

“It is necessary to think in terms of Federations, of integrations and Confederations that respect all the people’s roots and languages.”

J. Posadas

THE FORMATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

J. POSADAS

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Introduction:

In this text dated 1978, the Assad of Syria is the father of the present one in 2016 (Bashar). Begin was governing in Israel, and Sadat in Egypt.

Arafat was then one of the main Palestinian leaders wishing to set up a Palestinian State. The author poses that the construction of such a new State can only be envisaged as part of the unification of the Jewish and Arab masses, of the Middle East and beyond.

This revolutionary outlook, the only one capable of injecting life into a Palestinian State, presents the Palestinian movements with the need to overcome their patriotic concepts and adopt the perspective of the Socialist Federation of the Middle East.

In short, a Palestinian State must emerge as a revolutionary entity, or be nipped in the bud by world capitalist competition.

The Posadists today, June 2016

The rise of a Palestinian State would be no problem, even on a small scale, if it were just a matter of creating a State that can develop further. The problem lies in the fact that the very grant of such a State will stop it developing further. The big bourgeoisie will take it over, organise it and annul it.

The question of a Palestinian State no longer present as in the past. The same right to live for the Jewish people and for the Palestinians continues, but it has now become part of the global process of class struggle. The Palestinians confront not only the Jewish reactionaries but the reactionary Arabs as well. The way these reactionaries make a fist against the progress of history is changing the situation.

The attitude of the Syrians is unstable. Assad was once as reactionary as Begin. He befriends Begin one day, and opposes him the next. The same goes for this appalling character, Sadat of Egypt. This is the conduct of fear. The leaders of the Arab world fear the advance of the revolutionary struggle - Assad perhaps less so, but Sadat definitely. This makes them inconstant. They start diplomatic relations one day and break them off the next. They recall a new Ambassador before the old one has even left. It is like something out of the 'Marx Brothers'.

The problem of a Palestinian State is no longer posed as in the past. Some Palestinian leaders count on the development of left-wings in Arab bourgeois-nationalist sectors in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. This is not incorrect, and we too hope that they will develop. When it comes to a Palestinian State, however, we do not think that it resolves the problem; for it cannot start, even on a small scale, without at least the right to self-determination, the right to democratic liberties and the right to seek alliances with the Jewish masses.

In the epoch we live in, the unification of the Palestinian masses with the Jewish masses is indispensable, as part of a wider unification with the Arab masses. Appeals for this must be sent. Those who take on this task will need patience and the ability to wait. Asphyxiation awaits those who do not seek this unification, even in a new State.

The situation in the Middle East resembles that of the pre-1940's Balkans, with all their disputes and small kingdoms. Capitalism kept its dominion by the constant manoeuvring of one against the other. This only stopped when the Balkans made Workers States. See the historic difference between the Balkans with Workers States and the Middle East without them. What a difference the Workers States make! If it were not for today's Workers States¹, capitalism would have nipped in the bud the revolutionary progress of Ethiopia. As things stands, it finds this impossible to do.

We agree with calling for a Palestinian State, but with a condition: Appeals must be sent at the same time for the unification of the masses of Israel and those of the Arab world. A Palestinian State can only be unstable. There is no room for the historic development of a Palestinian State. The idea of such a State must be viewed in the wider context of the Palestinians facing both reactionary Jews and reactionary Arabs united against the progress of history². This

¹ The USSR in the main. Editorial

² Read by J Posadas: "The new Israelo-Arab war and the class struggle", 28.10.1973, where the author recalls how Sadat returned to the Egyptian army (that same year)

is why the small movement of Arafat must seek the unity of the Arab and Jewish masses; anything less will leave it with no field of action, no means to survive and the Palestinian State constantly postponed. Those for whom the Palestinian State was the solution would feel deceived.

It is necessary to raise this discussion with the Palestinian comrades. Far from going along with things, and waiting for change, one must investigate the conditions needed to give life to a Palestinian State. Such a State can only emerge from a struggle to be free of Zionism, free of the Arab bourgeoisies and free of imperialism! We agree with demanding such a State - and since it can only make a start by imposing itself in this way, the calling for it can serve as a rallying centre. This centre must soon turn to all the Arab masses and seek unity with them. It should appeal for the unification of countries like Algeria, Syria and Libya. If it does not act along those lines, it will have no air to breathe. What sense is there in a new State, if all it does is compete with the capitalist system? A new Palestinian State that does not aim at eliminating capitalism in the Middle East makes no sense. It would have no means to transcend, and therefore no possibility to live.

What is the idea behind the creation of a Palestinian State? A great country? But this new State will have to develop economically and compete on the world market - but there is no such perspective at all. The creation of a new country on the eve of the collapse of the capitalist system is not what it used to be. It must consider the present historic conditions, like world war approaching. For the Palestinian populations seeking an independent State, the path is still open to them to unify and develop as *Workers States*. Only, they must organise to serve this end, and create currents with the political capacity to serve this end. A 'new fatherland' is not the task. It makes no historic sense nowadays. There are not the economic and social conditions for it either - and now less than ever, with capitalism engaged in war preparations.

The Palestinians frequently use patriotic, local, territorial or religious language such as 'the Jews' or 'the Arabs'. We must help the Palestinian comrades to see beyond their leaders' concepts of 'the fatherland' and 'the nation's destiny'. These notions cloud their vision, limiting and obscuring it. Anyone wishing to build a new country must study the prevailing conditions and the reasons for such a wish. There is no doubt that any talk of a Palestinian State is

some of the military commanders that Nasser had sacked for ineptitude, incapacity and collaboration with Israel in the 1967 war.

bad news for the capitalist system. Beyond this however, such a State still has to be made. At the first sign of such a State appearing, the Arab bourgeoisies will take control by giving a leg up to a Palestinian layer. They will then supply this Palestinian bourgeoisie with the means to keep down the rest of the Palestinians - mind you, even this scenario is impossible: The rise of a Palestinian bourgeoisie now is as unlikely as a big bourgeois development in Jordan, Libya or Syria. None of these countries - Palestine included - have the possibility, or the need, to develop as independent competitors.

Historically speaking, what is the role of the 'fatherland'? Analyses and texts are needed to explain how the moving process is casting aside the patriotic, the religious and the Arab-nationalist sentiment. The 'fatherland' has lost its historic role. Assuming that 'a Palestinian fatherland' emerges, its first act must be to unite the country on an economic basis that enables development. Anything less means that poverty goes on, and that a small Palestinian bourgeoisie continues to dominate. This cannot be what the Palestinian masses are longing for! It is necessary to discuss how to organise the Palestinian State for the cultural elevation of all its masses. If the latter are allowed to intervene, they will see to their own elevation. If they are given the time to learn how to intervene, they will create currents and tendencies interested in this matter.

What aim for a Palestinian fatherland? Should it cater for one thousand Palestinians, ten thousand Palestinians, or should it see to the progress of life for all? A fatherland is not much good if it does not allow the progress of life. Those who built a State for the progress of life were the Bolsheviks. They made one single State, the Soviet Union, out of populations where 32 different languages were spoken. Everyone could keep their own language in that new State, but the Soviet language became the means to communicate and transmit the need to progress.

One must pay close attention to these relatively new questions. In Kuwait, a handful of brigands are ruling the country. They are rich enough to turn sea water into drinking water, but they import everything, water included. Each of them wants a car with automatic food-and-drink distributors at the touch of a golden button, but the rest of the population has no drinking water. What is such a fatherland? We do not ask this question through any sentiment of envy, but to underline the illogicality.

We are not opposed to a Palestinian State. Only, we insist in having it explained, and what it must be aiming at. If the idea is to make a 'great fatherland', we say that this makes no sense. Should the

Palestinians come across such an opportunity, they will be given deserts and the most barren lands. It is true that this could still serve as a means to create a centre of unification for the Arab masses' struggles, and for their attempt at unity with the Israeli masses against the capitalist system.

The sentiments expressed by the other Palestinian leaders like Habache and Hawatmeh are strongly patriotic too. They speak as if a 'fatherland' were to resolve all the problems. Rest assured that they will never be granted such a fatherland! Not even a desert! And should the Palestinians come to borrow from the Arab bourgeoisies in order to survive, these bourgeoisies will impose their governments, their leaderships and their police, to serve themselves, and not the Palestinian people.

The pro-Zionist Arab bourgeoisies, and imperialism itself, keep in their sights every movement seeking liberation and social transformation. They use every means to defeat liberation. The recent war of imperialism against Ethiopia³ demonstrates this, like the recent repression that took place in Tunisia⁴. This is why no small country today can hope to be allowed to progress and develop by itself and on its own; not even on a bourgeois basis.

The Polisario⁵ speaks in Spanish and Arabic. French and Arabic are used elsewhere, and other combinations. Small countries are no longer allowed to reach bourgeois development. This is why one must propose Federations, integrations and Confederations that respect all the peoples' roots and languages. There is already enough historic experience, common to all humanity, to deal with these questions. See how Vietnam passed from utter backwardness over to the nationalisation of its economy and the planning of it.

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³ In 1978, a right wing sector in the Revolutionary State of Somalia started a war on neighbouring Ethiopia to recover the disputed Ogaden region. The United States started helping Somalia, as Ethiopia was now becoming a Revolutionary State. Edit.

⁴ On 26 Jan 1978, a general strike started in Tunisia, at the end of many years of working class struggles. With close ties with the West, the government reacted bloodily: 42 killed in the repression, 325 wounded, 1,000 arrested along with the entire UGTT Trade Union leadership. Edit.

⁵ The Polisario Front is an indigenous Saharawi movement for independence against Morocco. On 15 May 2016, a substantial group of Polisario supporters living outside Africa celebrated (in Belgium) the 43rd anniversary of the birth of their movement. Edit.