

SPECIAL --- ISSUE 20¢

# PALESTINE RESISTANCE BULLETIN

OCTOBER 1971 -- No. 10  
VOLUME II

SOLIDARITY WITH THE DEMOCRATIC POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

DPFLP:

## PRESENT TASKS OF THE RESISTANCE

CONTRIBUTE TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE - DPFLP

plus:

● new  
reactionary  
alliance

● sudan- **coup**  
counter  
**coup**

● arabs in israel

● israeli  
anti-zionist  
movement



THE MARTYRES OF SEPTEMBER 1970 HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION AND IN HOPE OF LIBERATION.

DPFLP WOMEN:

## ON ARAB WOMEN'S LIBERATION

# DPFLP PROPOSALS:

## PROPOSALS TO THE 9th PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Present Conditions in Jordan and the Tasks of the Resistance.

First, taking into consideration that:

The intensification and the effectiveness of the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy is directly dependent on the actual transformation of Jordan into a secure base for the revolution and a primary route toward liberation.

The unity of the people, their common destiny and the national struggle in the Jordanian-Palestinian arena dictates that the success of liberating Palestine depends upon the achievement of national democratic liberation in Jordan, where the Jordanian regime is now implementing a policy of repression, disarming of the masses, and national oppression aimed against the Palestinian masses. Additionally, it is strengthening the influence of imperialism and moving toward a separate peace agreement with the Zionist enemy. So we see that the Jordanian regime clearly represents an obstacle to the total liberation of Palestine.

The Jordanian regime, by continuously breaking the Cairo and Amman agreements and by its insistence on considering the resistance an internal affair, has moved toward the liquidation of the resistance movement, thus attempting to end it as the national liberation movement, representative and speaking for, the oppressed Palestinian people. Because of these actions it has, in practice, freed the resistance from its obligation of "non-interference in the internal affairs" of Jordan.

Therefore, in order to foil the reactionary plans, a united front is required in Jordan in order to strengthen the national unity of the Jordanian-Palestinian movement in its struggle against the reactionary regime.

Therefore, the Congress decides that:

The resistance movement and all organizations in the Palestinian national movement, represented in this Congress, are required to initiate and participate in the formation of the United National Jordanian Front. This to be done side by side with other organizations, parties, unions, and nationalist leaders in the East Bank.

Furthermore, the Palestinian resistance movement puts all its forces and organization at the disposal of this Jordanian united front, as its part in participating in the struggle for the establishment of a national democratic regime. A regime whose minimum duty shall be the achievement of the following:

1. The end of terror and repression, institution of democratic freedoms, prohibition of all forms of torture and the release of all political prisoners.
2. The overthrow of the government of terrorists and organizers of massacres. Exile and trial of all who committed crimes against the rights of the people.
3. The complete freedom of the resistance and the recognition of its rights of free movement in the fields of political, military, financial and propaganda work. Additionally, the recognition of the right of the masses to carry arms.
4. The termination of all forms of national oppression against the Palestinians and the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. This in addition to the abolition of all national privilege in the administration system.
5. The development of the army, arming it with weapons from the friendly socialist countries. The termination of the use of the army as a tool of oppression and the purging of its ranks of reactionary and treacherous elements.
6. The following of an anti-imperialist, progressive Arab policy and the liberation of Jordan from imperialist influence; politically, economically and militarily.
7. The end of the archaic economic policy and the establishment of a solid wartime economy in order to fulfill the immediate needs of the working masses.
8. The end of the submissive and defeatist policy of making a separate peace with the enemy. Exposure of all the efforts of the agent regime aiming toward an agreement with the enemy; this in addition to the firm rejection of all defeatist and submissive solutions.

The Congress considers the creation of the Jordanian national front as its major task, without which the revolution cannot be safeguarded nor the country be saved from the disastrous policies of the reactionary regime. The national front is the principal weapon in the hands of our people at the present stage of the struggle for their rights, freedom and future national liberation.

Furthermore, the Congress decries all attempts to use the national front as a tool for pressure against the regime in an effort to achieve the possibility of a short-term coexistence with the regime in Jordan or with any other Arab regime.

Secondly, The Palestinian National Congress observes that:

The policy of reactionary repression, national oppression and collective annihilation which the existing regime in Jordan is implementing against the Palestinian people has its negative effects on the national unity in the Jordanian-Palestinian arena. This policy has led toward disunity and weakness and toward the development of a dangerous separatist reaction among the ranks of the masses.

This reactionary policy, under the slogan of the unity of the East and West Bank, insists that the Palestinian people have to abandon their present national rights in order to achieve, in the future, their complete national rights, after the destruction of the Zionist structure, and the complete liberation of Palestine. In practice, this policy leads to the weakening and disintegration of the unity of the two Banks, to the denying of the present and future rights of the Palestinian masses and to the stifling of their ability to carry the task of liberation. It is also a confiscation of the right to represent the Palestinian people in order to sign a separate defeatist peace, in their name, to regain the West Bank and subjugate it to reactionary terror.

The Congress emphasizes that:

The obtaining of the complete national rights of the Palestinian people and their right of self-determination on their national land necessarily requires the abolition of the Zionist colonial-settler state and the complete liberation of Palestinian soil. But the assertion of this principle does not mean a desertion of the present national rights of the Palestinian people in Jordan for these present national rights constitute a guarantee that will enable our people to achieve their strategic long-term goal of return and liberation. Further, this does not imply continuous submission to the reactionary terror and the collective massacres.

The slogan of "a Palestinian state on part of the land of Palestine" introduces a false solution to the question of the present rights of the Palestinian people and constitutes an escapist solution as regards the present task of struggling against the reactionary regime. But at the same time, the rejection of this slogan does not mean the resubmission of the West Bank to the reactionary regime in Jordan after the Israeli withdrawal.

The unity of the East and West banks is a national unity and we are required to protect it, for it is the correct framework in which to proceed in order to develop and intensify the struggle for the liberation of the rest of Palestine. But a unity in isolation of the basic national democratic principles and in isolation of the struggle against the reactionary regime, would be a submission to the political blackmail in which the regime is engaged and a tacit agreement to the regime's policies of regaining control over the West bank after the Israeli withdrawal.

Therefore, the Congress decided that:

The protection and strengthening of the unity of the two banks is dependent on the development of the struggle against the regime, on overthrowing it and establishing a national democratic regime which recognizes the national rights of our people now in Jordan. These rights would be represented in the following ways:

1. The recognition of the Palestinian people's rights in participating on an equal level in determining the destiny of Jordan culturally, militarily, economically and politically. The recognition of the Palestinian revolution as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, having the right of determining their destiny as the Cairo agreement and the Amman protocol have stated.
2. The abolition of all forms of national oppression, persecution and segregation. The enforcement of total equality in all duties and rights among the people of the East and West banks.
3. The termination of terror and oppression, and the achievement of democratic freedoms for our people.
4. The recognition, in practice, of the rights of our people in participating in the political governing, through a national democratic system.
5. The recognition of the right of our people to carry arms and to freely carry out their armed struggle until the complete liberation of their national soil. Freedom for the resistance in the fields of political, military, propaganda and financial mobilization of the masses; as stated in the Cairo agreement.

The continuation on the part of the reactionary regime of its present policies of terror, repression, segregation and confiscation of the national rights of our people, in addition to the regime's power-hungry and selfish interests at the expense of the interests of the masses, will make it bear the sole responsibility for the weakening of the unity of the two banks. Thus the Congress insures that the sacrifices of our people, against Zionist enemy in the armed struggle which is aiming toward liberating our occupied land, will not allow the West bank to return to the control of the agent regime and its repressive terror. Our people will struggle to transform the West bank into a secure revolutionary base for the overthrow of the reactionary regime, in order to reunite the two banks under a national democratic authority for all of Jordan. This is a first step in the struggle for the complete liberation of the soil of Palestine and is a strategic condition for victory over, and abolition of, the Zionist entity.

Decisions Proposed to the Palestinian National Congress in Ninth Session

The pressing tasks for the development of national unity and the building of a united people's liberation army.

The Palestinian National Congress takes into consideration that:

Palestinian national unity is of pressing importance, required by the nature of the revolution in the national liberation stage and necessitated by the present requirements of the struggle which is now facing intensification of reactionary repression. This repression is aiming at liquidating the resistance in Jordan and is running parallel with continuous Israeli military intensification aiming at suppressing the armed struggle in the occupied territories.

The struggle for national unity must take into consideration that the existence of many groups in the Palestinian national liberation movement is based on a series of objective factors which cannot be abolished by subjective decision. The outstanding factor being the class division of the Palestinian people and their geographic dispersion, this resulting from the nature of the Zionist colonial-settler state. In addition, there is the influence of the Arab situation and its interference in the Palestinian struggle, which constitutes interference in the internal affairs of the resistance by the existing Arab regimes.

Any attempt to achieve national unity through coercive means will increase the disintegration of the resistance movement and its efforts, resulting in a sharp internal armed conflict which will divert the movement's forces away from confronting its many enemies.

All the previous manifestations of national unity fell short of achieving the maximum level of possible effectiveness which was required. The decisions of the 8th National Congress concerning this matter did not find their way into implementation as a result of a number of subjective reasons, primarily the absence of any democratic foundation in national relations. The explosion of secondary and subjective conflicts around secondary problems and the absence of a serious attitude or commitment toward the practical implementation of its decisions were further problems. Additionally, there was an absence



# DPFLP WOMEN

NOTES AROUND THE QUESTION OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

This article was written by a woman comrade whose name was Nada El-Karmy, a member of the DPFLP militia forces. She was in her last year of college in Amman University, when she was killed last September fighting against the counter-revolutionary forces of King Hussein.

To begin with it is important to admit that the role of women in the developing countries (the Arab countries in particular) in the stage of national liberation is still vague and undefined, and in most cases is governed by traditional and worn-out views or by vague expressions of good will toward women.

It is most often the case that progressive Arabs who deal with the question of women, deal with it in a very superficial manner based on an initial recognition of the fact that women constitute one-half of the Arab society and have the right to work and enjoy the same rights and duties as men, but this basic recognition is met with a series of obstacles when it is time to be transformed into reality. This is because of the shaky ideological ground on which progressive Arabs stand; thus we see this good intention turn into mere slogans and propaganda expressing good wishes toward the future of the Arab women, this without giving her a real chance and opportunity to transform this will into concrete experiences.

The "role of women" is a big and amusing topic for most of the progressive Arabs. They skillfully and elaborately deal with it, but when the Arab women come to "appreciate" their sympathy and deal with the matter seriously by starting to work, our Arab intellectuals fall back saying, "but of course the question of women's liberation, objectively cannot be separated from the surrounding objective conditions and the liberation of women is also tied to the liberation of men."

The developing Arab societies have remained, even with the appearance of the nationalist forces and organizations, subject to a distortion, which has imposed upon the revolutionary work that it be linked to the past laws, culture and traditions of the feudal society, a society in which women had no role at all in any of its programs, culture or life.

But the Arab liberation forces, under the leadership of the petit-bourgeoisie and governed by their class nature and culture, who recognize the right of women to vote and work have failed and been unable to transform this recognition into a reality or take it beyond the state of mere rhetoric. This transformation would have come through the substitution of a new cultural-educational program and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to women's rights. In addition, there has not been an objective transformation of the society economically, socially, or politically in order to put into practice these theoretical decisions concerning women's rights, a move necessary to pull women out of their state of total unproductivity.

This problem is also related to the leadership of the Arab national liberation movement for because of its petit-bourgeois class nature it has failed to bear the task of carrying out other important tasks, tasks which the question of women's liberation is directly tied with and these are the economic development, the development of heavy industry and intensive agriculture, the founding of strong democratic organizations for the people, worker's unions, people's armies, the introduction of new scientific and liberation educations, the establishing revolutionary relations with the international liberation forces and establishing a revolutionary boycott of the world imperialist and reactionary camp.

*It is futile to think of a total liberation of women outside of the framework of national liberation and the total liberation of the masses. The petit-bourgeois regimes have introduced a few samples of women, as a sufficient example of their progressiveness and as an expression of their progressive will, but the existence of a woman minister in the government does not mean the liberation of women in the society.*

The view of the progressive Arabs towards women has been particularized by two phenomena. The first, an initial recognition of women's rights based on their total equality with men. The second, an undeclared position constituting a reactionary position on all levels toward women, it insists, consciously or unconsciously, on keeping women under the tutelage of men by persisting in the view that women are, practically, unable to carry out new tasks.

Because of that contradiction we found that the masses' organizations, led by the petit-bourgeoisie, were unable to mobilize a broad sector of women within their national liberation struggle, though women are directly concerned by the national liberation struggle.

The masses' organizations revolutionary level, on any stand, is not only their initial declarations but is, to a further extent, their ability to actualize that revolutionary stand. So a "revolutionary political stand" will not be one unless it is tied, dialectically, with its social, economic, and revolutionary effects, if it is not then it is a mere hypocrisy, especially in this period of many leftist hypocritical stands.

At this period of our society, truly genuine revolutionary forces are being formed and are gaining strength through their revolutionary practice and they are requested to discuss the question of women's liberation seriously because it is not difficult to see by examining the practice of the resistance and armed struggle that the question of

women is understood within a petit-bourgeois context. Women's liberation and the women's struggle, in our society, is taking a superficial and individualist role, based on the glorification of the individual woman's heroic acts, which gives the false impression that a level of social liberation has been reached ("though she is a woman, she is a heroine and has participated in hijacking an airplane and she is beautiful, sheik and revolutionary, too"). The liberation of the Palestinian woman through armed struggle dictates a series of basic political directives, if we want a genuine and total liberation of women and if we want a mobilization of the huge reserve of women for the national struggle. We find, for example, because women have a special ability for collecting funds, that collecting funds is a woman's task. The incorrect view is countered by the examples of the role of women carrying the task of their own liberation through the process of national liberation struggles in countries like China, Vietnam, Russia and Cuba where the task of liberation is carried on side by side, in one struggle, with men, and there exists no "devil" between them except the "devil" of imperialism.

In our developing society, the liberation of women is always met with opposition, and every opposition has its new excuses and justifications, so we find with the historical defeat of the old excuse "that the place of women is in the home so they can raise good and healthy children," new lesser excuses, but they rise only to fall in the face of the example of today's Vietnamese women.

The bourgeoisie have molded the liberation of women into a particular feminine form "in order to save her beauty and femininity" and "liberate" her from the house and "harem" right into the offices of big companies, where she becomes a secretary or typist because she is different from man, physically and psychologically, and she must remain "feminine" for "they" don't want a "masculine" woman.

But science tells us otherwise, and day after day women are proving they can do all the things than men can. Who "likes it hot" and who is worried about a "masculine" woman, and who is worried about the softness of her skin, and who prefers a woman as a beautiful plaything? We can see that women in China and Cuba remain women, but they are no longer playthings and their human value lies in their productivity. Their true value lies in the fact they have been freed from slavery and from waiting all their lives for their "prince" to come along. Women in China and Cuba are not soft and lazy for they are not victims of bourgeois exploitation or private property, as is the case with our contemporary Arab women.

*The true liberation of women in the revolutionary societies is not a false liberation in the capitalist society, bourgeois liberation is the total exploitation of an "unproclaimed prostitution."* Bourgeois liberation is a struggle and battle over needs and desires, protected by a capitalist consumer society. It is a liberation which provides women with, but a huge propaganda machine aiming at directing her dreams and aspirations toward selecting the "right" future husband, home and modern life. Bourgeois liberation is but a new kind of slavery for women; love, marriage and relationships based on class and class interests, compromises and polite commercial deals in the name of love and marriage.

What about the liberation of women in our educational institutions, particularly in the university (schools and private institutions require a separate study). We can say that the relations among the students (between male and female) reflect a clear picture of the Jordanian society, especially the male-female aspect of it, because these relations reflect traditional values of the prevailing culture.

Some would assume that these relations would be better because of the academic atmosphere, but an objective reality exists and that is that sorry feudal relations exist between men and women, covered up with a superficial daily interaction which is imposed by the daily work among students.

It is painful to ascertain the truth about the hostility, proclaimed and unproclaimed, which exists. It is a primitive hostility and metaphysically based on historic myth concerning relations between the two sexes and reinforced by the society's culture and prevailing ideology.

This hostile relationship is based on a double-edged fear of the other sex. Our people have been educated by their parents not to trust women because they are unstable, have little brains and are of an inferior level, they have been told that men are more capable than women and women are taught that men are selfish.

There is also the feeling of fear of open sexual relationships and the "dangerous consequences," which are confirmed by the reactionary culture (even on university levels) with its historical extension of backwardness and colonialist slavery.

In this manner, we are able to see that any relations which exist among the university students have been surrounded and clouded with cultural and social fear, based on bitter experience resulting from the distortion and misunderstanding of relations between the sexes, rather than being based on an objective and scientific understanding of them.

What strengthens these incorrect relations is the absence of university organizations of a nature which would establish a scientific and objective understanding of such matters, in addition what is missing is student unions, organizations or political parties, all of which are needed for playing a role in breaking down the hostility between the sexes.

# NEW REACTIONARY ALLIANCE

Lately, the Arab world has lived through a painful chain of events which have cost the Arab masses many victims and martyrs. These events started with the attempted coup in Morocco, an attempt which met with the quick approval of the Libyan government. Then King Hussein gave orders to crush the Palestinian resistance in Jordan and put an end to whoever demanded the overthrowing of his government, whether they be Palestinian or Jordanian. King Hussein gave this order while en route to Morocco to congratulate King Hassan for successfully crushing the coup.

The next event was the attempted coup in the Sudan, a coup whose leaders tried to free Sudan from Egyptian-Syrian trusteeship and from Libya's Kaddafi (who was trying hard to fill Nassar's shoes as the leader of the Arab world). This coup was followed by the hijacking of a British airliner carrying two of Sudan's new leaders, by the Libyan authorities. Soon, afterward, unidentified planes were bombing the headquarters of the Sudanese coup. These Egyptian or Libyan planes eased Nemeiry's return to power.

Later, Sadat made a speech, on July 23; stating he was ready to lose a million Egyptian soldiers (against Israel) and charging the PFLP with treason because they dared to occupy the Egyptian Embassy in Sweden in protest to Egyptian silence over the events and the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance in Jordan. Sadat then threatened Hussein by taking tough measures because of Hussein's disrespect for the great Egyptian president.

Are all these and other events accidental or are they related to what has happened in this stage of Arab history and to what is now going on throughout the Middle East? These events are certainly an expression of the internal class contradictions which had to appear after all these years.

#### Origin of these Events

There is no doubt that the situation through which Egypt is now passing leaves its mark on the development of the situation in the Middle East as a whole. This fact crystallized in an obvious manner after World War II, especially after the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 and the evolution of Nassar into a nationalist leader. A leader of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie and the Arab national bourgeoisie, who were looking for a road to capitalist development and a way to control the rising national popular movements. This evolution led to an era in the Arab world of political struggle between the two main political trends. The first trend was Nassar's leadership, supported by the Arab National bourgeoisie who saw in his program a salvation from an intensification of the class struggle and a containment of the Arab masses for the masses were attracted to Nassar's propaganda due to the failure of the popular vanguard (to lead them along an independent revolutionary path).

The second trend was that of the traditional bourgeoisie and other independents who resisted Nassar's political and economic ambitions, for these ambitions threatened their interests and class position. This situation continued until Nassar's death; despite the military and political defeats, his regime suffered and despite the conflict which was raging among the state bourgeoisie. A conflict which threatened the return and explosion of class strife after the 1967 defeat.

When Nassar died the state bourgeoisie lost their historic leader, a leader who had opened to them the doors of development and had paved the way for their ascendance to power. This class suddenly found itself facing the Egyptian and Arab masses from a difficult position; the Arab lands were still occupied, the Suez Canal still closed, and Nassar's popular support about to be lost. The state bourgeoisie now started looking for a way to get rid of the Soviet trusteeship and to encourage the private sector so that the state bourgeoisie could enjoy the privileges they had obtained in the past years.

The leadership of the state bourgeoisie now found itself torn between the world's struggle and their desire to find a solution to their own problems. In the face of the rising contradictions, there could not be found a leader who was acceptable to all the different political wings. The internal struggle intensified after the Soviet Union had proven unable to solve this crisis and after the United States had rejected putting pressure on Israel (because of the relationship between the Egyptian state bourgeoisie and the Soviet Union).

The contradictions between the two struggling factions for leadership exploded into a conspiracy. This conspiracy led to arrest of the leaders of the wing loyal to the Soviet Union and to a victory for the wing that believed the key to conflict was in the hands of the United States.

#### The Price

The opposition wing emerged from this battle victoriously and continued in the same direction it had chosen beforehand, but with more devious methods for it had to sign a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union and maintain "democratic and liberal" regulations."

The internal minister issued an order banning popular demonstrations and advising every citizen to go back to work and increase his individual production for the coming battle. Next the regime opened the doors of the national economy to the private sectors and to foreign capital, then gave back some of the rights to the bourgeoisie

and old feudalists and did not hesitate to kiss King Feisal's hand when he came from Mecca on his way to Washington and to accept some of his generous gifts.

It was natural that Cairo would pay the price of this evolution and lost its position and prestige as the capital of the national bourgeoisie. This position was achieved bourgeoisie's, through clashes with the imperialist forces and their agents; the traditional bourgeoisie and the feudalists. It was natural for the Egyptian masses to resent the old and new masters division of positions of power and unification once again.

#### The Vacuum

Today, the Arab world is in a position similar to the position that prevailed before the nationalization of the Suez Canal. There are countries with conflicting interests who are unable to unite and who are still trying to fool the masses. There are weak, petty leaders trying to control the movement of the Arab masses and trying to occupy the place of Nassar, who left behind a lot of problems and conflicts.

It was logical for King Hussein, in light of these circumstances, to free himself from the pressure of Cairo, a feat he wasn't able to do in the past because of Nassar's trusteeship, and move to solve his domestic and foreign affairs. King Hussein waited until it was clear that the Egyptian ruling machine was breaking down and then proceeded with his attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance.

It was also logical for Hafez al-Assad to seize this opportunity to jump into power and move to better relations with the United States. Assad moved into power in conjunction with the traditional bourgeoisie, who left the country in the bygone age of socialism, and then proceeded to limit the activities of the Palestinian resistance.

It was also natural for a president like Moumour Al-Kaddafi to try to occupy Nassar's place. Kaddafi believed that to be a big Arab ruler, all that was required was the ownership of a few oil wells, the will to encourage coup d' etats, and the ability to stand against them if they got out of hand. He put forward the slogan of Arab nationalism on the one hand and the slogan of anti-communism on the other.

#### The New Alliance

The breakdown of the Egyptian state bourgeoisie led to Cairo's loss of leadership in the Arab world and to Cairo's attempt to extricate itself from its conflict through the formation of new alliances with former "enemy" Arab and foreign forces.

This is where Rodger's visit comes in and where the explosion occurs between the two conflicting trends in the political leadership of the Egyptian state bourgeoisie. This explosion led to the pushing aside of the wing loyal to the Soviet Union and led to the meeting with King Feisal, and his political forces in Egypt and the Arab world. This same explosion later led to the destruction of the Palestinian resistance at the hands of King Hussein and with the help of Israel.

The new situation which the Middle East now enters is an attempt by the reactionary regimes in the area to gather all rightist forces and unite them against all the different leftist forces.

There is nothing strange in the formation of this alliance or its use and carrying of the slogans, "Arab nationalism" and "the necessity of gathering all Arab forces for the battle against the common enemy." These slogans, as adapted by the reactionary Arab regimes are nothing but an attempt to absorb the Arab masses' resentment, to contain their feelings against imperialism and Zionism, and use it against the revolutionary vanguards which represent the path of the future.

Therefore, the primary reason for the Egyptian leadership to adopt these slogans, after the "canal war," was its hostility toward the freedom of the Arab people. These slogans could also be used by the Egyptian leadership for Nassar used them to exploit the Arab masses' desire to unite their revolutionary struggle. Nassar exploited them and built a bureaucratic, regular army to be used only as an instrument of brutality against the Arab people. This regular Arab army always found itself defeated when it was confronted with a real enemy; imperialism and Zionism. This regular army could only be used in attempts to liquidate, in the name of national unity, all communist and progressive movements who were continuing their struggle independently.

The latest events in the Middle East clearly show the reactionary manner in which this policy is being implemented. While the Palestinian revolution was fighting for its destiny in Jordan, the slogan of national unity was raised but with no real action. The only action was the invitation of all Arab leaders and kings to discuss the problem of the Palestinian revolution, this while King Hussein used all his forces and the cooperation of the Zionist army to surround the revolutionary forces. King Hussein's artillery was pushing the Palestinian resistance's commandos across the Jordan river and into the hands of the Zionist enemy and Sadat and Kaddafi didn't move one finger or send one soldier to break the encirclement of the Palestinian resistance. Sadat screamed, threatened and promised punishment for all traitors and Assad did his best by sending messengers to Amman to mediate - (and weeks later, kindly closed his border to Jordan).

These "progressive" regimes, on the contrary, did not hesitate to take a practical stand on the coup in Sudan and moved in the name of the federation, to save Numeiry and his friends. The Egyptian intelligence network informed the Libyan regime of the time of the

CONT'D ON PAGE 10

# SUDAN

## THE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC DIMENSIONS OF THE FIRST COUP IN SUDAN.

There is no reason to believe that the leftist military coup in Sudan was simply a military venture initiated by an isolated group of officers. For there are facts that make it impossible to strip the event from some basic political features. These features derive their political significance from two facts: the total crisis of the experience of Numairy's rule, and the progressive position, with respect to this experience, adopted by the military group that was removed by the counter-coup.

The solution to this problem did not lack a political initiative in the past. Consider for example the attempts of the Socialist Unionists and the Sudanese Nasserites. But the sharp differences in the Sudanese societal structures — pre capitalist relations coexisting with a capitalist state of affairs — have led continuously to the failure of these initiatives. These differences also formed the base which gave rise to an almost complete inhomogeneity among the different segments of the Sudanese petit bourgeoisie. The latter in its turn gave rise to the sharp differences in the political trends of the different groups within this hierarchy.

It is exactly for this reason that there never was in Sudan— unlike most Arab countries — a relatively cohesive and lasting political movement representing the particular interests of the petit bourgeoisie or the specific interests of some segments within its ranks. Basically, the Sudanese petit bourgeoisie was split according to two main political trends: one group of petit and middle bourgeoisie (especially those living in cities) allied themselves with the workers' movement and its Communist Party. The workers' movement though small in size is very cohesive. But the majority of the peasant petit bourgeoisie was led by feudal and bourgeois parties like the Umma (Nation) Party and the Democratic Unionist Party. Beside these two main groups is the minority of educated petit bourgeoisie which included some "Free Officers". This minority is characterized by a high level of political inhomogeneity and has been often swayed by incohesive and underdeveloped political varieties like those of the Socialist Unionists and Nasserites.

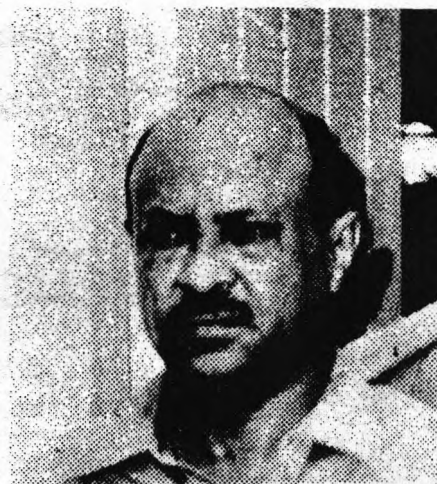
Given this state of Sudanese petit bourgeoisie, the experience of the Numairy rule — as tied to the Nasser model — becomes an attempt by a segment, within the petit bourgeoisie, to express itself politically and independently through the use of political authority. It also attempts to realize its ambitions via the creation of some quasi organized institutions like the Socialist Union, organization for women, youth, etc.

Yet the above moves could not be resolved democratically. The mass movement grew independently of the ambitions and expectations of this particular segment of the petit bourgeoisie to concretize its expectations and ambitions. For these expectations and ambitions were in turn isolated from the mass movement, not finding its proper place within the framework of the class struggle taking place. Hence it was inevitable — given the logic of this group and its results — that these problems be solved violently by fragmenting the mass movement and ending the isolation of the government from the people through starting fights with reactionary forces.

This was the general policy of the military regime toward the mass movement and its organizations. The successive positions of the regime from that of readiness to cooperate to that of calling for liquidation are not transitional moves from the left to the right as some may like to think, but are simply different ways of achieving the same goal: fragmentation of the mass movement. That several ways were utilized to achieve that goal is of course the result of the general popular conditions that made such diversiveness necessary.

Since this regime was devoid from the very start from any organized popular base besides the organized "Free Officers", it sought to include in its first government some democratic and Communist elements; But the regime did not hesitate for a minute in stressing "the pure individual basis" for such inclusions. At the top of its program was a "staunch resolution to remove forever the ugly days of political parties" and to end "the ugly nightmare of partisanship". It is interesting that some "Communists" considered their Party's opposition to this policy as a mere formal difference of approach. The regime's crack down on the religious right in the island of Abba gained him direct popular support. It also acquired neighboring Arab support by joining Egypt and Libya in the Tripoly pact. This gave the regime enough strength to oust all opposition from the Armed forces and the Revolutionary Command Council, and to start a series of arrests directed against Communists and others. The regime crowned these moves with Numairy's call to liquidate the Communist party and destroy it.

But this policy suffered a sever backlash. The regime's isolation tightened even more and it lost the initiative (as in the case of suspending its joining the tripartite union), also the government machinery became infested with chaos and corruption. The effects of all these went beyond the internal contradictions of the regime. The symptoms of a thorough going crisis appeared. Among them were the worsening economic situation, the chaos of nationalizations, imposing continuously lower wages on working masses, inflation, vagueness on the



ABDUL KHALIK MAHGOUB

SECRETARY GENERAL - COMMUNIST PARTY SUDAN

agricultural question and rural local governments. There were signs of a return to an older policy towards the South.

Hence the ended-then-reestablished regime went through a real crisis and not just a series of minor stumbles. One additional symptom of this crisis was the easy removal of the regime and its difficult reinstatement. The crux of the crisis lies in the fact that the regime represents a small petit bourgeois military group which wanted to pursue its independent political line violently. But the condition of such a pursuit was fragmenting the mass movement and hence pushing the country to the verge of a real catastrophe.

The "progressive military group" that led the coup had a democratic revolutionary position in contrast to the experience of Numairy's rule. Before the coup of May 25th. 1969, this group of officers operating within the framework of the organized "Free Officers," advocated a policy which was to tie the military movement with the program of general social changes advocated by the mass movement. But the prevailing policy of the Numairy's group advocated giving the power to the officers first, and activating the masses later!! This policy was opposed by the Communists.

These policies reflected great differences in thought. The first is democratic and revolutionary, the second represents the coup mentality of the petit bourgeoisie.

The group of progressive officers asserted right after the coup of May 25th. 1969, their original policy which was opposed to that of the Numairy group. The progressive officers expressed their opposition within the Revolutionary Command Council to the attempts of the regime to liquidate mass organizations, especially the Communist Party. They also sided with the Communist Party in its opposition to the Tripartite Union. It was this stand that led to the excommunication of these officers from the Council under charges that these officers leaked the Council's secrets to the Communist Party. This excommunication was coupled with a purge in the army of elements that sympathized with these officers.

These stands taken by the progressive officers were not haphazard. They were tied down to a basic democratic position. It was this fact that enabled the officers to initiate during their short lived coup — four — days — a series of democratic revolutionary decisions like that of legitimizing democratic mass movements and permitting these movements to build their own independent organizations.

One must not deny that the progressive coup which removed the Numairy rule — for four days only — was a military coup and not a popular revolution. The officers relied in their coup on the weakness of the regime and popular unrest, while in a popular revolution one relies on the impotency of a whole class — the petit bourgeoisie in this case — in ruling, and the ripening of a revolutionary mass crisis. This means that the coup did not contain in it any direct probability for a basic change in the petit bourgeoisie class nature of political power.

But it would be a grave mistake in evaluating this coup to measure it along the same traditional standards that governed other military coups in the Arab world for the last twenty years. The fact of the matter is that this Sudanese coup derives its distinctive features from its cohesive non sectarian political position which is democratic and revolutionary. It is a position that was chosen by this group in the face of Numairy's rule that created the general crisis of political petit bourgeois representation in Sudan.

These distinctive features were exactly the reason for allowing that the coup contained — within defined conditions — the possibility of democratic revolutionary dimension. As a matter of fact, the distinctive features in the program of the new command and its democratic initiatives stressed such possibilities. For the first time, the role of the army as the "Vanguard" was not mentioned. Instead the slogan of a democratic national rule based on the authority of the democratic national front was stressed. Highly important decisions were executed: dissolving the sham and fascist like organizations established by the old Numairy regime, permitting national and democratic forces to organize independently, legitimizing democratic mass organization, freeing leftist political prisoners, repealing undemocratic laws, etc.

But the coup was crushed. Should this prevent us from speculating on the possibilities it contained? The answer is no.

The coup suffered from a clear separation between its limited military base and its democratic revolutionary dimension and potential. It was not possible to bridge this gap within four days. This is exactly why the counter-coup forces made their move immediately. They wanted to deal their blow before the new regime entrenched itself and bridged the gap it suffered from. This fact asserts again the distinctiveness of this coup and its fresh possibilities.

*Ed. note: These are extensive excerpts from a report addressed in 1964, from occupied Palestine, to the Secretary General of the United Nations by Al-Ard Society. Despite the date of the report it continues to bare immense importance, as a background study, in the light of the ever growing militant political consciousness of Palestinian Arabs inside the territories of Palestine occupied since 1948.*

\* \* \*

The recently established state of Israel celebrates this year its sixteenth anniversary. The past two decades have witnessed important events and radical transformations throughout the world. Despite the great accomplishments which have benefitted mankind the Arabs in Israel, however, are still far from enjoying their natural rights. They are the victims of oppression, racial discrimination and persecution by the Israeli Government. The latter persists in a policy that can result only in a terrible outcome for the Arab communities which would be in defiance of international law, justice and human decency. This policy is contrary to the agreements made by the Israeli Government and in violation of its international obligations.

The Israeli Government hopes to extinguish Arab national sentiments and the Arab entity in Israel. Even before the establishment of the State of Israel, Zionist plans conceived of the creation of a "State" exclusively Jewish. Reuven Barkat, formerly secretary for political affairs of the Histadrut and now the Secretary General of the Mapai, the party in power, declared in 1955: "We conceived of a State exclusively Jewish, without minorities." To reach its objective, the Government passed severe laws and measures with regard to the Arabs who had decided to remain in Israel after 1948 hoping that these tactics would not be applied to them. All such hope disappeared in the face of the tyranny, insults and discrimination that have kept the Arabs in a state of perpetual anxiety.

Here are the characteristics of this policy:

#### I. Arab Land:

The Israeli Government promulgated expropriation laws vis a vis Arab private property and the destruction of Arab villages. In 1948, the Government passed an "Emergency decree concerning the property of absent owners." This decree, transformed into law in 1950, was named the "Law regarding the property of absentee persons." According to this law an "absentee" is any Palestinian who left his (principal) residence in Palestine before the first of August 1948, or who resided, for any reason whatsoever, in a part of Palestine under the control of forces opposed to the creation of the State of Israel during the period of November 29, 1947, until the abolition of the state of emergency by the Government on April 19, 1948.

In fact, the state of emergency is still in force and the classification of "absentee," with all its legal consequences, is still applied to all the Arabs living in the Triangle<sup>1</sup> as well as to numerous others resident in other districts which were occupied by Israel or in portions ceded to it later. Numerous Arabs left their homes in fear of suffering the same fate as the inhabitants of Deir Yassin of whom two hundred were savagely massacred by Jewish irregulars on April 9, 1948.

Furthermore, the Government makes considerable use of article 125 of the 1945 Decrees on the expropriation of Arab property. This article stipulates that:

*"A military commander may declare any area or site to be a closed zone. Any person entering or leaving such a zone without a written circulation permission from the military commander will be pursued for violation of the decree."*

After their inhabitants had been driven out, dozens of Arab villages were declared to be "closed zones"; this procedure permitted the seizure of their lands. Among such villages are the following: Ghabsiah, Amka, Faradi, Kfar Inan, Saforiah, Magdal, Kfar Baram, Mansoura, Mear, Kwebat, Berwa, Damoun, Rouies.

In 1949, the Government reinforced the "Emergency Laws" and the Minister of Defence was authorized to declare any region whatsoever of Israel a "security zone" and to expel the inhabitants within a delay of ten days. It was in this manner that the Arab inhabitants of the two villages Ikret and Kfar Baram in Galilee were

expelled by force. The inhabitants appealed to the Court in Jerusalem, but before the latter examined their case, the authorities had destroyed the two villages. Ben Gurion, then Prime Minister, went so far as to deny in the Knesset any knowledge of these incidents. Even the timing was shameful: it was on Christmas eve of 1951 that the village of Ikret was destroyed by the Israeli army. All the inhabitants of Ikret were Greek Orthodox Catholic Christians.

In 1948, the Government passed emergency laws on fallow-land. These laws authorized the Minister of Agriculture to seize all "fallow-land." Previously such land had been expropriated under the 1945 and the 1949 laws mentioned earlier. This land was given to Jews.

In 1950, the Government promulgated a law on "Land Expropriation in case of Emergency." This law gave the Government the right to seize provisionally any land, and to confiscate any establishment, considered important for the "defence" of the State, for national security, for the social services, the absorption of Jewish immigrants, the housing of military personnel on leave, and disabled veterans. The duration of the application of this law was initially set for three years. This was extended to six years even before the three years had expired. It was then modified in such a fashion that all lands and buildings seized and occupied by virtue of this law before August 1, 1958 were definitely expropriated.

In 1953, a law on land property was promulgated. Six months after its publication in the official journal, the land of 250 Arab villages was confiscated. By virtue of this law, all land reserved, seized, distributed or utilized since May 14, 1948, for the purpose of advancing development, installations or security and found to be neglected by its owner was declared property of the authority for the cultivation of the land.

The 1953 law determined the value of the indemnity for expropriated land on the basis of the value of the "dunum" on January 1, 1950. This was a flagrant injustice since the value of the Israeli pound was five times less in 1950 than it was in 1953 when the law was passed.

To tighten the screws on the Arabs and to steal legally whatever was left of their land property, a new law was promulgated in 1958: the prescription law. This law was an amendment of the 1858 law regarding Ottoman lands. This law fixed at ten years the duration of time an Arab had to have worked the plot of land for which he was applying for registration in his own name. This recording at the office of land registration entitled him to ownership of the property. The prescription law of 1958 fixed the duration of land use at twenty years. In fact the majority of Palestinian land is poorly drained. A considerable area of this land, especially in Galilee, was not surveyed; consequently registration applications concerning such lands were not considered under mandatory law.

If the Ottoman law had remained in vigour, the Arab farmers would have been able to provide proofs in support of their claims. The 1958 modification extending the period to 20 years made it impossible to register the land in their name. This allowed the Israeli Government to seize several thousand dunums of Arab land.

The Government possesses an additional weapon which it uses from time to time for the confiscation of land: It is the land ownership ordinance (expropriation in the public interest) of 1943. This law enabled the Government to expropriate a large portion of Arab land around Nazareth. On this land a Jewish city was constructed. They did the same on the land of Battour and Shaghur on which Carmiel, a Jewish city, is being born.

It appears obvious that it has planned to transform the whole of Galilee into an entirely Jewish entity. Even before the foundation of the State of Israel, David Ben Gurion asked for a loan from Keren Kayemet<sup>2</sup> and in exchange he offered two million dunums of land, the cost per dunum being fixed at an English pound and a half. When the Keren Kayemet inquired about the nature of this land, Ben Gurion replied that the Hagana would finally occupy the land of Palestine and would deliver according to the terms of the agreement.

Insatiable, the Government continues to

promulgate laws, to enunciate decrees and ordinances which create discrimination. It ignores fulfilling its obligations and international agreements, defies the resolutions of the United Nations taken November 29, 1947 (concerning partition) and the armistice agreement between Israel and Jordan of 1949.

In fact article 8 of chapter 2 of the 1947 resolutions stipulates as follows: "There will be no expropriation of land possessed by Arabs in the Jewish State, except in the public interest. In all cases of expropriation an indemnity determined by the Supreme Court will be paid before the expropriation." At the time of its request for admission into the United Nations, the Israeli Government pledged itself to implement the resolutions of the U.N. concerning Palestine and to respect the armistice agreements. It is important to dwell on this point. Furthermore, it undertook not to promulgate any laws, ordinances or decrees that might be in contradiction with the content of these resolutions and these agreements. In addition, paragraph 6 of the 3rd part of the Israeli-Jordanian agreement states the principle that: "The inhabitants of the villages affected by the establishment of the armistice line foreseen in paragraph 2 of this article will be everywhere maintained in their rights of property, of residence, of liberty and protected to this effect."

After having set forth the policy of the Government on matters relating to land expropriation we now should consider the problem of land property owned by religious trusts (Islamic Wakfs). Contrary to legal procedures and the traditions enforced under the mandatory regime, the Israeli Government deprived the Islamic community of the possession of its property and has taken complete charge of its administration and attributed to itself the revenues of the said property, whereas all the other non-Jewish communities control to a large extent their trusts.

To cover up this abusive seizure of Islamic property the Minister of Religious Affairs designated a committee that has no effective power whatsoever except to provide a "show-window." The members of this committee are chosen for their servility of which they have given proof to the detriment of their brethren.

The Islamic properties' annual income is considerable. Nevertheless the Islamic community does not receive any portion thereof. It follows that all of its religious, cultural, and social activities stagnate for lack of means since the establishment of the state of Israel.

In 1955, David Ben Gurion proclaimed that the revenue from the Islamic properties for that year amounted to only 1 English pound 180,000 which was contrary to the truth. The land constituting Islamic property represents 1/16 of all of Palestine, the largest portions being found in Israel, for example: a) the Wakf of Rubine: 40,000 feddans, b) the Wakf of Sidna Ali: 28,000 feddans, c) the Wakf of Al Radwan: 50,000 feddans.

The Arab Bedouin tribes in the Negev poses another very important problem. For sixteen years, the Bedouins have been the object of persecution and oppression; they are forced to live in real 'ghettos' and only persons in whom the Government has confidence are permitted to see them. Many of them have been expelled from their fertile land and driven to arid lands described by the Jews themselves as "the very heart of the desert." Their fertile lands have been divided among farmers or collectives of Jewish farmers. The Government has not stopped here either. It pursues a harsh policy by all possible means: persuasion, luring promises as well as threats and intrigues. A recent incident illustrates this method: An Arab was suspected of having killed a young Jewish girl and an insidious exploitation of this incident was initiated which provoked a wave of hatred and provided the military Government with a pretext to unleash against the Bedouin of the region a campaign of terror.

#### II - The Military Authority

262,000 Arabs now live in Israel. They are concentrated mainly in Galilee, the Triangle and

the Negev. The authorities have imposed on those regions – since the creation of the state – the presence of a corrupt military Government. It is characterized by its harshness and its inclination to racial discrimination. It propagates dissension, fear and terror.

The 1945 (emergency) defence laws, aimed at crushing rebellion and riots, are the essential weapons of the military Government. They give the military governors important and arbitrary powers and allow an abusive, autocratic authority. Subjected to these laws, the Arab citizen has lost his essential freedoms: freedom of action and expression. Administrative detention and exile are extensively used by the military governors who illegally assume the entire administration of Arab affairs to the extent of high-handed interference even in the citizens' private affairs. In his 1959 annual report, the state comptroller complained that the military governors were handling cases beyond their competence not in their jurisdiction but in that of the civil authorities.

In 1958, a number of professors from the Hebrew University, published a declaration condemning military Government, while in 1962, high ranking officers of the Israeli army, submitted a memorandum denying the necessity for military control. In brief, military Government was imposed in order to accomplish the following unavowable aims:

1. Expropriation of Arab land. This problem has been dealt with above. Let us only add the following statement made by Shimon Peres, Defense Minister, in the "Davar" of 26 January 1962: "Article 125 of the emergency laws is the pillar of the military Government; it constantly promotes the efforts made to increase immigration and new Jewish colonization."
2. Obstruction to Arab attempts to constitute an independent Arab entity. The military Government has been a barrier to these efforts, it has contributed to deprive the Arab citizen of his rights, chiefly the right to free expression. All efforts to publish an independent Arabic newspaper have been opposed. The military authority has been instituted to prevent the creation of a united Arab party within Israel, to destroy Arab culture and to disintegrate the Arab entity in its entirety.
3. To serve the interests of the party in power. False promises coupled with threats towards undesirable representatives have taken care of the control of the votes of the Arab minority.

### III – Arab Culture

The high standard of public education under the mandatory authority has declined and reached its lowest point during the past sixteen years. The percentage of success at the Bagrut (secondary school certificate) in the Arab schools controlled by the Ministry of Education is only 5.4%. This is mainly due to the following factors:

1. The prejudiced and brutal interference of the "Shin-Bet" (special or secret services) of the military authority, in matters relative to education. As a matter of fact, those services control the selection and appointment of 'teachers' whose standard and qualifications are of little importance. They are selected in accordance with the services they are likely to render to the military control and to the "Shin-Bet" and are only expected to be docile, and zealous to serve the propaganda machine of the party in power.
2. The lack of adequate space in the schools. Notwithstanding the increase in the number of Arab students, the number of schools and their capacity have remained extremely limited. The Ministry of Education intentionally neglects to apply the provisions of the law on compulsory education for minorities and assigns improper and inconvenient premises to these schools.
3. The evident lack of books, laboratory equipment, maps and libraries.
4. The publication of mediocre books by the responsible officials who benefit financially while aiming to distort the mentality of the new generation. There are five secondary schools for Arabs in Israel, only one of which in Nazareth, teaches the sciences; all of them lack playgrounds, clubs and adequate space.

The Israeli Government, by means of this policy, endeavours to destroy all links in the minds of the new Arab generation with its glorious past to smother all national feeling and the hope for a better future. In fact, it offers the Arabs a sinister alternative: assimilation or emigration.

### IV – Racial Discrimination\*

The declaration of independence proclaims the absolute equality of all citizens of the state

and takes into account the cooperation of the Arabs in all official and public institutions. However, these texts have remained dead letters. The Government pursues a policy which turns the Arabs into second class citizens, represses them and openly encourages discriminatory measures against them and dissension among them. Discrimination has deeply tainted all aspects of Arab life and created permanent feelings of hate and suspicion.

The Arab minority which amounts to one-tenth of the population, fulfills its civil obligations and pays all sorts or taxes. Nevertheless, Arab civil servants only represent 1.5% of the total. During an election meeting in 1961, a Jewish veteran stressed that "It is up to the Government to shape the Arabs of Israel into a class of workers at the service of the Jewish masses." That is certainly the aim of the Government which endeavours to achieve the maximum in the minimum time.

*\*Ed. note: the intensity of chauvinist prejudices were clearly indicated in a recent Time-Louis Harris Poll (Time, April 12, 1971) of a carefully selected cross-section of the Israeli-Jewish population. The results point out that, "only a fourth of the Israeli Jews admit that prejudice exists against the Arabs. Yet the highest government job the majority is willing to give an Arab at the present time is a low-level civil service position. Among the Israelis, 23% say they would 26% if they had to work closely with one, 49% if an Arab family moved next door, 54% if their children had an Arab teacher, 74% if their children became close friends with Arabs, and 84% if a friend or relative were to marry an Arab." (page 32) Also it was indicated that half of the Israeli-Jews think that Arabs are lazier; three out of four believe they are less intelligent and more cruel; two out of three think they are "inferior" and more dishonest.*

The policy of racial discrimination against the Arabs of Israel affects all aspects of life, mainly:

– Public utilities: To this day, the majority of Arab villages lack a supply of drinking water, electricity and proper roads.

– Public health: Many villages are totally deprived of sanitary services. The recent incident in the village of Kisra where 12 children died of measles is a flagrant proof of this negligence.

– Local authorities: The Arab communities must be content with 'designated' counsellors, or go without any.

– Last but not least, the Government denies the Arabs the fundamental freedoms of speech, expression and political freedom. Not content to openly oppose the creation of an independent Arab political party, and to destroy, by every means, the Arab national status in Israel, the authorities press the Arab youth to join Zionist and non-Zionist parties in the hope of smothering national feelings and in order to facilitate their assimilation within the Jewish milieu.

In this unhealthy atmosphere of persecution and discrimination, racism and chauvinism, an Arab appeal was launched pledging all the Arabs to claim their rights, their natural place in society and to demand respect for their feelings and traditions. This daring call came from a group of young Arabs, honest and deeply dedicated, who reject any form of discrimination and are

opposed to theft of the land as well as its expropriation. They defended equality, justice, respect, dignity and freedom and stated that justice is too often compromised by evil laws and intrigues.

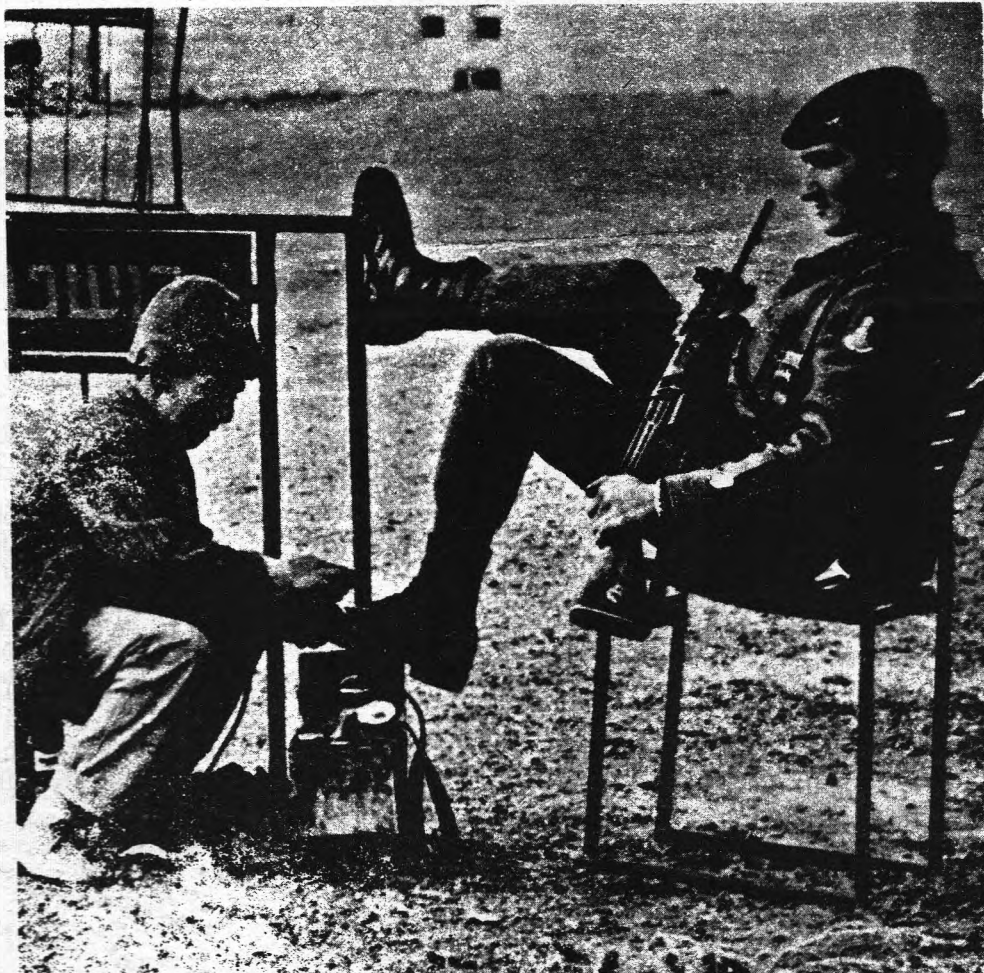
Their slogan is 'justice' and their motto 'Al Ard' (the land). They are best known by the name of the "Al-Ard Society." At the outset they decided to publish their own paper under the title of "Al-Ard," symbol of the invincible Arab heritage. The publication of a memorandum setting out their rightful petitions and peaceful intentions was followed by a formal request to the authorities for permission to publish their own journal. Alleging futile pretexts, the authorities delayed their reply beyond the legal limits. The Society nevertheless decided to publish a weekly bulletin in which it would express its opinion on current affairs and politics. Every means to smother the Society's activity was resorted to: its members were subjected to severe economic sanctions. The local press, and the foreign Zionist press such as the London Jewish Chronicle launched a defamatory campaign against them. Al-Ard resisted all attacks, intrigues and calumny, abiding by its policy based on just conviction and sacred beliefs. The authorities later brought the group to court for breach of the Press Law and each member of the group was sentenced to 1,000 Pounds in a fine and a suspended sentence of three months' imprisonment. The High Court of Appeal reduced the fines by half but maintained the imprisonment periods. In spite of the detrimental effects caused by these judgements, the struggle by Al-Ard was pursued.

Simultaneously, the Society filed a request for the creation of a printing, editing and publishing company under the name Al-Ard Co. Ltd. and the request was presented to the registrar of companies. The demand was rejected for reasons of order and state security. The case was later brought before the Jerusalem High Court which rejected the allegations of the registrar of companies and authorized the registration of the firm. The Public Prosecutor appealed to the High Court at which five judges sat. By majority vote the court confirmed the first judgement and finally ordered the registration of the company. Following this, Al-Ard Co. Ltd. sought permission to publish the long awaited newspaper. Once again, the regional commissioner for the North (Nazareth), rejected the request on the pretext that the designated editor did not hold the required qualifications. A new editor holding the required qualifications was nominated and a fresh request was presented. In line with the previous attitude, the commissioner general signified his refusal, referring this time to Article 94 of the (emergency) defense laws of 1945 which gave him this authority. All of these oppressive and painful machinations against Arab youth seeking political freedom confirm Israeli chauvinism and the discrimination it exercises.

The Al-Ard Society maintains that the Arabs of Israel form part of the Palestinian Arabs, themselves integrally part of

1. Total equality for all citizens as regards fundamental rights; an end to discrimination and oppression.

CONT'D ON PAGE 8



# ...Arabs in israel

2. Acceptance by Israel of the 29 November 1947 U.N. Resolution on the division of Palestine, a just solution which safe-guards the interests of the Arab and Jewish peoples and assures stability and peace in the Middle East.<sup>4</sup>
3. The adoption by Israel of a policy of non-alignment and positive neutralism and peaceful co-existence.
4. The recognition by Israel of a national Arab movement which demands unity and socialism as the most progressive and sure force upon which the future of this area depends and consequently that of Israel.
5. Cooperation with all those in Israel, who work towards the accomplishment of the above ideals or part thereof.

The Al-Ard Society took the case before the High Court of Justice in Jerusalem. In an atmosphere heavy with unprecedented enmity, the Court rejected the case. In its judgement, the President of the Court declared:

"The plaintiffs have charged that the refusal to grant them authority to publish a newspaper in which they would express their political opinions ran counter to the liberty of the individual and of the press. Nevertheless, since this case arises from the socio-political conditions relative to the special circumstances associated with the existence of the State of Israel during the past years, it cannot be debated before the High Court and must be submitted to another jurisdiction."

Judge Berinson, for his part, said:

"The plaintiffs (i.e. Al-Ard Co. Ltd.) have asserted that in the event the Court orders the regional commissioner to justify his refusal to grant permission to publish (the newspaper), the proof would be evidenced that the said plaintiffs have been, as Arabs, subjected to racial and political discrimination, that their opinions did not correspond with those of the Jewish organizations and that they were incompatible with those of the regional commissioner. On the other hand, the Public Prosecutor had assured the Court that the regional commissioner had based his refusal only on considerations of security, the justification of his decision not being available for disclosure by order from the Minister of Defense. The Public Prosecutor, however, proposed the brief to the Court for examination. This proposal has been rejected by us on the ground of incompetence to analyze the reasons dictating the decision of the regional commissioner, since the plaintiffs are not in a position to refute the contents of a brief which cannot be communicated to them."

Judge Berinson then examined the petition of the plaintiffs who deemed it regrettable that such an important and fundamental matter pertaining to the freedom of expression and publication, depended exclusively upon the regional commissioner without the right of appeal. On this subject, Judge Berinson said:

"It is true that this is a serious matter . . . Courts of Justice can only confirm the law in its spirit and since the regional commissioner has decided not to divulge the reasons which prompted his refusal of the plaintiffs' request, the High Court may not intervene."

Furthermore, the (emergency) Defense Laws dating back to 1945, allow the regional commissioners ample power to interfere in all fields. Article 94 of these laws gives them authority to silence the press. The article reads:

"The regional commissioner has all the freedom to act without giving his reasons. He may grant or refuse requests, qualify his permissions, and revoke them at any time. He may also modify or withdraw his decisions or impose new ones."

We must also mention some of the specific articles of the emergency laws which infringe upon the individual's basic rights. Article 109

gives the military governors full powers to restrict individual freedom. It reads:

"A military commander can give an order to any person in the following connections:

- a) compliance with the order forbidding a person from proceeding in such and such a part of Israel;
- b) asking such a person to account for his movements;
- c) prevent the application of or restrict the benefits from specific articles;
- d) impose restrictions on a person concerning his work, his association or relations with other persons, chiefly with regard to the dissemination of news and the propagation of opinions."

Article 110 gives military governors the power to exercise police control.

It says:

"A military commander is qualified to order police supervision of a person for a period not exceeding one year."

Paragraph 2 of the same article stipulates that:

"All persons placed under police supervision by virtue of the preceding text may be subjected to the following restrictions should the order be given by the military commander:

- a) the person may be assigned to reside in the region of Israel which it may please the military commander to designate;
- b) the person shall not transfer his residence to another region dependent upon the same police authority without written permission from the police officer of the region; moreover, the person will have to solicit written permission from the head of the police or general police inspector to proceed to an area under a different police authority;
- c) the person may not leave the town, village or regional sub-division where he resides without written authority from the regional police officer;
- d) the person shall at all times provide exact information of his place of residence to the head of the police of the area concerned;
- e) the person must present himself to the nearest police post upon request from the police officer;
- f) the person is bound to comply with curfew regulations: one hour after sundown until daybreak; police calls at the residence are authorized at any time of the day or night."

Article 111 gives military governors further power to proceed to "administrative detention." "A military commander may order detention of any person in a place designated by him . . ."

Article 125 also gives military governors the right to impose curfews on the country or parts thereof:

"A military commander may compel any person residing within the region concerned to remain within his residence during the hours specified in this order; any person found outside his residence without written authority from the military commander or from a person delegated by him, shall be pursued for breach of article 125."

These 1945 emergency laws on which the High Court of Justice based its judgment are despotic and imperialistic. They were decreed by the British Mandatory authorities to smother the movement for national liberation.

The terms of these laws, directly or indirectly, render null and void all other laws or ordinances. The Government is vested with exorbitant and coercive powers which leave the Arab citizen desperate and bitter. These laws are hard and dictatorial.<sup>5\*</sup>

Ever since their promulgation, these laws have not ceased to encounter fierce opposition and violent protests from both Arabs and Jews. On the 7th of February 1947, a meeting to protest these laws was held in Tel Aviv. 400 Jewish jurists some of which now hold important positions, attended this meeting. Dr. Dunkelblum who later became a member of the High Court of Justice, declared:

"These laws are a constant threat to the citizens. We, jurists, see in them a flagrant

violation of the fundamental principles of justice, legality and discipline. These disposes citizens of their rights and confer on the authorities unlimited power."

Speaking at the same meeting, Dr. Dov Joseph (present Minister of Justice), declared:

"These laws create the following problem: will we all be subject to legal terrorism? May we be subject to the interference of the authorities into our private affairs without any appeal? Any citizen may now be imprisoned without it being necessary to present a legal accusation against him and without trial. These laws truly leave the citizen without defense. The liberty of the individual is no longer possible. The alternative is: freedom or despotism. We cannot ask the citizen to respect laws that inspire suspicion and hatred."

Jacob Shapira who later became legal advisor to the Israeli Government criticized severely these laws during this meeting, saying:

"These laws have no equivalent in any civilized country, not even in Nazi Germany. They might be applied to an occupied country. The authorities claim that these laws apply only to criminals; nevertheless, no authority can allow itself to promulgate such inhuman laws."

At the end of the meeting the following resolutions were adopted:

1. The emergency laws deprive citizens of their fundamental liberties.
2. The emergency laws constitute a constant threat to the principle of equality and discipline as well as a major threat to the freedom of the individual and his life. They impose a dictatorial government.
3. The meeting requests the abolition of these laws.

Prominent among those most opposed to these laws, were a great number of the present leaders of Israel. As a matter of fact Israel had to abolish these laws soon after its creation. The Government of Israel maintained them nonetheless and applied them even more ruthlessly against the Arabs in Israel and *against them only*.

Ignoring its own position, the Zionist press and official propaganda apparatus in Israel, feel free to criticize the internal situation in other countries when it is distressing within Israel.

The authorities are carrying out a violent campaign of terror, persecution and discrimination against the Arabs who are, in spite of all false allegations, the legitimate land owners of the country.

The feeble hope which our hearts cherished and the faith which we had in courts of justice vanished after the High Court of Justice issued its unfavourable verdict vis a vis the case of Al-Ard Co. Ltd.

The hope of the Israeli Government is that the systematic pressure and terror will produce among the "Israeli" Arabs a state of fear, despair and submission. We declare that this shall never be. We are determined to resist oppression and resolve to struggle for our rights, recalling that outrageous exactions can only result in resentment if not hatred. The Government also hopes that the Arabs will start civil rebellion which it would exploit to justify, in the face of world opinion, repressive actions against the minorities. Once again, we believe that this machiavelism will have repercussions beyond the frontiers of Israel and will affect the whole Arab world and all conscientious people.

We here condemn Israel for its improper policy. If the United Nations remains a passive observer it will have to bear along with Israel the entire responsibility for the consequences of this policy. The fate of the 262,000 Arabs in Israel is not inconsequential.

1. The Triangle is the name given to a region because of its shape and which is occupied by numerous Arab villages.

2. A national fund which possesses the land of the State of Israel.

3. Agrarian Egyptian measure: 2.5 feddans = 1 hectare.

4. The U.N. division of Palestine was rejected by the Arab countries and accepted by the Zionists.

5. These laws do exist and practice in today's Israel.



# ...inside ISRAEL

THIS ARTICLE IS REPUBLISHED FROM STRUGGLE NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST ALLIANCE  
IN ORDER TO HELP SHED SOME LIGHT ON THE ANTI-ZIONIST MOVEMENT INSIDE ISRAEL

## TOWARDS NEW DIMENSIONS

The Israeli Socialist Organization—Matzpen—has been since the 1967 war the most active Israeli organization in the struggle against the occupation of the Arab territories in particular and against Zionism in general. Even before the war the Matzpen had been the only political formation in Israel which undertook a fundamental analysis of Zionism and pointed at a socialist union of the Middle East as the only perspective for all the masses of the area—Arab and Jew. It was Matzpen that pointed out the role of the Histadrut (the Israeli labor federation—Ed.) as an arm of the Zionist movement. (Matzpen is the only political newspaper in Israel which published the positions and discussed with the Palestinian revolutionaries, it has been one of the most active elements in the democratic struggle against the 1945 Defense (Emergency) Regulations, against administrative arrests, and similar struggles.

In spite of this, and in full awareness of the heavy responsibility we undertake by doing so, we, a small group of comrades, have decided to abandon the ranks of the Israeli Socialist Organization. Two main reasons brought about this decision on our part: the absence of any program, and the absence of any political strategy or of an adequate organizational framework for any strategic realization.

In its position as the sole active opposition to Zionism—apart from the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah), which, for ideological reasons does not constitute a pole of attraction—Matzpen became a shelter for a coalition of people with extremely diverse political identities holding only their radical opposition to the regime and its policies in common. Matzpen thus started to constitute a meeting-ground for Marxist-Leninists of all schools, for Marxists doubting Leninism, for opponents of capitalism and imperialism who find Marxism obsolete, for pacifists who found it a political expression for their opposition to war and for anti-establishment youth who saw it as a means of identifying with the Western wave of the "New Left."

Only the peculiar conditions prevailing in Israel enabled such different elements to work together:

- growing fascism inside Jewish society;
- constant aggravation of the Arab population in Israel and in the conquered territories.

There was common work to a certain degree but the lack of a defined political identity is one of the main causes for the absence of a clear and consistent political line. Such a line is indispensable in guiding and promoting significant revolutionary action. So that while Matzpen's activities in the course of this last year is met with proper responses in Europe, the USA and within the Palestinian movement, in fact, Matzpen has been suffering from increasing internal paralysis for several months.

Matzpen's reluctance to define a common political position stems mainly from their desire to preserve the widest possible organizational framework while reinforcing internal unity. This concern was dictated at all stages of the political work by the aspiration to keep activity at least at the level of the previous stage; dictated by the assumption that ceaseless activity, whatever it might be, together with firm internationalism, were the best means to attain the aim of combatting Zionism.

These conditions led Matzpen to develop a pragmatic approach to political work. In relating to the Jewish and Arab working masses their lack of long-range political strategy, of a plan of action and the readiness to start in the slow and basic work, led to sporadic endeavor. They only took initiative in reaction to developments. For instance, when objective conditions in

Israel gave birth to the workers' struggles of 1968-69, they started propagandizing among the Jewish workers; when, two and a half years after the war, signs of the "youth revolt" appeared (thanks also, let's face it, to the propaganda work of Matzpen), the organization concentrated most of its work among students and youth. But after the workers' struggles were repressed and after the youth "quieted down," Matzpen also became silent.

The absence of a political line and the fundamental differences in the organizational conceptions of the members also encouraged the process of deterioration of the style of work. Moods, sudden energy or individual idleness were to define the norms of activity more than anything else. The complete lack of discipline—organizational as well as political—provoked a considerable loss of effectiveness in an organization which, in spite of its democratic-centralistic "constitution," was founded on spontaneity and on the "freedom" not to execute the decisions of the majority, more than on any sort of centralistic democracy.

At the same time one witnessed in the organization the growth and development of positions denying the role of the revolutionary party as a guide and leader of the mass struggle; denying the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessity of class struggle after the victory of revolution; and negating the role of the socialist "state" as a liberated area and as a base for revolutionary struggle until the final defeat of imperialism and capitalism. So grew positions exaggerating the importance of the revolt against "alienation" as such (here, in the heart of the "underdeveloped" Arab East!) as a revolutionary motivation and overestimating the importance of anti-establishment moods and feelings.

In the field of its propaganda inside the country and aside from a few isolated theoretical documents, Matzpen tends to obscure the roots of the Israeli-Arab conflict. In spite of true and courageous slogans about "Zionist nationalism" and "Arab nationalism," Matzpen tends to overlook the purely colonial character of the contradiction and to put the stress upon its national dimensions. Thus, it never specifically fought for the breaking of the Zionist monopoly of land and it defends an ambiguous position on the question of the national rights of the Jews in Palestine—~~Israel~~ Israel, and on the meaning of the principle of self-determination. Thus it envisions the state of Israel as a mere instrument of capitalist oppression destined to be destroyed by the socialist revolution like all other states, and not as an apparatus of colonial oppression (on top of its being capitalist and "nationalist") deserving as such to be seen as the main tactical enemy of revolutionaries inside Israel. Thus democratic illusions developed in Matzpen about the Zionist press and courts, to which the organization at times appeals, when the state apparatus, under whose legality Matzpen functions, denies its own "democratic" principles.

We want to repeat another time: we are aware of the value of Matzpen's activity in this country as well as abroad which contributed to unveil the character of the Zionist regime, to radicalize Jewish youth in Europe and in the U.S., to undermine the political and moral position of Zionism in the whole world, to encourage "youth revolt" inside Israel, and to promote a revolutionary debate in the area.

But since we do not see a chance of success if we were to continue and struggle inside the organization for the adoption of a proper organizational conception, for the definition of a political strategy founded on a program—a strategy that serves as a common, clear and consistent line supported by the majority of the members, and since we see that the ideological as well as the organizational principles of Matzpen are bound to silence it as an instrument of class struggle in this area, we have decided, on the basis of the following political platform, to leave its ranks and organize under the name Revolution: Communist Alliance working to achieve our aims.

## DARE TO STRUGGLE

We'd better see things as they are. For several months we've been almost completely silent. We're not aware of it, since from time to time we're attacked in the press because of the activities by our comrades abroad, but in fact, Matzpen has become today a more or less fictitious organization.

Yet we exist, but we exist as a myth; that is as a negative social function.

This doesn't mean we do nothing—we do exactly what we can in order to remain a myth. We publish a newspaper from time to time, we hold "circles" and we distribute a few leaflets.

Clearly, the objective situation itself is a difficult one. Any revolutionary development in the Arab countries reinforces the militaristic and totalitarian character of the Israeli state consolidating the pro-imperialist national unity. On the other hand, no partial victory of counterrevolution can give birth to

normalization and put an end to the war for this is a deeply-rooted process. In other words, the continuation of occupation means, within a short time, fascism in Israel—fascism in the South African way. Even retreat from the occupied territories as a result of the Rogers or any other plan can't put an end to Israeli chauvinism. The evacuation of these territories won't in itself bring peace and won't create the possibility of internal revolutionary struggle in Israel. It could be that we'll reach a period of calm, but as a result of economic problems, as well as bitter disillusion, one can expect even greater chauvinistic reactions.

As a matter of fact, Matzpen itself doesn't always relate to its own slogans seriously.

We understood the reasons behind the 1967 war. We made no compromise with chauvinism and we contend—justly—that there will be no end to this war without a just solution for the Palestinian people; the results of war and occupation, on the other hand, are well enough known: they aggravate the colonial character of the state of Israel.

Did this analysis provoke any change in our personal behavior or in the forms of our activity?

None! We are capable of sarcasm toward communist organizations that watched the oncoming of the catastrophe without getting prepared for it (as in Greece, or in Indonesia); but we, who are living the very process, what lessons have we drawn from that? Not one. We go on, fostering the same illusions in ourselves.

How did we react to the campaign in the press "Matzpen=Fatah=traitor"? First we were shocked, and every time we are shocked anew; and then as good democrats, we called upon other "democrats." At the beginning of the last year we tried to struggle against our isolation and form a front, a coordination committee for public action against the Defense Regulations, administrative detentions and other similar issues. But in the long run nobody, aside from the CP (Rakah), wants to collaborate with us. There were two actions: the demonstration in front of Parliament against collective punishment and another demonstration in Tel Aviv. Nothing can force Left-wing Zionists like "siah" or demagogues like Avneri to struggle together with us for democracy. It is not their interest and to delude ourselves into believing that it is their interest is to assume that they represent some sort of real opposition. They will, at most, stand for our right to speak. This is poisoned support, in fact, we serve them: they have a group of "traitors" to attack—as good citizens—and to defend (more or less formally)—as good democrats.

The press campaign against us is inevitable and so is our isolation from "the public." Some of us once thought, some of us still do, that it should be possible for us to defend ourselves in the courts of justice. To go to a Zionist court of justice, so that it makes legally plain the difference between a revolutionary and a traitor! To go to the wolf and expect him to see to it that none eats us! As though we lived here in the midst of some sort of "real" bourgeois democracy, like England, or Sweden...

In a certain sense, we are fighting a political struggle against gangsters. We must get this into our heads: we are outside the framework and this is an inevitable result of our internationalist position.

So far I have talked about things done. What about now? What can now be done?

First of all, produce a political program, that is to say produce an analysis of the contradictions in Israeli society. Such an analysis is not abstract, it doesn't appear in any book. It is obvious that the Jewish proletariat in Israel adheres wholly, almost without exception, to the Zionist ideology. It is also obvious that the continuation of the state of war aggravates economic exploitation and that professional struggles in the coming months will develop in the most dramatic way.

It is in no way obvious that we can detach the Jewish proletariat from Zionism without revolutionary changes first taking place in the Middle East, without the transformation of the anti-imperialist Arab movement into a mass socialist movement, that shall lead the struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction at the same time. But in waging our struggle against Zionism, we must appeal, above all, to the proletariat, for it's the only class that has no clear economic interest in the continuation of the war. Both the waging of this struggle and its orientation towards the working class are of primary importance. Those who doubt whether such a struggle can succeed can bring no convincing argument to the effect that it can't, since nobody has ever seriously tried it.

There can be no final answer without experience. But it would be naive to think that a few more leaflets will do. To begin with, we must write our material in another language, in clear, understandable style. Talk about concrete problems, explain them, implies that we first study them. On the other hand we must decide that those of our comrades who don't work and don't study are at the disposal of the organization to work in factories.

We are not speaking of miraculous solutions or of wonders. We say we must undertake a long march;

CONT'D ON PAGE 10

## ...inside ISRAEL

that demands work, skill and discipline, of no common measure with the norms familiar to us.

To the same extent we must start systematic work in the Arab sector, in the Arab language; we must change the style of our leaflets, which may be full of social idealism, but do not answer the specific problems faced by the Arab population in Israel. I think of our comrades explaining in Arab villages that "It's obvious that without a socialist revolution, there can be no solution to the Palestinian problem." Such a position, even if it is absolutely right in its essence, is not self-evident, and can even appear to be disconnected from reality.

There is no doubt that in order to operate this radical change, we need a minimum political platform, a program of action. What is even more important is the understanding that only if we define higher norms of work and revolutionary discipline is this struggle possible at all. One must understand that the decisive moment cannot forever be postponed. Matzpen must tear itself away from its petty-bourgeois and bohemian roots. Not to do this, to continue along the same lines, will be to offer the Zionist regime the best present it can receive from us: the luxury of a legal, but important, "revolutionary" organization. To exist without acting is to serve the regime—to be objectively counterrevolutionary.

There is still a possibility of changing.

### RCA PLATFORM

1. Our position is based on Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism. This attitude is not only a question of revolutionary ethics and consciousness but a condition to the victory of socialist revolution, even within the most limited national or regional framework. This attitude is built upon:

2. Seeing the October Revolution as the starting point of world revolution;

3. Seeing the Chinese Revolution as the direct continuation of October and an important step towards world revolution;

4. Identification with the Vietnamese people, the Cuban people, the Palestinian people and all the peoples whose heroic resistance to imperialism not only leads them to the revolutionary way and to partaking in international class struggle, but also constitutes a precious source of lessons and experience for revolutionaries everywhere;

5. Solidarity with the oppressed masses everywhere against their masters, be they feudal, bourgeois or bureaucratic, be they national or foreign, be their rule enforced in the name of god, nation, freedom or even their own brand of "socialism." Solidarity with the masses of exploited toilers everywhere in their struggles against capitalism;

6. Active identification with revolutionaries everywhere, which means tending to unify forces on a democratic basis with all the elements fighting now for the same aims: Union of forces on a regional scale and integration of the national or regional struggle into a global strategy meant to isolate imperialism and to constitute a world revolutionary front;

7. Support to the proletariat and the revolutionary youth of the imperialist countries in their struggles against capitalism, racism and imperialism as well as against revisionism, reformism and collaborationist class forces;

8. Participation in the international debate of the revolutionary movement as a contribution to the struggle for world socialist democracy.

9. Armed with this internationalist attitude, we, Jewish and Arab revolutionaries, residents of the state of Israel, see in the Zionist power—that ensures the continuation of the existing social order in our active political reach—our main tactical enemy.

10. The Zionist enterprise is partly rooted outside this area so that part of the struggle against it is the responsibility of the revolutionaries who work in those countries where Zionism has roots.

11. The growing and expanding state of Israel—all its political, military and trade union institutions—is the expression of Zionist achievement.

12. The Zionist state of Israel is the result of a colonializing process accomplished with the help of international imperialism at the expense of the Arab people. This process—enforced with the help of racist laws condoning land confiscation, organized Jewish immigration according to the "Law of Return" and Jewish settlement at the expense of the Palestinian residents—determines the colonial character of the very existence of a Zionist state. This is to say that Israel is not a society in which internal class contradictions constitute the ground for an independent Israeli socialist revolution, autonomous in regards to the entire region's revolutionary process.

13. Israeli society, in spite of its settler character and the artificiality of its subventioned economy, is a class society, integrated in the world capitalist market, and in which wide strata of toilers suffer as in every capitalist society from economic exploitation and social oppression. It is this social contradiction that constitutes the potential ground for the detachment of these strata from the pro-imperialist Zionist enterprise.

14. The principle obstacle to unity lies in the ideological power of Zionism that presents itself to the eyes of the Jewish masses, in Israel as well as abroad, as the only alternative to eternal persecution and genocide. We must remember that Zionist ideology channeled the political despair of the Jewish petty-bourgeoisie, impoverished and persecuted by anti-Semitic reaction, transforming it into colonializing energy serving the objective interests of western imperialism.

15. Without a part of the Jewish population detaching itself from Zionist ideology social contradictions won't play their historical role and the Israeli settlement will remain an integrated force constituting a powerful army against the Arab liberation movement and socialist revolution.

16. This detachment can only take place through the development of three processes, one indissociable from the other:

a. the progressive disappearance of Israeli military superiority;

b. the aggravation of the economic internal crisis in Israel;

c. the emergence of an internationalist alternative in the Palestinian liberation movement and the Arab revolutionary movement, together with the penetration of anti-imperialist ideology among the masses of Jewish workers in Israel.

17. In order to achieve this aim, it is of the utmost importance to combat the chauvinist attitudes and policies that continue to exist in the Arab liberation movement, policies that overlook the existence of a Jewish national entity in Palestine-Israel, and the political question stemming from the existence of that national minority and its rights. Only a clear recognition of their political rights can create the objective and subjective basis for the exploited masses of Israel to be able to join a common revolutionary struggle.

18. The Palestinian Arab people have been for several decades the main victim of the objective alliance between Zionism and Arab reaction. Their independent upheaval after the 1967 war constitutes one of the most important and healthiest signs of revolutionary change for the destruction of the existing social order in the area.

19. By virtue of its historic situation the Palestinian movement stands at the front of the struggle, not only against Zionism and pro-imperialist Arab reaction, but also against the force and the ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie which claims to pass its nationalist reformism for socialism.

20. The Palestinian question can only be solved within the framework of a socialist revolution, which can't take place without union on an internationalist basis of all the revolutionary forces in the area.

21. Palestine-Israel is a bi-national territory. The present territorial concentration of the Jewish population is but a fact of force, ensuring the permanent expulsion of the Arab population from its lands. Territorial separation between these two peoples on the basis of Zionist force contradicts the democratic principle whereby every citizen, re-

gardless of his nationality, can live and work wherever they choose to.

22. These assertions suggest a clear and single conclusion: *the only alternative to national warfare, war between the people, is the common revolutionary struggle of Arabs and Jews.*

23. Zionism and the Israeli question are neither the only motor, nor the only obstacle to revolution in the Arab world. To the contrary, the Palestinian question and Zionism are phenomena of imperialist rule over an area of primary economic and strategic importance. This area is still imprisoned in reactionary ideological and political frameworks guarantying the continuation of imperialist rule. Not only the local bourgeoisie, organically linked to imperialism, but also the "progressive" petty-bourgeoisie have demonstrated their total incapacity to lead the liberation movement of the Arab peoples. The failure of the national-democratic revolution in the Middle East constitutes the objective ground for the revolutionary radicalization of the Arab national movement, while the development of the proletariat in the Arab countries is creating the subjects who are to lead this process.

24. On the basis of the general lines of this analysis we believe it is possible and necessary to establish revolutionary popular power—an alliance of peasants, workers and intellectuals under proletarian leadership—in the Arab East.

25. The Arab East does not constitute a complete and defined geopolitical unity. This region is historically linked to the Arab West (the Maghreb: North Africa) as well as to social processes englobing non-Arab parts of western Asia, so that the socialist union of the Arab East, with its free minorities cannot be anything but a liberated area.

26. We are aware of the contradiction between the need to organize the revolutionary struggle on the basis of the most rigorous centralism and the democratic aspiration of decentralization and self-management of society by the citizens themselves in every place; but we see this contradiction as a dialectical, not an antagonistic one.

27. There can be no victory of socialism without the building of an all-regional revolutionary party that shall lead the masses of the whole area to the conquest of power.

28. It is this momentary aim, to contribute to the building of a common party through revolutionary struggle, that determines the form of organization at this stage: We are still not organically linked to the masses without which there can be no significant political action.

29. We see as an immediate need the formation of a revolutionary front in Israel, open to anyone agreeing with the principles and aims formulated in this platform, and to anyone accepting its discipline, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

30. The aim of the front in the long range must be to prepare, organize and lead—by all the means it will see as necessary—the war against the Zionist regime in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. The final aim of the struggle is the establishment of revolutionary people's power in the Arab East as a liberated area and as a bastion of the world socialist revolution.

31. The aim of the front at this stage is to coordinate the revolutionary energies existing in our field of action until the conditions are created for the transformation of the front into a party. These conditions are principally:

a. A political program, including a theoretical analysis of social dynamics in the Middle East, accepted by the majority of the front members.

b. A political strategy rooted in the objective struggles of the exploited social strata and active involvement of the front in these struggles.

## ... NEW REACTIONARY ALLIANCE

plane carrying the two new Sudanese leaders who were then kidnapped. Next, planes bombed the headquarters of the coup to pave the road for Numeiry's return to power and Kaddafi committed the most dishonorable act by sending the two captured Sudanese leaders to Numeiry for execution, after Numeiry declared he would join the federation.

The nature of the slogan of "Arab unity" which these "progressive" regimes are raising is being clearly shown. This slogan is a slogan for these defeatist and oppressive reactionary regime's to unite behind, in order to oppress the Arab masses and keep them from liberation of colonialism and Zionism. It is evident that the president who constantly shouted, threats at Israel and never took any action did not hesitate to take action, in cooperation with Assad of Syria and Kaddafi of Libya, to save Numeiry by pulling out Sudanese troops from the Suez Canal front and sending them to Sudan to help put down and kill anyone who believed in the working class struggle for independence and liberation.

It was natural for the Arab people to boil with anger while they listened to the victims in Sudan being shot, while receiving their death sentences, "Long live the Sudanese people and the working class." It was also natural for the Arab people to instinctively reject the slogan of "Arab unity" which the Arab regimes use to hide their worst crimes behind. Additionally, it was also natural for these Arab masses to realize that all people have to independently carry their own struggle if they are to establish a concrete base for a continuous relationship.

### The Road to the Future

There is no doubt that what is now occurring in the Middle East will, in the near future, deepen the gap between the Sudanese people and the Arab people (the Egyptian people in particular). The Egyptian people will undoubtedly become increasingly angered at their leaders' incapacities and the Palestinian people will surely feel increasingly bitter towards the Arab leaders who failed them. All this means that the feelings of solidarity among the Arab masses will weaken for a period of time to come.

This situation will lead, in the final analysis, to an increase in the consciousness of the Arab masses. They will see the necessity of carrying on their struggles independently without expecting anything from their bourgeois establishments. This situation will then lead the masses to the realization that their unity will only materialize to the degree they control their own destiny.

The contradictions affecting the Arab regimes will help uncover these regimes' true class nature and the true class nature of their slogan's of "Arab nationalism" and "Arab unity." The apathy of the masses towards these regimes and these regime's slogans should by no means upset Arab revolutionaries, for these contradictions and changes in the Arab world will inevitably lead the masses to realize and reject any illusion of liberation or unity coming from either these regimes or from above.

## ...DPFLP PROPOSALS

of a collective leadership and democratic dialogue at the high level committees of joint national work

So it is all of these subjective and objective factors which make a total unity in all fields, based on the abolition of each group's independent political and ideological organization, an illusion and an impossibility. Additionally, that move would lead to reactionary, counter-revolutionary results, especially at the present stage.

Despite all these factors, it is possible to move in the direction of total integration and unity in some fields and, in particular, in the military field. This in such a manner so it would not contradict the principle of organizational, ideological and political independence for each individual group.

That is, any steps in this direction should be based on an objective and realistic evaluation of the previous experiences which have ended in failure because of the absence of any clear basis which governed the relations within the unified committees. This absence led to the development of bureaucratic and subjective conflicts within these committees.

Therefore, the Congress decides that:

National unity at the present stage should exist on the basis of a united front within the framework of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its different executive branches, in such a form that would guarantee:

1. The independence of political and ideological organization for all groups. The right of comradely criticism within the framework of the joint national work.

2. A commitment to a minimum political and defined common struggle program, principally based on the decisions of the previous National Congress' (in particular the 7th Congress, the special August 1970 Congress, and the 8th Congress), in addition to the aforementioned resolutions to this present Congress.

The possibilities which are available at this stage, and the necessities and needs of the present and future struggle bring the question of military unity of all the fighting forces (regular and guerilla) to the forefront of the program for national unity.

These conditions make necessary the immediate construction of a united people's liberation army, integrating all fighting forces around the principle of complete unity from top to bottom on the condition that this be dependent on the principles, the effectiveness and the continuation of these efforts for as long as the united forces are in continuity with their role as a revolutionary people's army. The principles for this people's liberation army are as follows:

1. The right of independent political work and free organizational association for all fighters in these united forces. Freedom for all organizations belonging to the united national front to practice political and organizational work.

2. Democratic internal relations among the ranks of the united forces (cancellation of the salute, cancellation of physically abusive punishments, the right of criticism and self-criticism). Establishment of soldiers' councils for observing, evaluating and directing any leadership and giving them the right to give a vote of no confidence in that leadership. Thereby insuring an effective military discipline based on political and organizational consciousness.

3. The abolition of all class differences in relation to all material and non-material privileges. A ratio not to exceed 3:1 in the differences of material privileges.

4. A total subjection of the army to the political leadership committees of joint national work (with regard to each one's special duties), considering that the leadership committees are collective.

DPFLP - July 1971

### DPFLP LITERATURE LIST

#### Monthly Newspaper:

Palestine Resistance Bulletin..... \$2.50

#### Pamphlets:

The August Program..... 40

On Terrorism, Role of Party, Leninism vs. Zionism..... 35

September: Counter-Revolution in Jordan..... 40

Towards A Democratic Solution..... 35

#### Posters:

Vietnam to Palestine..... 50

Step by Step... Organize the Masses..... 50

#### Calendar:

1971 Color..... 1.00

#### Key Chain:

DPFLP engraved..... 1.00

#### Buttons:

Hammer, Sickle, and Klashinokov..... 35

Arabic Script..... 35

NEW !! Arab Headresses .....\$3.50

All of the above may be ordered by sending a check payable to "Palestine Resistance Bulletin" for the amount of material plus 15% to cover shipping. Bulk order with a discount are available, please write for information.

## ...DPFLP WOMEN

The relations between university men and women have been dictated by and through the dominating values and culture of its dominating forces. That is because of the absence of vanguard forces who would consider it their task to form relations based on common struggle among the students at this stage.

What about the question of women's liberation in the Jordanian university? It has been observed that the female students in their understanding of the question of women's liberation have not surpassed, objective or practically, their bourgeois concept of liberation. A concept of subjective or superficial liberation, based on superficial rejection of their parental or social tutelage, this thus leads to submission to bourgeois values. The vague rebellion without theoretical objectives, and in the absence of any revolutionary understanding, bursts like a soap bubble with no lasting effect.

A political liberation based on the superficial participation of the students in patriotic work, with total submission to prevailing social conditions, is an attempt at liberation based on good will and enthusiasm for the national struggle without truly surpassing a "bourgeoisization" process.

The anticipated liberation of women lies in their emotional, political, cultural, and social liberation, through the national struggle and through the basic transformation of the masses' culture and the structure of class society.

*The liberation of women is through their realization, and the realization of the society, of their human value as a "productive force." Work alone is the determinant factor of their value in the society, not their class, tribal, or family relation, not the prevailing culture and morals, and not their position as private property of men.*

There exists different kinds of unequal relationships between university men and women, as shown by the establishment of warped relationships instead of direct relationships based on cooperation in the struggle. The duty of the masses' organizations is to initiate and create broader avenues for the Palestinian-Jordanian women to work in, plus confronting the reactionary legacy of the "mystic" relation between the two sexes whose negative effects appear at this time in an atmosphere filled with distortions and rumors concerning every relation between male and female.

It is necessary to eliminate all the illusions related to the "incapability" of women and it is necessary to develop the subjective conditions of women in order to push them to work with confidence. Furthermore, it is necessary to end the phenomena of "bourgeoisization" which now exists among the ranks of women and to eliminate their negative attitude and petit-bourgeois concepts of liberation which manifest themselves through individual adventurism and heroism. For the liberation of women cannot be achieved except through mass consciousness on the part of women to combat the concept of individual heroism and strengthen the concept of mass struggle.

We would really be deluded if we believed that our cultural liberation could determine the question as a whole. The question of women's liberation, and with it her gaining of human rights of equality with men is tied to the national struggle, and by consolidating the gains of our national and democratic struggle we solidify the role of women and create many opportunities for ourselves.

At this stage, it is the duty of revolutionaries to initiate mass action around this matter and spread revolutionary concepts toward the question of the liberation of women.

## ...SUDAN

One asks whether the progressive officers prepared to face the possibility of a counter-coup, whether they removed hostile elements in the army, purged corrupt governmental officials, or armed the masses. The answer is no. For when the counter-coup actually started the officers of the progressive coup called upon the General Union of Workers in Sudan for an extraordinary meeting. It called upon the people to resist. This shows that the new coup was not ready to face the counter-coup. It also shows clearly its distinctive features for it has never happened before that the military called upon the workers for its defense.

The neo-reactionary forces entered a "holy" alliance to end what seemed to be a Communist shadow. What would happen if communism actually prevailed?

### THEY INTERVENED BY AIR AND "TEETH" IN SUDAN, AND BY "TALK" IN JORDAN.

In his last speech, President Sadat of Egypt made clear indications that Egypt and Libya actually intervened to crush the progressive coup in Sudan. Certain reports indicated the possibility of the Egyptian air base in Sudan and the Military Academy intervening in favor of the Numeiry counter coup. Also, Hashem Atta leader of the progressive coup made a broadcast from Khartoum Radio indicating "foreign intervention."

Thus we can realize what is behind the Tripartite Union and the Tripoly Declaration: Common security and defense for the Arab regimes against any democratic and revolutionary possibility.

While Sadat was proclaiming his intervention in Sudan when he stated, "this Union was born with teeth," his other "intervention" in Jordan was completely different. It was firstly a verbal attack on the Jordanian authorities that came after the Palestinian resistance movement was removed out of its bases in Jerash (Jordan), and secondly a short lived propaganda for the Palestinians, to be balanced (of course!) by a particular praise for King Faisal of Saudia Arabia and his "understanding of higher Arab interests" in Faisal attempts to intervene in favor of King Hussain.

al-Horriah, July 26th. 1971.

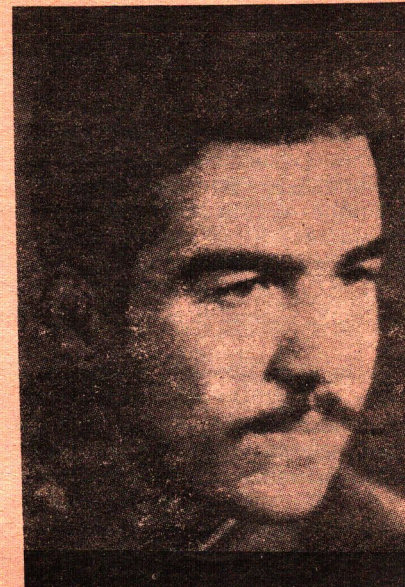
# al-shararah editorial:



**TAISIER EL-ZOBRIE**  
MEMBER OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT  
NATIONAL UNION OF JORDANIAN STUDENTS

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

**MUHAMMED ABDEL LATIF**  
DPFLP REPRESENTATIVE TO THE PLO  
AMMAN



**SALEH RA'FAT**  
DPFLP REPRESENTATIVE TO THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE PLO  
MEMBER DPFLP POLITICAL BUREAU

Once again "al-Shararah" resumes publication, despite the repression and amidst the darkness into which the butchers have put our country. Once again "al-Shararah" finds its way into the hands of its readers emphasizing that our people's will for struggle cannot be defeated, their resolution will not be undermined and their determination to continue along the road of national revolution, which "al-Shararah" has continuously advocated, will not be surrendered to the regime's massacres or imprisonments.

The reactionary conspirators directed their anger against "al-Shararah" during bloody September (1970). Their newscasts did their best to demolish its offices. When they finally succeeded in taking over the "al-Shararah" headquarters after days of fighting they proclaimed this "good news" over their radio. This while their mercenaries hurried to burn down whatever was left of our headquarters thinking that they had muted and killed "al-Shararah" forever.

Since "al-Shararah" temporarily ceased publication important changes and incidents have occurred in our country, events which we continuously warned against prior to September 1970. We warned that the reactionary authorities were preparing a total civil war against the resistance movement and the armed people. We stated that there was no escape from this head on clash, that when it came there would be no way to stop it neither through compromises nor partial solutions, that there would be no chance for a new wretched coexistence, for there would be either the reactionary authorities or the resistance movement and the armed masses. Either a national democratic regime based on a united Jordanian-Palestinian national front of resistance organizations, patriotic soldiers and armed people; or a victory for the rule of the counter-revolutionary forces, this achieved through savage repression and organized massacres with the purpose of liquidating the resistance, disarming the people and dismantling the national unity; through playing the army against the people and the Jordanians against the Palestinians through total ruination of the economy and continuous civil war, and lastly but not definitely least through bringing about a capitulationist settlement with the occupying enemy.

Facing this sole alternative we repeatedly called for leaving aside hesitation and compromise, false hopes and diplomatic vacillation, excessive naive good will in dealing with the reactionary authorities, and to seriously start mobilization for the coming confrontation instead of negatively awaiting for its coming. But the forces controlling the leadership of the resistance movement chose to be deaf to these warnings and their came the massacre, and there came the defeat, the blood, killings, prisons, and the vicious darkness.

Since then have come the concessions day after day and step after step until we have arrived at the situation we are in now. Thus the leaders of compromise achieved their old slogan of "revolution in al-Aghwar."<sup>1</sup> Yet the non-revolutionary nature of this damning slogan was unmasked; conspiracies are surrounding the revolution in al-Aghwar while at the same time it is being repeatedly hit by the regime.

Thus history has revealed the true rightist context of these slogans and myths concerning the possibility of coexistence with the reactionary regime and non-intervention in its internal policies, as well as revealing the disastrous consequences of such myths.

The real reasons of the September 1970 defeat and the lessons it presented are being well understood by our people. The first of such reasons was the vacillating and compromising policies which the rightist leadership of the resistance movement upheld, but our people will not accept for long the consequences of that defeat. They have already started on a new path for victory; the path of building a new leadership — a revolutionary left leadership, to build a united Jordanian-Palestinian national front, to struggle for the liquidation of the reactionary regime and to build a national democratic regime capable of mobilizing forces for the achievement of our goal of liberation.

Oppression will not prevent our masses determination to go in that direction. The masses have already started in Wahdat, Rasefah, Irbid, Zarqa, al-Ahrash and everywhere to loudly and resolutely call out against the reactionary regime's repression and its policy of putting Jordanians against Palestinians. The masses are demanding freedom, weapons, national unity, overthrow of the government of butchers and agents and the bringing about of a national democratic regime.

Victory will be ours for the people who moved mountains will not have a small "hill"<sup>2</sup> obstructing their way.

Editorial of al-Shararah (July 28, 1971), official organ of DPFLP

1 — Ed. note: al-Aghwar is part of the Jordan Valley between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea. The aim and actuality of this slogan was to isolate the revolution from the urban masses to avoid any confrontation with the Hussein regime in Jordan.

2 — Ed. note: this is a reference to Wasfi al-Tell, prime minister of Jordan. The word Tell in Arabic means hill!

The Palestine Resistance Bulletin is published monthly in solidarity with the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The views and analysis of this newspaper do not necessarily reflect the views and analysis of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, unless specifically stated.

It has come to our attention that some subscribers are not receiving the PRB at all and others receive it occasionally. In order to rectify this situation please write us and tell us if you haven't received your issues on a regular basis.

**P. R. B.**  
BOX 63 - NORTON UNION  
SUNYAB - MAIN STREET  
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14214

Non-Profit Organization  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
BUFFALO, N.Y.  
PERMIT NO. 311

M. Saba  
5644 E. Pina  
Tucson, AZ 85712