

INTERNATIONALIST POSITION OF THE DPFLP

Lately our internationalist position has been subject to misunderstanding and to distortion, as well as, to criticism from different angles and directions. From one side we find opposition towards our practice of open criticism toward the policies of some socialist countries, including the USSR, concerning our national cause. From another side we find objection to our appeal to the USSR to change its position, they say that this appeal is utopian and misleading to the masses because the USSR will never change its position. And from a third side our relations with some Trotskyist groups, in the sphere of international solidarity for the Palestinian cause, have raised questions of protest from most of the leftist circles and the world communist movement.

Presently the task of defining the main features of our international position is becoming important, in order to establish relations with the different groups and trends of the world revolutionary movement on a clear basis.

The present historical period is characterized, internationally, by the increasing disintegration of the world imperialist system, the victory of socialism, and the rise of national liberation movements of the oppressed people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Imperialism in its efforts to hold on to its present position, against the rising revolutionary tide, is resorting to a viciously aggressive policy, based on limited warfare, and aimed at suppressing national liberation movements of struggling people. This aggressive policy is also aimed at states within the socialist camp (Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam), and in its efforts to break down the socialist camp it is encouraging rightist movements which call for closer relations with the West (Yugoslavia, Romania, and Checkoslovakia).

The world revolutionary movement, in its struggle against this imperialist aggression, has to overcome two obstacles.

1. The revisionist policy carried by some states within the socialist camp, a policy which encourages the imperialists to intensify its aggressive policy.

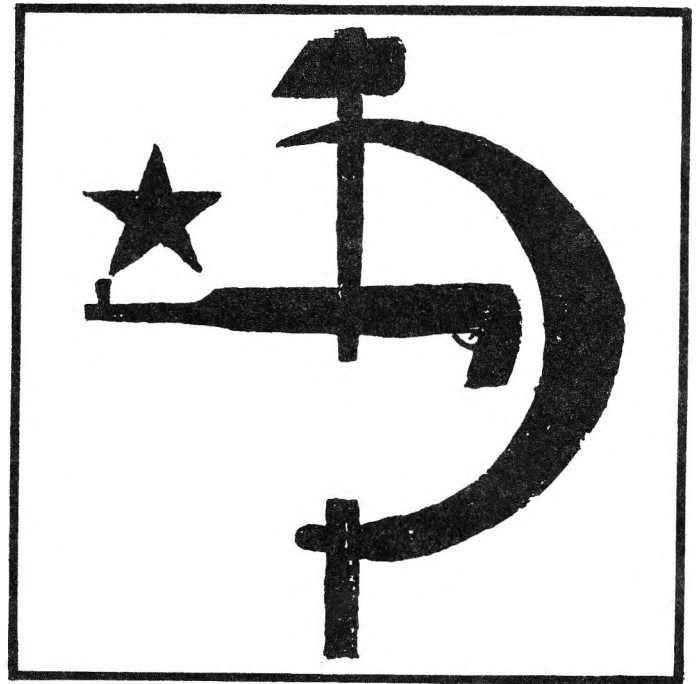
2. The devisive policy which is tearing apart the unity of the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist front, thus obstructing an effective united struggle of this camp.

The present revisionist policy finds its theoretical rationale in a series of mistaken analysis resulting from the present Soviet interpretation of the "peaceful coexistence" concept. This analysis is based on the assumption that the "peaceful economic initiative" between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp is the decisive factor in the victory of world revolution, and that the contradiction between the two camps can be solved by means of negotiations and pressure on imperialism to contain its aggressive tendencies in order to provide the peaceful atmosphere which will enable the socialist countries to develop their internal economies. The adherents of this policy always try to avoid confrontations with imperialism, in any part of the world, and try to limit the anti-imperialist interests, for this might push imperialism into waging an aggressive, limited war, thus compelling the socialist countries to comply with their internationalist commitment by aiding the countries which are the object of aggression.

The thesis of "peaceful coexistence" in its present Soviet conception is linked to the theory of "parliamentary transition to socialism" in the advanced capitalist countries, as well as with, the theory of "non-capitalist development" in the underdeveloped nations. Both theories are a clear negation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" thesis, admitting the possibility of building socialism through the established agencies of the bourgeois state, without the need to destroy it. With these two theories, revisionism seeks to ease the degree of the class and national struggle against capitalism and imperialism, in order to prevent the growth of the struggle from leading to a sharp confrontation with imperialism which will dictate, upon the socialist countries, obligations they are not yet ready to carry through.

It is becoming clear, however, that the only way to accelerate the process of disintegrating of the imperialist system and insure the decisive predominance of the socialist system is by sharpening the anti-imperialist class and national struggles, specifically in countries struggling for national liberation, and by the resolute confrontation of the aggressive imperialist wars by revolutionary wars of national liberation. The success of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in implementing the task of total national liberation, under the leadership of the working class, is the decisive factor at the present stage of the destruction of international imperialist control and in exposing the internal class contradictions within the advanced capitalist societies, thus insuring the victory of world revolution.

Obviously what is demanded here from the socialist camp is not an all out international confrontation with imperialist camp by exploding a third world war. Rather what is needed is that two socialist camp confronts the aggressive limited wars with an active internationalist support to those people who are waging their revolutionary wars of national liberation against imperialism. In the final analysis, it is the only guarantee for a permanent peace in the world and hence, there is no alternative to ending war except to destroy imperialism internationally; an aim which is impossible to achieve without armed struggle and revolutionary war until the final defeat of imperialism.



This position should not lead us to equate the policies of the Soviet Union with American imperialism, because the existing contradiction between the two camps is not of personal wishes, nor merely that of theoretical and political position, but rather the contradiction between two different modes of production and ownership. In the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries public ownership of the means of production prevails and the social concept of the state is characterized by a proletarian nature and that is the objective and social base for the contradiction between the two camps.

That contradiction puts the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp, despite their leadership's policies, objectively on the side of the anti-imperialist world revolution. The Soviet leadership is trying by all means of international bargaining and maneuvering to prevent an explosion of revolutionary struggle in the different parts of the world, but experience has shown (in Vietnam and now in the Middle East) that the explosion of sharp revolutionary struggle against imperialism and, with it, its transformation into a long-range protracted people's war, will bring the Soviet leadership, sooner or later, to fulfill its internationalist duties in aiding and supporting the revolutionary forces and at least preventing their total defeat in the face of imperialist aggression. The Soviet leadership knows very well that the defeat of the revolutionary forces, in any part of the world, will only strengthen the counter-revolutionary forces and encourage imperialism to expand its aggression and this will consequently endanger the security of the Soviet Union itself. Though the USSR leadership keeps using its aid as a tool to bring about a compromising solution to the struggle against imperialism, the correct program of local national liberation movements and their determination to bring about a total defeat of the aggressor will remain the guarantee that they will benefit from the Soviet aid without submitting to its revisionist strategy. The Vietnamese communist experience is an excellent example of the possibility of following this line practically and with success.

This analysis leads us to comprehend two greatly important facts concerning our internationalist position.

First, that the main danger of revisionism lies in its success in controlling the revolutionary movement in the different parts of the world and restricting its struggle within the limits of the new reformist ideology which insures the freezing of the local class contradiction and preventing the people's revolutionary struggle from rising to the level of sharp confrontation against the counter-revolutionary forces. But as soon as the struggle sharply explodes and the masses show their determination to continue their revolutionary struggle for the total defeat of imperialism, international revisionism will find itself gradually becoming part of the revolutionary struggle, after the failure of all its efforts to freeze, or peacefully solve it. This means that the struggle against the dangers of revisionism should not necessarily take the form of constant condemnation of the Soviet Union's leaderships mistakes, but rather it should be an ideological and political struggle against revisionism and reformism on the internal front aiming at uncovering the local opportunist leaders, who spread such ideologies, while building a mass independent, class revolutionary movement and arming it with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. That is, the main front of the struggle against revisionism is the political and ideological struggle within the ranks of the local revolutionary movements in any country and *not* visa-versa.

The second fact, that the objective contradiction between the Soviet Union and world imperialism furnishes the material base, and the objective possibility, to unite the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist international front. The neglect of this fact leads to a permanent devisive position, unjustifiable and harmful to the world revolutionary movement. The disregarding of this fact would deviate the comradely and fruitful ideological struggle, within the ranks of the world revolutionary movement, to a diplomatic struggle governed by the logic of international balance of power aimed at internal competition over a sphere of influence within the camp of the anti-imperialist international front,

INTERNATIONALIST...

this in turn, would tear apart this front and deprive it of its effectiveness against imperialism's vicious aggression.

Our task, on the international level, could be summarized as follows; the determined ideological struggle against revisionist concepts and politics, and to reserve an independent position from any internal strife among groups inside the socialist camp and the world communist movement. This independent position does not mean a neutral ideological stand toward the problems which are put forth within the ranks of the world revolutionary movement, a neutral ideological position is but an opportunist position, which is far from Marxism-Leninism. It is our duty to define, frankly and clearly, our position toward all these problems from a Marxist-Leninist and internationalist proletarian standpoint, without becoming part of the present power struggle which has no ideological and political justification.

At the same time, we have to continue our efforts to strengthen the unity of struggle of the socialist camp and the international anti-imperialist united front, on the basis of common struggle in order to oppose the counter-revolutionary aggression, led internationally by American imperialism. This common front should not be based on the opportunist cover up for the present differences in viewpoints around the problems of contemporary world revolution. Beside insuring the highest degree of effectiveness in the collective common struggle, this unity also has to insure the freedom of comradely ideological and political criticism among its different groups, as well as, the preservation of the independence of each movement concerning its own national revolution.

To achieve these tasks it is important to strengthen the relations within the countries of the socialist camp, and other parts of the world revolutionary communist movement, without disregarding the differences in opinion, and work towards mobilizing internationalist support for the struggle of our people, the resistance movement, and its revolutionary leftist vanguard.

The Front has repeatedly spent efforts in order to insure communication and cooperation with the different parties in the sister countries of the socialist camp, but all these efforts have not yet led to material results because of the complexity of the prevailing atmosphere within the ranks of the world revolutionary movement as a result of its present divisiveness.

One of the reasons which hindered the establishment of natural relations with different parts of the world communist movement, was the planned attempts of "adoption" of the Front initiated by international Trotskyist movements since the Front's establishment, in order for these movements to cover up their inability to effectively contribute to true national and class struggles. These movements find no justification for their existence, but to quickly adopt the developing revolutionary movements in different regions of the world, and project them as if they were new Trotskyist currents. In the beginning the Front did not see any problem in cooperating with these movements along the principle of an open cooperation with all leftist groups, on the basis of support to the resistance, the Palestinian struggle, and the mobilization of world progressive opinion to the side of the armed struggle which our people are waging against Zionism and imperialism. But the danger of this cooperation started to become clear when these groups tried to push the Front toward adopting their isolationist positions which sprang from the Trotskyists' inability to comprehend the national nature of the Palestinian revolution at its present stage. The reason which, in practice, they refused to contribute to the struggle and the committees which supported the Palestinian movement as a whole, by taking an isolationist position towards it, and only supporting the DPFLP as a Marxist-Leninist organization. This has resulted in a bad effect on the unity of movement in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance outside the Arab world. Above all that, the Trotskyists have tried to present the DPFLP as concurring with their anti-Leninist position, which calls for "the right of self-determination for the oppressor community," the Jewish community in Palestine, and by putting forth their slogan of a bi-national state, instead of the correct Marxist-Leninist solution to the Palestine Question.*

The cessation of these Trotskyist attempts has for long become an important task in our internationalist relations, and the success of implementing this task will help to clear up the misunderstanding and reservations of many leftist movements toward establishing strong relations with the Front.

Official DPFLP Document from

Al-Thawri, No. 3.

March 1971.