other favourable factors as well which the revolutionary forces can also turn to good account.

Some independent resistance Mojahadeen fighters do not accept either of these two groups, the moderates or fundamentalists. Referring again to the *Der Spiegel* interview, they ask some Islamic field commanders what the situation is there. The commanders replied that the Islamic parties are split into all kinds of groupings, probably 43 in Pakistan. But as far as we're concerned, they said, we have been the ones to lead the war these eight years while they squabble amongst themselves about how to split the money they have been pocketing since the beginning of the war. Our task is to liberate Afghanistan; these people can stay in Pakistan, or Germany or wherever they are with their squabbling over selfish interests because we are the ones who will determine the fate of the future government and resistance forces in Afghanistan.

The commanders, who are the main leaders of the fighting forces, are somewhat separate from the Islamic party leadership — there is a split between the commanders and nationalist forces from the moderates and the fundamentalists. This independent movement of commanders wants to keep fighting, and in a united way — more than before when they were under the command of the Islamic parties. Some commanders have the idea that each commander should try to form some kind of local government in the village where they have been fighting. This situation goes against the authority of the Islamic parties to form an overall Islamic republic and impose their fascist regime on the people of Afghanistan and on the resistance forces, and also goes against the civil war which the moderates and fundamentalists are going to impose on the masses of people in Afghanistan. Revolutionary forces must pay attention to this contradiction and seek guidelines and criteria to separate these commanders from the reactionary leadership of both the moderates and fundamentalists, although this is not the most important task for communists nor the basic strategy for revolution in Afghanistan.

The present situation is a fine school in which the communists can expose to the Afghan masses how

phony the mask of communism and democracy on the face of the Soviet puppets really was. The PDP, which worked with the Soviets to commit all sorts of atrocities in the name of communism and democracy, has revealed itself to be just another regular opportunist party. As for the Islamic forces who were fighting the so-called atheist government, now they are working for a coalition government. Islam is a reactionary ideology and reactionaries use the faith of the people in order to serve their class interests. So this is another good thing for the revolutionary forces, to be able to expose the nature and interests of the various classes in the context of this fierce class struggle.

The situation is, however, fraught with dangers, particularly in regard to this civil war the Soviets are counting on and all the imperialists are promoting. Earlier, the people had a common enemy. They were fighting an invading imperialist power. But after the pull-out, this scenario changed and will change completely. This is going to be a dirty and intense war. The same trick the U.S. used to "Vietnamise" the war will happen here, to "Afghanise" the war. With the Soviets gone, there will be a lot of calls for blood revenge, this village against that one, this tribe against that tribe, unless the revolutionaries expose the dirty tricks the Soviets are pulling to divide the Afghans. With the signing of the so-called peace treaty in Geneva, the imperialists reserved the right to pump more and more arms into Afghanistan and with these arms the pro-Soviet puppet government and the Islamic forces are going to arm their own troops; the arms will be used against the masses. That's why I say the war will intensify. The Soviet pull-out is not a "peace" process, it's not a treaty about peace, it's the intensification of war.

The reactionary forces are neither organised nor united. On the other hand, the revolutionary forces are not either. The question posed for all the different political forces and classes is who can most quickly and effectively unite and unite others in order to wage and win the war, which will certainly continue, even if in a different form. The strategy of revolutionaries for building up a communist party and a people's army and united front is still valid. The main enemy to fight is the government, even if it becomes a coalition government of pro-Soviet and moderate forces, even if the king joins in too. The Soviet Union has continued to protect its interests economically, politically and especially militarily in the region and is going to continue to support the regime and is trying to find more of a base for their disintegrating government. In the past the USSR used its so-called Red Army there to uphold this reactionary regime, whereas now they're buying certain sections of the reactionary classes (within the Islamic forces) to serve as the class base for the Soviet interests. Even if the Soviets pull out, the revolutionary forces and liberation movement must direct their armed struggle against the coalition government until its complete overthrow. □

# On the Indo-Lanka Accords

By the Revolutionary Internationalist Communist Organisation of Sri Lanka

The following article analysing the so-called peace agreement between the governments of India and Sri Lanka is excerpted from a lengthy article originally published in Sinhalese on 30 June 1987.

In the second issue of *AWTW*, published in 1985, an article signed by our special correspondent pointed out that, "The left movement, which is still dominated by the reformists and revisionists, is so sunk in the mire of parliamentary opportunism that they are unable to take a firm, revolutionary stand in support of the right of self-determination of the Tamil people and against reactionary Sinhala chauvinism. Only the Marxist-Leninist Ceylon Communist Party [a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, with a long history of struggle against modern revisionism] and some small political groups have taken an uncompromising stand in support of the armed struggle of the Tamil people and for their right of self-determination. They have also condemned Sinhala chauvinism as well as the massacres carried out in its name...."

For the past number of years the just struggle of the Tamil people for self-determination has been at the centre stage of Sri Lankan political life. How to correctly assess this struggle and its relationship with the struggle for the liberation of the whole of the island of Sri Lanka has been and remains of vital concern for the genuine revolutionaries of Sri Lanka and, above all, for the Marxist-Leninists themselves. It is therefore not surprising that within the Marxist-Leninist movement differences of appreciation might exist on one or another of the questions dealt with in the article which is published here in the hopes of contributing to the discussion of this question in Sri Lanka and of being of

use to comrades who are facing similar problems in other countries. Comments on this article are welcome.

In the past period important discussions have begun between the Ceylon Communist Party and the Revolutionary International Communist Organisation of Sri Lanka, which together have established the Marxist-Leninist Centre with the goal of achieving a single, unified party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. —*AWTW*

It can be said that the so-called Indo-Lanka Peace Accord constitutes the most dramatic conjuncture in the modern political history of Sri Lanka. As a consequence of the Accord, the national contradictions and polarisations of the Sri Lankan social formation have deepened and intensified qualitatively, with the whole of society being subjected to an ever-widening process of militarisation on a hitherto unknown scale. As it is, over 25,000 fully-equipped Indian soldiers are engaged in a concentrated military offensive in the North and East with the aim of decimating the armed power of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), who have declared war on the "Peace" Accord in open defiance of the comprador state authority of both India and Sri Lanka....

The whole of the international community has come full concert in praise of the so-called Indo Lanka Peace Accord as the result of two eminently courageous and far-thinking South Asian statesmen, which has greatly contributed to the cause of peace and democracy in the world. The two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, along with the rest of the imperialist powers, have rushed forward to uphold and back the Accord....

It is manifestly clear that both the

U.S. and the Soviet social-imperialist blocs are fully committed to assisting both governments in implementing this neocolonialist diktat called the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord. Given the complex and unpredictable nature and consequences of the revolutionary war spreading far and beyond, threatening the entire neocolonial social order in the whole of the South Asian region, both imperialist blocs found common cause in uniting behind Rajiv Gandhi and J.R. Jayawardene in order to suppress the Tamil national liberation war, while pursuing their respective global strategic imperatives through the Accord....

The Liberation Tigers had originally declared their opposition to the Accord on the basis that it was a diktat imposed from above by the Indian and Sri Lankan governments which failed to respond to the genuine national aspirations of the Tamil people. But after intense, high-handed pressure from the Indian state, the Tigers grudgingly handed over their heavy weapons and retained the light ones due to a basic suspicion of the real motives of Rajiv Gandhi, J.R. Jayawardene, as well as that of the "3 Star" combination, and to secure its political dominance in the new administrative structure to be set up in the North and East.

On the other side, forces such as the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the major reactionary bourgeois electoral alternative to the ruling United National Party (UNP), and the Janatha Vimukthi-Peramuna (JVP), a rabid Sinhala chauvinist, pro-Soviet revisionist organisation with a rural petit-bourgeois/lumpen-proletarian social base, are engaged in a concerted attempt to mobilise the masses behind the reactionary, tribalist banner of Sinhala Buddhist chauvi-

nism by exploiting the anti-Indian, anti-Tamil sentiments of the masses which have been nurtured by the whole of the ruling class, as well as the genuine anti-government, anti-UNP hatred of the broad masses, in order to advance their own power-hungry, counter-revolutionary, bourgeois class interests....

The basic question that must be raised in evaluating the Accord is: which class interests have been served and advanced overall? Have the reactionary class interests of world imperialism and its regional comprador agents been achieved? Have the global strategic imperatives of world imperialism been advanced overall? Or have the interests of the anti-imperialist/New Democratic Revolution in Sri Lanka been served and advanced, and through this, have the revolutionary interests of the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world been advanced overall? This is the only consistently revolutionary, proletarian internationalist stand, viewpoint and method that can and should be applied in evaluating the political essence and class content of the so-called Indo-Lanka Peace Accord.

### **Bourgeois Liberalism and the Reactionary Ideology of Humanism and Pacifism**

The liberal bourgeois viewpoint in defense of the Accord is argued on the basic premise that, all other considerations aside, the war, and with it the blood-letting and the destruction, has ceased and peace and normalcy have returned to the country, making it possible to direct the escalating vast military expenditure on economic reconstruction and rehabilitation, providing the most effective foundation upon which to build the broken bridges between the Sinhalese and Tamil

communities. Therefore, given this main and overwhelming consideration, irrespective of all others, the Accord must be defended at all costs. It is important to identify the reactionary bourgeois ideological roots of this apparently moderate and reasonable liberal point of view. Indeed, it is the viewpoint of the reactionary UNP government itself, designed to cover up its trail of blood and destruction. Apart from the deep desire for a genuinely revolutionary democratic peace on the part of the oppressed masses which this liberal viewpoint attempts to distort and exploit, it represents the narrow, hypocritical view of the merchant and the banker, of all those social parasites who care not for the exploitation, oppression and degradation of the masses, for the thousand and one injustices, abuses and violence committed against the people on a daily basis as the normal course of life under this dog-eat-dog system, but who demand peace at any cost so that they can continue to suck the blood of the people and live off the profits of capital on an ever intensifying basis.

The whole line of "peace at any cost" and the reasoning behind it is profoundly false, dangerous and eminently hypocritical. It negates the qualitative and crucial distinction between a just revolutionary war and an unjust, counter-revolutionary war and the basic truth that without untold suffering and sacrifice no genuine revolutionary struggle can ever hope to achieve complete victory; along with the fundamental truth that imperialism means war, wars of aggression and conquest, the extreme concentration of which is world war for the redivision of the world, and that the only way to win a world without exploitation, oppression and war is to bring

about the worldwide destruction of imperialism by unleashing the revolutionary war of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat.

There are sharply divergent views concerning the war which raged so relentlessly for several years in the North and East. The question of determining the political essence of this war is a question of fundamental importance for the entire revolutionary struggle in Sri Lanka. Is the armed national liberation struggle of the oppressed Tamil people a just one? Should it be supported and brought to victory, or should it be opposed and defeated? This question is of paramount importance in determining a correct proletarian revolutionary line, in spite of the fact that the majority of the Tamil liberation organisations have placed their faith in the Peace Accord, and have given up the armed struggle for various reasons.

In essence, the Tamil national liberation struggle is targeted at world imperialism and the reactionary comprador state of Sri Lanka which jointly exploit and oppress the workers and oppressed masses of this country. It is a genuine anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle aimed at the fundamental class enemies of both the Sinhala and Tamil oppressed nations. In terms of its highest revolutionary aims and aspirations, in terms of its principles, targets and tasks, the Tamil national liberation struggle is a subordinate component of the New Democratic Revolution in Sri Lanka, which is itself a subordinate component of the World Proletarian Revolution. The laws of motion of the Tamil national liberation struggle are most intimately bound up with the general laws of motion of the Sri Lanka revolution. The future of the Tamil national liberation struggle is integrally bound up with the future of the Sri

Lanka revolution in general, and both are, in turn, integrally bound up with the future of the World Proletarian Revolution. This is the most powerful lesson driven home by the reactionary neocolonialist diktat called the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord.

Since the time of the fraud of political "independence" granted by the British imperialists in collaboration with the domestic comprador lackeys at the end of the Second World War, the comprador state of the Sinhala big bourgeoisie has persistently followed a deliberate and ruthless policy of suppressing the fundamental democratic and human rights of the Tamil nation, in order to protect and expand the economic, political and strategic prerogatives of the Sinhala bourgeoisie. This policy of national discrimination, abuse and naked aggression developed into a full-scale, state terrorist, genocidal war aimed at liquidating the fundamental democratic right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation, constituting a mortal threat to its very existence. In the face of this mounting economic, political and military threat to its existence, the Tamil liberation forces, mainly the revolutionary democratic petit-bourgeois youth, took up arms against the comprador state and unleashed the revolutionary war of national liberation aimed at winning its fundamental democratic right of self-determination, including secession. Therefore, the Tamil national liberation struggle and the war on the part of the liberation forces must be upheld, supported and brought to victory, as a most vital part of the tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution.

The Sinhala revolutionaries in the South have a special duty to dedicate themselves to the task of fighting for the complete victory of the Tamil national liberation struggle. Similarly, Tamil revolutionaries must dedicate themselves to the task of fighting for the complete victory of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed Sinhala nation. It is a deliberate and vicious lie to claim, as the JVP does, that the Tamil national liberation struggle is a

conspiracy hatched by U.S. imperialism and the CIA, or to argue that Leninism had abandoned the principle (or formula, as the JVP derogatorily calls it) of the complete and fundamental democratic right of self-determination of oppressed nations following the victory of the October Revolution, since this "formula" no longer corresponded to the interests of consolidating Soviet state power. The JVP leadership will go to the extent of colouring Lenin as a low-grade opportunist in order to cover up for its own rampant and revolting brand of revisionism. But the universal principles and the critical revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will no doubt prove to be invincible and omnipotent in the face of the reeking and foul revisionism of the self-styled megalomaniacs parading as the "true liberators of the nation." These types of truly grotesque revisionist lines are not worthy of discussion if not for the fact that they have been presented with such fanfare, such pomp and pageantry, such posturing authority by such a prolific, innovative and for all that, inane breed of modern revisionists in the person of the JVP.

There are still others, even honest comrades, who claim that the Tamil liberation struggle is not a fully constituted national liberation struggle in that the Tamil community is not a full-fledged nation, or that the liberation struggle is, or is bound to be, manipulated by foreign imperialism, or that the anti-democratic, anti-people deviations and the profound pro-Indian, pro-Soviet revisionism of its leadership constitutes the main danger to the revolution, and so on, and that on this basis, to uphold the right of self-determination, including secession, would be wrong and even dangerous. But Lenin, in countering and anticipating these revisionist arguments, has most emphatically stated that: "Repudiation of the right to self-determination or to secession inevitably means in practice, support for the privileges of the dominant nation." ("Right of Nations to Self-Determination")

*(Continued to p. 68).*

## Press Release

# Conference

By the Communist Party of

On the basis of a joint appeal by the Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal [BSD(ML)] and the Revolutionary Communist League of Bangladesh, circulating some months back, a conference of representatives of some organisations and groups and some individuals representing sections of the people who have raised the red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's Thought and the teachings of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was held March 11-12th, 1988.

At the start, the conference paid homage to the martyred comrades of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) killed in the course of the heroic struggle of Peruvian prisoners against the Garcia government's armed forces, and the revolutionary martyrs of the UIC (Sarbedaran) killed in Iranian prisons by the fascist Khomeini.

The conference adopted a declaration with a view towards bringing all revolutionaries into one centre by liquidating different existing centres among the groups and individuals who uphold and practice Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's Thought and the teachings of the GPCR.

In analysing the international situation, the declaration said that the political sphere of most countries, especially the underdeveloped countries, basically exhibits three poles. One centres on the stooges of the U.S. imperialists, one centres on the stooges of the Russian social-imperialists and the third is that of the people led by communist revolutionaries. This third pole of those who have raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's



# Held in Bangladesh

## Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [(BSD(ML)) and the Revolutionary Communist League

Thought and the teachings of the GPCR has shown sufficient strength in Peru, etc., although it is weak in other countries. It will be developing and objectively is bound to develop. The future of the revolution in any country will depend on the development of this pole.

Hailing the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as a symbol of the unity of communist revolutionaries on an international level, the conference noted that revisionists of all hues have taken advantage of the fall of proletarian power in China and have gleefully come out to launch, in collusion with the reactionaries of the world, an all-out attack on the communist revolutionaries and the revolutionary philosophy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's Thought, thus giving rise to the third great crisis in the history of the international communist movement.

In the midst of such a crisis, and in the absence of a proletarian state to represent the bulwark of communist revolutionaries and to fight for communist society, the struggle pursued by the PCP and the formation of the RIM express the invincible power of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's Thought.

On the socio-economic conditions in Bangladesh and the corresponding strategy and tactics for revolution, the conference evaluated the country as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial state with two fundamental contradictions: 1) The contradiction between imperialism of all sorts and expansionism, on one side, and the people and the nation on the other; 2) The contradiction

between semi-feudalism and the vast masses.

The contradiction between the comprador-bureaucrat class and the masses was also labeled a major contradiction, thus giving rise to three targets of revolution: imperialism of all sorts, in collusion with expansionism; feudalism; and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism. The new-democratic revolution against these targets at this stage must be led by the working class.

In describing the present political situation in Bangladesh, the conference held that the main feature in the political sphere is battle between those reactionary classes and forces who control state power and those who do not. Polarisation of the reactionary forces is going on, though it is not yet complete, on the basis of the U.S.-Indian axis and the Russo-Indian axis. The third pole of the people led by the working class with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung's Thought is bound to develop but as yet it is lagging behind objective reality.

The conference unequivocally condemned Indian expansionism's aggression in Ceylon and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Indian forces there, and alerted the people of all countries of South Asia to remain vigilant and prepared in the face of the aggressive designs of the Indian expansionists.

The conference hailed the revolutionary armed activities of the people of some states in India led by revolutionary forces against the Indian central ruling clique and local feudal forces.

The Conference called for a summation of the past armed struggle

and political activities by the revolutionaries and an assessment of Bangladesh's past political-historical events. The *Declaration* of the Second International Conference which formed the RIM rightly said that "the international communist movement has a very important task to critically sum up the several decades of experience in waging revolution in these kinds of countries." The Conference considered this an important task in order to create a sound basis for uniting revolutionaries around a single centre.

The Conference was of the opinion that in the past the communist movement in Bangladesh has clearly shown that revisionism from both the right and from the "left" and anarchism are great dangers to revolutionary war; however, at present revisionism from the right is the main danger, while in the case of armed struggle it is anarchism. As the *Declaration* of the Second Conference said, "the main deviation in the recent period... is the rejection or opportunist perversion of people's war."

The Conference called for a decisive fight against all these anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist trends to clear the path for people's war.

The Conference formed a forum, named the "Eikya Pratuti Parishad" (Preparatory Council for Unity), which was given the task of finding which political forces follow the same ideological and political line, and was encharged with publishing a journal to spread this ideological-political line and publish views around questions being debated. □

Since the fall of Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier in February 1986 the ruling classes of Haiti and their imperialist masters have been striving to bring about a stable regime and break the spirit and resistance of the masses which Duvalier had contained with Tonton Macoutes and naked terror.

Much of the efforts of the enemies had been focused on their election circuses. The months leading up to the November 29, 1987 elections were particularly intense. Over the summer a general strike and fierce uprisings had taken place in the capital city of Port-au-Prince against the military junta led by General Henri Namphy which had been ruling since Duvalier's fall. And the terrible massacre of 300 peasants fighting for land had taken place in the village of Jean-Rabel. In Autumn, two of the presidential candidates were murdered, recrudescing Macoute death squads flourished and vigilance committees emerged in the slums of the capital which had taken on the Macoutes and killed several.

On November 29 the reactionary offensive reached a furious peak as the military junta unleashed a wave of massacres and violence against the Haitian masses and cancelled the elections. Two months later the junta held its own elections (even many of the candidates refused to participate) and declared Leslie Manigat as president, a one-time Duvalierist (and later Duvalier oppositionist), who pledged to back the army and keep the lid on Haiti.

Since then, the United States, which initially opposed the army action, tried to clean up Mr. Manigat's blood-spattered image. Plans for a reform and a showy "democratisation" were cancelled as potentially destabilising in this nation of six million people. The army has continued its heavy-handed repression against the masses and the left, the Macoutes again roam with impunity, and Manigat announced his intention to target radicals and revolutionaries working outside the revisionist United Communist Party of Haiti (PUCH). The mass upsurge, which



## Revolution is the

By the Haitian Internationalist

had seriously threatened the junta during the general strike and urban uprisings of June-July 1987 and helped awaken millions to political life over the last two years, temporarily receded.

But the profound crisis facing Haiti's rulers which had been reflected in the election massacres was never resolved. On June 19 General Namphy deposed Manigat and sent him packing out of the country. Thus the ruling circles themselves continue to be deeply

divided and excellent possibilities remain for advancing the revolution.

We are publishing below excerpts from two documents concerning the development of the revolutionary movement in Haiti. The first, "Revolution is the Only Solution," was published as a pamphlet by GRIA in summer of 1987, several months before the November election massacre. The second document is a leaflet produced after the elections by support-



# Only Solution

## Revolutionary Group (GRIA)

ers of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. For more on the revolutionary movement in Haiti see AWTW-6 "Haiti: The Déchouage has Only Just Begun!" — AWTW.

...Haiti has been a neocolony of U.S. imperialism since 1915, and before that it was dominated by the French, first as a colony then as a neocolony, beginning shortly after the Independence War. During the 19 years that the U.S. occupied Hai-

ti, they erected many institutions, including an army, and they built up the classes to rule Haiti in their interests. When they withdrew their forces from the country, it was with this structure and through their lackeys that they continued their domination over Haiti. Through this structure the imperialists have been able to dictate during the years the course of Haitian politics and economics, they have been able to choose who would rule the country and who would be deposed, they

have created, armed and trained the army to crush the masses whenever they rebelled against their subjugation....

It should be clear to all that the imperialists and the [reactionary] classes cannot and will not give the Haitian masses true political power, nor will they even carry through a thorough-going democratic revolution. In fact, they have vested interests in keeping the masses subjugated and they will never lay down their butcher knives until they are forcibly taken from them. Thus, the Haitian people will never gain liberation so long as Haiti is dominated by imperialism and these classes are in power. This is why we say that the Haitian revolution must dismantle the neocolonial structure and defeat and suppress those reactionary classes that maintain and profit from the present system. "Democratic reform" of that structure could only strengthen it, lull the masses to sleep and further exacerbate their misery and oppression.

Thus a new-democratic revolution is the only solution to the present crisis. Why a new-democratic revolution?...

As Mao clearly stated, the new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian revolution; within the country itself it is the first of a two-stage revolution leading to socialism as part of that world proletarian revolution whose final goal is a communist world. The first stage of this revolution must be based in the countryside where the proletariat and its party must lead the majority of the peasants as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, the comprador-bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism. In this first stage the proletariat and its party must lead the Haitian peasants in war to defeat its enemy and to resolve the centuries-old contradiction in Haitian society that has been the main source of conflict and the main cause of all the wars, from Goman, to Acaau, to the war of the piquets and the cacos, i.e., the land question.

Thus the agrarian question, including the demand of land to the tiller, is key to this first stage.

But at the same time, the resolution of the land question is part of

the overall revolutionary process. The new-democratic stage of the revolution is also a war for national liberation, a war to dismantle the neocolonial structure, to overthrow the imperialists and their lackeys.... In this first stage of the revolution it is essential that the proletariat lead it, for it is the only way for the revolution to be victorious and it is the only way that the revolution will move on to the second, socialist stage.

In order for the revolution to succeed in Haiti, what Mao called "The Three Magic Weapons" are necessary: the Party, the People's Army and the United Front....

Mao Tsetung stated that: "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." Recent events, including the massacres carried out by the army in the June-July general strike, clearly demonstrate the correctness of that statement. Many revolutionaries and many among the masses have begun to realise this. And events have also made clear that the army is preparing for war, a war of violence and brutality against the Haitian masses.

Their war is a reactionary war, a war to keep the majority of Haitian masses subjugated and oppressed and to maintain imperialist domination and class exploitation of Haiti. But what Haiti needs is a just war, a people's war, a war to overthrow imperialist domination and reactionary rule, a war based on the people....

There are those who criticise our position and say that our line on the people's army and people's war is a recipe for national suicide. They maintain that we and the masses should bury our heads in elections, or in endlessly organising for petty or limited reform. No, our line is not a recipe for national suicide, it is rather a line for national liberation — it is the only road toward revolution and a better and brighter future for the oppressed Haitian masses. And we also maintain that no group, no party and no single individual could call themselves revolutionary if they do not set as their highest task preparing the masses to wage such a war, the highest and main form of struggle....

This is not the time for revolutionaries to be afraid and to run into a hole and hibernate; rather this is the time to be active and fearless, the time to cast away illusions and prepare to wage decisive struggle to defeat imperialism and their lackeys in Haiti and around the world. For the past 70 years the oppressed masses of Haiti, yearning for freedom, have been trying to liberate themselves by peaceful political means, by voting for constitutions, by electing various compradors to the presidency... but these efforts have always been frustrated, because imperialism and the Haitian reactionaries always view the people's aspirations for genuine emancipation as a threat and obstacle. Thus, they always responded by violent means, i.e., by slaughtering people, by jailing, torturing and terrorising them into submission. In fact, the imperialists and the Haitian reactionaries have always waged politics by violent means, politics with bloodshed. Now in this key historical juncture where the masses are fighting for liberation and genuine emancipation, they should organise themselves to sweep away imperialism, comprador capitalism and feudalism, and the only way that they are going to be able to do that is through defeating the reactionary violence of the oppressor....

We can draw inspiration from the heroic people's war in Peru, led by the Communist Party of Peru (known in the media as Shining Path), which has grown from a spark to a raging fire without asking for a single bullet from any country ruled by imperialism, neither of the Western bloc or the Soviet bloc....

The united front is another of the three necessary components for a successful revolution in Haiti or any other country. The main purpose of the united front is not to wage a tactical struggle for the removal of a dictator, but to wage the revolutionary struggle to eliminate imperialism, demolish the neocolonial structure of dependency on imperialism and overthrow the comprador capitalists and feudalism....

Of all the classes in Haitian society who will be in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front, only the

proletariat can lead an uncompromising revolutionary struggle, for the proletariat is the only class with nothing to fortify or hold onto from the present order and hence the only class capable of liberating itself, all other oppressed classes and humanity. Thus the Haitian proletariat, even though it is a minority in Haitian society, must lead the Haitian revolution, the armed struggle and the united front.

Among the other classes in Haitian society who have interests opposed to the status quo, the most oppressed and numerous is the peasantry. Thus the peasantry is the strategic ally of the proletariat and the main force of the revolution in its new-democratic stage and should be led as such by the proletariat in that struggle. While the peasantry as a whole should be united with, there are sectors of the peasantry whose interests are closest to those of the proletariat. These are the landless, the poor and the middle peasants. The alliance between the workers and broad masses of peasants should be the backbone of the united front.

As stated above, each of the classes within the united front has different class interests and will try to pursue those interests. This dictates that the proletariat and its party maintain independence of line and initiative of action within and while leading the united front, because unless it does so it will not be able to lead the revolution to even complete its first, new-democratic stage let alone carry forward to socialism and along the socialist road toward the final goal of a communist world....

As stated in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, what we need is a Marxist-Leninist party which "must arm the proletariat and the revolutionary masses not only with an understanding of the immediate task of carrying through the new-democratic revolution and the role and conflicting interests of different class forces, friend and foe alike, but also of the need to prepare the transition to the socialist revolution and of the ultimate goal of worldwide communism."

However, presently the subjective

## Which Road for Haiti?

### By Supporters of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

forces seriously lag behind the objective situation. The masses' struggle has thus far developed without the leadership of the proletariat and its party. This situation must soon be remedied, for if it is not it could have a disastrous effect on the present revolutionary prospects in Haiti. Thus all revolutionaries must strive to bring about a great change in the present situation.

Obviously we are not a lone voice in the wilderness; there are many revolutionaries both in Haiti and outside of it and there are also the majority of the Haitian masses who truly want a revolution in Haiti. Events in Haiti in the past two years and especially in recent months show clearly that the Haitian proletariat, the peasantry, the petite bourgeoisie, the youth, the unemployed and other sectors from the oppressed masses want a radical change in Haiti. They have proven that they are ready to sacrifice, even to sacrifice their lives for change. It is true that many people are not clear on how exactly to attain their objective and that they have some illusions that the constitution, the election, petty democratic reform and peaceful democratic struggle is going to attain this goal. However, the action of the ruling class is quickly shattering many illusions, despite the efforts of the bourgeois compradors and bureaucrats, the opportunists and the revisionists who are trying to lead the masses down their dead-end electoral and reformist path. Many people among the masses are realising these reactionary schemes and breaking out of this framework, many others are realising that, constitution or not, election or no election, open dictatorship or representative "democracy," the power of the ruling class rests on violence, on bullets and bayonets, and if the people want political power, if they want liberation, they must and will get it through the barrel of the gun. It is for these masses and the great majority of the people who desperately need a genuine revolution that we elaborate the line and the alternative in this text. □

November 1987: the rulers of Haitian society lash out at each other; the impoverished masses organise self-defence against the army and Macoutes; and then, finally, on 29 November, the army responds with its vicious election massacre.

For almost two years the representatives of the U.S. and the other imperialist powers told the Haitian people that, "General Namphy is the best hope." For months the bourgeois candidates in Haiti told people to place their faith in the constitution and the elections. They told people that liberation could come from reform — reform managed and overseen by Haiti's imperialist oppressors. And they still lie. The candidates tell people to look to the U.S. The U.S. tries to wash the blood of 29 November from its hands, even while it supports the farcical new elections called by the army for 17 January 1988. But the crisis in Haitian society is too deep, and the people's desire for change too profound, for the oppressor to solve it so easily and crudely.

Has it ever been clearer that the masters and oppressors of Haiti cannot be reasoned with? Has it ever been clearer that they must be defeated, and them and their system totally uprooted — for good?

The great revolutionary Mao Tsetung once said that, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Did not November 1987 bear this out? And as Mao also said:

"The seizure of power by armed struggle, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle holds good universally...."

The last two years in Haiti have proven this to many. And in the flames of today it will not do to talk about such a prospect as something for a vague and far-off future. People want to know: what must be done *right now* to launch such a struggle? How should it be waged? What is the road that can lead to victory, and not to just a brave but hopeless stand? How can people

prepare... now? These are the questions of the hour. In confronting such heavy questions, the history of the international revolutionary movement and of Haiti itself contain many crucial lessons.

#### Different Roads Appear

The debate over these questions is raging. Some people agree that Haiti needs a revolution, but they hasten to point out that such a revolution can only be made with mass support and participation. This much is certainly true. But such people often go on to say that in order to gain this support the revolutionaries must first mobilise the masses around economic and human rights issues, and only later bring up the question of revolution, and in particular revolutionary war. Here they are very wrong, and run the risk of postponing the tasks of revolution indefinitely. Does not the massacre of Jean-Rabel show what happens when the masses do not have their own army to wage revolutionary war? Bloody experience in Haiti and elsewhere shows that any approach that does not have the armed struggle and the revolutionary seizure of power at its centre won't get anywhere.

But events such as Jean-Rabel and the great bravery shown by the masses who defended themselves against the Army/Macoute massacre of 29 November also show that there are many who burn with the desire to organise themselves and to strike back. This kind of fighting spirit is inspiring and absolutely necessary for a revolution. But those who say that this upsurge on its own will automatically or organically lead to a revolution are also mistaken; something more, something different than this kind of organisation and self-defence will be needed.

Other forces bank their hopes on a small, well-armed group taking up arms in the countryside and through their heroic action sparking an uprising. The oppressed masses of the world can only be liberated by



armed struggle, and it must not be delayed a day longer than necessary. This much too is certainly true. But such people then often go on to take a purely military line, a kind of "roving rebel band approach," and they dismiss the heart, soul and lifeblood of real people's war — the need for a vanguard party and for mobilising the masses to wage the war and establish their own power. Guerrilla war without this will not succeed. And the recent practice in other countries, where this strategy has often led to using the armed struggle as a mere bargaining chip with the enemy, must be firmly rejected.

In sum, the masses are the makers of history and history has taught that in the oppressed nations, the correct and only way to unleash and involve the masses is by initiating the armed struggle on a correct basis.

### Protracted People's War

The *Declaration* of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement states that, "the point of reference for elaborating revolutionary strategy and tactics in the colonial, semi (or neo) colonial countries remains the theory developed by Mao Tsetung in the long years of revolutionary warfare in China." What are the main points of this theory?

First, revolutionary war in almost all oppressed nations must base itself in the rural areas. In the countryside of the Third World, the roads and communications are generally much worse, and the army is weaker than in the city. Not only that, the majority of people, and especially the majority of those who need and desire revolutionary change most urgently, live there. Because of these and other factors, a revolutionary force can start off small in one or several rural areas that are especially ripe, and then build up strength through guerrilla warfare, gradually spreading its power through the whole country, and eventually seizing the cities (and nationwide power). Certainly the rich experience of 1804, of the piquet rebellions of the 1800s, and of the resistance to the U.S. invasion of 1915 show the ability of the

peasantry of the oppressed nations to wage revolutionary war. And the experience of China from 1921 to 1949, of many other Third World nations after World War 2 and of Peru today demonstrates that a struggle along these lines, when correctly led, can win victory.

Of course, more than just the peasantry must be mobilised. Indeed, the revolutionary vanguard must develop and wield a united front, composed of all the classes with an interest in destroying the rule of the imperialists, the feudalists and those big capitalists in league with them. The proletariat must lead this front, as it is the only class with absolutely nothing to defend or lose in the current order, the only class capable of leading the building of a new society free from imperialist oppression, and from exploitation of all kinds. Certainly, then, important revolutionary political work must go on in the cities. Nevertheless, the *main* way in which the proletariat leads the revolutionary united front is through leading the peasantry to wage people's war, which is, again, rooted mainly in the countryside. "The united front," as Mao said, "is a united front for carrying on armed struggle."

Second, as Mao has said, "the revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them." A small band of heroes acting alone can at best open the door to the master's house, and even sit at the head of his table, as happened in Cuba; but who wants *that*? Instead, the potential bulldozer energy of the *masses* in arms must be unleashed to smash the rotten old mansions of imperialism and feudalism, and lay the foundations for a truly just and new society.

How can such a bulldozer be put in gear? Experience shows that only people's war, beginning with guerrilla warfare, awakes, unites and organises the peasants who have been crushed for centuries. Only their participation in armed struggle gives the peasantry revolutionary consciousness and self-confidence. Of course, such an undertaking cannot be done helter-skelter; it requires thorough deliberation as well as boldness, and most of all it requires

leadership. However, once a basic minimum of preparations are completed in one or several parts of a country, in conditions of crisis, a people's war can be commenced relatively quickly.

To again cite Mao, "if there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party." In fact, this is the key link. A *genuine* communist party *must* be built — one diametrically opposed to the traitors like PUCH [the pro-Soviet revisionist Unified Haitian Communist Party — *AWTW*]. It must reject the false flags of the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Albania, etc. and base itself on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Such a party must develop a basic and correct programme and strategy, and a basic foundation among the revolutionary masses of workers, peasants, students and other oppressed classes. Without such a party, the masses will fight heroically, but they will lack a clear vision, the independent interests of the proletariat will not be advanced and victory will either be lost or usurped. A party may start out small and inexperienced, but history shows that if it forges a correct line and if it dares to wage and persevere in people's war, it can become big and experienced. Such a party does not yet exist in Haiti, but as supporters of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, we welcome the urgent efforts now being made by Haitian revolutionaries to develop such a leading force.

Throughout its brief history, Haiti has often played a special role. In the 18th century, it was Europe's greatest source of riches; the backs and blood of its slaves built the wealth of France. At the dawn of the 19th century, those very same slaves rose up and through fifteen years of war defeated the most powerful armies of Europe in the only successful slave revolt in history. Now, as the 20th century draws to a twilight, it may be time for Haiti to emerge from its decades of imperialist-dictated desolation and again march to the front. Surely all who support the cause of revolution and liberation can hope, and urgently work for, nothing less. □

# "On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" & "On Gonzalo Thought" Documents from PCP First Congress

The Communist Party of Peru (PCP), known in the daily press as Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path, recently held its first Party Congress. The PCP is a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The basic documents given below in their entirety and a Party programme and statutes also adopted by that Congress were released by the PCP Central Committee in early 1988. In addition, the Congress also took up different aspects of the Party's general political line. — AWTW

## I. On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

The ideology of the international proletariat arose in the crucible of the class struggle as Marxism, becoming Marxism-Leninism and, finally, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In this way the all-powerful scientific ideology of the proletariat, all-powerful because it is true, has undergone three stages: 1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, 3) Maoism. These are three stages, periods or milestones in the dialectical process of development of a single unity that in 140 years, beginning with the *Communist Manifesto*, through the most heroic epic of class struggle, through fierce and fruitful two-line struggles within the communist parties themselves, through the tremendous work of giants of thought and action that only the class could have brought forth, with three unfading luminaries standing above the rest — Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung — and through great leaps, especially three, has armed us with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism today.

However, while the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism has come to be recognised, Maoism is not broadly recognised as the third stage; thus, while some simply deny it as such, others only go so far as to accept it as "Mao Tsetung Thought." Essentially, in both cases, while they clearly have differences between them, they both deny the overall development of Marxism by Chairman Mao Tsetung. Not to recognise Maoism's character as an "ism" is to deny that it is universally applicable and, consequently, its character as the third, newest and highest stage of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, which we uphold, defend and apply.

As an introduction, and to better understand Maoism and the need to fight for it, let us recall Lenin. He taught us that as the revolution shifted to the East it would confront specific conditions which, without denying principles and laws, were nonetheless new situations, and that Marxism could not fail to recognise this fact on pain of leading the revolution to defeat. Despite the uproar raised especially by pedantic and bookish intellectuals full of liberalism and false Marxism in opposition to what was newly arising, the only appropriate and correct thing to do was to apply Marxism to the concrete conditions and resolve the new situations and problems that every revolution necessarily confronts and resolves; this in the face of consternation and hypocritical "defense of the ideology, the class, and people" put forward by revisionists, opportunists and renegades, and the enraged and blind attacks by the stultified academicians and hacks of the old order, debased by rotten bourgeois ideology and ready to defend the old society on which they were parasites. Furthermore, Lenin expressly stated that the revolution in the East would give rise to new and great surprises that would further shock the worshippers of known paths who are incapable of seeing the new; and, as we all know, he entrusted comrades from the East with resolving problems that Marxism had not yet been able to resolve.

Further, we should keep in mind that when Comrade Stalin rightfully and correctly stated that we had entered the stage of Leninism in the development of Marxism, there was also opposition, and those who opposed it also did so in the name of defending Marxism. Let us keep in mind that some people also said that Leninism was only applicable to the backward countries, but through

struggle, practice confirmed it as a great development of Marxism, and proletarian ideology shined throughout the world as Marxism-Leninism.

Today, Maoism faces a similar situation, and just as the new and Marxism have always made their way through struggle, so too Maoism will prevail and become recognised.

As for the context in which Chairman Mao worked and in which Maoism was forged, on an international level the basis was imperialism, world wars, the worldwide proletarian movement, the national liberation movement, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. Three milestones stand out in this century: first the 1917 October revolution, the dawn of the world proletarian revolution; second, the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, changing the correlation of forces in favour of socialism; third, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated in 1966 as a continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to continue on the road to communism. Suffice it to say that Chairman Mao led two of these glorious historic events.

Maoism took concrete shape in China, the centre of the world revolution, amidst the most complex convergence of contradictions, intense and bloody class struggle marked by the imperialist powers' attempt to carve up China amongst themselves, the fall of the Manchu empire (1911), the anti-imperialist movement of 1919, the upheaval of the vast peasantry, the 22 years of armed struggle for the democratic revolution, the tremendous struggle to build and develop socialism and the ten years of revolutionary fervour to advance the Cultural Revolution in the midst of the greatest two-line struggle in the CPC, principally against revisionism, with the world situation already described in the background. Four of these historic events are of particularly extraordinary importance: the founding of the Communist Party of China in 1921; the 1927 Autumn Harvest Uprising which was the beginning of the path of surrounding

the cities from the countryside; the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949; and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976; in all of these Chairman Mao was the leading figure, and, above all, the highest and acknowledged leader of the Chinese Revolution.

Regarding Chairman Mao's biography, we can say that he was born on 26 December 1893, opening his eyes to a world convulsed in the flames of war. He was the son of peasants and was seven when the "Boxer Rebellion" broke out. He was 18 and studying to be a teacher when the empire collapsed; he enlisted in the army and later became a great organiser of peasants and students in Hunan, his native province. Founder of the Communist Party and the workers and peasants Red Army, he put forward the path of encircling the cities from the countryside, developed people's war and with that the military theory of the proletariat. He formulated the theory of New Democracy and founded the People's Republic. He was the motive force of the Great Leap Forward and the driving force behind the building of socialism, leader of the struggle against Khrushchev's modern revisionism and his lackeys, and leader and guide of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These milestones mark a life totally and completely dedicated to revolution. In this century the proletariat has won three great victories; two were led by Chairman Mao, and if one is glorious enough, then two is all the more so.

On the content of Maoism — obviously, its essence — we should underline the following basic questions:

1. *Theory.* Marxism is made up of three component parts: Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economy and scientific socialism. The development of all of these gives rise to a great qualitative leap for Marxism as a whole, as a unity, to a higher level, which means a new stage. Consequently, it is essential to point out that Chairman Mao has produced, in theory and in practice, precisely such a great qualitative leap. In order to better explain we will examine this point by point.

In *Marxist philosophy* he developed the essence of dialectics, the law of contradiction, establishing it as the only fundamental law; and in addition to his profoundly dialectical understanding of the theory of knowledge, whose essence is the two leaps that make up this law (from practice to knowledge and back to practice, the leap from knowledge back to practice being principal), we must emphasise his masterful application of the law of contradiction to politics; moreover, he took philosophy to the masses, fulfilling the task laid out by Marx.

In *Marxist political economy* Chairman Mao applied dialectics to analyse the relationship between the base and superstructure and, in carrying out the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist theory of the "productive forces," he concluded that the superstructure, consciousness, can transform the base and with political power develop the productive forces. He developed the Leninist idea that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, and proclaimed that politics must be in command (applicable to all fields) and that political work is the lifeblood of economic work; all this led to a genuine management of political economy and not just a series of economic policies.

One question that is overlooked, despite its importance especially for those who face new democratic revolutions, is the Maoist theory of bureaucrat capitalism, that is, the capitalism that imperialism develops in the oppressed countries on the basis of different levels of feudalism or other previous systems. This is a crucial problem especially for Asia, Africa and Latin America, since from its understanding flows the correct leadership for the revolution, particularly because the economic basis for advancing the revolution to the second, socialist stage depends on confiscating bureaucrat capital.

But the main thing is that Chairman Mao Tsetung has developed the political economy of socialism. His criticism of socialist construction in the USSR is extremely important. So too are his theses on how to build socialism in China: taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as

the leading factor, industrialisation guided by the relationship between heavy and light industry and agriculture, centring economic construction on heavy industry and simultaneously giving full attention to light industry as well as agriculture. We should highlight the Great Leap Forward and the conditions for its implementation: one, a correct line setting an appropriate and correct course; two, a range of small, medium and large organisational forms in terms of quantitative size; three, a tremendous push, a colossal effort on the part of the masses to set it in motion and finally to win, a leap forward whose results are more appreciated by looking at the process it sets in motion and its historical perspectives than by the immediate results, and at its links to agricultural cooperatives and people's communes. Finally, we must keep in mind his teachings on objectivity and subjectivity in understanding and managing the laws of socialism (whose full flowering has not been seen in the short decades of socialism, which likewise has prevented a better understanding of these laws and their specificity), and especially the relationship between revolution and economic development, concentrated in "grasp revolution, promote production." Nevertheless, despite its crucial importance, not much has been said about this development of Marxist political economy.

In *Scientific socialism* Chairman Mao developed the theory of classes, analysing them on the economic, political and ideological plane; revolutionary violence as a universal law without exception; revolution as the violent replacement of one class by another, putting forth his theory that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," and he solved the problem of the seizure of power in the oppressed nations by indicating the road of encircling the cities from the countryside and establishing its general laws. He brilliantly defined and developed the theory of the class struggle under socialism: that under socialism antagonistic struggle persists between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the capitalist road and the socialist road and between capitalism and so-

cialism, and that it was not yet settled which will win out; it would be resolved over a long period of time, a process of restoration and counter-restoration until the proletariat would finally achieve the definitive consolidation of its political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Finally and most importantly he formulated the great historic solution for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

These basic questions, simply outlined but well known and undeniable, show Chairman Mao's development of the component parts of Marxism and the obvious development of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third and higher stage: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

Continuing with this synthetic approach, let us look at other specific points which, though they flow from those previously mentioned, should be taken up, even if only enumeratively, so as to call attention to them.

2. *New Democracy*. First of all, the development of the Marxist theory of the state, in relation to the three types of dictatorships: 1) of the bourgeoisie, in the old type of bourgeois democracies like the U.S., a category to which can be added the oppressed nations such as those in Latin America; 2) the dictatorship of the proletariat as in the USSR and China before the revisionists seized power; and 3) New Democracy as the joint dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party, which was forged in China during the democratic revolution and in Peru today takes the form of people's committees, base areas and the New Democratic People's Republic in the process of formation. Within this development of the theory of the state it is essential to stress the key difference between the state system, the dictatorship of a class or classes that hold political power, which is principal, and the system of government, the organisation of the exercise of that political power.

Further, New Democracy — one of Chairman Mao's most outstanding developments — masterfully

gives concrete form to the bourgeois revolution of a new type that can only be led by the proletariat, in sum, the democratic revolution in the context of the new era of the world proletarian revolution in which we find ourselves. New democratic revolution means a new economy, new politics and new culture, obviously it means overthrowing the old order and building a new one with guns in hand, which is the only way to transform the world.

Finally, it is important to emphasise that while New Democracy, being a democratic revolution, fulfills democratic tasks, it also advances in relation to some socialist tasks. This provides an overall solution to the problem of two stages — democratic and socialist — that correspond to countries like ours. It guarantees that once the democratic stage is completed, the revolution will continue advancing uninterruptedly to the socialist stage without the slightest pause.

3. *The three weapons*. The problem of building the three weapons of the revolution demands that the Party understand the relationship between the Party, the army and the united front; a task of leadership is to correctly and appropriately understand and handle the interrelated building of all three in the midst of war or the defense of the new state based on the power of the armed masses. This building is guided by the principle that the proper and correct ideological line is decisive, and it is on this ideological-political basis that organisational building develops simultaneously, in the course of the struggle between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line and in the storm of the class struggle, principally war, which presently or potentially is the main form of class struggle.

Concerning the *Party*, Chairman Mao takes as his starting point the need for a Communist Party, a party of a new type, a party of the proletariat, today we would say a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party; a party whose objective is to seize and hold onto state power, which inseparably links the party to people's war, whether it be to initiate it, develop it or wage it to defend itself; a party based on the masses, either

as a consequence of the people's war — which is a war of the masses — or the united front, which being a front made up of classes, is based on the majority of the masses. The party develops and changes according to the stages of the revolution and their periods; the motive force of its development is the concentrated contradiction within it in the form of two-line struggle between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line or non-proletarian line in general, which is in essence and principally a struggle against revisionism. This leads to the crucial importance of ideology in the life of the party and of the unfolding of rectification campaigns to adjust the functioning of the whole system of the party's organisations and membership to the appropriate and correct ideological and political lines, so that the proletarian line may predominate and keep a steel grip on the leadership of the party. The party's purpose is the establishment of the political power of the proletariat, even under New Democracy where it is the leading class, and principally the establishment, strengthening and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat so as, through cultural revolutions, to win the ultimate goal, communism. This is why the proletariat must lead in everything and in an all-around way.

The *revolutionary army* is of a new type, an army for carrying out the political tasks set by the party in accordance with the interests of the proletariat and people. This takes the concrete form of three tasks: to wage war, to produce so as not to become a parasitic burden, and to mobilise the masses. An army that is built politically based on proletarian ideology, on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (today) and the general political line and military line established by the party. An army that bases itself on people, not weapons; an army that has come forth from the masses and is always linked to them and serves them wholeheartedly, allowing it to move among them like a fish in water. Without a people's army the people have nothing, Chairman Mao says, while he also teaches the necessity that the party commands absolute leadership over the army and sets forth the great

principle: the party commands the gun and we will never allow the gun to control the party. Beyond thoroughly establishing the principles and norms for building the army of a new type, the Chairman also warned that the army could be used to restore capitalism if leadership is usurped through a counter-revolutionary coup, and he developed Lenin's thesis on the people's militia, advancing further than ever before in the broad arming of the people, opening the way and pointing the direction towards the sea of armed masses which will lead us to the ultimate emancipation of the masses and the proletariat.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the first to develop a complete theory of the *united front* and establish its principles. A united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and guaranteeing the proletariat's hegemony in the revolution; a united front of classes led by the proletariat, represented by its party, in sum a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party; a united front for people's war, for the revolution, for the seizure of power in the service of the proletariat and the masses. Concretely, therefore, the united front is the unity of the revolutionary forces against counter-revolutionary forces in order to wage the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, principally through people's war, arms in hand. Obviously the united front is not the same at every stage of the revolution, and moreover, it has its specific characteristics depending on the different periods of each stage; likewise the united front in a specific revolution is not the same as on a world scale, though both follow the same general laws. Furthermore, it is important to emphasise the relationship between the front and the state which Chairman Mao established during the war against Japan when he explained that the united front was a form of joint dictatorship. This is a question we who face democratic revolution must study.

4. *People's war* is the military theory of the international proletariat; people's war sums up for the first time, in a systematic and all-encompassing way, the theoretical and practical experience of the strug-

gles, military actions and wars waged by the proletariat as well as the people's long experience in waging armed struggle, especially the war waged by the Chinese peasants. It is because of Chairman Mao that the class has a military theory; however, there is much confusion and misunderstanding around this issue. These problems arise from how the people's war in China itself is understood. It is often viewed, narrowly and contemptuously, as a mere guerrilla war; this already denotes a lack of understanding of the fact that with Chairman Mao guerrilla warfare acquires a strategic character. This view also does not understand how guerrilla warfare, on the basis of its essential fluidity, can develop mobility, mobile warfare, positional warfare; it can unfold plans for major strategic offensives and it can seize small, medium and large cities with millions of inhabitants, combining attacks from outside with insurrections from within. Thus, in conclusion, the four stages of the Chinese revolution, in particular from the peasant war to the people's war of liberation, with the war against Japan taking place between these two periods, demonstrate the diverse aspects and complexity of the revolutionary war waged for more than 20 years with a huge population and a huge mobilisation and participation of the masses; the war involved examples of many different experiences; and the essence of this war has been extraordinarily studied and its principles, laws, strategy, tactics, norms, etc., have been masterfully established. It is in that incredible crucible and on the basis laid by Marxism-Leninism that Chairman Mao was able to establish the military theory of the proletariat, people's war.

We must keep in mind that subsequently the Chairman himself, with full knowledge of the existence of atomic bombs and missiles and the ability to use them, defended and developed people's war to wage it under new conditions involving nuclear weapons and against powers and superpowers; in sum, people's war is the weapon of the proletariat and people in confronting nuclear war.

(Continued to p. 76).



# THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM

## Soviet Critique of "Terrorism" Singing the Hymns of the Bourgeois State

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### Leftist Terrorism

By Viktor Vitiuk  
(Progress Publishers, Moscow,  
1985)

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By P.B.

With the publication of *Leftist Terrorism*, by Victor Vitiuk of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet revisionists reinforce their position in another arena of inter-imperialist rivalry: that of seeing which imperialist superpower can be the most ardent defender of "law and order." Vitiuk's book, which takes as its point of departure the urban guerrilla trend in Western Europe, parrots many of the most reactionary frothings of his Western counterparts, such as CIA mouthpiece Claire Sterling, who raise the banner of fighting "international terrorism" to justify intensified repressive measures. Indeed, just as Western hacks insist that the Kremlin is the pursemaster of "terrorism," so also Vitiuk insists that the main backer of the urban guerrilla trend is American imperialism. And, he urges, "Leftist terrorism is becoming a problem which demands an urgent solution."

Anyone seeking to understand the urban guerrilla trend will, however, be sorely disappointed. For this is not the real subject of Vitiuk's book. There is precious little about the

major points of the political line of the urban guerrilla trend in W. Europe and its evolution since its emergence in the late 1960s. (For a Marxist-Leninist criticism of this trend, see *AWTW* No. 4, "The False Path of the W. European 'Urban Guerrilla'") Vitiuk instead takes the urban guerrilla phenomenon as an excuse for a hymn of praise to the established order in W. Europe and a vigorous attack on threats "from below." So, though ostensibly directed against the "leftist terrorists," Vitiuk's real target is not the urban guerrilla trend, who are misguided and ineffectual at best, but all those who actually seek the overthrow of the established order, and especially the genuine Marxist-Leninists who are preparing to lead the masses in doing this. His critiques of the Western imperialists focus principally on how they are inferior to the Soviet revisionists in their understanding of the way to crush the rumblings of popular discontent. Vitiuk's real point then is to advertise to the world, including especially to the Western European imperialists, that the Soviets are the best defenders of the bourgeois system, the most capable of defeating any real threats to the established social order, including principally proletarian revolution itself. *Leftist Terrorism* is a self-exposure of the fact that "Soviet socialism" is simply the signboard of the bourgeois

dictatorship that rules the USSR today.

### Worshipping Bourgeois Democracy

Perhaps the key rampart of the bourgeois status quo that Vitiuk is determined to defend is bourgeois democracy. In discussing the urban guerrilla analysis of "state terrorism," Vitiuk argues that for them, "[state terrorism] includes not only the dictatorship regimes, which abolish democratic legality, but also the existence of legality *per se*, and not only open repression and violence practised by the police and the army, but the very fact of existence of those and other, administrative institutions. In simple terms, it is the bourgeois state, no matter what its forms are... that they regard as terrorist." Vitiuk goes on to characterise the line of the urban guerrillas: "Therefore, the bourgeois democracy is not only hypocritical as a form of predominance of the bourgeoisie; essentially it is a peaceful mask of fascism, retained for demagogic purposes as long as the opportunity exists. Yet, as soon as fascism encounters more serious difficulties, revealed behind its parliamentary mask is a brutish grin." Vitiuk finds all this completely outrageous, the result of "manipulations" of isolated quotes of Marx and Lenin motivated by "morbid suspiciousness."

Condemning the bourgeois state as "terrorist" "no matter what its form," exposing the "brutish grin" behind its parliamentary mask — are these sins in the eyes of anyone *except* a worshipper of the bourgeois state?! If so, then let the first person Vitiuk condemns to hell be Lenin himself — for it was Lenin who analysed democracy as "the best shell for the political rule of the bourgeoisie," and who declared that "democracy is ... an organisation for the systematic use of *force* by one class against another, by one section of the population against another." Lenin went on to sum up: "Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*." (*The State and Revolution*)

This Soviet champion of bour-

geois democracy even defends the particular form this takes in W. Europe, of parliaments with competing political parties. He ridicules the "leftist terrorist" analysis: "As to the parties themselves — social democratic, liberal, conservative, leftist, centrist, rightist, secular, or religious — one is as good as another, as there is no difference of substance among them. The RAF [Red Army Fraction, a W. German urban guerrilla group — *AWTW*] leadership, for instance, defined the difference between the CDU [Christian Democratic Union, the party of Helmut Kohl] and the SPD [the Social-Democratic Party of Willy Brandt] quite graphically as that 'between plague and cholera.'" (Here it should be mentioned that it is unfortunate that the RAF leadership didn't continue to apply this correct analysis, including to the international arena, where they have degenerated from first supporting the USSR as a lesser "plague" to now upholding it as "socialist.")

Labelling the CDU and SDP as "plague" and "cholera" particularly disturbs Vitiuk because the Soviet revisionists continually search to use any differences whatever in the West European ruling classes to seek and draw them closer to the Soviet bloc, or at least towards a position of neutrality. Outright labelling the social-democrats as preferable has given them some problems lately, because it has been the classical social-democrats who have often especially trumpeted the need to militarise against the Soviets: Helmut Schmidt issued the call for the Pershing and cruise missiles, Mitterand was a chief advocate of their deployment as well as a most determined defender of France's nuclear "force de frappe," etc. Nonetheless, the Soviet's programme is not to smash the existing bourgeois state machine in these countries, but to pry at divisions within the imperialist ranks and manoeuvre for positions of influence. Hence what interests them most of all is differences *within* the bourgeoisie, whatever particular form that takes today — differences which, for the proletariat, are indeed nothing but choices between "plague and cholera."

Vitiuk also argues that the "leftist

terrorist" trend is illegitimate and reactionary because it fails to see that the bourgeois democracies are much better than fascism: "... one can fail to see the qualitative difference [of bourgeois democracy] from fascism only if one wears the darkest of dark glasses. The former is not only a form of political predominance of the bourgeoisie; to a no lesser degree, it is a most important thing gained by the working masses, a result of their long and difficult struggle, and a condition of its further development...."

Claiming that democracy is a gain of the working class "to a no lesser degree" than a form of bourgeois rule doesn't even have the merit of being an original revisionist deception; it is a repetition of what the renegade Second International argued, saying, for instance, that the social-democrats' seats in the German Reichstag were a victory for the working class which gave it something to defend in the first imperialist world war, thus justifying the stand of "defence of the fatherland." Fascism and bourgeois democracy are not the same thing; but they *are* both *forms* of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, Vitiuk's phrase "to a no lesser degree" negates this above all, in a sleight-of-hand effort to portray the bourgeois democracies as somehow belonging equally to both bourgeoisie and proletariat.

### Saving the Bourgeois State

Integral to Vitiuk's glorification of bourgeois democracy is the promotion of legal forms of struggle. "Marxism recognises different, rather than exclusively armed, forms of class struggle, and proletarian violence vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie with the purpose of gaining freedom from exploitation and proceeding towards socialism. Karl Marx said... that the socialists would have preferred to 'buy' the capitalists 'off' if a real opportunity arose." So, while openly enforcing their rule with bombs and bullets in Afghanistan, and with prisons and billyclubs in Poland, the revisionists seek to breathe new life into parliamentary cretinism in Western Europe. For this purpose Marx is

transformed from an extremist revolutionary into a reasonable chap, willing to do a deal with the bourgeoisie! As if he had never written those famous concluding lines of the *Communist Manifesto*: “The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by *the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions.*” (emphasis added)

Lenin was just as clear: “[The bourgeois state] *cannot* be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of ‘withering away,’ but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution. The panegyric Engels sang in its honour, and which fully corresponds to Marx’s repeated statements... this panegyric is by no means a mere ‘impulse,’ a mere declamation or a polemical sally. The necessity of imbuing the masses with *this* and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of the *entire* theory of Marx and Engels.... The supersession of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution.” (*The State and Revolution*)

Is this any less true today than in Lenin’s time? Hasn’t the vast accumulation of military forces throughout the world, not least of all in the imperialist countries, made such talk of “buying” the capitalists off not simply outmoded, but a criminal attempt to mystify the masses? It is not that the Soviet social-imperialists have become doves — as noted, they wield armed force whenever and wherever it suits their interests; but in Western Europe today they want to promote this parliamentary cretinism in their interests of seeking to influence and bloc with sections of the bourgeoisie and the more bourgeoisified masses there.

Hence Vitiuk condemns the urban guerrillas for disrupting the tranquil bourgeois order there, for being *too violent*: “... the only idea that they [leftist terrorists] adhere to is that of legitimacy of, and the need for, terrorist violence.” He goes on to characterise the “leftist terrorists”: “...the traditional inclination towards dogmatic reasoning, such as ‘revolution is civil war, and world

revolution is world war,’ prevails among leftist terrorists.... The question naturally arises if these actions are not fraught with consequences threatening the very existence of humanity.” Thus men whose fingers are on the trigger of one of the two largest nuclear arsenals in the world blame a tiny handful of urban guerrillas for “threatening humanity’s existence”!

Indeed, even while preparing for an imperialist world war of nearly unimaginable destruction, Vitiuk mocks the prospects of genuine mass revolutionary war: “The apology of war is in accord with the leftist terrorists’ ideology and psychology.” For them, Vitiuk says, “War is the greatest form of political violence. It brings about an extraordinary situation, a lack or limitation of law and order, and the solution of all problems by force of arms.” What Vitiuk obviously scoffs at as a caricature of reason is remarkably similar to the description of civil war by that well-known “leftist terrorist” Lenin: “Do not frighten us, gentlemen, with civil war. Civil war is inevitable... This war will bring victory over the exploiters, it will give the land to the peasants, it will give peace to the peoples, it will open the bright road to the victorious revolution of the world socialist proletariat.” (“The Russian Revolution and Civil War”) This is a veritable panegyric to civil war, which Lenin also called “the sharpest form of the class struggle.”

Lenin explained how revolutionary communists approach the question of civil war while refuting the charges of the bourgeois Cadet Party in Russia which raised the spectre of “rivers of blood” if revolution was launched: “Such rivers of blood would give victory to the proletariat and the poor peasantry, and it is a hundred to one that this victory would bring *peace* in place of the imperialist war, i.e., that it would save the lives of *hundreds of thousands* of men who are now shedding their blood for the sake of a division of spoils and seizures (annexations) by the capitalists.... This is how the class-conscious Russian worker and soldier figures, this is how he must figure, if he weighs and analyses the question of civil war

now being raised everywhere.” (“The Russian Revolution and Civil War”) Isn’t this how the class-conscious revolutionaries in Western Europe, and elsewhere, must also reason? Haven’t the imperialists already killed untold millions even since the last world war, in wars in Korea (nearly 1 million), Indochina (at least 2 million), Algeria (at least 1 million), Afghanistan (1-2 million), Iran-Iraq (at least 1 million), on top of the countless crimes committed daily in the exploitative social conditions maintained by imperialism, in especially the oppressed nations, and not to mention the hundreds of millions who would die in the nuclear war the imperialists are even now preparing? Isn’t it necessary to ruthlessly calculate the daily violence and exploitation this system holds for the world’s oppressed and to seriously weigh the cost of *not* preparing to launch insurrection and revolutionary war as soon as possible?

Vitiuk conceals the violent character of his own masters because their violence is of a different sort than that of Lenin: reactionary violence for suppressing their subjects and defending their empires. As Lenin noted: “The proletarian civil war can come out with an open exposition of its final aims before the people and win the sympathies of the working people, whereas the bourgeois civil war can attempt to lead part of the masses only by concealing its aims.” (“The Russian Revolution and Civil War”) And so the apologists of imperialists wielding nuclear arms shriek from the rooftops about the violence of “leftist terrorists”! It is like the old Chinese saying Mao Tsetung popularised: the emperors burn down the villages, while the common people are forbidden to light candles.

### Bourgeoisifying the Proletariat

As a basis for a programme for fighting “leftist terrorism,” Vitiuk develops a class analysis that distinguishes a social base that he thinks should remain loyal to the bourgeoisie from those who are potentially disloyal. Thus he accounts for the broad sympathy that the Red

Brigades once had in certain Italian working class areas, arguing: "Those are not the skilled workers at major modern plants; those are either employees of small enterprises or, which is especially characteristic of Italy with its North-South problem and mass social migration, former peasants and provincial residents in unskilled jobs. In a word, those are unstable, lumpenised and marginalised social elements."

"Former peasants" and "provincial residents in unskilled jobs" are in Vitiuk's hands transformed into lumpen-proletarians! It would be quite logical if he next began to call the October Revolution a "lumpen-proletarian" revolution — for such "former peasants" and "provincial residents in unskilled jobs" formed a great part of the revolutionary proletariat in Russia in 1917. Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* of "a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital," labourers who are constantly "exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market," whose livelihood is "more and more precarious" — a class that "has nothing to lose but its chains." Obviously, for Vitiuk, just another band of "lumpen"....

Vitiuk warns of the potential danger of these so-called lumpenised social elements: "Their déclassé nature and an acute feeling of deprivation originating therein, their painful reaction to injustice, hatred for their surroundings, a thirst for revenge and self-assertion, and the primitive nature of their notions of freedom and equality quite easily and naturally lead them to the idea of total rejection, and become an incentive for destructive action." What's so "lumpen" about "acute feelings of deprivation" or "hatred of their surroundings" or "painful reactions to injustice"? And how about "total rejection"! Poor misguided Karl Marx — when he called for the "overthrow of *all* existing social relations" by those who have "nothing to lose but their chains," he didn't have the great Academician Vitiuk around to instruct him that this was the programme not of proletarian revolution, as genuine

revolutionaries have always held, but of "lumpen" "déclassé" "destructive action"!

Vitiuk's masters obviously want something besides "total rejection" of the existing system; indeed, what they want is the *partial* rejection of the existing social order, rejection of Western domination and its replacement by *Soviet social-imperialist* domination of *the same* basic social order. This is the thoroughly bourgeois outlook underlying Vitiuk's denunciation of the urban guerrillas' "failure" to orient themselves towards Vitiuk's "modern skilled working class," and it goes hand in hand with his promotion of bourgeois democracy and parliamentary cretinism. One pillar of existing society which Vitiuk most definitely wants to preserve is patriarchy. He is outraged that in the "leftist terrorists'" "total rejection" of society they go too far on this matter: "According to their [the "leftist terrorists'"] logic ... even conflicts between fathers and children are assigned a political importance. The conflicts, they believe, have a family nature in appearance only. In actual fact, the fathers are backed by the government, the schools and the police, which systematically suppress the aspirations of the children for freedom." This staid patriarch is shocked that the family could be considered anything but the affair of the *paterfamilias* himself, to decide as he wants — that it could be regarded as *political*, and thus an affair which concerns the whole of society! But isn't this exactly what it means to live under bourgeois dictatorship: that *every* sphere of society is dominated by the ruling class' ideas, which are enforced by their political, and ultimately military, power.

Vitiuk argues that the "only idea" that unites the "leftist terrorists" is "the legitimacy of, and the need for, terrorist violence"; in this way, Vitiuk seeks to paint all opposition to stability and law and order as in essence the same. For instance, he explains that the reason he is focusing on the "leftist terrorists" is "... not for the sake of opposing leftist terrorists to rightist ones, as if some were 'better' and some 'worse.' Both are bad enough." "Fascism

and left extremism are like the heads of Siamese twins: though one may seem to be turned right, and the other left, they are both part of the same body."

Treating fascist violence and the violence of the urban guerrillas as the same raises violence above all other factors; intent, effect, etc., all become secondary to violence *per se*. Red Brigaders who assassinate an imperialist military figure are supposedly no different than fascist gangsters who beat immigrant workers to death. This position is that of someone who cares not at all for discovering the incorrect *political line* behind the urban guerrilla's deviation and correcting it so as to enable them, and others, to advance so as to carry out the preparations vital for revolution. Lenin showed how terrorism shared many features with economism — but since Vitiuk represents an empire which routinely uses both reformism and naked terror, it is neither Vitiuk's intent nor in his interests (or capacity) to attack the urban guerrillas at the level of political line: his are the interests of Soviet social-imperialism, spelling out a programme for reinforcing the bourgeois order under their domination, and crushing any and all threats to it.

Vitiuk turns upside down the actual relationship between the urban guerrilla and repression. He alleges, for instance, that "Turkish terrorists provoked the establishment of a military regime in the country(!), which suppressed democracy, brought all of its pressure to bear on the progressive forces of the left and crushed the terrorists themselves." The reader is left with nothing but to imagine that these poor Turkish generals were a lot of peacefully-inclined democratic souls so tormented by leftist fanatics that they finally had to put their foot down. For Vitiuk, vicious repression by the fascist Turkish state is the "natural" response to a threat to law and order — just as it was in Poland! His is so thoroughly the view of the exploiting class that any other view — that, for instance, Chile's Pinochet, Haiti's Namphy, Afghanistan's Najibullah, South Africa's Botha, etc., are not in place because of "provocation" by guerrillas but be-

cause imperialism is bloodthirsty and repressive — is simply unthinkable.

Vitiuk goes on to make similar statements with regard to Italy. But isn't it obvious that the wave of repressive measures sweeping the *entire* imperialist world is not at all in response to the in fact puny activities of urban guerrillas and the like but is part of the active preparation of the genuine mass-scale terrorists who rule the planet to carry out imperialist war and suppress the gathering resistance of masses worldwide?

Finally, it should be noted that Vitiuk is very obviously a *Soviet social-imperialist* propagandist. There is, for instance, a heavy dose of the anti-Oriental chauvinism fashionable in Soviet establishment circles. In attacking the Japanese Red Army faction, Vitiuk argues that "the ideology and psychology of Japanese extremists... clearly bear the imprint of regional thinking and of certain, purely national habits and traditions.... fanatical loyalty, religious in nature and fervour, excluding any independent, to say nothing of critical approach to the idea.... a reciprocal bond typical of ancient samurai units..." It is such national characteristics, says Vitiuk, which account for "the unlimited cruelty which distinguish Japanese terrorists" from their European counterparts — as if "cruelty" were not every bit as much a part of the *European* landscape, from the savage days of the Crusades up through the twentieth century world wars, with Auschwitz, Exocet missiles and other modern means of mass extermination.

This unabashedly chauvinist diatribe is no simple "slip-up" on Vitiuk's part. The Russian empire was erected on the bones of Asian tribespeople throughout the vast regions of Central Asia and Siberia; more recently the Soviet revisionists suffered humiliation at the hands of that "Oriental peasant philosopher," as they like to call Mao Tsetung, and even went to the brink of launching a nuclear war against then-revolutionary China in 1969. Even dissidents like Andrei Amalrik and Solzhenitsyn feel free to raise the spectre of "yellow hor-

des" overrunning Russia. Today, the social-imperialists are using their own "cruel" methods to "civilise" Afghanistan, and to beat the oppressed Asian minorities in the USSR into submission. In a word, the Russian bourgeoisie has a long and ugly tradition of especially sharp battles to suppress the Asian masses, and have developed all the ideological rationales which go along with this — while citing Lenin is obligatory for appearance's sake, spewing out anti-Asian chauvinism is part of their real, and very European imperialist, nature.

### Revisionism's Programme for Fighting "Leftist Terrorism"

Vitiuk presents a programme for fighting "leftist terrorism" that would be the envy of any of his Western imperialist counterparts. He even vigorously takes to task those who hold the view of "terrorism as an unavoidable social evil, one which can only be eliminated by the downfall of capitalism," as "deeply pessimistic." Western reactionaries of all stripes, keep the faith — the Soviet revisionists are here to console and advise you on how to liquidate the terrorist scourge!

One of the revisionists' key planks is to separate the urban guerrillas from any kind of intellectual supporters. For example, Vitiuk criticises British Vicar Paul Oestreicher, who said that the main blame for terrorists taking that path is "the complacent capitalist establishment, which has consistently refused to take its critics seriously and which wrote off the student movement of the 1960s as 'communist scum'; the successful citizens, managers, bureaucrats and workers, for whom the word 'student' became an expression of contempt." Vitiuk retorts that Oestreicher "is thus actually refusing to see the terrorists' guilt behind that of the society." No liberalism to be tolerated here!

He goes on: "[Terrorist sympathisers] voiced their protests against the arrest of various persons associated with the terrorists... they accused investigation agencies of falsifying evidence against the terrorists[!], and, finally, they put great stress on the idea that the fight

governments were waging against the terrorists was being conducted mainly in order to create an excuse for instigating an all-out campaign against the left. This does contain a grain of truth, but only a grain."

Vitiuk gives a number of very concrete recommendations. He argues that while increasing repression is effective for long-existing groups, and so should be maintained and even stepped up, it is not so useful against newly arising and thus unknown ones, and so other measures needed to be added. The media must cooperate in isolating the terrorists, ceasing to exaggerate their significance and treat them "too kindly." The importance of secret police efforts to penetrate the groups should not be underestimated. Above all, Vitiuk highlights the role that the mass revisionist parties can play, arguing that support from the masses for the "leftist terrorists" or even refusal to cooperate with police efforts cripples the bourgeoisie's ability to smash the urban guerrillas. He points proudly to the role the revisionist Communist Party of Italy played in mobilising their social base in Italy against the Red Brigades during the Moro crisis.

It is ironic but true that many of those "leftist terrorists" whom the social-imperialists are out to so ruthlessly crush are some of their most ardent promoters. Spain's GRAPO, West Germany's Red Army Faction, and some of the remnants of Italy's Red Brigades, have all reversed verdicts on the USSR and now declare it "socialist." However irrational this might appear, there is a certain logic: for the urban guerrilla trend, like the rulers of the USSR, are not out to make proletarian revolution, hence they are ultimately able to find some common ground.

Vitiuk's analysis of "leftist terrorism" and his programme for combatting it is not that of some reformist who has gone off the mark. Instead it reflects the interests of a reactionary ruling class bent on establishing its dictatorship and authority everywhere, and putting out its own programme for law and order. Behind Vitiuk's revisionist-socialist mask lies, in fact, a very "brutish grin." □



## Indo-Lanka Accords

(Continued from p. 52).

In countering the arguments about the possibility of foreign imperialist penetration and manipulation, Lenin states in "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" that: "The fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may under certain conditions be utilised by another great power for its own equally imperialist aims, is just as unlikely to make the social democrats refuse to recognise the right of nations to self-determination as the numerous cases of bourgeois utilisation of republican slogans for the purpose of political deception and financial plunder are unlikely to make the Social Democrats reject their republicanism."

In terms of the manifestly revisionist deviations of the Tamil national leadership, this cannot be taken as a criterion to reject the right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation. Here again, Lenin points out in the "Right of Nations to Self-Determination" that: "The bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression and it is this content that we unconditionally support."

Based on the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, comrade Mao Tsetung has stated that, "No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies." ("On New Democracy")

Today the whole debate about whether the Tamil ethnic formation is a full-fledged nation has been effectively sterilised by the force of events, and by the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord which has been compelled to recognise the multinational character of the Sri Lankan social formation. For quite some time even honest Marxists lagged

behind on this question, holding on to a dogmatic line which in effect repudiated the right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation, causing great confusion among the revolutionary ranks. They failed to analyse this crucial question in terms of its internal motion and development. It is indeed a great achievement that these comrades have come around to a correct position since as Lenin says, in the "Right of Nations to Self-Determination," "the working class should be the last to make a fetish of the national question since the development of capitalism does not necessarily awaken *all* nations to independent life. But to brush aside the mass national movements once they have started, and to refuse to support what is progressive in them means, in effect, pandering to *nationalistic* prejudices, that is, recognising 'one's own nation' as the model nation (or, we would add, one possessing the exclusive privilege of forming a state.)"

Thus it should be clear that the question of upholding the fundamental democratic right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nation is a fundamental principle demarcating genuine revolutionaries from revisionists and counter-revolutionaries of all stripes and that the question of fighting for the complete emancipation of the Tamil nation from all forms of exploitation, oppression and domination is a crucial task of the proletariat in the democratic revolution — through all its twists and turns and phases of development. It is only the proletariat that possesses the organised revolutionary unity, consciousness, strength and fighting capacity capable of withstanding all the perils and evils of imperialism, including its subtle and vicious forms of suppression, penetration, sabotage and intrigue. The only path for the complete emancipation of the Tamil nation as well as for the Sinhala nation — for the oppressed peoples of Sri Lanka as a whole — is to unite all the genuine anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of the proletariat and to organise and unleash the people's war aimed at the central task of

overthrowing the reactionary comprador state and establish the *People's Democratic Dictatorship* which alone can secure genuine national independence, dignity and equality as well as genuine revolutionary democracy for the people of Sri Lanka. The burning necessity of the hour is not to moan and groan about the destruction caused by the war, but to organise the people's war based on a correct revolutionary line and program guided by the invincible revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Humanism and pacifism are the ideological weapons of the reactionary bourgeoisie. The slogan of "peace at any cost" is an effort to promote pacifist illusions under the guise of an avowed humanism. Genuine revolutionary communists uphold just revolutionary wars on the side of the workers and the oppressed masses while they expose and condemn unjust counter-revolutionary wars waged by imperialism and reaction. In the interest of fighting and conquering a world free of all exploitation, oppression and war, they organise and unleash revolutionary war to destroy world imperialism, which is the source of all the misery, slavery and destruction in the world. This represents the correct Marxist-Leninist stand on the question of war.

Furthermore, the Indo-Lanka "Peace" Accord has not, will not, and cannot bring about peace, nor an end to national oppression and domination since it is not a truly *revolutionary* democratic peace won by the self-reliant revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed masses in unity with the world proletarian socialist revolution, but a neocolonial diktat imposed from above by world imperialism and its regional comprador agents with the aim of extinguishing the flames of revolutionary war and consolidating the neocolonial social order in the South Asian region, while advancing the global strategic imperatives of world imperialism overall....

First let us discuss the argument that the Accord has not only put an end to the blood-letting and the destruction particularly in the Tamil

areas, it has, in whatever distorted and incomplete form, granted certain basic democratic rights to the Tamil nation, and the subsequent decentralisation of state power has served to democratise the bourgeois dictatorship leading to the displacement of the ethnic overdetermination, providing a new basis for placing the politics of the class struggle in the forefront as opposed to the politics of communalism. Furthermore, had the war continued, the "extremist, radical-militarist LTTE in the North and the semi-fascist JVP in the South" would have become dominant, posing the gravest danger to the revolutionary struggle. On this basis, irrespective of its defects and limitations, the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord must be defended as a crucial progressive achievement which has strengthened the forces of democracy as opposed to the extreme chauvinist, reactionary forces in the North and the South.

#### **The Basic Revolutionary Aims and Aspirations of the Tamil National Liberation Struggle**

It is true that the Accord has been compelled to give legal recognition to the concept of a Tamil homeland, to grant the Tamil language, along with Sinhalese and English (!), the status of an official language, and to confer an extremely limited form of provincial administrative autonomy to the Tamil nation. These are, indeed, important democratic gains of the Tamil nation. But the *principal* aspect determining the political *essence* of the Accord is not the granting of these democratic reforms, but the fact that the Accord is a neocolonial diktat imposed from above by world imperialism and its regional comprador agents with the aim of extinguishing the flames of revolutionary war and suppressing and harnessing the genuine revolutionary democratic content of the Tamil liberation struggle and which has advanced the global strategic imperatives of world imperialism and strengthened the chains of neocolonial slavery overall.

The fundamental revolutionary democratic aim of the Tamil nation-

nal liberation struggle is to completely break free from the reactionary, bloodthirsty authority and domination of the Sri Lankan state and of the Indian state as well, as from the economic, political and military power of world imperialism which sustains these comprador regimes. This can be achieved only on the basis of smashing the comprador state and establishing the people's democratic dictatorship which alone can secure and consolidate genuine national independence and revolutionary people's democracy, from which to advance to the socialist revolution and to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat aimed at achieving the worldwide victory of communism. Specifically, this can be achieved only by uniting and integrating the Tamil national liberation struggle with the proletarian new democratic revolutionary movement in Sri Lanka, and on the basis of this *principled strategic revolutionary alliance*, to attack and destroy the common class enemy. The fundamental revolutionary democratic aims of the Tamil national liberation struggle can only be achieved by targeting the world imperialist system constituted by the two rival imperialist blocs led by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism by rising up as a vanguard detachment of the red army of the international proletariat to establish a red base aimed at serving and hastening the final victory of the world proletarian revolution. This is the only path of genuine emancipation for the Tamil nation as well as for the oppressed peoples of Sri Lanka as a whole. Genuine proletarian internationalism can only mean carrying out such a consistently revolutionary line. It is fundamentally illusory and deceptive to speak of any other "internationalism."...

The effort to uphold the reactionary neocolonialist diktat on the basis of these bourgeois reforms and concessions is tantamount to betraying the genuine victories won by the blood and sacrifice of thousands of revolutionary martyrs. The fact of the matter is that the collective leadership of the Tamil national liberation struggle failed to carry out a consistent proletarian revolu-

tionary line and program based on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, relying instead on the good graces of the reactionary comprador Indian state based on taking the short and easy, but fundamentally illusory and treacherous path of modern Soviet revisionism, as a consequence of which they were compelled to treat the (armed) struggle of the masses as merely a bargaining chip to wrest petty concessions from the enemy. It is far more honest to sum up the major ideological, political and organisational deviations and their common basis in modern Soviet revisionism and to make a radical conscious break with this whole legacy and tradition of Right and "Left" revisionism and to take the hard high road of the world proletarian revolution, than to worship and tail behind the politics of world imperialism and reaction which the Indo-Lanka Accord represents.

#### **Decentralisation and Democratisation of the Comprador State Power?**

The fundamental question to be raised here is whether the limited, and basically truncated, democratic rights conferred by the Indo-Lanka Accord to the Tamil nation constituted a qualitative decentralisation of central state authority leading to a radical democratisation of the reactionary, counter-revolutionary, comprador state. This is a crucial question bearing on the content and character of the tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution.

Here too, as Lenin says, we must make a "concrete analysis of concrete conditions" which constitutes the "living soul of Marxism." It is not a question of whether there has been a decentralisation of state power in the *abstract*, or as the textbook might claim that *any* type or degree of devolution of bourgeois state power must be seen as progressive. The problem is to apply the method of materialist dialectics to penetrate the superficial appearance of things to get to their internal essence in order to analyse the internal motion and development of things in their interconnection and interpenetration with their external

environment, and thus to define their basic content and character. The basic question here too is whether this devolution of power to the Provincial Councils represents an advance and consolidation of the revolutionary democratic aims of the Tamil nation and through this an advance of the new democratic revolutionary movement in Sri Lanka and of the world proletarian revolution in general, or whether it represents an advance and consolidation of world imperialism and the neocolonial social order in Sri Lanka and the South Asian region in general. The Tamil national question does not exist in isolation. It is the product of the development of dependent, neocolonial capitalism, a product of the world imperialist system. In its essence it is part of the new democratic revolution which is a subordinate component of the world proletarian revolution. Therefore, any such advance of the Tamil national liberation struggle must, by definition, constitute an overall advance of the new democratic revolution and of the world proletarian revolution. It is both wrong and fundamentally illusory and dangerous to consider the Tamil national question in isolation from its concrete historical context. It would mean an abdication of materialist dialectics and a complete retrogression into reactionary idealist metaphysics....

Based on the victorious, world-shaking, revolutionary practice of the Chinese revolution, comrade Mao Tsetung proved concretely that the revolution in the oppressed nations and countries goes through the first stage of the new democratic revolution and then on to the socialist revolution, and that the aim of the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat is not to consolidate bourgeois democracy or a bourgeois dictatorship, but to establish the people's democratic dictatorship as the only means of consolidating genuine national independence and people's democracy, and on this basis, to continue the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat aimed at the worldwide victory of communism.

Sri Lanka today has had a much

longer, much deeper, and far more extensive development of capitalism under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie than China of that time. Sri Lanka today boasts of a "Five Star" bourgeois democracy. Nor is bourgeois democracy in Sri Lanka the result of a successful anti-feudal bourgeois-democratic revolution. It is the deliberate result of a conscious policy by (British) imperialism and its domestic comprador lackeys aimed precisely at *preventing* the development of a genuine anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution led by the proletariat. From its very inception, bourgeois democracy in Sri Lanka has represented the nakedly chauvinist, pro-imperialist, counter-revolutionary, reformist class interests of the reactionary comprador bourgeoisie. It has served the reactionary comprador bourgeoisie most effectively in deluding and suppressing the workers and the oppressed masses and in splitting the ranks of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces based on subjugating the Tamil nation and the promotion of naked reformism, trade-unionism and economism in general. In this context, the very effort to narrow the scope of the national liberation struggle within the confines of a bourgeois devolution of power and to hold out the prospect of a radical democratisation of the reactionary comprador state is to sow poisonous bourgeois-democratic illusions and to lead the masses astray. The task of the proletariat in the democratic revolution is not to strive for petty crumbs under the heel of the bourgeois dictatorship by narrowing the scope of the revolution to a mere cosmetic decentralisation or devolution of state power and to aspire to the "lofty dream" of a radical democratisation of the wholly moribund and parasitic reactionary comprador state and thus attempt to give life to the rotting corpse of bourgeois democracy, but to break free from the poisonous illusions of bourgeois democracy and to lead the revolution aimed at smashing the state power of the compradors.

We do recognise that the struggle to defend and consolidate basic bourgeois-democratic rights is an important aspect in the democratic

revolution. But this is a secondary and subordinate aspect of the program of the democratic revolution. The struggle for basic bourgeois-democratic rights must be subordinate to and serve the central task of the new democratic revolution which is the seizure of state power by the revolutionary armed struggle of the masses and the smashing of the comprador state and its replacement by the people's democratic dictatorship. The struggle for democratic rights must not serve to strengthen and consolidate bourgeois democracy or the bourgeois dictatorship. The main purpose and result of the Indo-Lanka Accord is to co-opt the armed national liberation struggle of the Tamil people into the sewer of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and through this to strengthen and consolidate the reactionary comprador dictatorships of India and Sri Lanka and the neocolonial social order in general. The truncated democratic concessions and the cosmetic devolution of power has served the purpose of confining the liberation struggle within the framework of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois legality. The net result has been to enslave the Tamil nation with the chains of neocolonial bondage on a qualitatively new and higher level. In fact the economic and political survival of the Tamil nation has slipped more decisively into the bloody hands of the Indian and Sri Lankan comprador states. The effort to defend the reactionary Accord on the basis of these truncated and basically cosmetic reforms proves only that armed "Left" revisionism goes hand in hand with the most extreme reformist Right revisionism both of which are due to a profound lack of faith in the international proletariat and the revolutionary masses....

### **The Fundamental Enemies of the Revolution**

The attempt to categorise the role of the Indian and Sri Lankan states as liberal/rationalist as opposed to the extreme chauvinism of the JVP, SLFP and the LTTE and, based on this, to isolate the latter forces as the main enemy or the main danger to

the revolution will lead steadily to the treacherous quagmire of class collaborationism. This political deviation springs from the idealist/metaphysical methodology of considering the contradiction between the Tamil nation and the Sri Lankan state as the principal contradiction of Sri Lankan society. It results from the effort to mechanically sever the organic connection between the Tamil liberation struggle and the new democratic revolution in Sri Lanka and to approach the tasks of the revolution from the point of view of the internal contradictions and concrete necessities of the Tamil national liberation movement taken metaphysically as a thing and process all unto itself.

The *fundamental* contradiction which generates and determines the objective laws of motion of imperialism is the natural/historical contradiction between the forces and relations of production in the concrete, specific form of the contradiction between private appropriation and socialised production. Under imperialism, *all* the contradictions of *all* the particular countries and nations are *profoundly* and *ultimately* determined by the objective laws of motion of the fundamental contradiction of imperialism. All the contradictions of Sri Lankan society are profoundly and ultimately determined by the global necessities and compulsions of world imperialism; of *international finance capital* with its political and military headquarters located at the centre of the state power of the advanced imperialist countries. The failure to consciously grasp and act on this most fundamental ontological/methodological axiom constituting the material basis of proletarian internationalism leads inevitably to metaphysical idealism in method, nationalism in ideology, economism (both Right and "Left") in politics and to Menshevism in organisational line and practice.

The *principal* contradiction of Sri Lankan society is the contradiction between world imperialism and the oppressed peoples of Sri Lanka. The contradiction between the oppressed Tamil nation and the comprador Sri Lankan state is a

secondary and subordinate component of this principal contradiction. Due to the qualitative intensification of the principal contradiction and the development of the organic crisis of dependent, neocolonial capitalism, the Tamil national question has taken a particularly acute form temporarily. Yet this does not mean that the Tamil national question constitutes the principal contradiction of Sri Lankan society. It means that the principal contradiction between the oppressed people of Sri Lanka and world imperialism is intensifying rapidly and developing towards a profound revolutionary crisis, with the Tamil national question playing an extremely sharp and acute role in this historical process. Consequently, the highest revolutionary solution to the Tamil national question and to the Sri Lanka national question in general is to bring the new democratic revolution in Sri Lanka under the joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes led by the proletariat. This can be done only by targeting world imperialism and the domestic reactionary ruling class as a whole constituted by the UNP, the JVP and all other equally chauvinist, counter-revolutionary forces. The attempt to give primacy to divisions (contradictions) within the ruling class over the question of mobilising and unleashing the conscious creative initiative of the masses targeted against all the fundamental enemies of the revolution leads inevitably to the sewer of class collaborationism.

It is true that the JVP and the SLFP oppose the Indo-Lanka Accord based on raising the putrid banner of Sinhala/Buddhist chauvinism aimed at exploiting the anti-Indian fears and sentiments of the masses by focusing on the real question of Indian expansionism as a way of achieving their own power-hungry, counter-revolutionary class interests. However, based on this fact, to argue that Indian expansionism should not be targeted lest it provides ammunition to these forces (who constitute the "main enemy" or the "main" danger) is both wrong and dangerous. We do recognise the specific danger posed by the JVP to the entire revolutionary movement given that it has

adopted a policy of counter-revolutionary terror aimed at individual assassination of its political enemies with the objective of seizing political power and that it pursues its reactionary politics in the guise of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. But we do not identify it as the main danger or the main enemy. Neofascist political or organisational methods, inclusive of counter-revolutionary terror, are not the exclusive property of the JVP. The material and ideological basis for the rise of neofascism is the rotting crisis of dependent neocolonial capitalism in Sri Lanka and the deepening political crisis of the reactionary ruling class which concentrates it....

Although it is not possible within the scope of this article to develop a rigorous and systematic analysis of the basic class forces in the democratic revolution, it is most important to develop a basic perspective in respect to the concrete alignment of class forces in the prevailing situation so as to avoid falling into "Left" or Right opportunist deviations on the question of the basic character and content of the democratic revolution and on the question of demarcating friends from enemies.

The central and fundamental task of the new democratic revolution is to organise the people's war aimed at smashing the comprador state and establishing the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat in alliance with all the revolutionary/democratic, anti-imperialist forces, where the Tamil national liberation struggle constitutes a basic strategic alliance aimed at the common enemy.

The proletariat is the leading force of the revolution, while the peasantry — particularly the poor and landless peasants and the rural semi-proletarians — constitute the main force of the revolution. The rural petite bourgeoisie, inclusive of teachers, artisans, small traders and the urban lower petite bourgeoisie including the clerical workers, students, lower and middle professionals and all oppressed women and progressive monks and priests, as well as the lower ranks of the armed forces constitute the basic revolution-

nary/democratic alliance. It must be emphasised that the plantation sector of the working class constitutes a strategic force in the revolution given its high level of concentration and conditions of life.

As far as the national bourgeoisie is concerned, this class has historically proven to be an extremely weak and vacillating force which has been co-opted by the chauvinist, reformist, counter-revolutionary policies of the SLFP. Today, given the accelerated development of dependent neocolonialism and the lack of a national economic basis for relatively independent capital accumulation and extended reproduction and the consequent high level of integration and penetration of the Sri Lankan economy by the regime of international finance capital, as witnessed by a staggering foreign debt amounting to billions of rupees, the national or middle bourgeoisie has been effectively integrated into the comprador economy — mainly as merchants and middle and small manufacturers who are completely dependent upon the continued flow of international finance capital in the form of grants, loans and direct investment, as a matter of survival. This is why the SLFP — the traditional party of the national bourgeoisie — has chosen to adopt the *very* same comprador economic program and strategy as the ruling UNP. Consequently, the struggle between these two sectors of the dependent bourgeoisie has taken the character of a highly politicised effort on the part of both parties to outdo each other in promoting Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism and populism in general (including the slogan of socialism where one claims to be representing “democratic socialism” and the other, “socialist democracy”) as the key to deceiving the masses.

Due to uneven development characteristic of dependent neocolonial capitalism and the consequent economic backwardness of the Tamil regions, the Tamil national bourgeoisie as represented by the Tamil United Liberation Front cannot evolve a viable economic program and strategy to develop an independent basis for capital accumulation

and expanded reproduction. It must either come into a basic compromise with the dominant Sinhala comprador bourgeoisie and/or look to India and to international finance capital for its existence. That is why the TULF has consistently followed an openly opportunist, capitulationist, class collaborationist line which has led to the betrayal of the Tamil people. While all the honest, progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie must be won over to the program of the democratic revolution, this *cannot* be done on the basis of uniting with either the SLFP or the TULF, which today represent a highly compradorised big and middle bourgeoisie wholly dependent on international finance capital, and which has played an outright counter-revolutionary role in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The JVP, although based on the petit-bourgeois oppressed youth who are being crushed by rising unemployment and inflation, nevertheless represents a conscious, fundamentally revisionist, counter-revolutionary line and leadership aimed at *attacking* the proletarian revolutionary movement while seeking strategic alliance with the SLFP and other such reactionary, chauvinist forces, including within the ruling UNP government — with a view towards seizing power behind the banner of Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism in the guise of Marxism-Leninism. While the militant youth who have been misled by the JVP must be struggled with and won over to the ranks of the revolution, the line and leadership of the JVP must be exposed and attacked as being counter-revolutionary in its basic content, essence and motives....

The question of correctly analysing the role and class character of the LTTE has become a central issue within the revolutionary movement. Many honest forces raise the question as to how the JVP can be identified as a class enemy while the LTTE can be regarded as a basic ally in the democratic revolution, given that both have adopted extremely narrow-nationalist, anti-democratic, terrorist policies aimed against civilians and progressives and given that both organisations

belong to oppressed nations.

The basic and crucial qualitative distinction to be made on this question is that while both the Sinhala and Tamil nations are oppressed nations, the Tamil nation is subjected to the oppression and domination of the Sri Lankan state while being oppressed by imperialism in general....

The JVP belongs to the dominant oppressor Sinhala nation in respect to the oppressed Tamil nation. It has declared its fundamental irreconcilable opposition to recognising the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation. In fact, its leadership has already passed the “death sentence” on all the leaders of the Tamil liberation struggle and on all those who show any kind of active support or sympathy with it. The brutal slaughter of comrade Daya Pathirana was the opening shot in this vicious policy and campaign. It should be clear that the JVP has vowed to drown the Tamil national liberation struggle and all those who support and fight for it in a river of blood.

The LTTE is a liberation organisation belonging to the oppressed Tamil people. There is no doubt that it has followed an extremely narrow-nationalist, anti-people, anti-democratic political line, including the brutal slaughter of innocent civilians. But yet its narrow-nationalism is a form of *oppressed-nation* chauvinism and its struggle contains a *fundamental democratic content* aimed against national oppression, which must be supported *unconditionally*....

While upholding the fundamental democratic content of the struggle of the LTTE and remaining firm in its defense against the Indian aggressor, it is crucially important to criticise the grave and harmful deviations of the LTTE and of the collective leadership of the Tamil liberation struggle in general. But this can be done only on the basis of making all conscious efforts to turn the crisis of the Marxist-Leninist movement around into a qualitative advance concentrated in the task of forging the “three magic weapons” of the revolution, based on a correct revolutionary line and program, in the context of carrying



out the central task: the revolutionary armed struggle of the masses aimed at the seizure of state power....

The fundamental target of the Sri Lanka revolution is the system of world imperialism constituted by the two rival imperialist blocs led by the U.S. and the USSR, and the domestic ruling class composed of the UNP, the SLFP, the JVP and all such counter-revolutionary, chauvinist, revisionist forces and organisations and the Indian armed forces.

The United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) are the two main reactionary parliamentary capitalist parties of this country. Under these regimes already thousands of revolutionaries and liberation forces have been mercilessly slaughtered and tens of thousands held in prison and tortured at different times. In the style of a macabre game of musical chairs, at periodic general elections these two major bourgeois parties take their turn in serving world imperialism through deceiving, exploiting, and repressing the masses. Both these parties and the reactionary bourgeois class forces they represent are fundamental enemies of the revolution.

The historical role of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) is equally reactionary and counter-revolutionary. Its armed "Left" revisionism is the opposite side of the coin of the naked Right revisionism of the so-called traditional "Left" parties. The JVP is devoid of any kind of political principle just as the right revisionist "Left" parties to whom the JVP owes its origins and foundations. It does not possess any value other than the rabid hunger for power characteristic of the frustrated opportunist petite bourgeoisie in alliance with the lumpen-proletariat who, being crushed from above by the big bourgeoisie and fearful of the proletarian revolution rising from under its feet, is driven to seize state power through whatever means necessary, as its only chance at exploiting, oppressing and ruling the masses. At one time embracing armed "Left" revisionism to sacrifice the lives of thousands of revo-

lutionary youth in an abortive putsch in 1971, it switched over to reformist Right revisionism to engage in bourgeois parliamentary politics going so far as to contest the presidential elections held in 1982. It faithfully serves the UNP regime which pardoned it and released its leaders from prison by openly attacking the struggles of the workers and the militant students. Once again it reverts back to "Left" revisionism in the form of armed terrorism and conspiratorial strategies aimed at seizing political power at any cost.

At one time it upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a way of infiltrating the revolutionary movement only to turn around to embrace first Guevarism and now Gorbachev, in order to carry out its bloody revisionist, counter-revolutionary politics. At one time it upheld the right of self-determination of the Tamil nation and today it carries out a terrorist policy of assassinating all those "traitors of the Sinhala motherland" who would show any sympathy of solidarity with the Tamil national liberation struggle. Nothing more needs to be said about such rare political lizards whose basic strategy of survival is precisely the supreme ability to change colour in rapid succession at any given time. The JVP is a foul, malignant cancer of the reactionary ruling class itself and most clearly its leadership must be identified and attacked as a fundamental enemy of the people.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) is a major political organisation of the oppressed Tamil people, which has waged a relentless, tit-for-tat war of national liberation against the reactionary comprador state of Sri Lanka for several years. Today it is waging a war of national resistance against the Indian army, going up against tremendous, overwhelming odds displaying a rare and remarkable spirit of audacity, daring and capacity. But, like all other Tamil liberation organisations, it follows a narrow-nationalist, basically pro-Indian (pro-Tamil Nadu<sup>1</sup>) revisionist line. Although there are explosive contradictions among the

different Tamil liberation organisations, all of them follow a pro-Indian, bourgeois nationalist line as opposed to a consistently revolutionary, proletarian internationalist line based on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought aimed at hastening and advancing the world proletarian revolution. Being divorced from the international proletariat and the international communist movement represented today by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, all of them follow extremely harmful ideological, political and organisational lines, the most serious and dangerous of which is the open capitulation to the Indian army and the Indian state as demonstrated by the so-called "Three Stars," a capitulation based on the allegiance to Soviet social imperialism and modern revisionism....

#### **Dangerous Illusions Concerning the Indian State**

Those who have come forward to defend the Indo-Lanka Accord invariably attempt to cover up or gloss over the real, objective class essence and nature of the reactionary, counter-revolutionary, big-bourgeoisie, comprador state of India. Some refer to India as a "giant friendly neighbour" belonging to the world socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, as a "non-aligned" neutral state having no strategic alliance with any imperialist power or bloc. These positions flow out of and reinforce the global strategic interests of Soviet social imperialism while serving to cover up the bloody crimes of the Indian state. The common ideological basis of these arguments is modern revisionism. The Indian comprador bourgeoisie, faced with life-and-death international capitalist competition, is forced to accumulate capital, re-invest it and secure a rising rate of profit on an ever-expanding, spiralling qualitative basis, subject to the hegemony of international finance capital. Indian capital, true to its nature as capital, must accumulate and expand at the cost of extinction, at the cost of being swallowed up by international and regional rivals, all

the while being increasingly subjected to the overall hegemony of world imperialism. Due to the high degree of concentration and centralisation of Indian capital it is forced by the logic of accumulation and expanded reproduction to rapidly seek economic hegemony in the South Asian region. It is forced by the logic of world imperialism to seek political and military hegemony as well.

Cornered by mortal and menacing enemies such as China and Pakistan and in the context of intensifying imperialist rivalry, intrigue and sabotage, India is faced with an extremely volatile and threatening political environment containing the growing prospect of war and internal disintegration, with all the class and national contradictions of Indian society reaching the point of explosion. In order to fight and stay on top of all the growing turmoil and intrigue the Indian big bourgeoisie is forced more and more to seek *decisive* strategic alliance with one or the other imperialist bloc. At present it is more *strategically* linked with Soviet social imperialism and it is more likely that geopolitical constraints alone will draw the Indian state into decisive strategic alliance with the Soviet bloc.

It is also a fact that the Indian bourgeoisie continues to hold the door open to the U.S. bloc due to the historically evolved structure of neocolonial dependency, as well as to gain maximum leverage in exploiting inter-imperialist rivalry. The U.S. and the Soviet blocs, for their part, exert multi-faceted efforts to woo India decisively into their own war camp as vital preparations for waging and winning a third world war, while seeking more avenues of penetrating India's vast resources, labour power and markets.

The Indian big bourgeoisie and the Indian comprador state have most decisively advanced their economic, political and strategic interests through the so-called Indo-Lanka Peace Accord. In terms of the Accord, its annexure and the letters of exchange, India has seized decisive sovereignty over the formulation and conduct of the foreign and defense policy of Sri Lanka. It has seized monopoly rights in deve-

loping the oil tank farms in the strategic Trincomalee Bay in collaboration with the Sri Lankan government. From the beginning the Indian state supported and aided the Tamil liberation organisations with the intention of accomplishing the following aims: silencing and getting a decisive wedge into separatist politics and tendencies in Tamil Nadu and seizing key political and military control over the Tamil liberation organisations so as to use them as political pawns in a deadly imperialist chess game; and through this to gain strategic control over Sri Lanka as part of exercising its hegemonic ambitions and compulsions in the South Asian region in general.

The attempt to negate these facts and to become apologists and ideologues of Indian hegemonism and of Soviet social imperialism leads to a position of irreconcilable opposition to the revolutionary struggle not only in Sri Lanka but also in India and in the South Asian region as well. Most fundamentally it leads to a position of irreconcilable opposition to the world proletarian revolution. There is, of course, freedom to choose: between the path of revolution and the path of capitulation and betrayal. But revolutionary communists have a duty to explain the truth to the masses; to organise and unleash the revolutionary consciousness of the masses based on objective scientific truth and to guide the revolution to power; as one act, as our part, in the greatest drama of history, the world proletarian revolution.

#### **Deadly Misconceptions about Soviet Social Imperialism**

The real class nature and essence of the U.S. imperialist bloc and its comprador lackeys is already thoroughly exposed to the people of the world. The *equally* bloodthirsty, counter-revolutionary, parasitic class nature and essence of Soviet social imperialism and its reactionary alliances, however, have not been so widely and clearly exposed. This is due to the fact that the Soviet Union advances its state monopoly capitalist/social-imperialist class

interests in the guise of a "vanguard socialist" superpower at the head of the "world socialist camp," while nakedly plundering the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and the historical legacy of the October Revolution led by Lenin and Stalin. In truth and essence, the Soviet Union is rapidly building a worldwide finance capitalist empire under the signboard of the "world socialist camp." Due to these incontrovertible historical facts the international proletariat and the international communist movement have defined the Soviet Union as a *social-imperialist* superpower, i.e., socialism in words, imperialism in deeds....

...The question of clearly, firmly and consistently demarcating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought from international revisionism is the *most* fundamental principle of the revolution, and the attempt to gloss over it, or to fail to take a definite stand on the nature of the Soviet Union constitutes the most irresponsible opportunism in the context of the rising objective world situation and the tasks of the proletariat in the world revolution....

Following the Pettah bomb explosion on 23 April, the Soviet Union came forward to denounce "terrorism" in the North and to uphold the "democratic" government of the UNP. Later, in the context of the genocidal "Liberation Initiative" military campaign of the UNP government against the Tamil liberation forces, Gorbachev came out officially to pledge his understanding of the forced air-drop of food by India in the North, an act of aggression which contained the imminent threat of a concerted military invasion. The Soviet Union has consistently promoted and strengthened the hegemonic, expansionist, strategic interests of the Indian state — even though it may differ sharply on particular tactics to be followed in doing so, as in the case of India getting embroiled in a protracted and costly war on its Southern flank — against the LTTE — while increasing its influence directly in the countries involved with a view towards seizing control when conditions are ripe internationally,

regionally and locally....

Imperialist politics in Sri Lanka can only be understood in the context of the overall political and strategic importance of the island to both imperialist blocs in advancing their respective global and regional strategic interests as preparations for waging and winning a third inter-imperialist world war towards which all the imperialist powers are inexorably driven as a matter of their own survival and of the system which sustains them all, as a consequence of the internal logic and motion of the fundamental contradiction of imperialism in which the seeds of a whole new and higher social order have come up in irreconcilable and explosive contradiction with the prevailing relations of production based on private property and the private appropriation of social labour. The political control of the island and with it the coveted Trincomalee harbour, one of the best and largest natural harbours in the world, and which is crucial in gaining access to the vital sea lanes of the Indian Ocean — the lifeline of transport and commerce, of supply routes and access to world markets upon which the whole of the economic and military future of the countries of the continent of Asia and beyond depend — is of decisive and equal strategic importance to both imperialist blocs, and the intense imperialist rivalry and contention is the key to understanding the politics of the Indo-Lanka Accord....

...While at present the Soviets enjoy an overall strategic leverage within the Indian state where its interest lies in strengthening the Indian Union and the Congress regime, the U.S. bloc too has its fangs deep into the economic, political and military structures of the Indian state and society, including within powerful political forces who find common cause in destabilising the Congress regime and carving up the Indian Union.

The Soviet Union has consistently promoted and supported India's hegemonic imperatives and ambitions in South Asia. India is a natural ally and a powerful weapon in keeping the pro-U.S. regimes of China and Pakistan at bay and in

gaining overall strategic dominance in the region. The Soviets have all along promoted India's role in funding and controlling the Tamil national liberation struggle with a view towards extending its strategic influence over Sri Lanka in general and over the contested Tamil homeland, including the Trincomalee harbour, vis-a-vis the politics of Eelam. As a consequence of the Indo-Lanka Accord, India has gained decisive political leverage over the politics of the North and East by means of its interventionist hegemonic role within the Tamil national movement, which has been legitimised by the conditions and provisions of the Accord. If and when the necessity arises India can and will simply carve up the North and East on the pretext of honouring its commitments to the Accord as the saviour of the Tamil nation (in the style of its interventions in Bangladesh, Bhutan and Sikkim) in order to seize control of the harbour and thereby deny access to U.S. imperialism of a vital strategic link in the chain of inter-imperialist war.

No doubt the Indo-Lanka Accord represents a partial and temporary setback to the U.S. imperialist bloc. Yet it upholds it most fervently given that the Accord is aimed at extinguishing the flames of revolutionary war and for the fact that a temporary retreat can be turned into a qualitative advance in terms of India getting over-extended on its southern flank by pitting it against the Tamil people, thereby unleashing the powerful separatist/nationalist forces in Tamil Nadu which it hopes to exploit, while it has already won and accepted an open invitation by the UNP government for direct military aid, thus strengthening its position within the Sri Lankan state. In sum, through the Indo-Lanka Accord, both imperialist blocs have moved in with open bloody fangs to gain the maximum strategic leverage possible within a complex political labyrinth and both blocs are actively penetrating, accumulating, mobilising and organising forces throughout the length and breadth of Sri Lanka and throughout the region in general for the decisive showdown shaping up rapidly ahead....

As a consequence of the qualitative, spiralling, global crisis of the world imperialist system the material basis develops as well for revolutionary situations to concentrate and explode in countries throughout the world, including in the advanced imperialist citadels — the political headquarters of international finance capital. The new democratic revolution in India, Sri Lanka and in the South Asian region in general is bound to develop in leaps and bounds given the unprecedented rising historic conjuncture of world war and world revolution shaping up. As comrade Mao summed up the situation, "Either revolution will prevent world war, or war will give rise to revolution. But revolution is the main trend in the world."...

The Indo-Lanka Accord further testifies to the fact that Sri Lanka constitutes a strategic link in the chain of inter-imperialist war. It is the highest internationalist duty of the Marxist-Leninist and advanced revolutionary forces in Sri Lanka, irrespective of language, religion, and caste, to unite behind the task of forging the "three magic weapons" of the revolution: a genuine revolutionary communist party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, an anti-imperialist united front, and a people's army under the leadership of the party, as the only way of hastening the revolutionary struggle aimed at the revolutionary armed seizure of power and the establishment of a red base of the world revolution with the clear purpose of fanning the flames of revolutionary war throughout South Asia and the world in order to prevent the outbreak of inter-imperialist world war and to achieve the greatest qualitative leap ever towards the cherished dream of communism.

**Tear up the Reactionary Neocolonialist Indo-Lanka Accord!  
Beat Back Indian Aggression!  
Forward along the Path of Uncompromising Revolution behind the Glorious Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought! □**

1. The state in southern India where Tamils are in a majority.

## PCP Documents

(Continued from p. 62).

A key and decisive question in understanding the universality of people's war is understanding its universal validity and consequently applicability, taking into account the different types of revolutions and the specific conditions of each revolution. To understand this key question it is helpful to keep in mind the fact that since the Petrograd insurrection this model has not been repeated, and to consider the antifascist resistance and guerrilla wars in Europe during World War II, as well as the armed struggles being waged in Europe today, and to see that in the end, the October Revolution was not only an insurrection but a revolutionary war that lasted several years. Consequently, in the imperialist countries the revolution can only be conceived of as revolutionary war and today this can only mean people's war.

Finally, today more than ever, we communists and revolutionaries, the proletariat and the people, need to be steeled in the point: "yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist." This means we have to be supporters of the invincibility of people's war.

5. The historical significance of the *Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* is that it is the most far-reaching of Chairman Mao's developments of Marxism-Leninism, the solution to the great pending problem of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It "constitutes a broader and deeper new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country." What was the situation? As the Decision of the CPC concerning the GPCR put it: "Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must deal merciless blows and meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of

the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system."

It was under these conditions that the most earthshaking political event and the largest mass mobilisation the Earth has ever seen took place. This is how Chairman Mao defined its objectives: "The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

We would further emphasise two other questions: 1) the GPCR marked a milestone in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat towards consolidating the proletariat's political power, concretised in the Revolutionary Committees; and 2) the restoration of capitalism in China following the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup does not negate the GPCR but rather formed part of the contention between restoration and counter-restoration, and in fact, it points to the crucial historic importance of the GPCR in humanity's inexorable march towards communism.

6. *World revolution.* Chairman Mao emphasises the importance of the world revolution understood as a single whole. His basic starting points are that revolution is the main trend while imperialism is increasingly falling apart every day, that the role of the masses grows more immense year after year and that they are making and will make their irresistible transforming force felt, and the great truth that he reiterated: either all of us will march on to communism or none of us will. Within this specific perspective of the era of imperialism is the great historic moment of the "next 50 to 100

years," and within that context, the period now beginning of the struggle against Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, those paper tigers fighting for world hegemony and threatening the world with nuclear war, to which we must respond first by condemning such a war and then getting ready to oppose it with people's war and make revolution. Furthermore, based on the historic importance of the oppressed nations and even more their future perspectives, as well as the economic and political relations developing due to the decomposition of imperialism, the Chairman set forth his theory that "three worlds are taking shape." All of this points to the need to develop the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Unfortunately little or almost nothing is known of the writings and statements by Chairman Mao regarding these most important questions; however, what little we do know shows the tremendous prospects he foresaw, and these are major guiding principles which we should follow to understand and serve the world proletarian revolution.

7. *Superstructure, Ideology, Culture, Education.* These and other related problems have been sharply and profoundly studied and resolved by the Chairman; therefore this is another basic question that demands attention.

In conclusion, the content of these basic questions clearly demonstrates to anyone who cares to see and understand that we have a third, new and higher stage of Marxism: Maoism; and that to be a Marxist today means to be Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and principally Maoist.

The exposition of the content leads us to two questions.

What is the essence of Maoism? *The essential thing in Maoism is political power.* Political power for the proletariat, power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party. More explicitly: 1) political power under the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution; 2) political power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions; 3) political power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party,

seized and defended through people's war.

What is Maoism? Maoism is the raising of Marxism-Leninism to a new third stage in the proletariat's struggle to lead the democratic revolution, the development and building of socialism and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through proletarian cultural revolution, at a time when imperialism is increasingly falling apart and revolution has become the main trend in history, in the midst of the greatest and most complex struggles ever seen, along with the inexorable struggle against modern revisionism.

*On the Struggle around Maoism.* Briefly, the struggle in China to establish Mao Tsetung Thought began in 1935, at the Tsunyi meeting, when Chairman Mao assumed the leadership of the Communist Party of China; in 1945 the 7th Congress agreed that the CPC was guided by Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao Tsetung, though this concrete formulation was suppressed by the 8th Congress where a rightist line held sway. The 9th Congress of 1969 summed up the GPCR and stated that the CPC was guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; up to that point there was progress.

On an international level Maoism began to become influential in the 1950s, but it was only with the GPCR that it became widely known, acquiring enormous prestige, and Chairman Mao became recognised as the leader of the world revolution and the founder of a new stage of Marxism-Leninism; thus, many Communist Parties came to adopt the denomination Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. On a world level, Maoism openly and sharply confronted modern revisionism and exposed it deeply and thoroughly, and the same thing occurred within the ranks of the CPC itself, raising even higher the Chairman's great red banner: the third, new and highest stage of the international proletariat's ideology. Today Maoism faces the triple attack of Soviet, Chinese and Albanian revisionism. Moreover, even among those who recognise the Chairman's great contributions, in-

cluding his development of Marxism, there are some who believe we are still in the stage of Marxism-Leninism and others who only accept Mao Tsetung Thought but in no way accept Maoism.

Obviously, the revisionists in Peru who follow the dictates of their respective overlord — Gorbachev, Deng, Alia or Castro — have attacked Maoism; among them we must condemn, unmask and fight the callous revisionism of Del Prado and his gang of the so-called "Peruvian Communist Party"; the spineless snakes of the so-called "Communist Party of Peru, Red Fatherland" who formerly proclaimed themselves "great Maoists" and then became lackeys of Deng after having condemned him in 1976 when he was knocked down; as well as the anti-Maoism of the so-called "United Left" teeming with everything from all sorts of revisionists and even anti-Marxists to phony Marxists and opportunists of all shades. To hold high Maoism as a revealing mirror in front of the revisionists and to relentlessly struggle against them while working for the development of the people's war and the victory of the continuing democratic revolution is an obligatory and unavoidable task of a strategic nature.

The Communist Party of Peru, through the fraction led by Chairman Gonzalo which pushed forward the reconstitution of the Party, took up Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in 1966; in 1979, the slogan Hold High, Defend and Apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!; in 1981, Towards Maoism!; and in 1982, Maoism as a component part and the highest development of the international proletariat's ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. With the people's war we have come to more profoundly understand what Maoism means and have taken the solemn pledge to Uphold, Defend and Apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Principally Maoism!, and to tirelessly fight to help make it the commander and guide of the world revolution, the only really red and imperishable banner, the guarantee of victory for the proletariat, oppressed nations and peoples of the world in their inexorable combat

and march towards communism, forever golden and shining.

## II. On Gonzalo Thought

Every revolution, in the course of its development, due to the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all, of the Communist Party which unwaveringly upholds the proletariat's class interests, brings forth a group of leaders and principally one who comes to represent and lead it, a leader of recognised authority and influence. In our situation, because of historical necessity and for historical reasons, this has meant concretely Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Party and of the revolution.

But, further, and this is the basis of all leadership, revolutions bring forth a thought that guides them, a product of the application of the universal truth of the ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution, a guiding thought indispensable to achieve victory and seize power, and further, to continue the revolution and always advance towards the only truly great goal, communism. This guiding thought, having made a qualitative leap of crucial importance for the revolutionary process, becomes identified with the name of the person who forged it in theory and in practice. In our situation this phenomenon took specific form first as guiding thought, then as the guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo, and finally as Gonzalo Thought; for it is the Chairman who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has developed it, thus providing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is the guarantee of victory.

Gonzalo Thought has been forged through many years of intense, tenacious and unceasing struggle to hold high, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to retake and develop Mariategui's path, to reconstitute the Party and, most important, while serving the world revolution, to initiate, continue and develop the people's war in Peru whose sole commander and guide in theory and practice is Marxism-Leninism-



Maoism, principally Maoism.

There is a fundamental need for the Party to study Gonzalo Thought for a more correct and appropriate understanding of the general political line and especially of the military line, with the purpose of deepening particular points related to the Peruvian revolution, those specific and inherent characteristics masterfully pointed out by Chairman Gonzalo; in this way we will serve the "great plan to develop bases areas," the advance of the people's war and the future seizure of political power nationwide.

We must study Gonzalo Thought within the historical context from which it arose so as to understand its ideological basis. We must specify its content, most fully expressed in the general political line and the military line that is at its centre. We must emphasise its fundamental point, the question of political power, of seizing power here in Peru, inextricably linked to the seizure of power by the proletariat in the whole world. We must pay special attention to strengthening it in the two-line struggle.

In sum, these fundamental questions can be dealt with by applying the following outline.

### I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

*International.* Concerning events: 1) the development of World War II and after; 2) the powerful national liberation movement, and, within that, the waging and victory of the Chinese revolution; 3) the Cuban revolution and its repercussions in Latin America; 4) the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism; 5) the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But the key is to see how in this great class struggle on a world scale, Gonzalo Thought holds that a third stage of proletarian ideology has developed, first as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought; then Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; and later as Maoism, recognising its universal validity; thus reaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as today's expression of Marxism.

*National.* 1) Peruvian society and the political struggle in the post-war

period, the so-called National Democratic Front, the APRA's action, Odria's government and the struggle against his eight-year rule, the struggle between Apristas and communists; and especially, the development of bureaucrat capitalism in the 1960s and first part of the '70s and the sharp class struggle that accompanied that period, "Velasquismo" and his so-called revolution, the collusion and contention between the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucrat bourgeoisie (factions of the big bourgeoisie) supported by opportunism and especially revisionism. 2) The class struggle in the peasant movement. 3) The development of the workers' movement. 4) The movement among intellectuals. 5) The armed struggles in the country, especially those waged by MIR and the ELN in 1965 as well as previously by Blanco, Vallejos and Heraud. 6) The question of the Party: how a party founded on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis degenerated into a revisionist party, the need to retake and develop Mariategui's path while developing and reconstituting the Party, the Communist Party of Peru founded in 1928 by Mariategui himself, and how, through reconstitution, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party was built. Here the basic thing is how Gonzalo Thought profoundly comprehends Peruvian society, centred on the crucial question of bureaucrat capitalism, and sees the necessity of reconstituting the Party and of seizing political power and defending it through people's war.

### II. IDEOLOGICAL BASIS

One cannot conceive of Gonzalo Thought without Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, for it is the creative application of the latter to our conditions. The key to this question is understanding the historical process of development of proletarian ideology, of its three stages contained in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with Maoism principal; and most essential is its application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution. It is because of this that Gonzalo Thought is principal specifically for

the Communist Party of Peru and the revolution it leads.

This Guiding Thought, having made a qualitative leap of crucial importance for the Party and the revolution, has become Gonzalo Thought, thus marking a milestone in the life of the Party.

### III. CONTENT

a. Theory. How it comprehends and applies the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; the importance it gives to Marxist philosophy, the need to train ourselves in it and especially its application of the law of contradiction in the study of all problems, always aiming to define the principal aspect and the motion of things; in political economy, the concern with exploitative relations and especially with bureaucrat capitalism, with the perspective of developing the revolution and the effect of the people's war on the base, as well as its attention to the economic relations of imperialism, assessing their political consequences; in scientific socialism, how it focuses on the people's war and the concrete form that people's war takes in Peru, how the question of power is always kept in mind, and particularly, its forging and development as the new state.

b. On content. The most substantive and most developed part of Gonzalo Thought is found in the Party's general political line; this Thought, then, is the direct basis for the line and its five components, with the most essential being how it understands the Programme and firmly maintains the course the Programme has set.

c. We should emphasise Gonzalo Thought's remarkable fulfillment of the requirements outlined by Chairman Mao: theoretical solidity, understanding of history and good practical handling of policy.

### IV. WHAT IS ESSENTIAL

The essential thing in Gonzalo Thought is the question of political power, concretely, the seizure of political power in Peru, thoroughly and completely throughout the country, as a consistent application

of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our revolution. But since it is communist thought, it understands the seizure of power in Peru as part of the seizure of power for the proletariat on a world scale, and that the seizure of power in the country, today taking concrete form in the People's Committees, base areas and the New Democratic People's Republic in formation with the objective of establishing the People's Republic of Peru, serves to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, for without it we cannot advance to communism. All of this is for the purpose of firmly and resolutely serving the establishment of people's republics and principally the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world, under the leadership of Communist Parties, with revolutionary armies of a new type, through people's war and the unfolding of cultural revolutions until communism shines all over the Earth.

## V. FORGED IN THE TWO-LINE STRUGGLE

Gonzalo Thought has been forged in persistent, firm and wise two-line struggle, defending the proletarian line and defeating opposing lines. Among the most important struggles we should highlight those against modern revisionism, especially as represented by Del Prado and his henchmen; against right liquidationism led by Paredes and his gang; against left liquidationism led by Sergio and his so-called "Bolsheviks"; and against the right-opportunist line that opposed the launching of the armed struggle. Without struggle Gonzalo Thought would not have been able to develop; and his remarkable handling of the two-line struggle in the Party is a fundamental question that we should study and learn from.

To study and especially to apply Gonzalo Thought is crucial to being able to better serve the Party, the development of people's war and the world proletarian revolution, just as learning from Chairman Gonzalo is crucial to serving the masses wholeheartedly. □

## Attack Dog (Continued from p. 24).

at the seams. The international economic and political relations — the 'division of the world' — established through and in the aftermath of World War II no longer correspond to the needs of the various imperialist powers to 'peacefully' extend and expand their profit empires. While the post World War II world has undergone important changes as a result of conflicts between the imperialists and, especially, as a result of revolutionary struggle, today it is this entire network of economic, political and military relations that is being called into question.<sup>57</sup>

All this is especially true of the Middle East. The fabric of the Middle East is stretched as never before. The region, already world renowned for its instability, is today rent as never before by pulsing rivalries between the imperialists and the reactionaries, fueling unprecedented arms buildups in every country. As these monsters focus their strength against each other and threaten to settle their accounts by the force of arms, all the seething discontent and rebellion that they are already straining to contain will find even wider openings to burst forth and allow the oppressed masses to settle *their own* accounts — through revolutionary war.

At the centre of future developments in the region stand the Palestinians themselves — they have demonstrated forcefully that they refuse to be subjugated. The Israelis bring a mighty military machine to bear against them — yet it has not crushed the rebellion. Last December Labour Defence Minister Rabin promised that he would end the rebellion "in a matter of days." Days later, he said that it would be over in a few weeks. After the weeks had passed, his promises became even more vague — the end of the rebellion was near, he said. The strutting Zionist stormtroopers have found it difficult indeed to crush the stone-throwing youth.

While its Zionist goons attempt to bludgeon the *intifada* into defeat, the U.S. has floated out yet another Middle East peace plan. The heart of the U.S. design was simply to give

the *appearance* of motion towards a solution. As the *New York Times* editorialised, "Many Israelis believe that a swift and harsh response is the only course. Contain the disorder first, the argument goes, and then, maybe, negotiate. But as the disorder continues, the likelihood grows that Israelis cannot contain it unless they negotiate."<sup>58</sup> For the imperialists, the point is, obviously, to "contain" the disorder.

While the Palestinian masses have persisted in valiant struggle against overwhelming odds, and have resisted the siren songs of the imperialists, still it is true that, as the statement from the Committee of the RIM has pointed out, the spontaneous revolt will not go on forever. The youth are already straining to go over to more effective forms of struggle. A vanguard organisation is sorely lacking: a force capable of infusing the masses with a strategy that can actually begin to inflict serious casualties on the Zionist military forces based on a plan for liberating the Palestinian people and setting up a revolutionary regime on the ashes of Israel.

As Lenin observed, "Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful revolutionary movements that masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist [revolutionary communist — *AWTW*]proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught."<sup>59</sup>

The *intifada*, the "revolt of stones," has already made great contributions to the Palestinian revolutionary movement. Besides preparing the Palestinian masses in the way Lenin described, it has exposed the feet of clay of the arrogant Zionist military apparatus. This rebellion has revealed to the whole world that before the fearlessness of the Palestinian youth the Zionist stormtroopers show fear. They are,

in the final analysis, *only* a military camp: an imperialist setup whose activity is bound to draw increasing millions into struggle against it. For theirs is an unjust cause — this is the most fundamental source of weakness of the Zionists and imperialists, and it is this which guarantees ultimate victory of the Palestinian people.

As Mao Tsetung said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic.... Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic."<sup>60</sup>

### Footnotes

1. In *The Arab-Israeli Reader*, ed. Walter Laqueur (New York).
2. Cited in Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle* (South End Press: Boston, 1983), p. 90.
3. Cited in Maxim Ghilan, *How Israel Lost Its Soul* (Penguin: London, 1974), p. 136.
4. Cited in Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (Lawrence Hill), p. 149; on Pilsudski, see Ghilan, pp. 96-97.
5. On the Jewish presence in Palestine, suffice to say that in 1895, Jews formed less than 10% of the total population, i.e. about 47,000 out of 500,000 inhabitants. (Ghilan, p. 27) Despite massive emigration with the Nazis' rise to power, they were still less than half the population when Israel was set up in 1948. (Ghilan, p. 230)
6. Cited in Ghilan, pp. 29-30.
7. Cited in Maxim Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* (Monad Press: New York, 1973), pp. 19-20.
8. Gabriel Kolko, quoted in Raymond Lotta, *America in Decline* (Banner Press: Chicago, 1984), p. 217.
9. George Lenczowski, *The Middle East in World Affairs* (Cornell Univ Press: London, 1980), pp. 399-400; Gabriel Kolko, *The Limits of Power* (Harper: New York, 1972), p. 421.
10. Lenczowski, pp. 408-411.
11. Lenczowski, pp. 416, 421.
12. Cited in the unpublished PhD thesis of Adel Samara, submitted to London University, 1987, "The Peripheralization of the West Bank Peasantry," p. 125, citing Kaya Ili, 1978-91.
13. Samara thesis, pp 70-71, citing Abdulkhalik, 1985, 40.
14. Samara thesis, p. 71.
15. Table of U.S. aid to Israel, year by year, from 1967 to 1986. Cited in Samara thesis, p. 73.
16. Samara thesis, p. 59. These are often referred to as the "Occupied Territories," since they were seized by Israel in the 1967 war, but this is misleading as it tends to obscure that all of Israel is occupied territory,

and so the term "1967 Occupied Territories" will be used here.

17. Samara thesis, p. 75.
18. *Khamsin: Journal of revolutionary socialists of the Middle East* (Ithaca Press: London), No. 10.
19. Mark A. Heller, *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel* (Harvard Univ Press: London, 1983), p. 11.
20. Cited in Lenczowski, p. 435.
21. From *The Israeli Connection*, by Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi (I.B. Tauris, London: 1988), quoted in *The Guardian*, 14 Jan. 1988.
22. Frank Barnaby, "The Nuclear Arsenal in the Middle East," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Autumn 1987, p. 99-100.
23. *Guardian*, 14 Jan 1988.
24. *Los Angeles Times*, 18 Aug. 1981, p. 18, cited in Chomsky, p. 83.
25. "About U.S. Arms Sales," *New York Times* editorial, in *International Herald Tribune*, 5 May 1988, p. 6.
26. Nahalal is the Hebrew name for the village where Dayan was born, Mahloul its Arab name. Cited in Ghilan, p. 229.
27. David Ha-Cohen, a Histadrut leader, speaking to the Mapai Party: "In defence of Jewish socialism, it was my duty to reject Arab affiliation to the Trade Union [Histadrut]." (Cited in Samara thesis, p. 128)
28. Samara thesis, p. 136.
29. Ghilan, pp. 241-243. Allon, commander of the Palmach and a leading Israeli politician, wrote of another strategic dimension of the kibbutz: "The choice of the location of the settlements... was influenced not only by economic viability but also and even chiefly by the needs of local defence, overall settlement strategy (which aimed at ensuring a Jewish political presence in all parts of the country) and by the role such blocks of settlements might play in some future, perhaps decisive all-out struggle." (Cited in Samara thesis, p. 137)
30. Cited in Chomsky, p. 68.
31. See Amos Elon, "From the Uprising," *New York Review of Books*, 14 Feb. 1988.
32. In his memoirs, Henry Kissinger calls U.S. President Richard Nixon the strongest ally in the White House that Israel ever had, while Nixon's Watergate tapes reveal his virulent anti-Semitism. (Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Little Brown: Boston, 1982).
33. *Newsweek*, 2 May 1988.
34. Samara thesis, pp. 91-94.
35. Heller, p. 114.
36. Samara thesis, p. 205.
37. Samara thesis, p. 147.
38. *Palestine Solidarity*, London, No. 31, p. 3, reporting the results of the recent Landau Commission's investigation into the ShinBet.
39. Elon, *New York Review of Books*, 14 Feb 1988.
40. *Guardian*, 17 April 1988, p. 1.
41. See Galia Golan, "Gorbachev's Mideast Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1987.
42. Eric Rouleau, "The Future of the PLO," *Foreign Affairs*, 1983; see also, Cobban, p. 73.
43. Quoted in Dawisha and Dawish, eds., *The Soviet Union in the Middle East* (Royal Institute for International Affairs: London, 1982), p. 152.
44. From *Pravda*, quoted in Dawisha and Dawish, p. 152.
45. Cited in Dawish and Dawisha, *The Soviet Union and the Middle East*, p. 192.

46. While it is beyond the scope of this article to go into the political and military strategy of the pro-Soviet forces in the PLO, it can certainly be said that the public support of Soviet social-imperialism by leading forces in the PLO has had serious negative consequences on the development throughout the region, especially among the Arab masses, of a genuinely revolutionary proletarian trend which ruptures decisively with revisionism to go up against all imperialism and reaction.

47. Hence, among other things, the large numbers of African and Arab students brought to the USSR to study. There are over 1,000 Palestinians studying in the USSR alone every year.

48. Cited in Arnold Krammer, *The Forgotten Friendship: Israel and the Soviet Bloc* (Illinois, 1974), p. 39.

49. It is typical of representatives of Arab bourgeois interests that they seek to separate Zionism from imperialism and convince the imperialists that it is in their better interests to abandon the Zionists and go with them instead.

50. *Guardian*, March 1988.

51. In this respect, it is worth noting that one of the frequent complaints of the imperialist press about the Communist Party of Peru, frequently called "Sendero Luminoso," is that they are so secretive that the imperialists have virtually no knowledge of their inner workings.

52. For more on this phenomenon, see Rouleau, *Foreign Affairs*; and for a view of how such developments took place with the PFLP, see "Policy Orientation," As'ad Abu Khalil, *Middle East Journal*, Summer, 1987.

53. Heller, p. 138.

54. See Kathleen Christianson, "Myths about Palestinians," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1987.

55. "Israel at 40," Yitzhak Shamir, *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1988, p. 67.

56. The U.S. publicly opposes an international peace conference which could decide issues, meaning where the Soviets would have any real input into a settlement. A representative of the U.S. State Department snidely revealed their view of Soviet participation at such a conference, saying that the Soviets would be welcome at a conference without any binding decision power "if they promise to be helpful and constructive." *New York Review of Books*, 14 Feb. 1988.

57. *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* (London: 1984), p. 7.

58. *New York Times*, 20-21 Feb. 1988, Editorial.

59. V.I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," *Collected Works*, Vol. 22.

60. "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle" (August 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 428. □