



P.L.O. POLICY : ILLUSIONS OR WHAT ?

«Some claim that what is going on is a manoeuvre, if so it is an error — or the truth — if so, it is an act of treason — We do not know, but in both cases it is valueless. And it is an illusory belief to think for an instant that it will turn a military defeat into a diplomatic victory... no reductions of Arab legitimate rights can lead to the improvement of the Arab position. On the contrary, the Arab position will lose its forceful essence with such tactics... Arab diplomats have been bad lawyers in a just cause and this truth means that we must change the method of advocacy, not the cause itself.»

Ghassan Kanafani

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During the past 12 months, the PFLP Bulletin dedicated most of its pages to the struggle going on within the PLO and the developing conditions in the area. For those who followed the Palestinian inter-developments, the PFLP withdrawal from the PLO's Executive Committee and Central Council did not come as a surprise. In spite of that, some of the responses to the PFLP decision attempted to ignore the essence of the points we have been trying to make clear since October 1973. We are concerned here with some of the points raised concerning Palestinian national unity and its developments.

We can summarize these points as follows :

1. The majority of responses expressed the view that PFLP has all the right to withdraw from the PLO Executives. Some even added that the PFLP's step was a natural result of the contradictions that have been existing in the PLO.

Although we agree in principle to this analysis, we differ on the basis. What is involved here is more than the democratic right of any organization to withdraw from certain bodies of the PLO. It is the obligation (on the ideological, political and organizational levels) of any revolutionary organization committed to the masses that make such a step necessary in order to confront the deviation of the PLO leadership. For the PFLP, it is not a matter of choice, it is the course of the revolution that implies such a move.

2. The second point concentrates on the nature of the period, and whether such a step does not weaken the PLO in its present bat-

ties against enemies of the whole-resistance movement. The propagators of this opinion mention two such « battles » :

A. The political battle against the hireling regime in Jordan over the representation of the Palestinian people. The argument concentrate on the fact that PFLP withdrawal might weaken the status of the PLO vis-à-vis Jordan, and give the later pretext to shade doubts on the PLO right to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The argument considers the recent Cairo communique which came as a result of the tripartite meeting in Cairo of representatives of Egypt-Syria-PLO, a victory that established this fact and defeated the Jordanian regime claim.

B. The other is a diplomatic, political « battle » being waged at

this time at the United Nations General Assembly. The argument considers the PFLP's withdrawal as weakening the Palestinian cause at the U.N.

These are in brief the two arguments. To many, they might sound objective and legitimate. But a clear analysis of these so called « battles » show that they are really a cover underwhich the PLO leadership hopes to join the settlement and become part of the capitulating forces.

Before going into the details of these two points, we emphasize that the PFLP's withdrawal was only from the Executive Committee and the Central Council. We will continue to participate in the Palestine National Council and will continue to recognize the Palestine national charter and the resolutions of the sessions of the Council. From

this position we recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The contradiction lies in the political line of the PLO leadership and its so called « battles » at this stage.

As to the first point we emphasize that our battle with the Jordanian regime is a political and military one, with the Jordanian and Palestinian masse on one side and the regime on the other. This is not the same battle claimed by the PLO leadership. The later's « battle » is the negation of the true battle.

The leadership's « battle » is over the occupied territories (West bank and Gaza). These territories need a furious struggle for their liberation to take place, and this is not preceived to take place very soon. What is possible to take place is the proposed political settlement. As such there is a battle on who is going to receive the lands under the conditions implied in the settlement. This in itself implies the participation of the PLO leadership in the settlement — a step that even this leadership can not claim to be in service of the revolution.

The « battle » then is not over liberation but over participation in the settlement ; on who is going to recognize Israel through resolution 242 (the basis of the settlement) in return for the occupied territories.

This leads to the other part of the first point — that is the claim that the Cairo communique was a victory for the PLO leadership.

If we follow chronologically the Egyptian regime's position, we can clearly see that it always recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It did so at the Arab summit conference, at the non-aligned nations conference in Algeria and at the Islamic summit in Lahore. The Egyptian regime worked openly and practically to develop its relations with the PLO on these basis and even claimed the existence of a committee for this task. It called for closer relations and coordination among itself, Syria and the PLO as a necessary step before the commencement of the Geneva conference. The PLO position was one of hesitation.

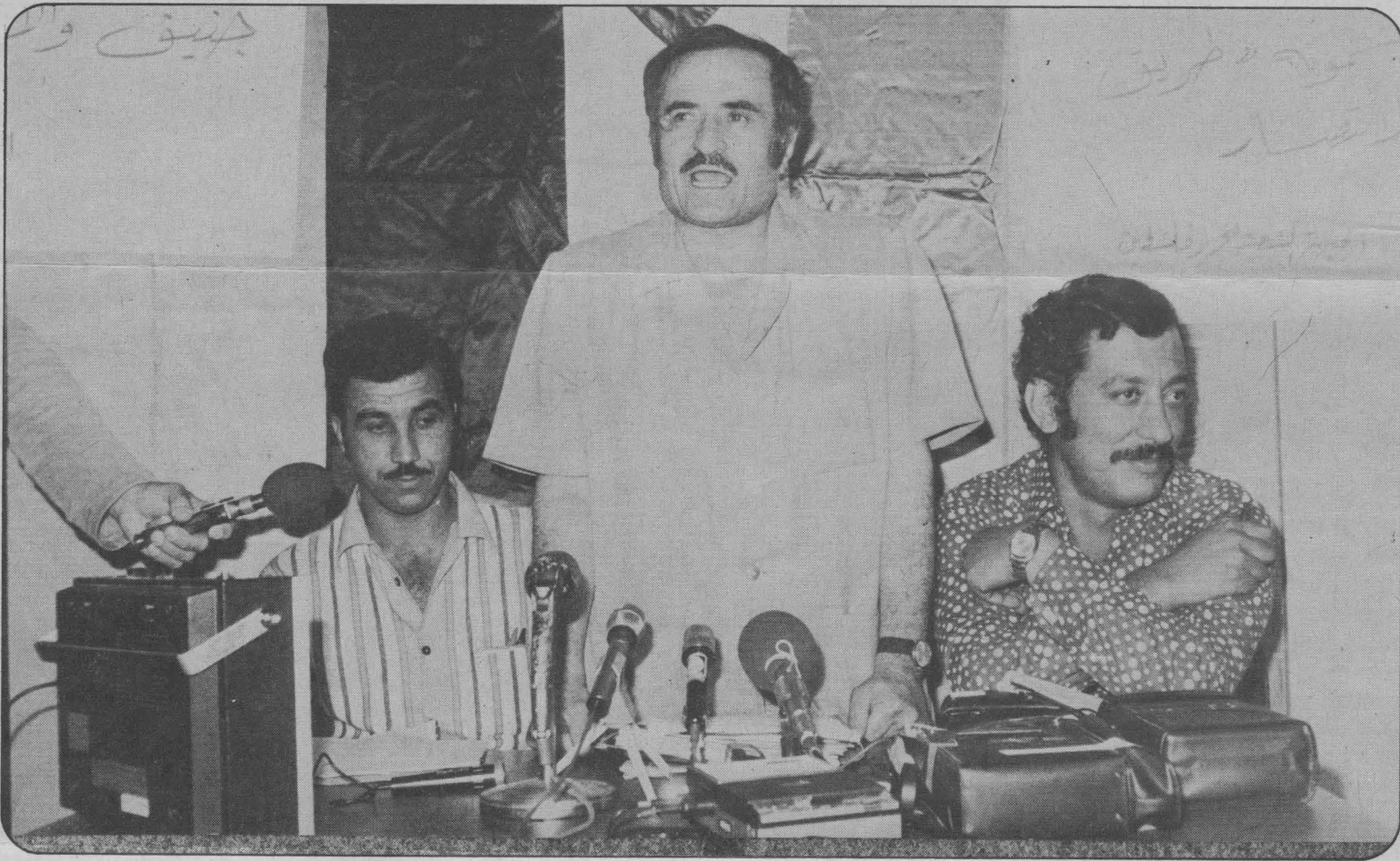
It was in this atmosphere that the Alexandria communique of Sadat-Hussein was made to receive negative reaction from the PLO leadership and the Arab national for-



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PFLP STATEMENT OF WITHDRAWAL FROM P.L.O.



PFLP REPRESENTATIVE DECLARING WITHDRAWAL

The popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine declares its decision to withdraw from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

We do so as not to shoulder responsibility of the historical deviation followed by the leadership of the PLO, and to continue our struggle among the masses in order to correct this deviation, to express the will of the masses, and to impose the correct revolutionary political line on the leaderships that have become subservient to the reactionary and capitulationist regimes.

The PFLP has only taken this step after serious attempts to strengthen national unity at this stage on clear national basis. After these serious and responsible efforts to put the PLO leadership in the revolutionary course, and after serious attempts to warn the PLO leadership about the continuation in deviation and subserviency; after all of this, the PFLP cannot remain within the Executive Committee bearing responsibility for the dangerous, gradual deviation taking place. The conspicuous contacts with the Americans, which we are capable of affirming lately, and the misleading policy practiced on our masses aim to put them in a position where day after day they will sink in the swamp of the imperialist settlement that is being planned by U.S. imperialism, Arab reaction, and the capitulationists. This policy aims at establishing the settlement in a discreet and gradual way, step

by step, so our masses will not realize the extent of the deviation that the Arab and Palestinian events have been heading toward for some time now.

It interests the PFLP to assure our Palestinian masses, Arab masses, and the anti-(imperialist-Zionist-Reactionary) forces that it only took this step after long and responsible thought. We have a deep and strong conviction that the settlement being prepared now can not be but a liquidationist imperialist one that will lead to the expansion of U.S. imperialism influence in the area and concede the existence of « Israel » with future guarantees of its security and stability. We are convinced also, that for some time now, there have been serious efforts to drag the PLO to become a party in this liquidationist imperialist settlement, so as to guarantee the new conditions that will arise for the longest possible time. This also aims to give a cover to the capitulationist stands of some of the Arab regimes. It is apparent for us that the PLO leadership agrees to be part of this settlement, and even struggles so as not to miss on such a role.

In light of these facts, the PFLP has only one road — that is to disassociate its political line in a firm and clear way from the capitulationist line followed by the PLO leadership. The PFLP will struggle among the masses for its political line, will expose every step of deviation, and will expose every tactical deception that is taken by the capitulationist forces, which try to pre-

sent the retreats as victories; in particular, participation in the Geneva conference.

The PFLP has no choice but to firmly face these deviations so that our masses and the revolutionary forces will be capable to expose all these deceptions in order that a historical force will emerge from our masses. This will guarantee the continuation of the revolution until the liberation of Haifa, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Safad, Gaza, Nablus and every inch of our Palestinian land... until the racist, Zionist, fascist entity is destroyed... and until the reactionary regimes tied with imperialism such as Jordan and others are also destroyed, and until the Arab land is liberated from all imperialist influence and exploitation; even if this requires that our nation has to struggle for tens of years and sacrifice for it millions of martyrs.

The PFLP adopts this position out of its belief and conviction that the critical stage facing the revolution imposes on us to underline clearly and to explain to our masses frankly and honestly the responsibility that falls on every one and on our masses as a whole towards the revolution, martyrs, cause, homeland and future of the struggle.

As such, it is most important to put forward the reasons for withdrawing from the PLO Executive Committee so that matters will be very clear, and so that we carry out our duty in setting up a revolutionary path for the mass movement:

First: After the October war new Arab and international condi-

tions developed which pushed for what is known as a political settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict. The U.S. was the most anxious for this settlement relying on approval of the Saudi-Egyptian reaction in the first place. It was clear what this settlement could produce of results, for in return to the pressure put by the U.S. on Israel, the price was an expansion of U.S. influence and a guarantee for its interest on our land. For every part of Arab land that Israel withdraws from it, is paid a price that strengthens its economy, military power, security and is a step towards the conceding of its existence in the area. This picture is no more an issue of analysis of this situation, to specify its results, call for its exposition, and to fight it before every discussion after the results developed and became materially felt by our masses.

It was the duty of the Palestinian revolution to present to the Palestinian masses a precise analysis of this situation, to specify its results, call for its exposition, and to fight it before everybody so that our revolution will be a tortuous light before the struggle of millions of Arabs instead of being a cover to the capitulation of some of their leaders.

The PFLP has demanded, since the end of the October war — when the imperialist liquidationist conspirators became clear — that the Palestinian revolution declares its analysis of the new political situation, its opposition to the liquidationist settlement, and that it will not allow the PLO to be used as an

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

umbrella that covers the positions of some Arab regimes. The Palestinian revolution was supposed to expose the truth of the Geneva Conference, and the truth about the results that it will lead to; also to put itself outside the liquidationist settlement, to continue the mobilization of the masses to further the struggle for tens of years regardless of the sacrifices.

The real value of the Palestinian revolution is to set the example through which the Arab masses will be capable to resolve their contradictions with their enemies by the use of arms and through a popular war of liberation instead of capitulation within a balance of power that makes the price of land returned more expensive than the land itself.

The PFLP has tried its best to make this position one that will strengthen the revolution and the national unity on the basis of a clear and categorical rejection to the Geneva conference and the liquidationist conspiracy, and on the basis of continuation of the revolutionary line. But the leadership of the PLO kept avoiding the adoption of a clear position on the grounds that it has not received an official invitation to the Geneva Conference, in spite of the signs that showed the wish of many international and Arab forces to contain the PLO and abort its revolutionary contents by indulging it within the capitulationist plans.

The PLO held its « no position » position, and as such lost its activism and effectiveness in the Palestinian, Arab and international circles.

Second: On the eve of the twelfth Palestine National Council, which was held last June in Cairo the PLO leadership talked of the importance of national unity particularly at this stage. It also expressed its readiness to move its position from the « No Position » stand to the rejection position (temporarily) regarding the attendance of the Geneva Conference. At that time it used a deceptive « Tactic » which aimed at showing the rejection forces that it knows the truth of this liquidationist settlement, but that it wanted to abort it through cunning tactics instead of direct confrontation. At that point, and from a position of responsibility not to lose any chance for national unity, the PFLP decided to explore this chance and test its results. As such was our approval of the Ten Points Program, although it represented a compromising weak form of national unity. Even then we made clear our own comprehension of this program i.e. that it rejects the Geneva conference and places the PLO outside the liquidationist settlement.

After the twelfth Palestine national Council, it became clear what the capitulationist leadership meant by its approval of the Ten Points Program. It considered it as a legitimate permit to follow the road

of deviation and capitulation. It began to give its own interpretation of the Ten Points Program in contradiction to the character of PLO and the resolutions of all the sessions of the national council, including the eleventh and the twelfth.

The trick became clear, and what more became clear that the tactic talked about by the capitulationist forces was aimed to mislead the comrades in arms and the masses, not the enemy.

We continued to struggle within the PLO and its Executive Committee so as to confirm the sound understanding of the national character and the resolutions of the National Council. But, day after day, we began to discover that the PLO leadership was deep in the settlement hoping to push it part at a time, and to follow the process of deviation gradually in order to put the masses before a fait-accompli.

Third: the PLO leadership began presenting its possible attendance of the Geneva conference (The conspiracy) as a great victory over Jordan and Israel. It also spoke about the possibility of coordinating with the hireling regime in Jordan if certain conditions existed. This is in contradiction to the resolutions of the National Council which call for the bringing down regime and the establishment of a national democratic one in its place. In one of the Executive Committee meetings before the declaration of the Egyptian-

Jordanian communique, decision to coordinate with the hireling regime in Jordan was taken if the later recognizes the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian People and recognizes the Cairo agreement of 1970. It is known that this agreement did not stop the hireling regime from striking the resistance movement and ending its open presence there; as if the Palestinian revolution did not have that long history of experiences with the regime, and as if there were no national council resolutions that demand the encirclement of and the struggle against the regime so as to bring it down.

Fourth: Some time after the twelfth national council, and after the PLO leadership abandoned the revolutionary line the Egyptian-Jordanian communique was issued; this was a hard blow to this leadership and its political line.

The declaration of this communique was an occasion for the PLO leadership to take a stand regarding its policy since the October 1973 war, and since the twelfth national council in particular. As such three organizations, members of the Executive Committee, presented a joint memorandum demanding revision and criticism by the PLO leadership so as to deduce the lessons from the previous experiences and specify its relations on the basis of the position of the regimes from the liquidationist imperialist settlement depending primarily on the masses of the Arab nation instead of the

agents of the U.S. in the area. The PLO Leadership neglected and rejected the memorandum and continued in its previous policy. It started to consider its battle not as one against the liquidationist imperialist settlement so as to continue the Palestinian and Arab fight, but a battle for the size of its share in the settlement vis-à-vis the hireling regime in Jordan.

Fifth: The PLO leadership is attempting now to make our masses forget its basic national battle concerning the liquidationist imperialist settlement and the necessity to abort it. It tries hard to divert the attention of the masses from the main battle to that of the PLO leadership with the hireling regime about each's share in the settlement. It wants the masses to be sympathetic towards it and to rally around it if the share of the hireling regime in Jordan grew at its expense. It also wants the masses to cheer it if its share becomes bigger on the account of the hireling regime in Jordan, all of this within the realm of the liquidationist imperialist settlement.

The PLO leadership makes its efforts to present the battle as one between Israel and Jordan on one side and itself on the other. As such it has the right to establish all kinds of alliances and gain the support of the masses. We categorically declare that this is a dangerous distortion of the battle and the map of contradictions. The battle is still going on with Israel, Jordan, Arab reaction,

AN APPENDIX ON THE SECRET PALESTINIAN — U.S. CONTACTS.

The following are definite and clear information concerning the secret Palestinian-U.S. contacts. We put it before the Palestinian masses as to make them aware of what some people are carrying out with the leader of the enemy camp.

1. After the October 1973 war, King Feisal sent Mustafa Ben Halim (Former Prime Minister of Libya under the reactionary regime of Sanoussi) who is acting as one of his aides to discuss with the Americans the oil issue. Feisal advised his agent Ben Halim to consult the opinion of some Palestinians so as to benefit from it when meeting the American officials.

On his way to the U.S. via Beirut, Ben Halim contacted Mr. Walid Khalidi and informed him of his task and King Feisal's advice. Khalidi conveyed what Ben Halim told him to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, and they both agreed to write a memorandum explaining the position of the Palestinians and their demands. Khalidi put the plan of the memorandum and it was approved by the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Ben Halim took the memorandum with him to the U.S. and

handed it to Henry Kissinger. After discussing it, Kissinger said: I have taken primary notice and I will meet the Palestinians in due time. Ben Halim conveyed the information to Khalidi, who in turn conveyed it to the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

During Kissinger's visit to Lebanon, Khalidi asked the Lebanese Officials to remind Kissinger of his promise. Kissinger's answer was not different from what he told Ben Halim; that the time was still early and that he will meet the Palestinians in due time.

During one of Kissinger's trips, one of the American officials, at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, CIA officer Oakly contacted Khalidi and discussed the political situation. When Oakly mentioned that he will meet Kissinger in Damascus, Khalidi asked him to remind Kissinger of his promise.

Kissinger's answer was clear this time through some points that Oakly conveyed to Khalidi:

1. The U.S. realizes that peace cannot be secured in the area without the Palestinians.

2. The U.S. has not given any promises to Israel or Jordan regarding the future of the West Bank.

3. The U.S. will discuss this issue

at the appropriate time.

On meeting the Palestinians, Kissinger's answer was that the time was too early.

These points were conveyed to the Chairman of the Executive Committee. After a while Oakly contacted Khalidi and asked him about the answer of the Palestinians, because a verbal message should be answered.

Khalidi after discussing this with the Chairman of the Executive Committee conveyed to Oakly a general position from the points.

During Nixon's visit to Syria, President Hafez Assad asked him if the U.S. had direct contacts with the Palestinians. Nixon answered that there were official contacts with them. When later the Chairman of the Executive Committee was asked by President Assad about the truth of what Nixon said he denied his knowledge of that.

At the time these contacts were taking place, a study committee was formed in the same «secret manner» with the knowledge of the same individuals involved in the secret contacts, to prepare studies for the attendance of Geneva when the time is due to invite the PLO leadership.



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imperialism and capitulationist forces on one side and the masses of the Palestinian and Arab revolution on another. There is no power capable to hide this fact from the masses.

The Palestinian masses do not want the PLO leadership to win its battle against the Jordanian reactionary regime within the realm of the settlement so as to compete with the hireling King on who is to negotiate the Israeli enemy.

The Palestinian masses want the PLO leadership to win its battle against all the forces working to impose the liquidationist imperialist settlement, so as to continue its popular revolution against Israel, the hireling regime in Jordan, imperialism and all the forces of reaction and capitulation.

Sixth: The PLO leadership ignored the Joint memorandum of the three organizations, and after enough time had passed, it participated in the tripartite conference in Cairo. This was presented as a victory for the PLO by the media supporting the settlement, although the communique issued does not object to disengagement on the Jordanian Front, but states the necessity for coordination with other Arab countries (including Jordan).

The objection of hireling Hussein and his suspension of Jordan's political activities until the coming Arab summit conference is an expected and understandable matter within the competition for the share each party is trying to get as a result of this settlement which is lead by the U.S., which wants «Permanent» stability in the area that guarantees the existence of Israel and protects its security and stability.

Our masses will not allow such deception and plays to pass, our masses are not ready to contain its battle within the circles designed by the PLO leadership, so as to give their sympathy when its share is small and cheer when this share becomes bigger.

Seventh: Things did not stop at this level. At the time that the PLO leadership denied the existence of any secret contacts with the U.S. (enemy of peoples) we are sure that these contacts took place in a secret manner. We have put this information before the Central Council in its last meeting and we put it now before the masses.

We consider these as secret contacts with the imperialist enemies, taking place without the consent of the revolution masses, its cadres and bases. If some leaders have

come to see in this a natural thing, we leave it to the masses to have its say on this subject.

The PFLP, after taking knowledge of this information, would be doing wrong to the masses if it does not put it before them so that they will judge accordingly. The days when leaderships looked at our masses as a folk of sheep are gone.

Eighth: These are the most important reasons for withdrawing from the Executive Committee of the PLO, but not all of them. We do not wish at this time to talk about the organizational and administrative situation within the PLO. We do not also want to talk about the effects such issued had on several matters such as the building of shelters and fortifying the camps in Lebanon.

In light of all of this how can we continue to bear responsibility within the Executive Committee?

The suspension of our membership in the Executive Committee is a must.

In light of this important step, we would like to emphasize the following points:

1. We will practice our right to make clear our position to the masses in detail and by every way and mean. We call on all cadres and bases convinced of this analysis and position to carry out their duty in mobilizing and explaining to the masses so that they bear their responsibilities.

2. We believe in the correctness of our position and we will defend it by all determination and power. We feel a heavy responsibility towards the future of our revolution and our struggle, which puts on us the task of explaining it on the largest possible level, Palestinian, Arab and international.

3. We truly believe that we are serving the true Palestinian national unity. The road for national unity has become one, that is the road of the masses and the masses struggle to impose the right political line.

4. We will not allow the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary enemies to benefit from this situation in any way. All the rifles will be in one line against any Zionist imperialist reactionary aggression against the Palestinian revolution or any organization within it.

5. We aim by this position to mobilize the Palestinian masses and its revolutionary forces to have their say and impose their will that has been expressed through history at different occasions. Through this we will establish the unity of our revolution on safe national bases

that will fight liquidationist settlements and will play an effective role in mobilizing all of our Arab masses to win its final battle against imperialism Zionism and reaction.

6. Though we withdraw from the Executive Committee, we will remain in the Palestine National Council, in the popular unions and organizations and in the popular committees in the camps. We will continue to struggle among our masses with a deep sense of responsibility to correct the deviations in the revolution's path and to protect the Palestinian rock from being driven in the current of the imperialist settlement.

7. We will remain ready to participate seriously in building a true national unity based on a clear and frank rejection of the Geneva conspiracy and the proposed political settlement at this time and to the settlements and resolutions that concede the existence of our Zionist enemy.

8. We will continue to adopt armed struggle and all other forms of struggles connected with it until we destroy the Zionist entity and the hireling regime in Jordan, and the establishment of the democratic society in Palestine as part of a united Arab democratic society.

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Following are textual excerpts from PFLP's « Political Communique No 1 » which was issued on July 13, 1974.

« The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine :

« ... The Front declares that any meeting between the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Jordanian regime would be a clear violation of all resolutions of the National Council — a matter which should not be met with silence, but should be firmly confronted and prevented.

« To declare readiness to meet with the hireling regime in Jordan, to declare readiness to attend the Geneva conference, and to talk about conditions for meeting with the Jordanian regime in preparation for participating in the conference are prominent landmarks along the path of deviation unacceptable to our masses and their struggling vanguard.

« The Front will not only expose the deviationary attitudes and their propagators, but will work to correct the line of certain leaderships declaring inside and outside official meetings of their readiness to participate in a settlement, for the setting up of the suspect Palestinian state. They would be conceding the existence of Israel, while using the term « national authority » to bury our holy cause... Any Palestinian party should be prevented from participating in the Geneva conference and any reconciliation with the Jordanian regime should be resisted. »

solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

International Relations Committee

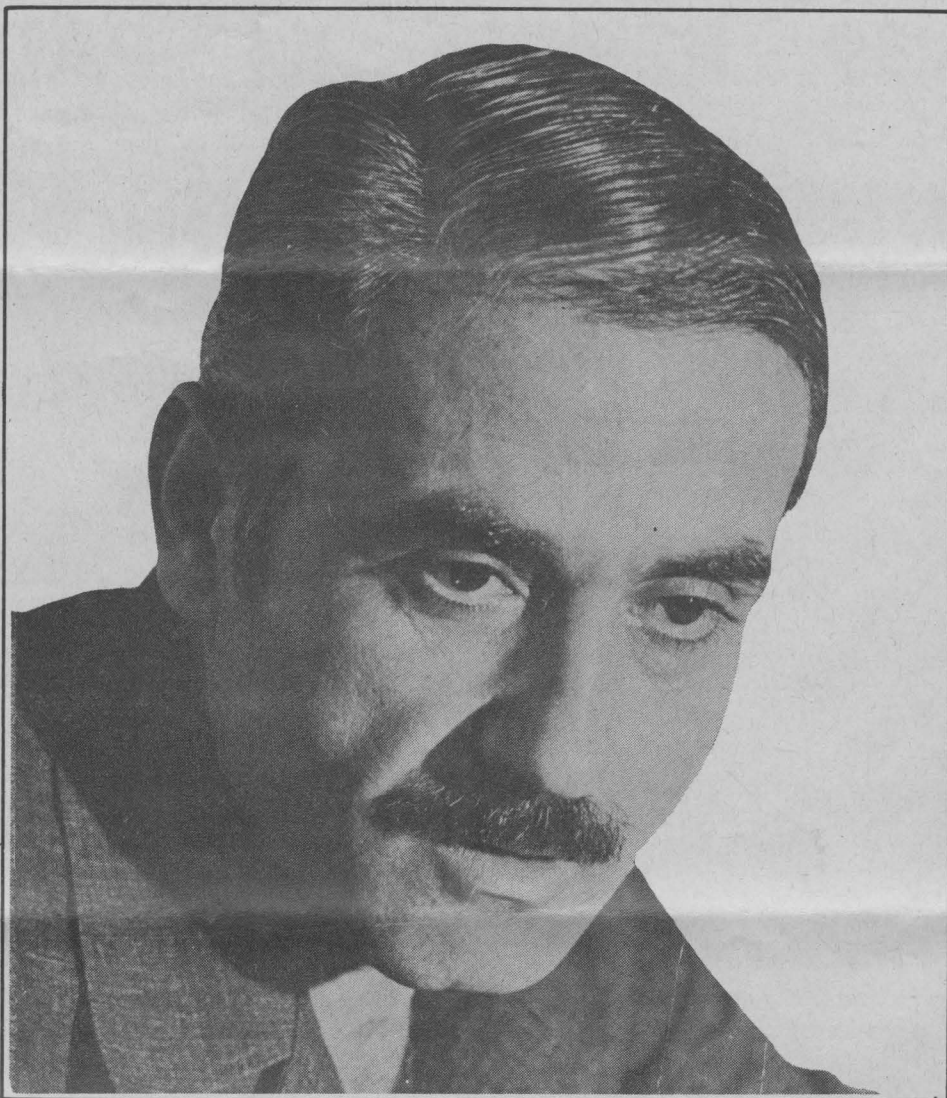
We express our admiration for and solidarity with the Palestinian people's determined struggle. The conditions for this struggle are very favourable today. Israel is more isolated than ever, beset by sharpening contradictions both internal and external, and through the blows it received during the October war, the Zionists have already experienced their Stalingrad. At the same time international support for the Palestinian liberation today stands at a crossroads. One part wants to take the road of compromise, which does not accord with the objective situation. This can only please the super-powers, the Zionists and certain reactionary Arab regimes. But it would bring the Palestinian people's cause serious defeat, delay the national democratic revolution in West Asia and thereby worsen the situation in the revolutionary movement in the

world as a whole.

We want to express our wholehearted support for the line which implies no to Geneva, no to a mini-Palestine. That is the road of continued struggle. The way which leads to a free and democratic Palestine where Arabs and Jews can live side by side. That is the road leading to victory in the national democratic revolution in the whole of West Asia.

LONG LIVE THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!
NO TO GENEVA, NO TO A PALESTINIAN MINI-STATE!
ONWARD TO VICTORY IN THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE!

Communist League Marxist-Leninist (revolutionaries)
International Secretariate
Cothenburg, Sweden
October, 11, 1974.



The following are textual excerpts from an interview with comrade Georges Habash, Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which was published by the PFLP's weekly organ Al-Hadaf on August 3, 1974 :

Price of Disengagement. « ... Parts of the Arab land, on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts, have been regained, but at what price ? ... U.S. imperialism restored its influence to the region, and this influence is continuously expanding, politically, economically and morally... And the return of the imperialist influence to the region reflected on the close relations between the Soviet Union and the Arab people. On the Arab level, in return for disengagement on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts, the Arab regimes sacrificed their weapon of military confrontation... and lifted the oil embargo on the imperialist countries...

Israeli Peace. « The capitulationist rulers will have no choice but to submit to the conditions set by U.S. imperialism. This will take place with the approval of the Zionist state which raises the slogan that « in return for every piece of land we should get a piece of peace. » The peace referred to here is the Zionist peace. It begins with the implicit recognition of Israel and ends with the Israelis shopping in the streets of Cairo. — U.S. economic projects have found their way now to the Egyptian economy, and a new legislation was promulgated to serve the interests of imperialists and Arab capitalism. All these moves are aimed at making Syria and Egypt an integral part of the U.S. imperialist market.

Egyptian-Jordanian Communiqué. « ... The gravity of the Egyptian-Jordanian communiqué should make the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) basically revise its policy. The Egyptian-Jordanian communiqué was a result of the PLO's subservient policy in its relations with the capitulationist regime, particularly with Egypt... The stand taken by the PLO should be on a par with the gravity of the communiqué. It should go beyond condemnation, as the PLO is now required to condemn its own policy. The leadership of the PLO should have true revolutionary courage and criticize its former policy of cooperating with the Arab capitulationist regimes, dissociate itself from them and rely on the Arab revolutionary masses and the Arab regimes that

reject the political settlement.

PFLP will Dissociate Itself. « The basic question is will the PLO remain subservient to the official, bourgeois capitulationist policy, or will it constitute the revolutionary alternative to the Arab and Palestinian masses and start a new revolutionary current... If the resistance practices courageous self-criticism and strengthens its relations with the Arab masses and their nationalist forces and the non-capitulationist regimes, we will consider this a significant turning-point. But if their real aim is to start another mediation and have another meeting with Sadat's regime, then the PFLP announces very clearly that we cannot shoulder the responsibility of this policy followed by the Executive Committee of the PLO. We would consider this a continuation of the deterioration of the policy of the resistance movement, a line which the PLO has followed and is still following since the October war.

The PLO Visit to the USSR. « ... The PFLP did not participate in the delegation (the PLO delegation that visited USSR), but this is not a stand taken against the Soviet Union which, despite many contradictions, we still consider as a power supporting the Arab and Palestinian struggle. This is a stand taken against the leadership of the PLO which wanted the delegation

to be « harmonious ». In our view, harmony in this connection means that the delegation should represent one political stand, which is that favoring a political settlement ; although there are two contradictory stands in the Palestinian forum, one in favor the PLO becoming party in the settlement, and the other considering this a serious and treasonous national deviation. Another reason for not participating in the delegation is that it departed without the Executive Committee debating the tasks to be discussed with the Soviet comrades. Our stand is the expression of our rejection of the PLO leadership's improvised policies and its actions in isolation from the others.

Rejection Forces. « The rejection forces believe that the Palestinian revolution will be liquidated if it takes part in the proposed political settlement and that the continuity of the revolution depends on fighting the settlement. These forces work now as if they were one front, but the front has not been established yet. It is the duty of these forces to organize one front with unified political, and organizational programs. This front should now operate within the framework of the PLO in order to prevent an irreversible deviation, and so that the PLO may not become party to the settlement. But if the PLO goes to Geneva, then the

front of steadfastness will be the sole representative of the continuity of the revolution.

PLO's Provisional Program. « ... All claims that I am the author of the 10-point program (PLO's provisional program adopted in the 12th Palestine National Council) are lies. It is regrettable that such attempts are made to distort the stand of the PFLP. I did make some points which would have served as the basis of a political program, but these points firmly place the Palestinian resistance movement outside the framework of the settlement and oppose the settlement clearly and unambiguously. These points include the clear and categorical rejection of resolution 242 and the Geneva conference.

« As to the 10-points approved by the National Council, they were a compromise formula aimed at preventing an explosion in the Palestinian forum. And there are other attempts being made to conceal the contradictions in the Palestinian forum. But on this occasion I loudly declare that there are two contradictory political stands within the PLO and that we should struggle against any attempt to conceal these contradictions. The 10-points cannot serve as the basis of a real and durable national unity, for national unity can only be based on one political stand, which is the clear and categorical rejection of all forms and formulas of the political settlement.

« In this connection, I declare in the name of the PFLP that we intend to remain within the PLO as long as the PLO remains outside the Geneva conference. We consider participation in the Geneva conference a serious and treasonous national deviation that we will fight with all our strength.

Lebanon. « We should expect blows aimed at the resistance movement, particularly in Lebanon. This is a scientific conclusion. Why ? Because the plans for a political settlement aim at the containment of the Palestinian resistance movement. This is an unambiguous fact. And it is natural for the resistance movement to hesitate before the humiliating formula proposed by U.S. imperialism for the containment of the revolution. At the same time, there will be plans to direct political and military blows at the Palestinian resistance movement to ultimately force it to become party in the settlement in a position of weakness... We should keep this in mind because the resistance in Lebanon still constitutes a revolutionary phenomenon and the Palestinian rifles are still raised... »

INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE GEORGE HABASH



THE 1936 - 39 REVOLT IN PALESTINE :

BACKGROUND, DETAILS AND ANALYSIS

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Starting this issue, P.F.L.P. Bulletin will start publishing in series the study of martyr comrade Ghasan Kanafani on the 1936-39 revolt in Palestine. This study was originally published in Arabic in Sha'oun Falastinia (Palestine Affairs) of the PLO Research Center. This study has been considered as a rare scientific analysis of the Palestinian struggle during the 1930's. We present it now to the foreign reader in hope that it contributes more to the understanding of the Palestinian struggle as a whole.



Between 1936 and 1939, the Palestinian revolutionary movement suffered a severe setback at the hands of three separate enemies that were to constitute together the principal threat to the nationalist movement in Palestine in all subsequent stages of its struggle: The local reactionary leadership, the regimes in the Arab states surrounding Palestine and the imperialist-Zionist enemy. The present study will concentrate on the respective structures of these separate forces and the dialectical relations that existed among them.

Despite the intensity of the Palestinian nationalist struggle, which since 1918 was accompanied by one form or another of organized armed struggle, it remained virtually under the control of the semifeudal and semi-religious leaderships. This was due primarily to two related factors:

1. The existence and effectiveness of the Zionist movement, which gave the national challenge relative predominance over the social contradictions. The impact of this challenge was being systematically felt by the masses of Palestinian Arabs, who were the primary victims of the Zionist invasion supported by British imperialism.

2. The existence of a significant conflict of interests between the local feudal-religious leadership and British imperialism: It was consequently in the interest of the ruling class to promote and support a certain degree of revolutionary struggle, instead of being more or less completely allied with the imperialist power, as otherwise would be the case. The British imperialists had found in the Zionists « a more suitable ally ».

The above factors gave the struggle of Palestinian people particular features that did not apply to the Arab nationalist struggle outside Palestine. The traditional leadership, as a result, participated in, or at least tolerated, a most advanced form of political action (armed struggle); it raised progressive slogans, and had ultimately, despite its reactionary nature; provided positive leadership during a critical phase of the Palestinian nationalist struggle. It is relevant to explain, however, how the feudal - religious leadership succeeded in staying at the head of the nationalist movement for so long (through 1948). The transformation of the economic and social structure of Palestine, which occurred rather rapidly, had affected primarily the Jewish sector, and taken place at the expense of the Palestinian middle and petty bourgeoisie, as well as the Arab working class. The change from a basically semi-feudal to an industrial society was accompanied by an increased concentration of economic power in the hands of the Zionist machine, and consequently, within the Jewish society in Palestine. It is significant that Arab advocates of conciliation, who became outspoken during the thirties, were not landlords or rich peasants, but rather elements of the urban upper bourgeoisie whose interests gradually colluded with the expanding interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie; the latter, by controlling the process industrialization, was creating its own agents.

In the meantime, the Arab countries surrounding Palestine were playing two conflicting roles. On the one hand, the Pan-Arab mass movement was serving as a catalyst for the revolutionary spirit of the Palestinian masses, since a dialectical relation between the Palestinian and over-all Arab struggles existed: On the other hand, the established regimes in these Arab struggles were doing everything in their power to help curb and undermine the Palestinian mass movement: The sharpening conflict in Palestine threatened to contribute to the development of the struggle in these countries in the direction of greater violence, creating a revolutionary potential that their respective ruling classes could not afford to overlook:

The Arab ruling classes were forced to support British Imperialism against their counterpart in Palestine, which was in effect leading the Palestinian nationalist movement.

Meanwhile, the Zionist-imperialist alliance continued to grow; the period between 1936 and 1939 witnessed not only the crystallization of the militaristic and aggressive character of the colonial society that Zionism had firmly implanted in Palestine, but also the relative containment and defeat of the Palestinian Arab working class; this was to have subsequently a radical effect on the course of the struggle: During that period, Zionism, in collaboration with the mandatory power, successfully undermined the development of a progressive Jewish labor movement and of Jewish-Arab Proletarian brotherhood. The Palestine Communist Party was effectively isolated among both Arab and Jewish workers, and the reactionary Histadrut completely dominated the Jewish labor movement. The influence of Arab progressive forces within Arab labor federations in Haifa and Jaffa diminished, leaving the ground open for their control by reactionary leaderships that monopolized political action.

BACKGROUND : THE WORKERS :

The issue of Jewish immigration to Palestine was not merely a moral or national issue; it had direct implication on the economic status of the Arab people of Palestine, affecting primarily the small and middle-income farmers, workers and certain sectors of the petty and middle bourgeoisies. The national and religious character of Jewish immigration further aggravated the economic repercussions.

Between 1933 and 1935, 150,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine, bringing the country's Jewish population to 443,000 - or 29.6% of the total - from 1926 to 1932 the average number of immigrants per year was 7,201. It rose to 42,985 between 1933 and 1936, as direct result of Nazi persecution in Germany. In 1932, 9,000 German Jews entered Palestine, 30,000 in 1933, 40,000 in 1934 and 61,000 in 1935², nearly three quarters of the new immigrants settling in cities. If Nazism was responsible for terrorizing the Jews and forcing them out of Germany, it was « democratic » capitalism, in collaboration with the Zionist movement, that was responsible for directing comparatively large numbers of Jewish migrants to Palestine, as illustrated by the following: of 2,562,000 Jews that fled from Nazi persecution, the U.S.A. accepted only 170,000 (6.6%), Britain 50,000 (1.9%), while Palestine received 8.5% and 1,930,000 (75.2%) found refuge in the U.S.S.R.³ The severe economic impact of the immigration into Palestine can be realized when it is considered that a comparatively large percentage of Jewish settlers were basically capitalists: In 1932, 3,250 of the latter (11%) were considered as capitalists, in 1935, 5,124 or 12% and in 1935, 6,304 or 10%⁴.

According to official statistics, of the Jewish immigrants who entered Palestine between 1932 and 1936, 1,370 (with 171,119 dependents) possessed PL 1,000 or more: 130,000 were officially registered as seeking employment, or dependents of previous immigrants⁵. In other words, the immigration was not only designed to ensure a concentration of European Jewish capital in Palestine, that was to dominate the process of industrialization, but also to provide this effort with a Jewish proletariat: The policy that raised the slogan of « Jewish labor only » was to have grave consequences, as it led to the rapid emergence of fascist patterns in the society of Jewish settlers.

Another result was the development of a competitive struggle between the Arab and Jewish proletariats and between Arab peasants, farmers and agricultural laborers and their Jewish counterparts. This conflict also extended to higher classes, in as much as the Arab small landowners and middle urban middle bourgeoisie realized that their interests were being threatened by growing Jewish capital.

In 1935, for example, Jews controlled 872 of a total of 1,212 industrial firms in Palestine, employing 13,678 workers, while the rest were Arab-controlled and employed about 4,000 workers: Jewish investment totaled PL 4,391,000 compared to PL 704,000 of Arab industrial investment; Jewish production reached PL 6,000,000 compared to PL 545,000 by Arab firms: In addition, Jewish capital controlled 90% of the concessions granted by the mandatory government, which accounted for a total investment of PL 789,000 and provided labor for 2,619 workers⁶.

An official census in 1937 indicated that an average Jewish worker received 14.5% more in wages than his Arab counterpart: (As high as 433% more in textile factories employing Jewish and Arab women, and 233% in tobacco factories⁷). « By July 1937, the real wages of the average Arab worker decreased 10% while those of a Jewish worker rose 10% »⁸.

The economic consequences of Jewish immigration were further aggravated by the fact that the British Mandate had granted a privileged status to Jewish capital and enabled it to gain control of the economic infrastructure (road projects, Dead Sea minerals, electricity, ports, etc....), thereby severely damaging the prospects for development in the Arab sector.

This situation resulted in an almost total collapse of the Arab economy in Palestine, primarily affecting Arab workers: In his report to the Peel Royal Commission, George Mansour, the Secretary of the Federation of Arab Workers in Jaffa, indicated that 98% of Arab workers had a «well below average» standard of living: Based on a census covering 1,000 workers in Jaffa in 1936, the Federation had found that the income of 57% of Arab workers was less than PL 2.750 (the average minimum income required to support a family being PL 11); 12% less than PL 4.250, 12% less than PL 6.—, 4% less than PL 10, 1.5% less than PL 12 and 0.5 less than PL 15.9

When the Mandatory Government refused to allow nearly 1,000 unemployed Jaffa workers to hold a demonstration on June 6, 1935, the Federation of Workers issued a statement warning the Government that unless their problems are solved, «the government would soon have to give the workers either bread or bullets.»¹⁰ With the conditions of workers continuing to deteriorate, an uprising seemed imminent.

George Mansour (who had been previously a Communist Party member) came out with striking illustrations in his report to the Peel Commission: by the end of 1935, 2,270 men and women workers were unemployed in the city of Jaffa alone, with a population of 71,000 (11). Mansour pointed out five reasons for the high unemployment rate, four of which were directly connected with Jewish immigration: 1) the settling of new immigrants; 2) urban migration; 3) dismissal of Arab workers from their jobs; 4) the deteriorating economic situation; 5) the discriminatory policy of the Mandatory Government in favor of Jewish workers (12).

In a period of nine months, the number of Histadrut workers increased by 41,000. According to an Article published in the issue No. 3460 of the newspaper Davar, Histadrut workers numbered 115,000 at the end of July 1936; the official 1936 government report (p. 117) had showed their number at the end of 1935 to be 74,000. (13)

The policy of dismissal of Arab workers from firms and projects controlled by Jewish capital initiated violent clashes. In the four Jewish settlements of Malbis, Dairan, Wadi Hunain and Khadira, there were 6,214 Arab workers in February 1935. Six months later, their attacks against Arab workers also took place. On one occasion, for instance, the Jewish community forced an Arab contractor and his workers to leave their work in the Brodski building in Haifa. Among those who were systematically losing their jobs were workers in orchards, cigarette factories, mason's yards, construction, etc... (15)

Between 1930 and 1935, Arab pearl industry exports fell from PL 11,532 to PL 3,777 a year. The number of Arab soap factories in Haifa alone fell from 12 in 1929 to 4 in 1935. Their export value fell from PL 206,659 in 1930 to PL 79,311 in 1935. (16)

It was clear that the Arab proletariat had fallen «victim to British colonialism and Jewish capital, the former bearing the primary responsibility». (17)

Yehuda Baur wrote: (18) «On the eve of the 1936 disturbances, Palestine was possibly the only country in the world, apart from the U.S.S.R., that had not been affected by the world economic crisis; in fact, it enjoyed real prosperity as a result of a massive import of capital (over 30,000,000 in capital had entered Palestine). The imported capital had even fallen short of the necessary funds needed for all the investment programmes». This prosperity, however, was based on rather shaky foundations, which collapsed once the influx of private capital came to an end because of fears of the outbreak of war in the Mediterranean. «The loan system collapsed; there were indications of serious unemployment and construction activity greatly diminished. Arab workers were being dismissed by both Arab and Jewish employers, a number of them returning to their original villages; national consciousness was rising due to the aggravating economic crisis.» (19)

Bauer, however, omits the primary factor: continued Jewish immigration. Sir John Hope Simpson stated in his report that, « It was a bad, and perhaps a dangerous policy, to allow large sums of money to be invested in unprofitable industries in Palestine to justify increased immigration. » In effect, Bauer's statement was basically unfounded since the influx of Jewish capital continued during the years he referred to and, in fact, reached its climax in 1935; the number of immigrants also increased during these years. (Capital invested in Jewish industries and commerce firms increased from PL 5,371,000 in 1933 to PL 11,637,300 in 1936; op. cit. p. 323). Moreover, the dismissal of Arab workers by Jewish employers had begun long before that time. (20) In the meantime, large masses of Arab peasants were being evicted and uprooted from their lands as a result of Jewish colonization of rural areas.²¹ They immigrated to cities and towns only to face increasing unemployment. The Zionist machine took full advantage of the rivalry between Arab workers and their fellow Jewish workers. Israeli leftists later observed that not once, in a period of fifty years, were Jewish workers mobilized and rallied around material issues or the struggle of Labor Federation. « The Jewish proletariat could not be mobilized around its own cause. »²²

The fact is that the situation was fully the result of Zionist efficient planning, to recall Herzl's words: « Private land in areas allocated to us must be seized from its owners. Poor inhabitants are to be quietly evacuated across the border after having secured for them jobs in the countries of their destination. They are to be denied employment in our country; as for large property-owners, they will ultimately join us. »²³ The Histadrut summed up its policy by declaring that « to allow Arabs to penetrate the Jewish labor market meant that the influx of Jewish capital would be employed to service Arab development, which is contrary to Zionist objectives. Furthermore, the employment of Arabs in Jewish industries would lead to a class division in Palestine along racial lines: Capitalist Jews employing Arab workers; should this be permitted, we would have introduced into Palestine the conditions that had led to the emergence of anti-semitism ».²⁴ Thus the ideology and practices that underlined the process of colonization were developing fascist character; Zionism was using the same tools as the mounting Fascism in Europe. The Arab worker was at the bottom of a complex pyramid of social structure, and his condition grew worse as a result of the confusion within the Arab labor union movement. During the period between the early twenties and early thirties, the progressive labor movement — Arab as well as Jewish — suffered crushing blows, which, together with the impact of purely subjective weaknesses, resulted in its virtual paralysis. On the one hand, the Zionist movement which was rapidly becoming fascist in character and resorting to armed terrorism, sought to isolate and destroy the Communist Party, most of whose leaders were Jews, and that resisted being contained by Zionist Labor organizations. On the other hand, the Palestinian feudal-religious leadership could not tolerate the rise of an Arab labor movement that was independent of its control. The movement was thus terrorized by the Arab leadership. In the early thirties, the Mufti's group assassinated Michel Mitri, President of the Federation of Arab Workers in Jaffa. Ten years later, Sami Taha, a trade-unionist and President of the Federation of Arab workers in Haifa was also assassinated. In the absence of an economically and politically strong national bourgeoisie, the workers were directly confronted and oppressed by the traditional feudal leadership; the conflict occasionally led to violent confrontations which were reduced whenever the traditional leadership managed to assume direct control over trade-union activities. As a result, labor activity lost its essential role in the struggle. Moreover, with the sharpening of the national struggle, a relative identity of interests united the workers with the traditional Arab leadership. Meanwhile, the Communist Party occasionally succeeded in organizing political action. On one occasion on May 1st, 1920, a group of demonstrating communists clashed with a Zionist demonstration in Tel-Aviv and were forced to flee the city and take refuge in the Arab quarter of Manshiya in Jaffa; later a confrontation took place with a British security force that was sent to arrest the Bolsheviks.²⁵ In a statement distributed on the same day, the Executive Committee of the Party declared: « The Jewish workers are here to live with you; they have not come to persecute you, but to live with you. They are ready to fight on your side against the capitalist enemy, be it Jew, Arab or British. If the capitalists incite you against the Jewish worker, it is in order to protect themselves from you. Do not fall into the trap; the Jewish worker, who is a soldier of the revolution, has come to offer you his hand as a comrade in resisting British, Jewish and Arab capitalists... We call on you to fight against the rich who are selling their land and their country to foreigners. Down with British and French Bayonets; down with Arab and foreign capitalists. »²⁶

The remarkable thing in this long statement was, not only the idealist portrayal of the struggle, but also the fact that nowhere did it mention the word « Zionist »; yet Zionism represented to the Arab peasants and workers a daily threat, as well as to the Jewish communists.

To Be Continued Next Issue



leadership elements.

In 1965, the General Union of Palestinian Women was founded and held its first congress in Jerusalem. Soon it became the sole legal representative of Palestinian women. The main difference between the APWU and GUPW was that the first was only a philanthropic society while the other was a popular organization. Every Palestinian woman who believes in revolutionary armed struggle as the only mean for liberating Palestine was eligible for membership. The Union was organized in a manner which gave the General Secretariat the task of coordinating the union's various activities in the camps which were carried out by its different branches. The most important aim of the Union was to organize women's capabilities and put them in the service of the revolution. It also aimed at putting into practice the programs that would help push forward women's struggle for liberation on social and economic bases. Throughout its history, the GUPW reflected the agony of the Palestinians and their suffering since 1948. In 1966, the GUPW was banned in Jordan. Its offices were closed and properties confiscated.

PALESTINIAN WOMEN DEVELOP THEIR STRUGGLE T

Background

Throughout her recent history (20th century), Palestinian women have actively participated in the struggle against colonialism and exploitation. During the period 1917-1948 they participated in the movement against British imperialism and Zionist colonization. As early as 1920, they participated in the first revolt against British rule and formed a part of a delegation to the British Commissioner to demand the annulment of the Balfour declaration, and to protest against the torture of prisoners. In 1929 Palestinian women held their first conference in Jerusalem and called for the continuation of armed struggle. This call was expressed through physical participation in the struggle. They took part in active fighting, smuggling weapons, nursing the wounded, and hiding the fighters. Some of them even martyred at this early stage. Women also took part in civil rights activities through demonstrations and petitions, protested against heavy sentences given by the British to Palestinian militants as they did when the leaders of the 1929 strikes were sentenced to death by hanging.

As the resistance against imperialism and Zionism reached its climax in 1936, and as violence increased women played a more prominent role especially through the April-October strike of that year. They boycotted Zionist and foreign products, organized huge demonstrations against British policy

and continued to actively participate in the various fields of the struggle. As the conflict intensified in 1947, women started having specific tasks such as digging shelters, building fortifications, buying and transporting arms, feeding the fighters and nursing the wounded. During this period, a secret women's organization stemmed up thus, increasing women's participation in military activities. Up to this stage of the struggle, women's activities were only spontaneous and came as a direct result to the enemy's policies. The question of women's participation in the resistance activities was not tackled by the Palestinian national movement and within the political parties there were no programs aiming at involving women on the ideological level.

During the period 1948-1967 and after the establishment of the state of Israel and the disposition and dispersion of the Palestinian people and the birth of the «refugee» problem, Palestinian women struggled to preserve their Palestinian identity and resisted all attempts to liquidate the Palestinian cause. The emergence of new political parties influenced the society and women had the chance to take part in every political activity aiming at liberating Palestine. They were in the forefront of every fight, demonstrating against imperialist plans aiming at consolidating the occupation, division and backwardness of the Arab World. But in spite

of all this, the extent of women's participation in the national and social struggles remained limited due, amongst other reasons, to the lack of a program that deals with the concept of their liberation.

The economic hardships to which the Palestinians were subjected to, helped women to join the labour force. In spite of all the old traditions, social values and, customs, Palestinian women started going out to work in increasing numbers. Need was the strongest drive, and they had to accept heavy manual jobs for absurd wages. But still, women were not liberated from the prevailing social conditions although they acquired some of the advantages inherent to economic independence and new possibilities were opened for them through participating in political work.

In 1950, an Arab Palestinian Women's Union (APWU) was established in Lebanon as a continuation to the union which was first established in Palestine in 1929. Its aims were «philanthropic, constructive and social». The union had several activities which were mainly charitable, informative, and taking part in Arab and international conferences. In 1955 it joined the International Women's Union after Israel's membership was dropped. The involvement of the union in pure women's issues was limited and it never reached the level of politicization. This was mainly due to the nature and background of the

As a result, the General Secretariat's headquarters moved to Cairo. It reopened again in Amman in 1969 only to be closed again in 1970 as a result of the September 1970 clashes. The Palestinian revolution has always stressed that the way to liberation was through a people's war of long duration and for this aim a wide mass base for the Union was needed. The development and training of cadres and the need for an organized strict union were emphasized. The GUPW took a new step, initiating several new activities such as civil defence and training camps. Previously, and in spite of the very difficult conditions, the Union's branches had conducted productive activities in the social and political fields, by campaigning against illiteracy, opening schools for children, conducting first aid and health programs, and teaching and marketing handicrafts. It also conducted programs aiming at raising the political awareness amongst women, and programs to preserve the Palestinian culture. The main efforts were directed towards the camps and the occupied territories.

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF GUPW

What had been left of the General Secretariat managed to form a preparatory committee in order

to prepare for a new General Congress. By now, new branches of the union have been established in those countries where Palestinians were present in large numbers mainly in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and Kuwait. The political situation in the Occupied territories and Jordan made it, practically, impossible to establish official branches of the Union there. Thus, after nine years since its First Congress, the GUPW was able to hold its Second Congress on August 5th-10th, 1974 in Lebanon. Representatives of the different branches in the Arab countries as well as representatives of Palestinian women in the occupied territories and Jordan. The latter were allocated 25 seats by the General Secretariat — the largest representation in the congress. Seventy-four delegates attended the congress, plus a number of observers from the Union's branches, from Arab and Palestinian organizations and representatives of women's unions in the socialist countries and liberation movements at Arab and world levels. Representatives of Palestine solidarity committees in Europe also attended. A special program was organized for the foreign delegates in order to

provisional program which would be able to accommodate itself with the factors of the political solution. The main point in their program was the acceptance of a «Palestinian state» in the West Bank and Gaza, in the case of the «receding of the occupation» as a result of the expected peace talks.

All the discussions in the different committees of the Congress were reflections of these two political lines. On the second day, the members of the different committees were elected. These were: Political, Internal Rules, Social and Cultural, Financial, Information, and Foreign Relations Committees. They came out with several recommendations which were discussed by the Congress. The Internal Rules were adopted.

The main recommendations were to orient the Union's activities towards the refugee camps, to prepare new cadres from among them; to politicize the activities of the Union; to raise the political, social and cultural status of the Palestinian women and to provide her with military training. There were also recommendations that aimed to make the Union financially self dependent through the estab-

popular armed struggle and the establishment of the democratic society as part of the unified Arab democratic society.» It also stressed «the belief of the Union that these aims cannot be achieved except through a long-term popular war, in which all the Palestinian and Arab masses would participate...» «And through this understanding, the Union considers the Palestinian question as the central issue for the Arab nation, and the Palestinian revolution as part of the world liberation movement whose enemies are world imperialism headed by the United States, Zionism and Arab reaction.» The report also mentioned the October war and stressed its positive results such as «proving the capabilities of the Arab fighter, his consistency and his ability to use modern war machinery,» and «shaking and destroying the legendary myth of the 'undefeatable' enemy with the Arab will and determination to fight.» It also said that «the crossing of the Canal was accompanied by a new American attack on the Arab area, the results of which were cease-fire, disengagement of troops and containment of the masses' achievements obtained through their na-

that the GUPW, as an essential base of the Palestinian revolution, «struggles to abort all liquidationist settlements and stresses the line of the revolution which rejects peace, recognition and negotiations with the enemy.» It said that the Egyptian-Jordanian communique represented a deviation from the resolutions of the Algeria summit, that it called for the division of the Palestinian people, the ending of its personality and the oppression of its national identity which were the guarantee for its revolution and its armed struggle, and that it accepted the liquidationist «United Arab Kingdom» plan.

The report stressed that the continuation of the revolution meant «struggling for a revolutionary base on any land that could be liberated from the enemy, in order to forward and to continue the revolution.» It emphasized that the achievement of the fighting revolutionary people's authority can only come as a result of armed struggle. It rejected that «the price of the authority be the participation in negotiations with the enemy, conceding the existence of the Zionist occupation on any part of Palestine, the acceptance of the hiring

THROUGH PROGRESSIVE REVOLUTIONARY RESOLUTIONS

orientate them with the different activities of the Union in the refugee camps and the centers of the revolution in Lebanon.

The Congress opened at the UNESCO hall with a word by the General Secretary of the GUPW, followed by a speech by Abu Maher, the representative of the Mass Organization Department of the PLO. The political and activities reports of the General Secretariat were read, followed by fraternal greetings of the guest delegates who expressed their solidarity with the Palestinian revolution and the struggle of Palestinian women. The closed meetings of the congress began in Souk-El-Gharb on the 7th of August, by discussing the reports of the General Secretariat. The political report took most of the discussions since two different political lines appeared from the start of the congress. The first one, to which most of the delegates adhered to, believed in and stressed on the continuation of armed struggle and rejected any political solution, on the basis that it could not be but a liquidationist one. Delegates who identified with this political line stressed the need to keep the Union a true base for the masses, expressing the wishes of the people it represented. The few delegates who identified with the second political line referred to the need to take into consideration the new changing factors that came about as a result of the October war, and the need of the revolution to adopt a

lishment of special projects; that relations with women in other Arab countries should be strengthened; that kindergartens should be established, anti-illiteracy campaigns conducted and technical schools established, thus giving the woman the chance to work and become active.

The most important document that was issued by the Congress was the political report. It underlined the position of the General Union of Palestine Women (GUPW) towards the important events in the Arab countries; being the revolutionary stand, it was victorious by an overwhelming majority. It stressed the commitment of the Union to the aims of the Palestinian revolution in «the liberation of all the Palestinian national soil through

tional struggle.» «U.S. imperialism, Zionism and the puppet Arab reactionary forces were successful in exploiting the Arab victory for their own interests and enabled the Zionist enemy to rearm itself to wage a new war... thus starting to impose compromises essentially aimed at liquidating our cause and our will for armed struggle.»

The report continued by strongly condemning the joint Egyptian-Jordanian communique. It said that it «came to emphasize the capitulationist road official Arab policy has adopted.» «Imperialism will not stop for even a moment from conspiring against our Palestinian people, its cause and its armed revolution.» It also emphasized that the communique represented only one of the signs in this conspiracy and

Jordanian regime's presence on any part of the homeland, the submission to any official Arab or international authority, the division of the Palestinian people or the containment of the Palestinian revolutionary struggle.»

The communique ended by mentioning the necessary steps needed to face the critical present situation. These are: to depend essentially on the subjective capabilities of the resistance; the unity of the revolution to support the Jordanian-Palestinian front, the military struggle against the hiring regime in Jordan; the escalation of the armed, political and mass struggle in the occupied territories; to increase the cooperation with all sectors of the Arab liberation movement, and to widely develop the relations with the Socialist and non-aligned countries and with the national liberation movements of the world.

In the end, we can say that through her Congress the Palestinian woman expressed a high level of awareness regarding her responsibilities in the revolution. Also, she waged a firm struggle to preserve the independence of her Union in spite of various pressures. The comradesly relationships that prevailed during the Congress overshadowed the narrow mindedness that usually limits the efficiency of many Union's members.





COMRADE

GEORGE HABASH

OUTLINES PFLP POLICY

IN A PRESS CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

The Arab Summit Conference of Arab head of States will be held tomorrow in Rabat. On this occasion, the PFLP wishes, through you and with your assistance, to present to the Palestinian and Arab masses as well as to all the progressive regimes and forces on the Arab and international levels, its position regarding the subjects that the Arab responsables will deal with in Rabat.

The PFLP aims to fulfill its obligations towards our Palestinian people's cause and that of our Arab masses as well as the cause of progress and peace in the world.

The recent withdrawal of the PFLP from the Executive Committee of the PLO is based on a scientific conviction that the path followed by the PLO leadership at this stage is full of big dangers regarding the future of the Palestinian and the Arab national liberation movement, and that this path does not represent the real nature of our people's interest and aim, and thereby, we take this opportunity to explain the correct political line — the path which we believe will realize the objectives of the masses.

We are passing a very delicate and decisive stage. Such a stage requires in the same manner determined ideological and political struggle between what is right and what is wrong, what is illusion and what is real, between the deviationist political line and the correct one; it also requires a refrain from abuses and nonfundamental quarrels, out of the faithfulness to our martyrs and the aspirations of our future generations.

Allow me, to say that you, as journalist bear; a good part of responsibility in this respect, whether by putting before the masses all realities and points of view, or by the call for a responsible scientific dialogue, far from abuses.

The recent position of PFLP, (I mean its withdrawal from the Executive Committee of the PLO) has been subject to questions and remarks on your part and on the part of the forces that we care for. In spite of the fact that the PFLP has explained its view point, it still hopes that through your questions, this could further explain to our masses the reasons and considerations behind the position it adopted, knowing quite well all its implications, meanings and results.

PRESS STATEMENT BY
COMRADE GEORGE HABASH,
SECRETARY GENERAL
OF PFLP (Friday —
25/10/1974).

More than a year has already elapsed since the cease-fire, last October. During this period, Saudi Arabia and Egypt have in the first place bore responsibility of steering the Arab world on the path to regain the Arab occupied lands in the June war, and the realization of what they call, generally and without any definition, «The national rights of the Palestinian people». What has been the result?

The results have become clear to all: Israel has been given the necessary time to pick up its breath and to rebuild its military institution; to supply it with new weapons — On the level of its air, naval and land forces. The enemy of the peoples, the U.S., has been able to reimpose its moral domination over the area in preparation for its full control, politically and economically. Above all this, and rather, more dangerous than all this, all issues have been dealt with during the period with the promise of Israel existence being taken as a fait-accompli that bears no discussion, and that only alleviation of the consequences of the 1967 aggression has to be at the cost of a final Arab and international consolidation of the consequences of the 1948 aggression. Hence a full cancellation of one of the major objectives of the Palestinian and Arab revolution — the liberation of all Palestinian national soil. Not that only, but it is natural that after all this, the results will be a disintegration of the revolutionary atmosphere that spread among the masses when the fighting was going on, as well as a split in the official Arab camp; a lack of readiness on the part of some anitimperialist national regimes, to bear responsibility of these results under the banner of so-called «Arab solidarity» and a weakening of the organic links with the socialist countries. This last point alone forms a central point in the U.S. policy in the area, at this stage.

All this happened, while Israel is still in Sinai, the Golan and the entire Palestinian land. The equation presented became completely clear: The U.S. might put lenient and smooth pressure on Israel to withdraw from «Arab territories

occupied in the war. In return for this, the Arab side has today the price: Part of the price will go to U.S. imperialism, the enemy of the peoples, and the other part will go to Israelis security, legitimacy, and existence. The price list required for withdrawal is a very long one beginning with an end or a weakening of the relations with the socialist countries down to the price of oil and its quantity of production from our lands.

Is there anything wrong with this analysis? Is there any exaggeration? Is there any wrong-doing? Are there any brinkmanship and sabotage attempts? Don't we have the right after all these results to categorically and decisively condemn this reactionary capitulationist and submissive policy, its protagonists and supervisors, and to call on the masses — All Arab masses — to confront it, fall it and crush it.

In the light of all of this, we view the main task of the Rabat conference is to set a final and complete withdrawal out of this path — the path of imperialist and betraying political settlements and a definition of an alternative political line.

What is the alternative?

First: The serious and continuous preparation for a war of liberation and not a war that aims at pushing for a political settlement.

Second: That this process of preparation is not limited to the military aspects only.

From the military side there has to be a complete preparation as to the plan; armament, training, full mobilization and the provision of all that is needed for a long battle that might extend for years. The preparations must include the economic, social and political programs that will create out of the Arab masses a solid and down deep base that provides the fight with the human and material needs until victory is achieved. The release of the masses potential by providing them with freedom and justice is

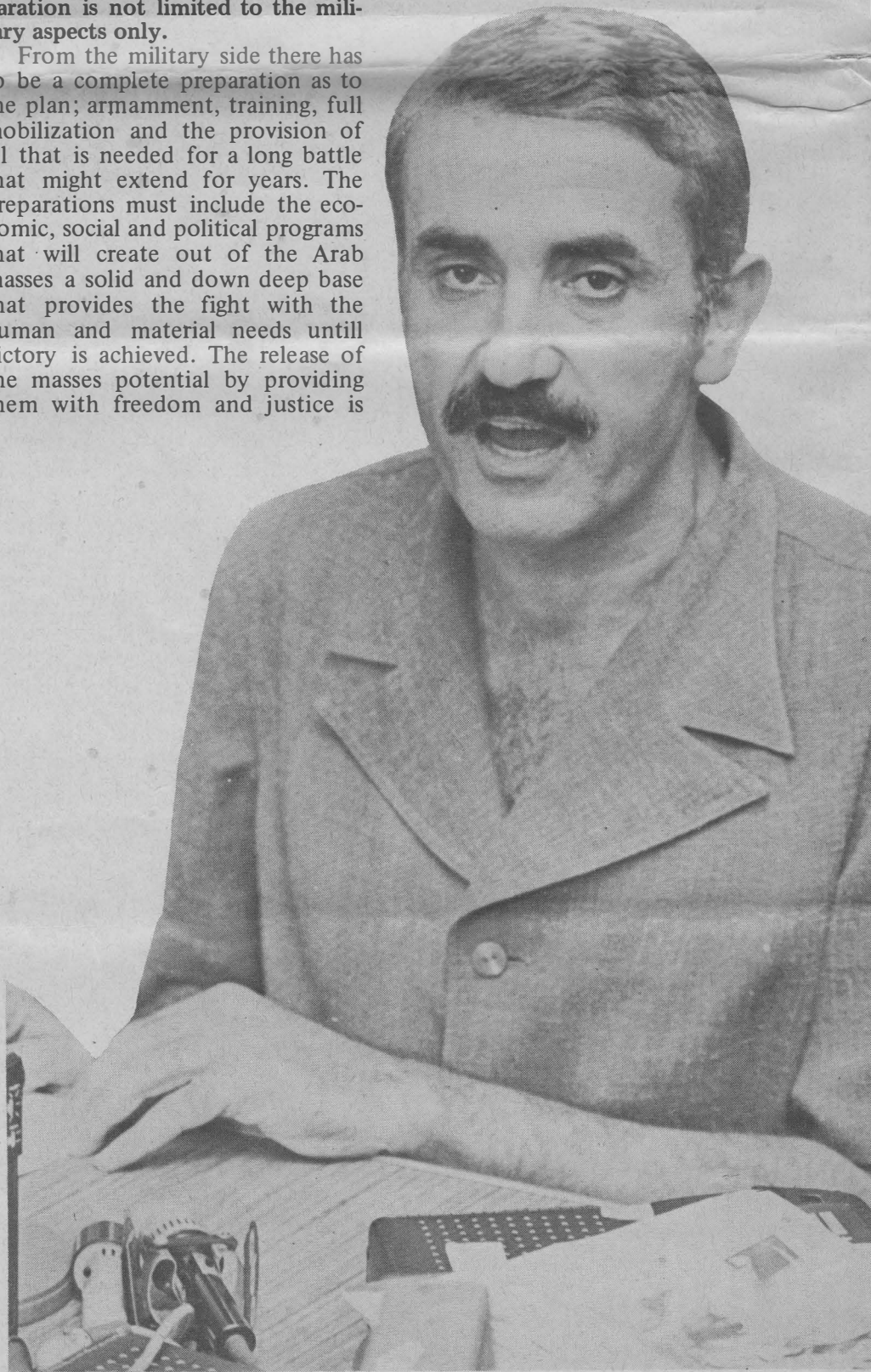
the road to building up the power which Israel, aided with all the imperialist forces, cannot defeat.

Third: That all the resources of the Arab nation — including the economic, oil and hence the financial — be mobilized with enough courage to the interest of the battle, without fear of U.S. imperialist threats.

Fourth : In the serious national liberation war there must be a consolidation of the closest relations with all the socialist countries on all levels — political, economic and military — as well as the closest relations with the progressive regimes and forces of the world. This forms a basic line of an alternative political progress.

Fifth: It must be very clear in our minds from the outset, that in such a war, we will not be facing Israel alone. We will certainly be facing U.S. imperialism with all its military, political, economic and sabotage weight. The claim of the Egyptian authorities that «they were forced to cease-fire in October because they found out that they were fighting the U.S.» is in the best interpretation, a naive statement which reflects the absence of a scientific definition of the enemy camp and that of the friends.

These are major points in the alternative program which our



masses demand the Summit conference to wage our battle upon.

Our masses are asking with bitterness and decisiveness; why don't we follow this path? If there are some who say that such a program embroils us in a tough fight with the mighty U.S. imperialist giant with all what it possesses of means of war and destruction, our reply here is the Vietnam example and the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people which has been able, through its determined long war of liberation, to force this giant's face into the mud and force it to withdraw from Vietnam, leaving its puppets in Saigon to face their fateful destiny.

If there is anybody who says that such a program will carry with it death to every Arab family and will force heavy sacrifices on our masses, we reply that this is the low of liberation until now.

Our people in Algeria suffered one million martyr for their freedom; the great Soviet peoples also paid twenty million martyrs during the Second World War to maintain the revolution; the great Chinese fought over twenty years to attain their aims and objectives. The heroic Vietnamese people have paid, and are still paying daily, groups after groups of martyrs, under the slogan «nothing is more dear than freedom». To those who claim that this program threatens world peace, we say that the entire Vietnamese war and the fundamental crisis it has created in the backbone of the American imperialist system, did not lend to a world war because of the nuclear power balance. We do not ask our friends to fight our national war, we only request from them the support they granted to all the nations fighting for their freedom. Finally, we refuse to let this slogan «international peace» be used as a sword over our heads and prevent us from liberating our land and resources.

Our conviction is firm and fundamental that this is the road to a just and durable peace in the area. One day truth will be clear to all, that there is no peace in the area with the existence of a fascist, racist state based on a reactionary doctrine and with the aim of serving the imperialist interest.

The slogan of a democratic society in Palestine raised by the Palestinian revolution is the only road to freedom and progress for the entire people of the area, including the Jews, and is the road to permanent and durable peace.

The «permanent and just peace» advocated by the messenger of imperialism Kissinger is a plan to maintain the «nucleus of instability» in the area.

This is what the PFLP has to say on the eve of the summit conference in Rabat.

Are we saying this because of a real possibility that some Arab regimes will reevaluate their past policies and will adopt our patriotic political line? Of course we wish this to be true from our depths, but the problem is not that of our own wishes. The interests of some of the Arab regimes totally contradicts the policy of progressive national peoples war. The inhabitants of palaces who are directly linked with imperialism and who join with it in

exploiting the wealth of peoples and the output of the proletariat, and these regimes and social forces who are living in an environment of abundance will not take this path... the path of the revolutionary political line. They want to maintain the status quo in order to enjoy a life of corruption and abundance at the expense of millions. These regimes and the reactionary and capitulationist forces condemn our policy and downgrade all who call for it. But this policy remains to be the only policy to serve the interests of millions from our Arab masses and the interest of the greatest majority.

Our wretched and deprived working class living in the «tin» towns surrounding Arab capitals and cities, as well as our poor peasants suffering of misery and unhappiness in the country side of Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Arabian peninsula, are the ones who are facing daily the toughness of life. They are the ones who continuously feel the degree of class and national oppression they are subject to. They are the ones who want the change to come about. They are the ones who know that the gun and the peoples national oppression they are subject to. They are the ones who want the change to come about. They are the ones who know that the gun and the peoples national war is the essential means of solving their contradiction with their class and national enemy, represented in Israel, imperialism, and the reactionary and puppet forces.

The patriotic policy which the PFLP puts forward as an alternative to the capitulationist policy, is the policy of the patriotic regimes and forces, the policy of the revolutionary classes of our nation.

Our aim in presenting this policy on the occasion of the Rabat conference intends to uncover the incapability of the capitulationist, puppet and reactionary regimes to adopt this patriotic line on one hand, and to define the political line which our Palestinian and Arab masses want the national and progressive anti-imperialist regimes, represented by Iraq, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, and Libya, to fight according to it.

Our aim, as well, is to enable the masses to distinguish between Arab solidarity based on a patriotic line on one hand and «Arab solidarity» based on a capitulationist line on the other hand.

Our Palestinian people, in particular has suffered bitterly of so-called «Arab solidarity» — the solidarity of the regimes on a number of occasions throughout its history of national struggle. In the name of «Arab solidarity» they aborted the great strike and our people's armed revolt of 1936. In the name of «Arab solidarity» the armies of the Arab states entered Palestine under the leadership of Prince Abdullah and Glubb Pasha to mislead the Palestinian and Arab masses and to enforce the plot of the creation of Israel.

Today we declare with our loudest voice that an attempt to enforce a political settlement is being carried out under the banner

of the Arab Summit conference and the «Arab solidarity». The capitulationist forces will present the Kissinger plan to end the state of war with Israel in return for promises — more promises — to withdraw from some Arab territories.

Our masses firmly declare that an end to the state of war with the Zionist userper enemy is a clear betrayal of our struggle throughout history. It is the task of the national regimes to abort this conspiracy.

The Palestinian and Arab masses demand from the representatives of Iraq, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, and Libya to counter this capitulationist position and to struggle for an Arab solidarity on the basis of a peoples war of long duration not a tactical war and neither secret diplomatic manoeuvres that aim to make the national regimes an umbrella for capitulation and political settlement.

The U.S. policy aims, through a settlement for the «Arab-Israeli» conflict, to carry out an over all plan for the whole Arab region. This plan aims at strengthening the reactionary regimes; second, it will strike the Arab gun in Palestine, Oman, and Eritria. Only after this, U.S. imperialism can be confident of the method to control Arab oil, production, prices, etc... as well as the future of Arab capital so as to deny our masses from exploiting this important basic fortune to utilize it in its fight against poverty, diseases, misery, hunger, etc.

This is the overall American plan, which U.S. imperialism hope to get through what it calls the Arab-Israeli conflict. Thus all forces should bear clear responsibility before the masses at this destined period of the Arab struggle.

This is on the Arab level. On the Palestinian level, the PFLP struggled since the October war to push the PLO leadership to condemn all policies of settlement, which lead to the present results. The PFLP also demanded that the PLO leadership present the alternative political line, that of continuing the fight, the line of peoples liberation war, depending on its heroes, fighters, and masses, the national and progressive regimes, the masses of our Arab people who long to fight and condemn all liquidationist policies. We wanted the PLO to be a vanguard in the true sense to the Arab masses movement, not from its size and traditional military capabilities, but through a revolutionary political line which will mobilize the millions of our masses, rallying around it all national and progressive forces on the Arab level. But the PLO leadership followed the same political line lead by Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

In light of the dangerous results that the capitulationist political line will lead to, the PFLP withdrew from the Executive Committee, because it can not shoulder the responsibility of a dangerous position, it does not believe in. We are not convinced of all the excuses that were given, but we remain within the PLO represented in the National Council, so that we will fight with the bases, cadres, and the revolutionary Palestinian forces to correct the line of the leadership in

order to keep the Palestinian revolution, a revolutionary vanguard for the oppressed, deprived, wretched of our Arab nation.

The aim of our struggle on the Palestinian level is to stop the PLO leadership from deviating and entering the Geneva swamp — the swamp of capitulationist settlement.

We call on our comrade fighters, on all the militant bases of the revolution, and on the masses to stand in one line in face of the deviationist leadership to stop it from continuing that path.

We call on the comrade fighters, the militant bases and the masses to build a national unity — unity of bases and masses — which will pull the carpet from under the feet of the capitulationist leadership.

The PLO, for sometime now, has been waging a series of battles regarding its representation of the Palestinian people, presenting the problem to the U.S. and others. These same issues and battles will probably be the same at the Rabat Summit. Waging these battles under a political line subservient to the Arab capitulationist policy, represented in Saudi Arabi and Egypt in the first place, raises some questions regarding the value of these battles.

The PFLP believes that the aim of these battles and their development in a certain way is a cover up to the historical political deviation reached now.

The PFLP has a strong conviction that the political line it represents, expresses the interest of the Palestinian and Arab masses. The PFLP will continue to struggle for the victory of this line with all its power and capabilities.

We will continue to struggle for the unity of the Palestinian revolution on the basis of a political line that rejects the betraying settlements and is determined on the continuation of the revolution.

We will struggle to keep the Palestinian revolution a vanguard to the masses movement, not a puppet to the regimes.

We struggle to liberate the Palestinian land through the continued military and political struggle — not through the diplomacy of Kissinger and the Geneva conference.

We struggle to bring down the hiring regime in Jordan in the East bank, not stopping with forbidding it to return to the West Bank.

Let the Zionist enemy, who occupies our land, know that we do not forget for a minute that our struggle to strengthen the Palestinian revolution, is to direct severe and strong blows to it until all its dreams of staying on our land are shattered.

Long live the Palestinian People struggle for the Liberation of the Entire National Soil.

Long Live our Arab Masses Struggle to Build the Unified Socialist Society

Long Live the Peoples Struggle Against Imperialism, For Freedom, Peace and Progress.



Cont'd From page 1

ces. Through holding this communique as a threat to the PLO, the Egyptian regime was capable to drag the PLO leadership back in its circle on the basis of the Cairo communique, which state the following :

1. Periodical monthly meetings between Egypt and Syria
2. Periodical coordination among Egypt, Syria and the PLO
3. Coordination and contacts among and with other Arab states.

One day after the communique, Abdul Halim Khaddam, foreign minister of Syria, visited Jordan in an attempt to organize a meeting of the parties involved in the Cairo communique and Jordan. Thus it became clear that the Cairo meeting aimed at reconciling the PLO leadership and the Jordanian regime. This is in addition to the continuous Egyptian declarations that emphasized the necessity of coordination between the PLO leadership and Jordan before the resumption of the Geneva conference.

From the above we can conclude the following:

1. The Egyptian position did not change (it remained as it was before the Alexandria communique).

2. The PLO leadership position vis-a-vis the Jordanian regime changed, when it accepted to contact it and establish coordination with it. In addition it completely adopted the Egyptian position.

At this point we raise the following questions :

1. Who is helping the Jordanian position? The PFLP that still calls for struggle to bring down the regime, or the PLO leadership that accepts coordination with it.

2. What is the real nature of this « battle » that has carried the PLO leadership to a situation where it coordinates with the regimes of Egypt and Jordan.

The real difference between the so claimed « battle » and its reality is obvious. The real role of the Jordanian regime is that every time

the PLO leadership hesitates to take a step towards capitulation, the regime is brought in as a threat to replace it. Only in such a manner the PLO leadership can imagine its concessions as victories over the hireling regime.

The objective effects of the PFLP withdrawal are :

1. It weakened the PLO cause toward the proposed political settlement, but did not weaken the true battle against the Jordanian regime.

2. The Cairo communique did not result in any victories for the PLO, but resulted in more concessions from its side. Thus the withdrawal can not effect a non-existing victory.

3. This withdrawal came to safeguard the Palestine National charter which is being thrown against the wall by the PLO leadership's contacts with the Jordanian regime.

4. The PFLP withdrawal was in accordance with the line of true confrontation to bring down the hireling regime in Jordan.

What about the PLO's leadership « battle » at the present UN General Assembly? The PFLP withdrawal would have been a negative step, if the aim of the discussion at the UN was to combat the Zionist presence there. But the case is not so.

The forces that are promoting and supporting the Palestinian question at the UN have a clear position regarding resolution 242 and its articles. Their objection is not regarding the recognition of Israel, the proposed secure borders etc... Their objection is on the article that views the Palestinian people as refugees. Would these forces change their positions during the present General Assembly discussions? It would be naive to expect such a change. What the PLO leadership and these forces hope to achieve is exactly the exchange of the word « refugees » into the « Palestinian

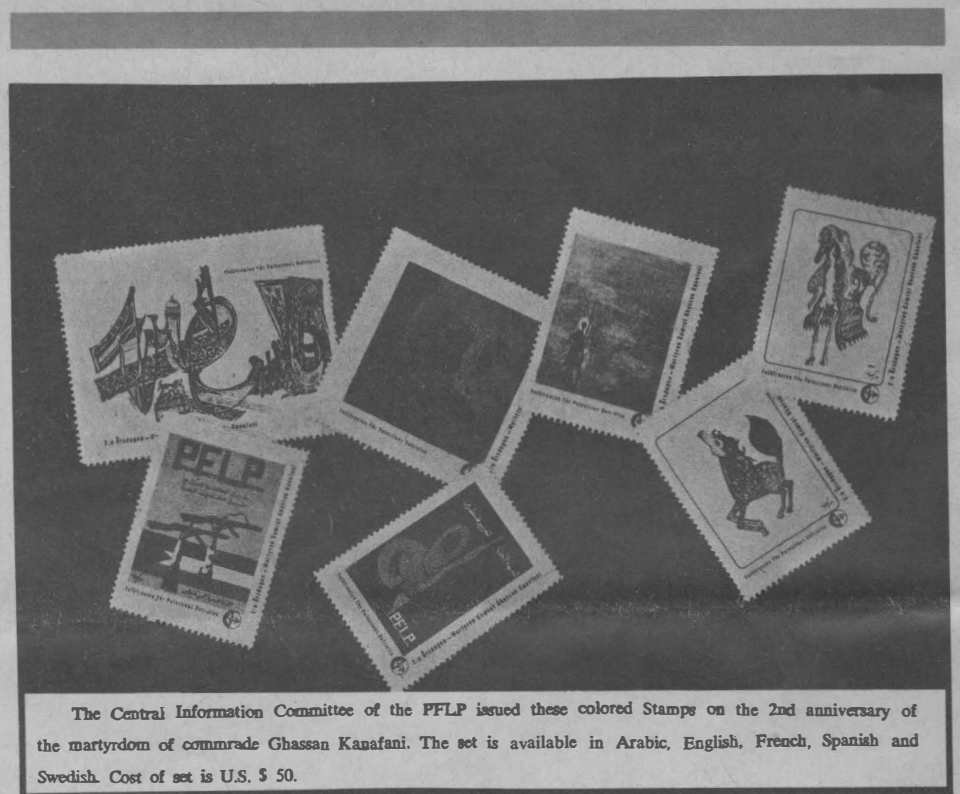
people ». Hence the obstacles, in front of the PLO leadership to go to the Geneva conference will be lifted. The last provisional program states its objections to resolution 242 because it deals with our cause as one of refugees. The PLO leadership is more than anxious to take this item literally and accept the resolution once it is changed. This would be the green light for the capitulationist leadership to participate in the proposed imperialist settlement.

How else can the non-opposition of the U.S. representative at the UN to place the « Palestine question » on the agenda can be explained? How can the U.S. position be so when it has previously opposed the discussion of relatively minor issues such as the aggressions on southern Lebanon. Would not the U.S. have opposed such a move if it thought for a minute that this discussion would threaten Israel's international status?

Those who support the settlement and work hardly for it are willing to grant the PLO leadership easy diplomatic and political « victories ».

The PLO leadership road to Geneva will be full of imaginary victories. The real victories will be those of U.S. imperialism, through its domination of the area. The Israeli victory when it is granted recognition by the « sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people ». The victory of the capitulating Arab regimes that carry out their plans under a Palestinian umbrella.

What is important to emphasize again is what the PFLP stressed in its communique of withdrawal. This struggle should remain within the political and ideological circle. And to escalate continuously the struggle against the enemy and to keep all the revolution's guns directed against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.



The Central Information Committee of the PFLP issued these colored Stamps on the 2nd anniversary of the martyrdom of comrade Ghassan Kanafani. The set is available in Arabic, English, French, Spanish and Swedish. Cost of set is U.S. \$ 50.

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