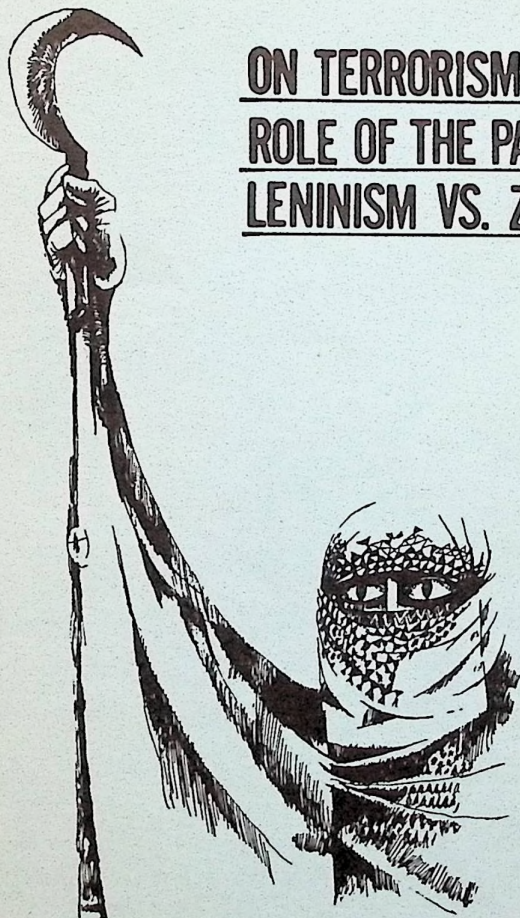


DEMOCRATIC POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE  
(DPFLP)

ON TERRORISM  
ROLE OF THE PARTY  
LENINISM VS. ZIONISM





The following three articles are English translations from the original arabic. These translations are reprinted from the Palestine Resistance Bulletin, published in Solidarity with the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The first article, Terrorism and Revolutionary Violence, is a critical analysis of terrorism and its role in revolutionary struggle.

The second article, Role of the Party, states the necessity of forming a vanguard party in order to insure the continual development of the resistance struggle along the path of the socialist revolution.

In the third article, The Leninist Struggle Against Zionism, is a brief historical analysis of Zionism in its conflict with the international communist movement showing the positions taken by the Arab Communist parties as Zionism and the Zionest movement seized control of Palestine.

We feel that these three articles will provide for the progressive American original information on the development of the Palestinian movement.

Historically, we find that reliance on individual action and terrorism was the solution of those who had lost faith in the potential revolutionary capabilities of the masses. Terrorism, in this sense, develops an illusory consciousness in the people: it portrays the struggle with the class enemy in an extremely simplistic way . . . with one bullet the tyrant is eliminated, the existing social relations are changed, and a whole class is removed from power. This conception of the struggle, "despite the heroism of certain individuals who committed acts of terror in history", results in extreme damage to the mass revolutionary movement and its development. Lenin himself was sympathetic with similar acts of heroism which had demonstrated the revolutionary potential among some intellectuals, but he considered individual terrorism to be a glorification of spontaneity among the masses and to be an act belittling peoples' revolutionary capacities. In *What Is To Be Done* Lenin placed terrorism on the same level with two other tendencies in the labor movement: sponaneity and Economism.

"The Economists and the modern terrorists spring form a common root, namely *subservience to spontaneity* . . . At first sight, our assertion may appear paradoxical, for the difference between these two appears to be so enormous: one stress the "drab every-day struggle," and the other calls for the most self-sacrificing struggle of individuals. But this is not a paradox. The Economists and terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity. The Economists bow to the sponaneity of the "pure and simple" labor movement, while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals, who are either incapable of linking up the revolutionary struggle with the labor movement or lack the opportunity to do so. It is very difficult indeed for those who have lost their belief, or who have never believed that this was possible, to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary activity other than terror.

### Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*

The conclusion which Lenin makes is very clear: Terrorism leads to belittling revolutionary mass action and it substitutes artificial stimulation for conscious political agitation among the masses. Individual terrorist action serves to glorify spontaneity and contributes toward keeping the masses at their original stage of consciousness, that is - under the control of the dominant bourgeois ideology at a time when the development of a mass political movement cannot occur without the uprooting of the prevailing ideology.

This analysis may be applied to the conditions of the Fedayeen movement and its relationship to the masses. This relationship is still based on spontaneity and on leaving the masses victims to the prevailing distortions. *Guerrilla warfare cannot develop into mass armed action by merely escalating armed activitys.,* but rather by the participation of

the people themselves in fighting on the one hand and by their participation in the political and ideological debates within the ranks of the Fedayeen movement. "Pure" military activity, as well as individual terrorism, can only lead to the degeneration of political activity among the masses and hence the weakening of the link between armed activity and the mass movement.

What do "external operation" represent in this context? Those acts responding to the enemy through individual terrorism do not threaten him in the final analysis, nor do they affect the balance of military power which still operates to the enemy's advantage. Rather, they create a great deal of noise and a tendency to substitute individual deeds for organized armed action.

The masses, on the other hand, found in those courageous acts a psychological release from the defeat of June 5, 1967 and discovered in them the heroism that they thought was absent in the war with Israel. We must not overlook, however, that the Fedayeen who participated in those actions exhibited potential revolutionary capabilities which was released in the particular form of individual heroism. Unfortunately, this revolutionary potential was spent in fragmented terrorist actions and not in collective sacrifices . . . i.e., the development of protracted people's war.

Individual violence has no faith in the viability of mass participation, which is the natural basis of a people's war against an enemy who is far more advanced in military power and technology. What the Vietnamese experience proves is just this. In Vietnam, Guerrilla warfare developed into full scale people's war, not through individual heroism — "external or internal" — but by the expansion of the struggle amongst the masses, through engaging them in armed activity, raising the people's political awareness and organizing them. The ability of the Vietnamese to grow until it reached the level of subduing the machinery — the military might of the United States — was a direct result of the translation of the theory of people's war into the Vietnamese situation. Military activity tended to escalate only in the context of increasing political consciousness — divorced from spontaneity.

Let us discuss then the question of striking at imperialist interests that became the object of those "external operations" which, in some circles, were considered as a revolutionary strategy for Feda'i activity.

Individual violence (terrorism) considers those imperialist interests as separate concerns distributed throughout the world, and, hence, it becomes the task of Feda'i activity to hit and pursue those interests everywhere and anywhere it can reach them. This is a misconception of the nature of imperialist interests. To put them in correct perspective, one must regard those interests as the *combined* political and economic relations in the Arab world that have become

the stepping stones for imperialism in our land. The foundation of these interests lie in the (Arab) ruling classes linked to international capital.

Imperialism, in turn, protects its interests either in a direct military manner (where the local ruling class is unable to perform a task), as is the case with British troops in the Arab Gulf region, or indirectly, by extending aid to those ruling classes that are tied to imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist interests depends, therefore, on the capabilities of the revolutionary mass struggle in each Arab state against its own ruling class that is tied, in one way or another, to imperialist interests internationally. The task of Feda'i activity in fighting against Israel is to extend and to link its struggle — theoretically, politically, and militarily — with the struggle of the revolutionary masses in every Arab country. That, above all, is the road of struggle against imperialist interests.

Individual violence (terror) is a dead-end road for mass movements, for there is no easy substitute for arousing the revolutionary consciousness of the people and organizing their ranks toward full participation in armed people's war against the common enemy.

## ROLE OF THE PARTY

What is the importance of building a revolutionary party to the Palestinian war of liberation? To answer this question one should consider the general and particular characteristics of revolutionary wars of liberation, taking into consideration differences of time and place. Hence we have to study the experience of other peoples in addition to analyzing the facts of our own society and the factors which have influenced the development of the Palestinian war of liberation.

The Vietnamese war of liberation which has already defeated French colonialism and has almost defeated American imperialism is one of the greatest experiences in wars of liberation. The relation between the revolutionary party and the Vietnamese war of liberation is demonstrated by General F. Giap, the commander of the People's Army of Vietnam. He describes some of the factors of victory of the Vietnamese revolution:

"The Vietnamese popular war of liberation is successful because it is just . . . It has achieved great victories because our people have had an armed revolutionary power. That is, the People's Army of Vietnam . . . This army has always fought for the people because it emerged from them and is led by the party of the working class.

The Vietnamese Victory is the result of a powerful, large and united national front, which has enveloped all the revolutionary classes and which was established on the basis of this alliance between the workers and the peasants led by the party.

The Vietnamese popular war of liberation was able to achieve victory because we had the people's authority . . . this authority is the government, which is the alliance of the revolutionary classes, i.e., the government of the workers and peasants. It is the popular democratic dictatorship, which is in reality the dictatorship of the workers and peasants led by the party. This government has organized and mobilized the people for the resistance. It has achieved material benefits for the people, not only in the liberated areas, but also in the commando bases behind the frontiers of the enemy.

The Vietnamese popular war of liberation achieved its great victory for the above reasons, the most fundamental being the Communist Party, the party of the working class which organized and led the war. This party proceeded under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology to analyze the social conditions and the balance of power between us and our enemy in order to design the plan of armed struggle and to establish the principle which says: "The struggle will take a long time and we shall depend only on ourselves."

We have introduced this quotation from General Giap's book to stress the importance of the party of the working class in leading the Vietnamese popular war of liberation, the liberation army and united national front, in analyzing the social condition and the balance of power against the enemy, in defining the essential goals of the revolution and the plan of combat, and in carrying out the tasks of struggle and establishing the base for a better society.

### **The Revolutionary Organization and Palestinian War of Liberation**

Similar to the Vietnamese, and under the guidance of the Marxist-leninist ideology and the experiences of the struggling peoples, we shall now attempt to clarify the importance of building the revolutionary organization in terms of the Palestinian war of liberation.

The first point to be clarified is that of the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the area. The base conflict between the two camps is as follows:

1. The counter-revolutionary camp including:
  - a) International imperialism, led by the U.S.A., which has essential interests in the wealth of the Arab countries, such as oil, and which exploits the Arabs in many different ways.
  - b) Zionism and the Zionist entity in Palestine which is the essential instrument of oppression against the people of Palestine and the Arabs. Fundamentally racist, it continues to exist through the support of imperialism. It is the front line of international imperialism in the area.
  - c) Feudalism and the bourgeoisie, both are the class agents of imperialism and both are dependent on its interests and its exploitation of the Arab land and people.
2. The revolutionary camp including:
  - a) The workers who form the most revolutionary class because of their dependence for their life on their labour. They are prepared more than any other class to give to the revolution and to be organized. But it is obvious that the discrimination against the Palestinian workers in occupied Palestine, the weakness of industry in the Arab countries and the strict measures of suppression and deportation which are practiced against the Arab workers in general and Palestinian workers in particular in all Arab countries, are reasons which do not allow any large grouping of Palestinian workers to take place.
  - b) The peasants who form 70% of the population. The Palestinian peasant has been molded by exposure to



successive disasters. Due to the emigration from the countryside to the cities and from Palestine to other countries, the petit bourgeoisie gained an upper hand over the peasants. The peasants are the essential power of the revolutionary movement for national liberation. It is well known that the peasants of the Arab countries and of all other countries have been in the vanguard of movements for national liberation from colonialism. But the active role of the peasants will be determined by the organization of the working class which will direct the peasants through the successive stages of the revolution.

- c) The petit bourgeoisie, refugees, and a section of the national bourgeoisies are strong allies of the revolution due to their national feelings and vast numbers. The majority of the refugees who were relegated to camps are of poor peasant and working class backgrounds. They have been exposed to eviction, perpetual poverty, unemployment and the worst conditions of living. They suffer national oppression and extermination directed against them by the Zionists, as well as, discrimination and repression from the Arab governments. They are without a doubt the main reserve which can be mobilized for the revolution.

In those two camps (the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary— one can easily realise that the weak one is still that of revolution. The revolutionary camp however, represents a potential strength accelerated by the harsh measures of repression and eviction practiced by the Zionist power in Palestine, and by the guardianship enforced by the Arab regimes which did not permit the Palestinians, until very recently, to organize themselves.

The Palestinian revolutionary struggle which is represented now Gaza by guerilla warfare, shall soon overcome the very difficult situations facing it.

One of these difficulties is the so-called "peaceful solution", a conspiracy that is giving benefit to the United States in consolidating its monopoly over the Arab economy. It is a conspiracy which sees the Soviet Union becoming a partner to the U.S. in so-called strategy of "peaceful co-existence" with the capitalist bloc. It is the same conspiracy which is accepted by the reactionary Arab regimes that have failed to confront Israel. These are the same regimes that tried to lead the aborted social revolution. They have failed to understand the leading imperialist role of the U.S. and were unable to escape its monopolies.

Although the so-called "peaceful solution" seems unfruitful, it is clear that this solution is still possible because of the strength of the

counter revolutionary camp and the betrayal of the Arab masses by the regimes of the petit-Bourgeoisie in the so-called progressive Arab states.

The weakness of the Palestinian national movement lies in the fact that its leadership has never adopted the ideology of the working class, but rather expressed the hopes and goals of the petit-bourgeoisie. This leads the revolution only half-way, and not to its ultimate end, to change the relations and concepts which dominate every bourgeois society. Hence, the participation of both the national and the petit-bourgeoisie in the national liberation movement has two aspects. The first is positive, since it allows a large section of the population to participate in the resistance movement. The second is negative, allowing the infiltration of the logic of compromise, with the ensuing danger of crippling the revolutionary movement in the middle of the struggle. We believe that the petit bourgeoisie and part of the national bourgeoisie can and should play their roles within a large front. This front should be led by the alliance of the workers and peasants, for it is the workers who are the most revolutionary class and the peasants who are the essential power of the national liberation movement.

This analysis represents the fundamental problem of any revolution; the problem of political authority. We believe in a large national front to be led by the alliance of the workers and peasants. This, however, is not immediately possible due to the lack of revolutionary class-consciousness among the workers and peasants. It is the task of the vanguard of the revolution, which should create a political organization or party. The party is the organized representation of the ideology of the working class. The membership ideology. We believe that the revolutionary party plays an essential role in the actualization of victory in our struggle for liberation. It is the guarantee that the revolution will continue until complete victory.

## THE LENINIST STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONISM

Starting in 1903 Lenin waged a resolute struggle against the narrow nationalist tendencies that took control of the Bund – The National Union of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland and Russia – which was formed in 1897. The bund was the first social-democratic organization to appear in Russia, and when the first congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party was convened, the Bund attended and decided to join the new party. But the Bund retracted, and in its fourth congress adopted two resolutions that were the beginning steps toward a break with the Russian workers party. Those resolutions stated that there existed a “Jewish Nation”, and that the Bund was the independent national organization of the Jewish proletariat. Nevertheless the actual break did not take place until the summer of 1903.

That happened when Lenin began his long battle against the Bund. He directed a strong attack against the nationalist revisionism in the workers movement and defended the principle of organizing workers on a geographical rather than on a national basis. Referring on several occasions to the idea of the “Jewish Nation”, Lenin said in an article published in *Iskra* in November of 1903: “the concept of the Jewish nation is a Zionist concept”, and furthermore, this concept “is absolutely incorrect and essentially reactionary”. He went on to present numerous sources showing that Jews did not constitute a nation because they lacked a common territory and language, the two most essential factors determining nationhood. Lenin rejected the view that Jews have common racial characteristics: “. . . not only national”, he stated, “but even common racial peculiarities are not found among Jews by modern scientific investigators . . .”.

Lenin continued to analyze the role played by the concept of the Jewish Nation from a revolutionary standpoint. He insisted that this idea played an utterly reactionary role by instigating the Jews against assimilation and hence, standing in the face of progress in contemporary society. On this question Lenin said that “the idea of a Jewish Nation is definitely reactionary, not only when expounded by its consistent advocates (the Zionists), but likewise by those who try to combine it with the ideas of social-democracy (the Bundists). The idea of a Jewish Nation runs counter to the interests of the Jewish proletariat, for it fosters among them – directly or indirectly – a spirit hostile to assimilation, the spirit of the “ghetto”. Lenin also said that “no one opposes assimilation except those reactionary, ridiculous and philistine Jews who want to start the wheels of history moving backwards”.

It was natural that Lenin was staunchly anti-Zionist. Zionism had consciously played a counter-revolutionary role against socialism by rejecting any form of a united front against the tyrannical autocratic regimes. While the social-democratic movements were insisting on the unity of workers' struggle regardless of religious belief or national origin, and while they were granting the Jewish proletarian organizations their full freedom in dealing with their special cultural and religious issues, the Zionists were insisting that the interests of the Jewish Proletariat and intelligentsia lay somewhere else. While revolutionary workers movements were fighting relentlessly the programs caused by anti-semitism, insisting that the oppression of minorities and national groups could not be brought to an end except by a revolutionary transformation of society, the Zionists were content to present those massacres as yet another proof of the permanent nature of anti-semitism and the futility of the struggle against it, and that the only answer was emigration to Palestine. Thus Zionism was the ideology of class collaboration which caused considerable damage to the objectives of class struggle. In this respect Lenin said: "The Zionist idea (formation of a Jewish State in Palestine) which is being used to divert the Jewish proletariat from the class struggle is counter-revolutionary, petty-bourgeois, and utopian."

Lenin was also aware of the nature of the relationship between Zionism and Imperialism. This becomes clear from the statement he added to the *Thesis on the National and Colonial Question* which was adopted by the second congress of the Third International held in 1920. The statement stated that "it is essential to continually expose the deception fostered among the masses of the toilers in all nations, and especially in the backward ones, by the imperialist powers and by the privileged classes in the subject countries in creating — under the mask of political independence — various governments and state institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them. *As a striking example of the deception practiced upon the working class of a subject country through the united efforts of the allied imperialists and bourgeoisie of a given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists, where — under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews form an insignificant part of the population — Zionism has delivered the native Arab working population to the exploitation of England.*" (Emphasis added)

In 1922 the Third International under the leadership of Lenin, denied membership to the Paole Zion Party ("Workers of Zion")<sup>1</sup> requiring that the party sever completely all its ties with Zionsim.

The resolution adopted by the International stated:

*The Communist International requires as a condition for membership of the Paole Zion Party to its ranks that the party give up all its nationalist ambitions in Palestine and to dissolve itself so that the Communist cadres of the Jewish proletariat can join the Communist parties of their native countries.*

After Lenin, the Third International remained faithful to the Leninist tradition of militant anti-Zionism until it was dissolved in 1943, and while the International's interpretation of the Palestine question is debatable, its indictment of Zionism is unquestionably clear. Perhaps what angers the Zionists and Arab reactionaries alike is the fact that the Jewish leaders in the Third International (Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, etc.) exerted their influence for a more resolute struggle against Zionism. So much that the International required the Communist Party of Palestine to purge all its Zionist members, and to support the national liberation movement of the Arab inhabitants against the British mandate and the Zionist settler colonialism as a condition for accepting them as full members. The international Communist movement maintained this line until after WWII when the position on Palestine was changed.

### **The Leninist Tradition and the Position of the Arab Communist Parties**

The Arab Communist parties were also faithful to the Leninist tradition of anti-Zionism until 1947. In 1922, the Communist Party of Palestine, whose members were predominantly Jewish, issued a statement opposing the Balfour Declaration (an official statement made by the British Government in 1917 promising leading Zionists to help in establishing a "National Home for the Jews" in Palestine, — tr.). In 1936, the cadres of the party picked up arms and joined the revolution (the Arab Revolt in Palestine against the British mandate and Zionist emigration to Palestine. The revolt lasted three years — 1936-39 — tr.). The program of the party until 1946 — in regards to the national question, could be summarized as demanding the end to the British mandate, the end of Jewish emigration to Palestine, and the establishment of an independent democratic state in Palestine. Other Arab Communist parties did not differ in their stand from the Palestinian party. All that one has to do is cast a quick look at the issues of *Sawt al-Sha'b* ("Voice of the People") — the organ of the largest Arab Communist party at that time, the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon. On the 13th and 14th of August 1944, comrade Farajallah al-Hilou wrote an article in *Sawt al-Sha'b* under the title of "Down With the Criminal Zionist" in which he said: "Zionism is

essentially an imperialist movement which is in contradiction with the aspirations of the Arab people for freedom and independence. Its political aim is to create a strong and secure point of support for imperialist influence in Palestine, and other points of support — or fifth columns — for the imperialists in neighboring countries. . . . We have said in the past, and we repeat now, that the struggle of the Arab people in Palestine against Zionism is not a struggle between Jews and Arabs. In other words, it is not a racial or religious struggle . . . it is rather a political struggle, a national struggle against one of the ugliest forms of foreign imperialism.”

Comrade Khalid Bagdash (Sec. Gen. of the C.P.S. — tr.) said in the May Day rally in 1946 held in Damascus: “We are not enemies of the Jews, but we are enemies of Zionism. We are old enemies of it, because it is a reactionary, capitalist, and imperialist movement whose purpose in the West is to sow disunity and sectarianism between Jewish workers and workers of different countries, and to fight against socialism; its purpose in Palestine is to deceive Jewish workers into serving ambitions that are alien to socialism and democracy. Those are the aims of British imperialism and Zionist capitalism which is integrated into British and American capital . . . Hence the fate of Zionism in the face of democratic progress and correct socialist ideas in the world is decay and extinction . . .” Bagdash continues to say “. . . our duty is not to support Palestine (only), but to struggle side by side with the Palestinians against the (British) mandate, against Zionism, and against the ‘National Home’. We have to struggle for Palestine’s freedom and the establishment of a true democratic government in it . . .”.

The Arab Communist parties remained opposed to the partition of Palestine (the plan instigated by the Americans and the British through the U.N. for dividing Palestine into an Arab and Jewish states — tr.) until 1947. In an article titled “The Present Stage in the Development of the Palestine Question” Khalid Bagdash wrote again in *Sawf al-Sha'b* (August 1, 1946): “The positions of conciliation, or rather the positions of capitulation, have increased the courage of the imperialists and the Zionists against us. They are now openly talking of a plan for partition . . . and what is worse than all is that their courage has reached the point that they are saying: ‘In return for all this, or in return for the new emigration (of Jews to Palestine — tr.) and partition, Britain and America will pay a 100 or 200 million dollars to the Arabs’. When we read this news yesterday . . . we felt as though the claws were ravaging our insides or that a storm had knocked our heads!!! Imperialists! This nation is not for sale . . .”.

On the 18th of August, 1946, the Communist parties of Syria and Lebanon held a joint meeting which resulted in a long statement subsequently published in *Sawt al-Sha'b* (August 22, 1946). The statement said: "The British government is determined to implement its schemes in Palestine through the Partition Plan. This plan is a shameful disgrace to all humanity. Arab public opinion has protested the plan and has expressed its absolute refusal of any partition. This is because (the Partition Plan) is the most vicious imperialist plan that could befall the Arab East, and the biggest danger that threatens peace in all of the Near East."

Nevertheless, the (Arab) Communist parties reversed themselves and accepted the Partition Plan, thus committing a grave historical error that has caused great damage to the revolutionary movement in the Arab regions, and which left its negative effects — which persist up to this day — on the readiness of the masses to accept revolutionary ideology.

After the June defeat (i.e., the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, tr.), only one Arab Communist party, the Communist Party of Sudan, has gone back to the Leninist tradition. In the report of its Central Committee which was adopted by the fourth congress of the party held in October, 1967, the Sudanese party stated that Israel is an entity which was established through coercion and violent seizure of land, and hence, there is no other alternative but to smash and liquidate it so as "the historic error that some socialist countries committed by accepting the Partition Plan be corrected" so that — as the Sudanese party put it — the situation may return to its natural state.

Since June 1967, there has been an increasing awareness in the ranks of socialist and revolutionaries around the world, of the basic rights of the Palestinian people to liberate their country. In this respect it is a move back toward the correct Leninist and internationalist position on the Palestine question. All the revolutionary forces in the world are required to take a correct Leninist position and stand on the side of the Palestinian people for their right to self-determination, and to smash the Zionist structure and establish a free and democratic people's Palestine.

1. The People's Party was the social-democratic wing of Zionism. Later Zionism developed a "Marxist" wing. One of the functions of "left-wing" Zionism in the 1930's was, under the guise of appealing to the common interests of the Jewish and Arab masses, to exploit the contradictions between the feudal Arab leaders and the Arab masses to serve the interests of Jewish bourgeois nationalism. (Tr.)

1. **Terrorism and Revolutionary Violence**  
(Al-Hurriyah, No. 504, 3/2/1970)
2. **Role of the Party**  
(Al-Sharara, Vol. 1, No. 1)
3. **The Leninist Struggle Against Zionism**  
(Al-Sharara, Vol. 1, No. 6)



