



# PALESTINE RESISTANCE BULLETIN

In Solidarity with the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

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## EDITORIAL:

### WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE IRBID MASSACRES?

The sixth campaign of liquidation has been launched, by the Jordanian regime, against the Resistance. It began after the September campaign and is still continuing in the East Bank. It reached new heights last month with the brutal armed attack against civilians in Irbid; the casualties were estimated at 200 killed, 500 wounded, and 1,000 civilian sympathizers detained in al-Sakhra camp alone.

With this new attack the Hussein is aiming at a gradual elimination of the Resistance, since the September campaign of total liquidation failed to dislodge the Resistance from the central cities of Jordan. The next step will be a unilateral settlement with Israel, this will allow Hussein to re-impose his control over the portions of the West Bank that the Zionists may withdraw from. This new development occurs as a result of the suspension of the Jarring (UN) talks, due to US - Israeli insistence that a separate peace settlement must be concluded . . . between Egypt and Israel without involving the fate of the West Bank or the Golan Heights (see PRB Number 7).

Thus with this new campaign against the resistance, the Jordanian regime is hitting two birds with one stone. On the one hand, the monarchy has been facing a deep financial crisis since September - to the extent that al-Tall's government was unable to pay the salaries of its mercenary army for the month of April, and was seriously contemplating issuing uncovered 'paper money' in prelude to a devaluation of the Dinar. Finally, the relief came - as expected - from the U.S. government. Following the report made to the U.S. Congress by Secretary of State Rogers in which he expressed the "admiration of the U.S. towards Jordan's ability to withstand the challenges of the Feda'yeen and other challenges," the U.S. offered the Butcher of Amman a military loan of \$30 million to be soon followed by another \$43 million of military and economic aid, this in return for crushing the resistance movement. "This aid has included artillery, a great deal of ammunition, and later-type tanks other than the 50 M-47 and M-48 U.S. Patton and British Centurion tanks lost in the (September) fighting. Deliveries of a second squadron, to supplement Jordan's existing one, of 18 F-104A fighter-interceptors are also reported to have begun." (John Cooley, *Chris. Sc. Monitor*, May 4, 1971). The King thus was able to convince his imperialist masters that he is capable of keeping the Hashimite rule in tact on both sides of the river without the need on the part of the U.S. to set up a Palestinian "State" in the West Bank.

Under these conditions, to which one might add the empty rhetoric of the Arab regimes attacking Hussein for his crimes against the partisans and the civilian population, rightist elements in the resistance movement repeat their mistakes. They are conducting yet another unorganized retreat - including, in the beginning of April, a partial evacuation of Amman supervised by the army itself!! (see *DPFLP Newsletter* Number 8, p. 22; *al-Hadaf* (Popular Front) Number 95, p.4) All this while newspaper headlines announce that "The Revolution Captures the Initiative In Self-Defense" (*Fateh*, April 5, 1971), "The Revolutionary Leadership Will Smash All Those Who Obstruct the Resistance" (*Fateh*, April 6), and while Abu Ammar declares that "The Palestinian Revolution has only one choice now: struggle (against the regime) to protect the people" (*Fateh* April 6). Meanwhile resistance contingents were withdrawing from Amman to areas assigned to it by the counter-revolutionary regime in the north where it can be further encircled and liquidated.

In the face of these repeated concessions that rightist elements in the leadership of the resistance have imposed on the movement in its relationship with Hussein's dictatorship, it has become the right and the duty of the Palestinian-Jordanian masses and its vanguard to reject and denounce those liquidationist measures. For it has become clearer than daylight that unless the resistance movement imposes its revolutionary power over the reactionary Jordanian regime, no form of co-existence between the two is conceivable in the future.

The Editors  
May 6, 1971.

## WOMEN IN DHOFAR



WOMAN AND THE REVOLUTION IN THE ARAB GULF

Editor's note: The following article was published by the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG). The article is a genuine attempt by revolutionaries from the Gulf to deal with a tradition that has oppressed and enslaved women for centuries.

The editors of *the Bulletin* feel that this article is an extremely important document because it represents an enormous breakthrough for a very backward society. However, we feel that the article develops a consistently paternalistic attitude towards women which unconsciously creates an artificial separation between the "revolution" and "women." There are other major defects in the article for there is an absence of any discussion on the social conditions of women in the Gulf. The economic structure is dealt with at length but this is not related to the existing social relationships between men and women, as such, it remains a little abstract.

*The Bulletin* welcomes all comments and criticism on this article.

It is hard to name a more persecuted and exploited human being (within class society) than the woman, regardless of her social and economic status within that society. The peasant, for example, is oppressed by feudalism; the worker by capitalism; but both the peasant and working woman in addition to suffering from the oppression of feudal and capitalist production, also suffer from the subservient marital and filial relations within society. This added oppression which is embedded in the traditions and values of society paralyzes any activities of women and finally ends up robbing her of her own humanity.

We cannot deal in this article with the problems of women in general, nor can we tackle the problems of her liberation. Rather we will concern ourselves with the importance of the role that the woman in the Gulf can and should play in the armed liberation movement that has been going on in Dhofar for the last five years. This movement already includes women from the non-coastal regions of Dhofar and is in the process of extending throughout the coast. The historical development of the revolution has enabled it in the last five years to build an ideological base and enforce political changes throughout the rural areas. This process has succeeded in weakening and even abolishing some of the feudal traditions that existed in these areas and has replaced them with a new ideology free of the weaknesses of the past.

## WOMAN ...

WE have classified the rural areas as being mainly pastoral. The agricultural season does not exceed three months during the rainy season in the summer. Two main products are produced during this period in limited amounts and by very primitive methods (i.e. sowing the seeds and waiting for harvest). Agriculture can play a very revolutionary role in such societies. What we should stress here is the nonexistence of private ownership of land in its traditional meaning and its unsettling effects on tribal societies. This is a result of three main causes:

(1) The comparatively low productivity of agricultural labour and its limited applications (as compared to pasturing).

(2) The absence of tools for agricultural production.

(3) The social nature and traditions of such pastoral nomadic societies and their continuous movement from one grazing land to another.

From this very brief description of the social structure in rural areas, what are the most important factors which we can pick out that will help us in understanding the role of the woman?

(1) The decrease in the productivity of agriculture and pasturing and the reflection of this on the position of both men and women.

(2) The combined sharing of all work between men and women on both a filial and a social level (division of labour).

(3) The remnants of a faint imprint of primitive classless society in the rural areas we are talking about.

(4) The strong and occasionally dominant economic status of women within the family.

The last four points to a large extent explain the prominent role played by women in the revolution that is going on in the mountainous areas. This phenomena has occurred not in spite of the primitiveness of these rural societies but because of that "primitiveness."

This conclusion is in agreement with the Marxist analysis which attributes the oppression and the subservient role of the woman to the growth in the productivity of work and the appearance and evolution of ownership. If the oppression of women historically has moved parallel to class oppression then the similarities between classless societies and the rural areas we have just described provide us with an indication of the proof of our conclusion. Nobody can be so ignorant and blind as to conclude that the rural areas are free from oppression and exploitation. What we want to show is that the oppression and exploitation which definitely exists is rooted in the relationship between rural society and society in the Gulf as whole.

There is no question that the unique position of the rural woman which we have discussed is the result of a very particular social structure which has kept her free from the chains that have enslaved her sister in the cities, not only in Dhofar but throughout the whole Gulf.

We can summarize the position of the rural woman as follows:

(1) A relatively high social and cultural position (compared to city woman and a much more progressive relationship between her and her husband (again as compared to city woman).

(2) Complete liberation from the grip of old traditions and norms which have historically paralyzed her a prisoner in the house, veiled and segregated from male company, completely dependent on the man. Women in the rural areas are unveiled and can socialize and talk to anyone they wish to from either sex. They can travel freely without the approval of either father or husband and can stay away from the house for long hours.

(3) The rural woman is a full participant in the economy of society and in the different kinds of work available.

(4) The rural woman is relatively emancipated from the spiritual domination which has traditionally given men absolute power over women. For example the rural woman, as opposed to the city woman, can divorce her husband.

From this discussion it is clear that the role of the rural woman towards the revolution will be affected by her particular historical experience. Let us now try to describe that role.

### The Rural Woman's Position Towards The Revolution

Despite the initial conservatism, worry, doubt, and even fear experienced by a majority of women in the initial stages of the revolution. A large number of women, as a result of some of the basic political changes that began to occur, broke out of these constraints and began to fully participate in the revolution.

We wish to illustrate some of the changes that took place at different times during the struggle.

(1) The woman showed in many cases a much greater interest in the revolution, its victories and setbacks, than the man.

(2) Her political consciousness developed very fast and at times she showed a greater desire and capability for political development than the average man.

(3) Her determination to wipe out illiteracy was often superior to initiatives taken by men.

(4) Her initial participation took the form of always putting aside some food as reserve for the expected visits of the revolutionaries and at times hiding them against the will of her husband or father.

(5) Her first active participation in the revolution took the form of nursing the wounded and supplying the front with water and food.

(6) Finally her full participation in the struggle meant carrying arms and waging the struggle on the front lines.

We are not advocating violence to destroy society and its traditions. We are advocating revolutionary violence that will revolutionize the masses to transform society. The required level of revolutionary violence can only be understood through the mutually inclusive interaction of revolutionary awareness and revolutionary organization.

The escalation and development of the movement in the Gulf has caused a transformation in the role of women through their awareness and the revolution. This change parallels to a large extent the escalation of the armed struggle and the achievement of military victories inside the rural areas.

The interaction of women with the revolution in the Gulf has been most successful in the rural areas. This is attributed to the political and economic structure which is characteristic of the rural areas and its reflection in the family structure and the role traditionally played by the woman. It can also be attributed to the simmering revolutionary atmosphere that pervades the rural areas in contrast to the urban areas.

There is no room here to analyze in detail the nature of the social structure of the rural areas and their historical development. However, it is essential to have a correct historical understanding of women's role in society and from that understand her attitude towards the revolution and what the revolutionary organizations attitude towards women as a social force ought to be. In order to avoid confusion we should mention here the existence of two different rural areas, each with its own unique structure, but intimately related to each other. There is the coastal rural area which extends as a strip of plains close to the cities, and the very large mountainous rural area with which we will restrict ourselves in this article.

### The Social Structure of the Rural Areas

The rural population is almost completely dependent on pasturing, in other words rural society is a peasant society that uses animals as the principal means of production. Almost every family is completely dependent on a collection of animals as a source of income regardless of the area of land which they may own. Furthermore, the differences in the amount of land owned are usually not enough to enable the peasants to hire extra labour outside their families nor does it allow them to compete in the market of primitive production.

In many instances the woman owns the private means of production and sometimes within the same family the woman might own more animals than her husband. In some cases she might own all the animals so that the man and subsequently the whole family becomes dependent on the mother.

It is important to mention the spirit of personal initiative which has pushed women to the forefront of the struggle without her being pushed into it by her husband or father. She was the one to develop her participation and specify her tasks. This is a very progressive development in such a backward region like Dhofar which has been living under colonialism. We should also mention that the revolutionary organizations have begun to recognize the role played by the woman and are trying to make her participation in the struggle take an organizational form that directly links the woman to the class struggle in society. In this manner the woman becomes the champion of the oppressed classes and their struggle.

These are some of the revolutionary achievements of women during the struggle:

(1) Full participation by women in every aspect of the movement.

(2) The organization and leadership of this movement so that it would more effectively serve the class struggle, both internally and throughout the whole region.

(3) Emphasis on educating the masses about the mass struggle and the necessity of working within a revolutionary vanguard organization based on Marxist-Leninist Ideology.

The Popular Front after its second convention concluded that the woman's participation in the struggle is a necessary condition for revolutionary action that will change the present social conditions. This program was adopted by the Front theoretically in 1968 and was put into practice immediately.

The battle of national liberation that our people are waging is the framework for mobilizing, arming and liberating the woman from the chains imposed on her and has the potential for providing all the necessary conditions that would place the masses of women in the heart of the revolution.

The formation of fighting and political cadres of women is an important political turning point that will help in transforming the present outlook and conditions of the Front into an organized mass movement following a program of mobilizing and arming the people ideologically, politically and militarily.

June 9th — (publication of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf), Vol. 3, August, 1970."

# DPFLP PROPOSALS TO THE 8TH NATIONAL CONGRESS

يا عمال العالم اتحدوا!



1. The recent developments in the Arab arena clearly show that the political settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict is now becoming a greater possibility than at any time since the imperialist-Zionist aggression of June 5, 1967. All signs indicate that the year 1971 is a determinate year in the implementation of the political settlement, for the international situation, and especially the talks between the Big 4, clearly pushes toward reaching a total settlement to what is called the "Middle East conflict."

All the Arab regimes with direct relations with the conflict and which have agreed beforehand on the security council resolution, number 242 (November 22, 1967), and the American (Roger's) initiative, have also agreed to the latest Jarring proposal's for implementation of all the points of the security council resolution calling for a complete and permanent peace in the Middle East area.

2. The total "settlement" does not merely deal with the rectification of the results of the 1967 aggression, but deals with the whole Palestinian case. Hence the withdrawal of the Zionist occupational forces from the Arab territories occupied in June 1967 will be met with the recognition of the state of Israel, within secure boundaries, as well as, with a peace treaty with Israel. And its no news if we mention that this means the relinquishment of part of Palestinian land to Israel and this is just what the National Palestinian charter and the resolutions of the National Palestinian Congresses (especially the resolutions of the 4th Congress) decided against.

3. Jordanian reaction, supported by U.S. imperialism, in particular, and international imperialism, in general, worked from the beginning for the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance movement, so it would be able to totally liquidate the Palestinian problem and impose its dark dictatorship on our people in the Palestinian-Jordanian arena. It has refused since June 1967 to leave the secondary contradiction with the Palestinian resistance movement and the Jordanian national movement in favor of the primary contradiction with the Zionist aggressor and has insisted on resolving the secondary contradiction with the resistance (its liquidation) without paying serious attention to the primary contradiction with the national enemy (Zionist imperialism). So it launched its first attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance on the 2nd of February 1968, at a time when the Resistance movement had no militia forces in the cities and in the villages, but the attempt was confined to the Jordan Valley. It continued with its second attempt on November 11, 1968, and its third on February 10, 1970, its fourth on June 7, 1970 and climaxed with its fifth attempt to surround and liquidate the resistance in the September 1970 counter-revolution. Its sixth attempt has been sharply carried on since January 1, 1971.

The history of all these attempts concretely invalidates the rightest and reactionary claims which are trying to rationalize the liquidation attempts by attributing them to mistakes (no matter what size) by the resistance in Jordan.

4. Jordanian reaction, by its successive liquidation attempts, pushes our people, through force of repression and police terror, to search for any solution which comforts them from the historical daily agony at the hands of the Jordanian regime. The appearance of some trends aiming toward a Palestinian state from among our people is but a materialist expression of our peoples desire to end the historical and daily agony which they are subjected to at the hands of the Jordanian authority. The ruling authority in Amman, by its continuous liquidationist attempts, is responsible for the vertical division of the Palestinian-Jordanian society, it has benefited from the sectionalization of the Palestinian case over the last three years (by the Resistance) and now the Jordanian authority promotes sectionalism in the one Palestinian-Jordanian arena and pushes our people, by force, toward reactionary and liquidationist solutions by putting them between the Zionist military hammer and the Jordanian reactionary anvil.

5. The September counter-revolution has provided basic lessons to the Palestinian resistance movement:

a. Jordanian reaction, which is tied to imperialism and colonialism, is determined to annihilate the resistance, refuses to co-exist with the resistance, puts the secondary contradiction with the resistance on the top of the list of its priorities, and it refuses to abide by the principle of suppressing the secondary contradiction in favor of the primary contradiction with the national enemy (Zionism and imperialism).

b. The regime has benefited from the sectionalization of the Palestinian cause by implanting the vertical division within the body of Jordanian-Palestinian society, making a conflict between the same people (Palestinian-Jordanian, soldier-guerrilla).

c. The September attack has proved the daily and historical importance of the organic tie between the wings of the Arab revolution (Palestinian resistance and the Arab liberation movement) in the united struggle against Zionism-imperialism and the forces of Arab reaction tied to colonialism and imperialism, throughout the Arab area. The struggle against the Zionist aggressor necessitates the struggle against imperialism throughout the Arab area, for imperialism is represented in the area by its material and strategic interests. The unity of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism cannot be built by emotional calls but rather can be built from the relationship of common struggle between the wings of the Arab revolution against the common enemy (Zionism-imperialism and Arab reaction) throughout the Palestinian and Arab land. Twisting the neck of Israel is accomplished by twisting the neck of imperialism in the Arab area, because we fight "Israel and whoever stands behind Israel."

d. It is necessary to totally review all the strategical and tactical mistakes of the resistance movement, primarily the failure to bring about the unity of the Palestinian-Jordanian arena practically and objectively and the failure to define exact relations with the Arab liberation movement, in order to bring it out of its subjective crisis (the relationship among the resistance groups) and its objective crisis (with the Arab people and regimes).

6. Defining the present tasks is a way out of the crisis which the resistance is living in and it puts national unity among the ranks of our people on a solid and firm base.

The present tasks are defined as follows:

First, the refusal of the political liquidation of the Palestinian case for it would mean the recognition of Israel and the guarantee of its national security within recognized national boundaries.

Second, continuing the armed struggle against the Zionist-imperialist aggressor for a total liberation of the Palestinian soil and the refusal of all proposals infringing upon that legal, just and right.

Third, building the Palestinian-Jordanian Front to counter the attacks of Jordanian reaction, to protect the revolution, and to work toward the implementation of the resolutions of the 7th National Palestinian Congress (August 27, 1970) which consider the Palestinian-Jordanian arena one struggle front and its people one people. This front will also work toward changing the Palestinian-Jordanian arena into a sanctuary for the Palestinian revolution by struggling for a national democratic regime in the East Bank, hostile to Zionism, and imperialism, and building a strong national base in the country.

The unity of the people in the area will remain empty words if it is not objectively or practically realized through a national front ending the vertical division within the Palestinian-Jordanian society and ascertaining national unity among all the political forces and classes in the country, against the unity of the Jordanian and Palestinian unpatriotic lackies and reactionary forces represented by the ruling regime in Amman.

The objective realization of the 7th National Palestinian Congress (August 1970) will remain unfulfilled without the buildup of a national Palestinian-Jordanian front.

Fourth, work toward building a wide national Arab front between the two wings of the Arab revolution to put into practice the unity of the Arab struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and reactionary forces, tied to the colonialism throughout the Palestinian and Arab land.

Fifth, thereby the resistance will be able to overcome its main strategic and tactical mistakes and make possible the realization and strengthening of the resistance groups within a united political leadership and united military leadership of all revolutionary forces and through the daily and mass armed struggle on the battlefield it will solidify the relationship among the armed revolutionary base.

The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) introduces these subjects as the basis for a revolutionary examination for the 8th National Congress and as a main step to lift the resistance out of its present crisis.

DEMOCRATIC POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE  
- February 27, 1971

# TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION

## TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION

May 1970

The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) laid before the Sixth National Palestinian Congress meeting at Cairo in September of 1969 a proposal for a democratic solution to the Palestinian question. The proposal, as was expected, aroused different reactions (critical, reserved and supporting). It was met with a campaign of distortion and misunderstanding, to such an extent, that it became imperative for the Front to clarify its attitude on this important matter by giving an explanatory analysis of this attitude.

### THE SPECIFIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM

Zionism came about chiefly as a result of the reaction on the part of the petit and middle Jewish bourgeoisie, who make up the hardcore of Jewry, toward two issues:

(a) The worsening of the conditions of the Jews, who in Eastern Europe, represented primitive capitalism. This condition was aggravated by the disequilibrium between capitalistic development and the fall of feudalism (with its associated primitive capitalism), thus making it extremely hard for the Jews to become integrated into the new economic order for new production relations were slowly developing in place of the old relationship.

(b) The widening wave of anti-semitism in Western Europe, caused by the consolidation of capital (the rise of monopoly capitalism) which destroyed the middle classes. These classes reacted against the Jewish elements in these classes on the grounds that the Jewish elements competed with them for their livelihoods and were detrimental to their economic situation.

Zionism, however, as an ideology, is but a distorted reflection of reality and a false presentation of a material need. As a distorted reflection of reality, Zionism dispenses with the pain of searching for the motives and reasons lying behind the different forms of anti-semitism and the social function it performs, as well as, the nature of the socio-economic system which created it. Zionism claims that human nature does not change and that anti-semitism and the persecution of minorities are two of the characteristics at the core of human nature. Consequently, it is perpetual and impossible to control or eliminate. From postulating the perpetuity of anti-semitism, Zionism moves on to resolve the problem by skipping over it, that is, by saying that salvation lies in accepting anti-semitism as a normal state of being and emigrating to Palestine, in order that the minority there is transformed into a majority under its own autonomous rule in a national state. Similarly, Zionism, as a false presentation of an objective materialistic need is but an expression of the reaction of the community in the face of economic pressures. These pressures threaten to create internal discrimination in the community, that is, to transform it into classes and consequently put an end to its social role as a unified class, and then an end to its role as a community (with characteristics stemming definitively out of its social role). That is to say, Zionism is a reflection of the refusal of the petit and middle Jewish bourgeoisie to fall to the rank of the proletariat, and their need for an independent national market in a national Jewish state. Like every national ideology, Zionism attempts to relatively obscure the traces of its recent emergence by creating for itself a legendary origin going back to the vastly remote past (the legend of the adherence of the Jews throughout history their motherland — Palestine) and poses its nationalist claims and ambitions as being a revival of an old ownership (the historical right of Jews to Palestine).

It is natural that the solution for the Jewish question which Zionism puts forth, the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, is a "petit bourgeois utopia." The Jewish question which takes the form of an international question, because of the existence of Jews in many countries, cannot be solved on this level within the capitalist framework, since the elimination of anti-semitism cannot be achieved except by eliminating its causes, that is by eliminating the economic system which created it. In fact the establishment of Israel has not solved the Jewish problem for anti-semitism is not at an end, though it may have been relegated astern by the appearance of other forms of racial and communal persecution in the West (racism towards the blacks, racism towards foreign workers, particularly Arabs of Northwest Africa and the persecution of gypsies). Moreover, anti-semitism is not combated by the existence of a Jewish state, just as the existence of the great Chinese state does not protect Chinese nationals in other countries from racial persecution. Actually, the Zionist claim of representing the Jews of the world, as well as, its propagation of the slogan of unconditional collaboration of world Jewry with Israel actually encourages anti-semitism. In the end, the situation of the Jews is subject to the universal

economic, social and political situations of the world. We could contend that Israel could absorb all the emigrants from the West in case the wave of anti-semitism there should grow, but then those immigrants would find themselves confronted with Arab hostility.

However, it is the imaginary solution which Zionism offers for the Jewish question which gives definition to the particular nature of Zionist colonization in Palestine and makes this colonization different from the typical colonialism. Typical colonialism resorts intentionally to destroying the primitive economy of the colonized country so that it may exploit the natives in capitalist industry, mining and agriculture, but Zionist colonialism is of a particular nature dictated by its specific objective (the establishment of a Jewish state). Zionist colonialism with its aims as the appropriation, usurpation and occupation of land and the disappropriation of its native inhabitants (or at best reducing them to a minority in a state of singular race) even differs from the colonialism nearest to it, that is the white colonialism of South Africa. This latter state survives on the establishment of a closed white society isolated from the black society (segregation of residential areas, schools, transport facilities, and all means of life for the whites). This segregation, however, does not prevent the whites from exploiting the native inhabitants and merging them in production relations, in which they are an exploited and persecuted class. The Zionist colonialism establishes a closed Jewish society and while it does not exploit the natives, it totally expels them. Zionist colonialism had no alternative, even before the establishment of Israel, but to be hostile to *all* the Palestinian people for they constituted a direct negation to its national existence and a glaring transgression and denial of its national rights. This hostility was necessitated by the Zionist strategy which aimed from the start at imposing a status quo, by establishing fortified agricultural settlements which represented a military and economic status quo. Thus setting up and imposing an isolated Jewish community in Palestine from the beginning of colonization until the independence of this community, after the expulsion of the Palestinian inhabitants in 1948. The Zionists continued this policy of enforcing the status quo by occupying the South Negev triangle during the truce talks in 1948, occupying Beer Qattar in the Auja triangle in 1950, occupying the central demilitarized zone on the Syrian border in 1951, usurping shipping rights in the Gulf of Aqaba at the close of 1956, and occupying Arab lands in 1967. This policy of imposing the status quo has an obvious expansionist character, its purpose being not just an attempt to establish Israel's security by means of military expansion (taking over new lands to protect old ones), for it fundamentally relates to the basis on which the Israeli society arose. The basis being the rallying of the scattered Jewish communities throughout the world to Israel and because of this goal expansion becomes inevitable if Israel is to attract and rehabilitate stray Jews. This expansion not only means the acquisition of more land, but the securing of its protection as well. A policy which will in turn impel further expansion and so forth. This expansionist nature of Israel has given rise to a sharp conflict between it and the Arab peoples, as a whole, who reject a society that is foreign to them, planted on their land to become a constant threat posed at them as well as a force standing against their hopes of national liberation, unity and social progress.



- Fateh, April 26, 1971

UNDER THE RED BANNER: Thousands of Palestinian workers demonstrate in Nazareth (Occupied Palestine) on May 1st. They denounced the Zionist occupation and oppression, and called for proletarian solidarity between the Arab and Jewish peoples.  
-- Al-Ittihad, May 4, 1971

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Further, the solution which Zionism has given to the Jewish question has dictated the particular relationship between Zionism and imperialism. When the productive forces began to feel too constricted within the national boundaries, Zionism attempted to create an artificial and insular national state at the time so Zionism had to ally with imperialism for its projected artificial national state could only stand as a colonial entity tied to the imperialism that controlled the area. One aspect of the history of Zionism is nothing but a history of an alliance with one imperial power or another (approaching the Kaiser of Germany and the Ottoman Sultan in its beginning and allying with Britain after 1917 and with America after 1945). This alliance with imperialism is not a matter forced by Arab animosity, as some Zionist leftists contend, but rather a necessary choice dictated by the objective which Zionism set up for itself. This point will become clear with a quick review of the initial diaries of Theodore Herzl, founder of political Zionism.

Today Israel is attached to imperialism, chiefly United States imperialism, with more than one tie. Israel by its existence and constitution as a hostile antagonist to the Arab people as a whole, renders a great service to imperialism by compelling the Arab people to wage a war of an ultra-nationalistic nature. This helps to keep the imperialist interests in a shadow, remote from the reach of the Arab struggle which is occupied with the nationalist war. This also permits reactionary systems, allies of imperialism, to strengthen their existence under the guise of contributing to the nationalist fight and continue to survive for a longer period than they could have otherwise. Israel also plays the part of the policeman who directly protects the interests of imperialism in the area, standing ready to move on the Arab national liberation movement whenever this movement poses a serious threat to imperialist interests, even going as far as to the point of sweeping off state bourgeois regimes, such as the Nasserite regime, which are hostile to imperialism but because of their class structure are incapable of assuming an effective role against it. Israel additionally assumes the role of an outright protector of some Arab reactionary regimes, such as those of Jordan and Lebanon, for Israel has more than once declared its readiness to move militarily if either of them were toppled. The Israeli role is not restricted to the service of imperialism in the Arab area, but crosses beyond to Africa where the network of Israeli technical missions extends into many countries forming an excellent outlet for the penetration of imperialist capital into those countries. In return for all these services, imperialism guarantees the existence of Israel by continually injecting it with financial and military assistance on the one hand and by conserving the weak and backward traditional regimes in the Arab area, on the other.

This specific relationship between Israel and imperialism makes the Palestinian question one that enters within the core of the struggle against imperialism in the area and this specific relationship makes Israel especially hostile to the class forces and progressives which wage this anti-imperialist struggle.

We infer, from all this, that Israel in itself is a colonial power of a special kind, but it is at the same time a part of the imperialist camp linked for the time being with the United States (the power in control of the imperialist camp). However, the special nature of Israeli colonialism gives Israel a relative independence which is apparent in special policies dictated by the special interests of Israel which at times are inconsistent with the general interest of the imperialist camp. But this independence is relative, because recognition of Israel's relative independence does not breach the unity of the imperialist camp and at the same time the unity does not cover this recognition.

### THE ORGANIC LINKS BETWEEN THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION

If strategy were, as it actually is, priorities and delimiting of roles and the relations exchanged between these roles, then the petit-bourgeois nationalist intellectual outlook (as well as the petit-bourgeois Palestinian intellectual outlook) on the relationship of the Palestinian struggle to the Arab Revolution would lead to the absence of any clear strategy because of their conceptual triviality.

The petit-bourgeois nationalist intellect tends to oppose any attempt to delineate the role of the Palestinian struggle within the Arab revolution, by obscuring it with cloudy terms of "pan nationalism." This attitude is nothing but an attempt to escape a delineation which will doubtlessly lay bare the incompetence of the petit-bourgeois nationalist program, a program which postpones the "struggle against Zionism until the Arab nation is liberated from colonialism" thus overlooking the active part that Israel plays in supporting the imperialist presence in the Arab area. The result of this program was that the Arab liberation movement, hostile to imperialism, under the leadership of the petit-bourgeois reached a limit. A limit, which because of its class structure, it was unable to transcend thus leaving the Zionist danger to grow. This program also hides in its folds an attempt to bring the Palestinian struggle under the current program of the petit-bourgeois nationalists who seek, on the one hand, to contain the Israeli danger, not remove it and who seek, on the other hand, to suppress the fury of revolutionary change which the area is witnessing; a change which threatens the petit-bourgeois outposts in another respect. Furthermore, this opposition tries, in the name of "pan nationalism," to cover the inability of the nationalist bourgeois movement to go beyond the laws of the Arab relations game as it is imposed by the reactionary regimes. Thus we have the submission of this movement, because of its incompetence, to silence in the face of the reactionary regimes' attempts to besiege the Palestinian Resistance and abort it and if not submitting to silence they try to assume the role of intermediary between the reactionaries and the Resistance.

The petit-bourgeois Palestinian intellect's reply to the inability of the petit-bourgeois nationalist program goes to the extent of arbitrary discrimination between the Palestinian struggle and the Arab revolution. Thus they depict the struggle against Zionism as becoming the jurisdiction of the Palestinian revolution with the role of the Arab masses limited to backing and supporting the Palestinian revolution, and forming the so-called "Arab Supporting Front." This position ignores the fact that the Palestinian people, in the final analysis, are unable to destroy the Zionist structure by themselves, if the role of the Arab masses is restricted to static support. This position also overlooks the fact that the struggle against Zionism has become an urgent duty lying on the agenda of the Arab national liberation movement, as a whole, since the June war of 1967 committed the entire area into the struggle. In the end, this position also overlooks the organic connections which link Zionism to imperialism. This all amounts to the absence of a clear-cut strategic perspective leading to an opportunist policy of working with Arab reaction, the ally of imperialism, at the expense of the anti-imperialist struggle and consequently, at the expense of the struggle against Zionism itself.

The Arab revolution is a composition of two connected and contemporary struggles, the struggle against Zionism and the struggle against imperialism. The two struggles are interconnected because of the interrelationship of Zionism and imperialism. They are also inevitably contemporary and overlapping, because the final victory over Zionism depends on the emergence of Arab revolutionary regimes capable of mobilizing the Arab resources and energies into a popular war of liberation, a war which will confront the enemy's superiority in culture and technology. This means that the final victory over Zionism is dependent upon the removal of the imperialist control from the Arab area or at least from most of it. On the other hand, as long as Israel plays the part of policemen for imperialism there is no alternative but to step up the struggle against Zionism (to prevent Israel from attacking the Arab national liberation movement when this movement approaches the point of becoming a serious threat to imperialist interests).

However, the struggle against imperialism is basically a class struggle, since imperialism exercises its authority and control over the Arab area primarily

## DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION...

through its alliances with the Arab ruling minorities (ruling under reactionary systems) and because of the failure of the state bourgeois systems to launch a determined, methodical and cohesive struggle against imperialism. Here, in the Arab area, the struggle against imperialism shall have to set the classes who have interest in this anti-imperialist struggle against the classes which have interests in allying with imperialism. This must become a struggle to crush the regimes allied with imperialism and to establish popular democratic systems in which the toiling classes may achieve final liberation and social progress.

It is not possible to put off either of the struggles for the sake of the other, since deferring the struggle against imperialism and approving the policy of class alliance will only bring about, under the best circumstances, incompetent regimes, such as the Nasserite, which amounts to confronting Zionism under terms in its interest. Terms which comprise Arab weakness in the shadow of reactionary regimes or state bourgeois systems. On the other side, the putting off of the struggle against Zionism until fulfillment of strength requirements under revolutionary regimes will mean, in the first place, the subjection of the Arab national liberation movement to the danger of continuing Zionist attacks and will, in the second place, lead to depriving the class struggle (opposed to imperialism) of the detonating factor which takes on the form of instigation against social contradictions in the area (struggle against Zionism). As long as this is the state of affairs it is not possible to postpone either of the two struggles, but the struggle against Zionism must be launched in a manner that will fire and support the struggle against imperialism and in the same manner launch the class struggle against imperialism so that it will support and back the struggle against Zionism.

The objective conditions for the bonding of the two struggles are obtained. Israeli reactions to the Palestinian Resistance are directed, which they have to, against the Arab countries exposing the incompetence of these regimes before the Arab masses. This exposure drives ever wider cross sections of the masses into the field of revolutionary struggle, permitting escalation of the struggle against imperialism. On the other hand, the successive clashes between this or that Arab regime and the Palestinian Resistance proves to the Resistance, itself, that it cannot but ally with the Arab revolutionary force hostile to imperialism. However, availability of the objective conditions does not mean that the two struggles shall join forces automatically, for this depends on the obtaining of the objective condition, an Arab revolutionary strategy which will take into consideration the connection between the two struggles and at the same time recognize their differences. Differences arising from one, the anti-Zionist struggle, being a nationalist struggle and the other, the anti-imperialist struggle, being a class struggle. Thus this front needs a strategy which gives to the first a special logic, the logic of national unity, and gives to the second a different logic, that of class struggle; and also takes into account the overlapping of the struggles so that the maximum possible amount of effectiveness and efficiency may be achieved.

From all of this we can deduce that the victory of the Palestinian cause depends on the creation of a united Arab revolutionary instrument with a coordinated and unified strategy, so that it can wage a full struggle across the theatre of the entire area. But the creation of such an instrument presupposes the availability of class forces capable of entering the anti-imperialist class struggle, whereas the dilemma of the Arab revolution as a whole, including the Palestinian Resistance, lies in the fact that such forces hardly exist. This is so because of the historical failure of petit-bourgeois nationalism to carry out its historical duties at this stage, for the national democratic revolution has not been accompanied by the emergence of a new class in the Arab political arena. This means that the central mission of the new revolutionaries is to build up popular forces from among the workers, peasants, and lower segments of the petit-bourgeoisie, and to wage the struggle under a leadership with a working class ideology, program and slogans. Thereby will the bonds of the great alliance be strengthened and will the building up of the one and only Arab revolutionary instrument be possible.

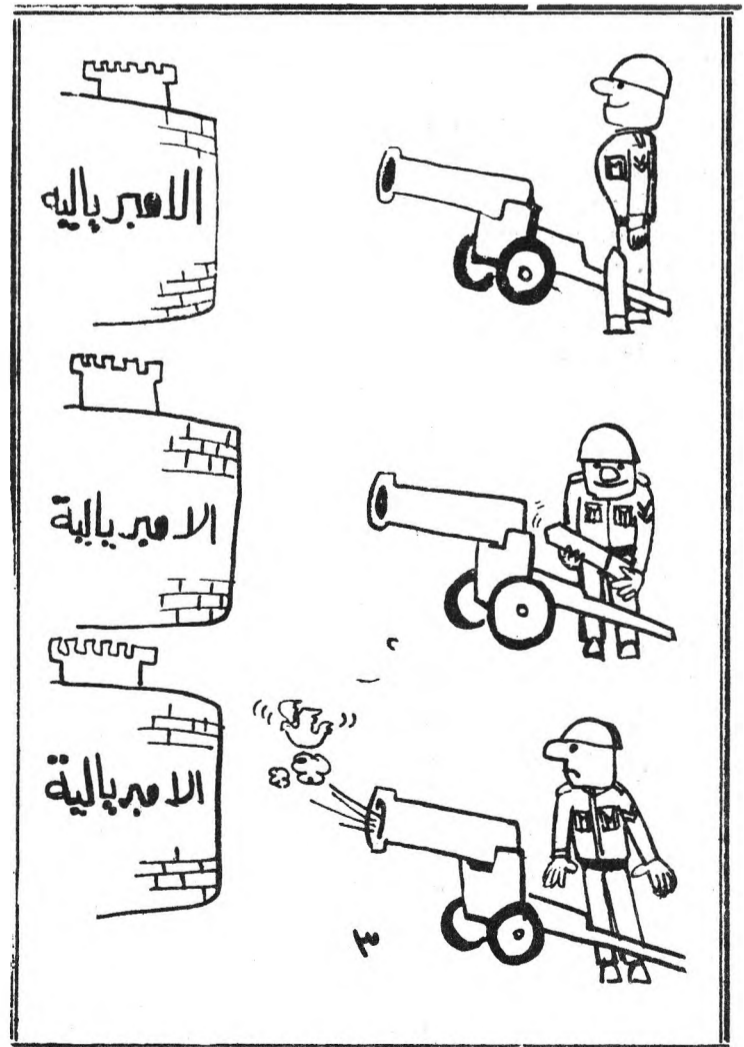
As the victory of the Palestinian cause depends on the creation of the unified Arab revolutionary instrument, no revolutionary solution to the Palestinian question can be visualized except within the framework of an all-out Arab revolution in the entire area, and any program that may be advanced within the sheer Palestinian scope cannot be but a partial reformist solution. A program based on the desire to bring about a solution to the question without the radical revolutionary transformation of the entire area. On the contrary, the advancement of a program embracing the entire area will take into account the fact that the conditions for the victory of the Palestinian cause are themselves the conditions for the ending of the state of artificial division from which the area suffers. The conditions which are, in both cases, the rise of popular forces under the leadership of the working class and its program, for the conclusion of the experiment depends on one internally unified class, which is the working class, assuming control. As for the petit-bourgeoisie, it is incapable of this,

because it is a fragmented class and its components in power are incapable of uniting owing to extreme jealousy over the privileges which its presence in power secures for it, as well as its severe competition within itself for the enjoyment of these privileges. If it ever did achieve unity, then it would achieve a formal disintegrated unity because of its inability to secure a common economic base for this unity.

Cont' Next Issue...

## NEXT ISSUE

1. Internationalist Position of the DPFLP
2. Oil Imperialism over a Barrel
3. Toward a Democratic Solution (Pt. II)
4. Interview with Eqbal Ahmad



"How Arab Regimes Fight Imperialism"

-Al Shara (the Spark)  
Organ of DPFLP



Tufula, 15, and Amina, 12, are members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) now undergoing three months military and political training in the People's Liberation Army. They form part of the first platoon of women's militants to receive full training for membership in the fighting ranks of the revolution. This is a transcript of the astonishing militant interview that Fred Halliday took with them.

*Why are you fighting and supporting the revolution?*

Tufula: Because British imperialism is killing our men and our women. We are fighting to get them out.

*What does your family do?*

Tufula: My family are shepherds in the western province, and I used to work with them. For three months of the year we grew crops, and for the rest of the time we were nomads, herding our flocks. I never went to school or learned to read. I joined the Front two years ago, and my parents tried to stop me. But I felt I should join my comrades.

*Amina, can you tell us how you came to join the Front?*

Amina: Well, I was in Salala, the capital, and you can't escape by land as it is surrounded by a big fence. So I escaped by sea with my brother. That was last September.

*Why did you run away?*

Amina: Imperialism. My father was a poor farmer, he got 4-5 rupees a day. We were very poor. So my brother and I got an old car-tire for 8 rials and we swam in the sea for eight hours till we reached the coastline controlled by the Front.

*Weren't you cold and frightened? Could you swim?*

Amina: I couldn't swim well, and we got very cold and hungry and thirsty. But it is better to die in the sea than be captured by the British.

*Who thought of escaping, you or your brother?*

Amina: Everyone thinks of escaping.

*What is life like in Salala? Have you seen British officers or the Sultan?*

Amina: Sometimes I'd see British officers out shopping, but they generally stay in their base. I've never seen the Sultan, he's dead, though his spies say he is alive.

*How did you get to hear about the Front in Salala?*

Amina: People found leaflets against the Sultan, they said "This is good and so is the revolution."

*Tufula, since joining the Front what have you done?*

Tufula: Well, at first I was in the militia, the Popular Guard, and then took part in defending Shahbout when the enemy attacked it in the summer of 1969. There was a battle for 24 hours, and I carried water to the fighters up front. I think I was the first woman to join the army in the western area.

*Where did you learn to speak Arabic?*

Tufula: The Front taught me, and I learned from working with comrades in the Front. But it is still difficult.

*What have you learnt from the Front since you fled Amina?*

Amina: I've learned literacy, politics and revolution.

*Do you ever miss your parents?*

Amina: I don't think about my parents, I think about the revolution.

*And what do you think of Nasser?* Amina: He's a reactionary and a petty-bourgeois.

Amina: He's a reactionary and a petty-bourgeois.

*Why is Nasser a reactionary?*

Amina: He looks after his own interests and not those of the people.

Tufula: We used to consider him as a God, but now he doesn't help us at all.

*And what do you think about the Soviet Union and its role in the Middle East?*

Tufula: I think one of the other comrades had better answer that.

*What do you think are the friends of the revolution in Dhofar?*

Amina: Well, we have a lot of friends; do you want me to tell you the names of all of them?

*No, I mean what countries are the friends of the revolution?*

Amina: Comrade Mao has helped us. He gave us arms and he has taught us.

*What do you think of the Palestinian revolution?*

Amina: They are like us. They are fighting for liberation, and they have socialist aims.

*Well, what do you think of al-Fatah?*

Amina: I've never heard of it.

*What do you think of the relations between men and women generally, and of the system of marriage-contracts here?*

Tufula: It is a pity to ask something from a person if you're going to marry him. If I want a man I'll marry him because I want to and he won't have to buy me. Anyway, there is no difference between men and women. I am a woman, and I've seen I can do the same as they do. Before the revolution women used to be bought and sold and dispensed with like animals. Now they must know their rights and take part in the struggle along with everyone else.

*What do you think of Islam? Are you religious?*

Tufula: I am in a society of people who pray, and I am one of them.

*Do you find that men resist the equality of women, and hang onto their old ideas?*

Tufula: Marriage has to come after the revolution as it might slow down our work during the struggle. We are fighting here in Dhofar, and Dhofar is part of the Gulf. There is a problem about women participating since their families usually resist and some people say that if women join, the British will come and take them and kill them. But people are getting over this.

*What rôle will women play after the revolution?*

Tufula: There is a big rôle awaiting women. They will have to farm and learn to read, write and type.

*After the revolution, would you like to go abroad and visit any other country?*

Tufula: I'd like to visit the countries that are helping us, People's China and the People's Republic of South Yemen.

—The Black Dwarf 23rd. March, 1970.



# Israel: Five Million Dollars Daily

TEL AVIV — One worker in four in the Zionist settler-state of Israel is engaged in some military effort, and the budget for the 1971/72 fiscal year, which began on April 1, sets aside almost two million pounds sterling or five million dollars per day for military spending.

In fact, according to Finance Ministry Director Avraham Agmon, imports are scheduled to continue to rise in the coming year, reaching \$855 million, compared to \$825 million in the current year.

What this means to the development of the economy, or more correctly the strain it is imposing on it, is best illustrated by another dollar figure: in 1968, military purchases abroad accounted for only \$370 million.

Summing up the economy in 1970, the latest March issue of ISRAEL INVESTORS' REPORT reveals that prices went up by as much as ten per cent as a result of extensive deficit financing caused by increasing Israeli military expenditures.

Largely because of heavy military spending, the chronic foreign trade deficit continues to be the settler state's most serious economic problem.

The gap in the Israeli balance of trade rose from \$650 in 1968 to about \$900 in 1969 and to an unprecedented total of \$1,265 million in 1970.

This gap could only be covered by huge credit and unilateral transfers from abroad.

Thus the country's foreign debt has been rising steeply from \$1,320 million at the end of

1966 to \$1,600 million in 1967, to \$2,000 million in 1969 and \$2,800 million at the end of 1970.

Outright financial assistance to the settler-state from the imperialist countries, particularly the U.S. and West Germany, has been prodigious. During the 20-year period between 1948-68 for instance, the U.S. government economic aid totalled \$11,000 million, while dollar transfers from private sources amounted to \$25,000 million, a total of 36 billion dollars.

Since 1968, U.S. assistance to Israel has greatly increased. Dollar transfers in 1970 reached \$800 million and in 1971 will approximate \$1.5 billion.

- Fateh (April 26, 1971)



Wasfi Tall (Prime Minister of Jordan) to Golda Meir: (After she declared that Jordanian troops will not be allowed to cross the Jordan River to the West Bank after the "Peace settlement") - "But who is going to shoot the Palestinians in Nablus, Hebron and Bethlehem ? "

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