



OUR TASK :

STRIKE THE IMPERIALIST SETTLEMENT & DEVELOP OUR STRUGGLE

THE DEMAND TO ABANDON ILLUSIONS ABOUT
OUR CONDITION IS A DEMAND TO ABANDON A CONDITION
WHICH REQUIRES ILLUSIONS.

KARL MARX

Is a fifth war lurking upon us? Are U.S. threats to intervene militarily in the Middle East real or simply threats? Is an oil war on the agenda? A yes or no answer in itself would be quite insufficient. First, we can never rule out imperialist aggression, but neither can we afford to be contented by facile answers. Hence we feel the necessity to illustrate the essence of imperialist strategy as regards the Middle East.

Imperialism's strategy put succinctly includes: a resolution of the conflict between Israel and the «confrontation» Arab states (Egypt, Syria, Jordan) via the step-by-step approach. However, this approach in itself is viewed as one of the steps for the actual resolution of the conflicts. The final step would be concluded at a general peace conference i.e., Geneva. In the meantime, Kissinger has been entrusted to untie some of the knots so as to validate the expectation of a total settlement in the next phase. As the analysis proceeds we should keep in mind that Kissinger's role in the fascist overthrow of the Allende regime, U.S. support of the puppet Thieu regime in South Viet Nam and the Marcos Martial law in the Phillipines are all indicative of the type of «peaceful settlement» Kissinger desires.

An essential component of such a solution is the stripping of the P.L.O. of its revolutionary content. Hence, an overall imperialist settlement seeks to eliminate the conditions of war between Israel and the «confrontation» states and resolve the Palestine question so as to prevent the resistance from developing into a truly mass based movement capable of stemming reactionary rule and negating the interests of imperialism.

How then was the above strategy employed by Kissinger in his last trip and what are the material conditions that prevail in the region.

King Faisal and Sadat recognize too well that if concrete results are not achieved in the near future, a fifth war might result. However, «a new Middle East war, will risk a radical recrudescence» that not even Faisal could contain. (New York Times, Jan. 26, 1975) To avert such consequences, Faisal scheduled a diplomatic offensive to insure two goals: a) Undermining Brezhnev's scheduled visit and, b) To pave the road for Kissinger's forthcoming trip. The Brezhnev visit was postponed, as for (b), Faisal poured millions of dollars into the area in addition to lending support to Egypt's policy of reliance on Kissinger's step-by-step approach. He poured in \$ 100 million as a gift to Egypt, \$ 150 million grant to Syria and a \$ 200 million loan for economic development. Hussein received a \$ 57 million grant in addition to \$ 52 million as a first installment of the \$ 300 million promised him at Rabat. Last but not least, Arafat received an \$ 8 million gift presumably not as a sign of concurrence of a progressive P.L.O., but a P.L.O. leadership that anticipates liberation to result from their alliance with the Faisal-Sadat axis. (See P.F.L.P. Bulletin No. 14 Nov-Dec. 1974). It is not surprising that Edward R.F. Sheehan from the Harvard Center of International Affairs concludes: «Indeed it may not be too much to say that in large measure King Faisal is financing the method that Secretary of State Kissinger has chosen to achieve peace.» (New York Times, Jan. 26, 1975).

Moreover, Faisal recognizing that he has been entrusted to act a major role in the imperialist scenario, has recognized the need to improve relations with Iran. After all, Iran has been rendering him a service by aiding Sultan Qabus in Oman to repel the forces of revolution. Both Iran and Saudi Arabia viewing themselves as the «guarantors and protectors» of the Gulf's stability it has become necessary to improve their relations. On Jan. 29, 1975, Ali Riza Heravi, spokesman for the Iranian Foreign Ministry stated: «Our relations are improving every day.» In addition, the New York Times wrote: «As the Saudis grow stronger, they will be more likely to make some form of agreement with Iran.» (Jan. 29, 1975).

One of the results of the merging of their imperial interests is the increasing pro-Arab reaction position that Iran is adopting. In a way, Iran too is footing the bill for Kissinger's strategy. In order to eliminate the «confrontation» states' reliance on Soviet aid, Iran has advanced \$ 850 million to Egypt in the form of assistance, investments and joint Iranian-Egyptian investments. In addition, Iran for the first time has clearly adopted a position of full support to the Arab demands: return of all the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967, including East Jerusalem, and recognized the right of the Palestinians to have their own homeland.

The real and obvious question that begs for a clear answer is: why is such a mixture of reactionary and not so reactionary support suddenly befalling upon the Palestinian people. The obvious and accurate answer is that for

imperialism to succeed, the forces of the revolution must be contained; to do so, the existing forces must be stripped of their revolutionary orientation. However, if Kissinger is incapable of achieving certain immediate results, the risks would be a war that would undermine the ascent of the forces of reaction.

Kissinger arrived on the scene for what he called a «scouting» mission, yet nevertheless, he was confident of at least partial success. He came to forge the imperialist strategy at a time when the U.S. threatens to intervene, most likely as a measure to divert the American people's concerns from the real reasons of the poor economic conditions they are presently facing i.e., highest unemployment rate since World War II, to the oil producing nations, who in turn are blamed for the present economic crisis that capitalism is undergoing. In addition, the trip came after the termination of the «International Energy Commission» conference (Oil Importing Countries) during which they studied new plans to secure an increase in oil imports accompanied by a price decrease.

To accomplish the above Saudi Arabia is entrusted to play a moderate role at the forthcoming OPEC conference in Algeria, to ensure a prolonged moratorium on price increases, and if possible a slight decrease. Such a request could be understood when we recognize the scope of U.S. military support to Faisal. Presently U.S. civilian and military advisors pervade throughout the apparatus of the Saudi regime, as such they form a real center of power. This in addition to the informal U.S. military presence i.e. the employing of Vietnam veterans (officers) by a private company to train the monarchy's Royal Guard, forms the material basis of the oneness of imperialist reactionary strategy.

As previously stated, it is imperative that an agreement, even a partial one, take place between the «confrontation» states and Israel in order to ensure the proper translation of imperialist strategy. Kissinger's next trip, not too long from now will attempt to produce such results. Faisal's attitude is accurately depicted once again in The New York Times: «Shrewdly, he (Faisal) has demurred from wielding his vast power to lower oil prices until Mr. Kissinger comes through on Israeli withdrawal, the pressure of high oil prices may suddenly ease. King Faisal may not talk much, but he knows how to return a favor.» (Jan. 26, 1975)

Kissinger's «favor» essentially means to keep the middle east within the imperialist orbit. There are, of course, certain obstacles that must be overcome. They could be summarized into five categories:

- A. Soviet-American contradiction
- B. Egyptian-Israeli contradiction
- C. Syrian-Israeli contradiction
- D. Contradiction of Arab recognition of Israel
- E. The Palestinian contradiction

Whereas the nature and intensity of (A) is obvious, the complications of the remaining categories need further elaboration. As to (B), already both Egypt and Israel have shown signs that could result into furthering the disengagement achieved a year ago. Furthermore, in this context both Egypt and Israel do not oppose the Geneva conference, in addition Kissinger is not opposed to announcing Egyptian-Israeli agreements at Geneva. However, is Israel ready to attend Geneva? Though the official opinion expressed by the Rabin government still favors the step-by-step approach, there exists strong pressure on Rabin to re-evaluate this strategy. Even people who were ardently opposed to Geneva such as Abba Eban, Shimon Perez or leaders of the Likud coalition, though for different reasons, seem to be opting for Geneva. Eban on Jan. 16, 75 said: «In any event, we should avoid the apocalyptic vision we have had of Geneva. It could hold out for more peace in the long run than parcelling out bits of territory step-by-step.» As such (B) seems to be a resolvable contradiction, in fact, the resolution is already in the making.

The Syrian-Israeli contradiction will prove to be difficult. Israel does not want to relinquish the Golan Heights and Syria can not afford to accept a «peace solution» that allows for one meter of Syrian territory to remain under Israeli occupation. Only days ago, President Assad of Syria stated that he would be willing to declare final peace in the future on condition that



PEOPLE'S WAR : THE MILITARY DIMENSION

For any revolutionary organization at the stage of national liberation, it is necessary to have the ideological and political clarity capable of defining its contradictions and analyzing the over all nature of its struggle. In addition, if armed struggle is the basic method followed to confront the enemy, it becomes essential to have a clear scientific military line that enables the revolutionary forces to develop and be victorious against the enemy camp. The science of confrontation against national or class enemies must be in accordance with the objective conditions of the area. The experience of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people shows the importance of such a line and the success it can achieve as it did when U.S. military intervention increased in Vietnam, both in the south and north. In comparison with this example the Palestinian armed struggle is still young and deducing basic lessons from its experiences that started right after June 1967.

During these last seven years the resistance movement witnessed a variety of experiences of military attempts against the Israeli enemy. The basic two features have been:

1 - Infiltration across the borders by military units to carry out operations

2 - Conducting guerilla warfare by Palestinians living under occupation (West Bank, Gaza, and the 1948 area).

To confront the first method, the Israeli enemy built fortifications, placed mines, alarm systems on the borders to curtail the infiltration of the outside forces. The enemy was successful in making certain areas such as south of the Dead Sea most difficult to cross, and as such the resistance movement was required to explore new methods of reaching the occupied territories and to overcome the obstacles made by the Israelis. More importantly, it developed the necessity to concentrate and depend more on our masses in the occupied territories.

With the development of the struggle conducted by our masses under occupation, we were confronted by new experiences and different levels of success. Among these were, the guerilla warfare attempts in the countryside and hills of Palestine. This attempt which developed a certain success proved to be self-defeating when the small concentrated units were forced to confront large numbers of enemy soldiers. In such confrontations, the balance of power is to the benefit of the enemy. This is partially due to the lack of geographical areas that allow fighters to hide. The experience although had its effects on the enemy, was not capable of sustaining a continuous process that escalates the confrontation, hence turning it into a protracted form of armed struggle.

The second method of struggle employed in the occupied territories was that of urban warfare; this example manifested itself best in the Gaza Strip where the PFLP started its operations right after the June 1967 war. The relatively high political awareness and the high concentration of people (400,000) gave it the needed protection by the masses. This enabled the fighting units to choose the time and place of confrontation forcing the enemy to retreat from certain points of the strip. As it was described by Moshe Dayan, it was the fedayeen who ruled Gaza at night. The confrontation was against the Israeli enemy and its local agents - and it continued to develop and progress until the Arab fronts quieted in 1970 and thus enabled

Israeli forces to concentrate its efforts against the fighters in the Gaza Strip. This forced the resistance to retreat and change its tactics.

This cursory review gives us an inkling as to the nature of the military strategy employed during the past seven years. Its clearest shortcoming was its disproportional dependence on the outside forces instead of the direct struggle of the masses within the occupied territories. This is why it was necessary for the PFLP to review during the past two years its military line and to deduce certain lessons from the previous stage.

The results of the new military strategy adopted by the PFLP are showing up now. The nature of the operations have changed both

THE BATTLE OF KFAR SHOUBA

The battle of Kfar Shouba which lasted for nine days on the slopes of Mount Hermon represents another example and proof of the Palestinian resistance ability to face Israeli aggression and abort its attempts to occupy more territories. Kfar Shouba is a small Lebanese village of about 2500 inhabitants suffering from the class oppression of Lebanese feudalism in the south of Lebanon and from continuous Israeli attacks on it.

For the people of Kfar Shouba, the battle to defend their village and participate in active fighting with the Palestinian resistance movement was the battle of the south and the battle of the Lebanese masses to stand and resist Israeli threats. The houses of Kfar Shouba were demolished or partially destroyed under heavy Israeli bombardment; but in spite of this material loss, the people of Kfar Shouba defeated Israel and marked another victory for the

Arab masses not less important than the battle of Al-Karameh in 1968 which represented a historic turning point that brought the resistance to every Palestinian house. All of the above poses many questions - what happened, how and why? For this we will list what we believe were the Israeli aims behind the attack on Kfar Shouba:

1. The liquidation of the Palestinian resistance through tactical operations that would lead to a clash with the Lebanese authorities,

2. To push the Palestinian resistance back from the border area so that it can establish a security belt in the region,

3. To create a conflict between the Lebanese masses and the resistance through claiming that the latter is the cause of the Israeli attacks,

4. To inflict the highest possible losses among the fighters of the Palestinian resistance,

5. To force the resistance to live a defensive life and as such disabling its offensive capability.

The Israeli aggression failed to achieve any of these objectives. What happened is that the resistance movement and its fighters were expecting such an attack after the escalation of its operations inside the occupied lands and the failure of the Israeli authorities to stop this escalation. As such, the Israeli attack was a retaliatory and hasty one to satisfy Israeli public opinion. When the attack started, the resistance forces were distributed in the area and well prepared for the attack. As such, Israel lost the surprise element which is basic for its victory as seen in previous battles. On the contrary, the surprise element was on the side of the resistance. The Israeli forces did not expect such advanced positions of Palestinian fighters, so the first unit of 200 Israeli soldiers clashed with a joint ambush of Fateh-PFLP which forced the Israelis to withdraw after heavy losses were inflicted



Kfar Shouba : Results of Israeli Aggression

qualitatively and quantitatively in the occupied territories. This has caused the enemy to resort to mass arrests and collective punishment every time an operation is carried out. The last of the resistance operations are the following:

1 - Two attacks were carried out against military vehicles of the Israeli army. As a result the camp of Al-Shat'a was surrounded by the Israeli army. The resistance fighters were capable of striking the surrounding forces and thus enabled the other resistance fighters to disappear. Immediately, the Israeli authorities arrested tens of Palestinians and claimed that sixty of them were PFLP members.

2 - In Natanya, a night club was bombed where Israeli military personnel are known to spend their evenings. The bombing caused the death of six and wounded about thirty others. The Israeli authorities claimed that it arrested an Israeli soldier and

charged him with throwing the bombs.

In Ashdod, a fire broke out resulting from the explosion of a time-bomb placed in the center of the commercial street and forced the people to evacuate their shops and offices. In Jaffa, a restaurant was bombed which caused it to burn down.

The geographical distribution of the places that witnessed the operations - Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Ashdod, Natanya, etc... and the ability to carry them out with a minimum of loss in the lives of the Palestinian fighters proved that a new stage of guerilla warfare has started in the occupied territories. During the month of January, 41 operations were carried out in occupied Palestine, only one comrade, Hassan Hussein Asslan of the PFLP martyred which caused the Israeli authorities to look for new «excuses».

One method was the concentration on mass arrests and the attempts to give the idea that such groups carrying out these operations have been arrested.

Another is to put the blame on local gangs that control the night clubs in Israel. In either case, the question is a political one, for those accused of organizing gangs are the eastern Jews, the oppressed part of the Jewish society in Palestine. If the «excuses» are right, it only comes to show the political, economic and social crisis that Israel is passing through. And this comes after the increase of military operations by the Palestinian resistance. These operations exploited the contradictions in the Israeli society and forced these contradictions to come to the surface, which proves that the continuation and escalation of armed struggle is the basic method that can clearly distinguish the forces of oppression from those who are exploited on both levels, national and class levels.

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among them. The attempts to enter Kfar Shouba continued each day under heavy bombardment from Israeli forces stationed on the top of Mount Hermon. The only time Israeli troops entered the village, was for 15 minutes, only to find out that it was an ambush.

Another factor which played a role in making victory possible was the coordination between the different resistance organizations and particularly among PFLP-Fateh-PFLP General Command. The agreement of all fighters to continue armed struggle and to reject all proposed settlements made this coordination possible.

The presence of progressive and nationalist organizations in Kfar Shouba had established before this last battle strong ties between the masses and the resistance movement. The most prominent organizations are the Arab Socialist Action Party, the Lebanese Communist Party, and the Ba'ath party. Therefore, when the

attack took place, the people of Kfar Shouba realized well the nature of the battle and their role. Young men armed themselves and took part in the fighting, while women supplied the needed food for nine continuous days.

When the battle was over and before checking their losses, the people of Kfar Shouba came to Beirut to lead a demonstration in support of their fight and that of the rest of the border villages. Their feelings were expressed by one of their speakers who said: «We are here to protect Lebanon, and do not want to destroy it. We are protecting Lebanon with our blood and our struggle. We want to maintain Lebanon as an independent, free homeland. How I wish that before dispersing this peaceful demonstration, our soldiers would have stood by us.» Other speakers at the demonstration criticized the government's attitude toward south Lebanon for not doing enough to protect the area against Israeli attacks. This represented an eloquent reply

THE TEL AVIV OPERATION

On the eve of Kissinger's arrival to the Middle East where he was to attempt the forging of an Egyptian-Israeli agreement, he was met with our people's wrath, personified through the Tel Aviv operation. Brave Fateh fedayees responded to the call of duty as they penetrated through the heartland of Israel and engaged enemy troops in a direct military confrontation.

On Thursday March 5, 1975 at the Hotel Savoy, northeast of Tel Aviv at 10:30 p.m., two fedayee units took over the hotel along with a large number of hostages and immediately presented a list of demands printed in Arabic and Hebrew whereby they demanded the immediate release of ten compatriots presently held in Israeli jails. The list included Jews, Muslims and Christians, all of whom are ardently in opposition to Zionism. At the head of the list was Archbishop Capucci.

Instead of negotiating, the Zionist enemy led by the criminal leadership of Rabin, Peres, Ghor and Hillel, decided to attack the hotel by gunfire, mortar and shelling. This resulted in high casualties. The initial account included 50 killed and injured of whom many were soldiers and many other civilians.

The Palestinian leadership places all the blame of civilian casualties on the Israeli leadership. Such policies on their part should make it crystal clear to all of the Jews in Israel that their government is not interested in providing them with security. On the contrary, it is these policies which is at the root of the people's insecurity.

The battles lasted several hours. At the end, all but one of the brave Fateh fedayees were martyred as they gallantly gave their life in their effort to strike a blow to Kissinger's mission.

Such "special" operations and previous ones such as the Cinema Heen operation are part of our people's arsenal in the further weakening of Zionism. On the other hand, the Zionist leadership will continue its barbaric reprisals perhaps immediately after Kissinger's departure from the area. To their dismay, we are prepared, for we are fighting a just battle.

Our work will continue on all fronts, political, military and social. And in the memory of the martyred, we will develop our struggle without compromise. We will strike all settlements whose aim is the annihilation of the resistance.

Finally, Israel holds one of the brave fedayees, Musa Ahmad, a prisoner, and as the pictures below indicate, he is being given the best that Zionism can offer: torture, and inhuman violence.



to the suspicious attempts inspired by the mentality of capitulation and isolationism which seeks to hold the Palestinian resistance responsible and calls for a settlement of the issue.

Now, weeks after the battle, Kfar Shouba is struggling back to life. The villagers who fled the scene during the battles have started their return to the village by nightfall, keeping an eye on Israeli positions on the nearby heights. The people were singing as they made their way back through the rubble bringing with them cement to rebuild the houses knowing that another battle is never too far away.

Indeed the next period is expected to witness larger Israeli attacks on the south in an attempt to eliminate the presence of the resistance. The readiness of the resistance movement and its presence among the people is positively reflected on the political, mass, organizational and moral levels. The resistance and Kfar Shouba are prepared.



HABASH:

RESIST THE SETTLEMENT, ESCALATE THE STRUGGLE

The following are excerpts of two interviews granted by comrade George Habsh, Secretary General of the PFLP, originally published in *Al-Dastour* on Jan. 20 and *Le Monde* on Feb. 6 of 1975.

Q. Some criticize the PFLP for having withdrawn hastily from the PLO Executive Committee. What is your opinion about this and why?

A. «There was no haste that is if we do not even consider some delay. To specify the date of our withdrawal and why, we should go back to the events that preceded our withdrawal.

«After the October war, it became urgent to take a clear stand on the question of the proposed settlement. We took a decisive position on this question, but the leadership of the PLO took a «no position» stand and showed signs of readiness to bargain. They justified this by saying such tactics were necessary in order to preserve our international friendship and avoid a clash with Syria and Egypt. Despite the gravity of this position and what it might cause on the mass level, we preferred to wait, in order to preserve the national unity of the resistance movement.

«Then, the 12th session of the Palestinian National Council was held, and it was an ideal opportunity for the PLO to take a clear stand as to the «settlement». But proceeded with their maneuvers instead in order to justify their «no position». Then, these so-called tactics were exposed as tactics for the acceptance of the settlement. This applied in particular to the provision that the Geneva conference is to be rejected, as long as it is convened on the basis of the Security Council's resolution 242, which treats the cause of our people as a question of refugees. This «refusal» contained the implicit acceptance of the Geneva conference and resolution 242, provided only one point was altered, that is, the provision dealing with the problem of the refugees, but not the other provisions that call for «recognition of Israel ensuring its security and borders and ending the state of war.

«In fact, we had to dissociate ourselves from this defeatist stand, that includes the implicit readiness of the PLO leadership to negotiate with the enemy, and recognize him through participation in the liquidationist Geneva conference, provided one of the provisions of resolution 242 is altered.

«And yet, we preferred to wait. But our hopes were shattered totally when the PLO leadership began to hold contacts with the United States. It was no longer



a question of tactics or avoiding a clash with Syria and Egypt... Instead it became clear that the PLO leadership is seeking to take part in the settlement. Its so called «tactics» are detrimental to the masses.

«There was no room for illusions, then. We had no alternative but to depart from this road, and so we withdrew from the leadership of the PLO and referred the issue in all its dimensions to the Palestinian and Arab masses, and particularly to the bases and cadres of the resistance movement.

Q. Are there attempts to bring back the Front to the Executive Committee?

A. «There were two attempts for dialogue. One immediately after our withdrawal, and the second a short period ago. But in both cases, the leadership of the PLO raised the question of dialogue, in isolation from the basic question, which is the acceptance or the rejection of the settlement. This dialogue, was void of any revolutionary seriousness. It represented an attempt from the defeatist forces to slow the masses and cadres who are uncovering them.

«We say it clearly:

«Let the PLO leadership halt its gradual fall into participation in the settlement. Let it halt its mission to the Arab reactionary and capitulationist regimes. Let it stop its secret and overt contacts with the imperialist enemy and ask for explanations as for the contacts. Let those who held contacts (with Israeli representatives) in Austria and Czechoslovakia, explain. Let it take a nationalist, revolutionary position that rejects the liquidationist settlement, and relies on the masses and revolutionary forces. Then they will find

us, without mediation, under the banner of this nationalist revolutionary position.

«But if the PLO leadership continues in this current capitulationist course, we shall not only be outsiders, but also against it. This is our stand, and any other talk about mediation is only intended to mislead the masses.

Q. How does the PFLP see the tasks of the Palestinian resistance at this stage?

«The principal task of the Palestinian national movement in the present and future stages are the resistance of the settlement and the escalation of the struggle. These can be divided in the following specific tasks:

1. building up the revolutionary organization within the occupied lands, and escalating the popular and military struggle against the usurping Zionist enemy.

2. escalating the political struggle to oppose the settlement on the Palestinian and Arab levels; opposing the settlement in our view is exactly the same as opposing the imperialist alliances, such as the Bagdad pact.

3. building up a Palestinian-Jordanian national front, to escalate the struggle for overthrowing the hireling regime in Jordan, and setting up a national democratic regime that will serve as a base for the continuation and development of the revolution.

4. deepening the relations between the resistance movement and the Arab masses and revolutionary forces, in order to oppose the capitulationist policies of the Arab reactionary and defeatist regimes; in other words, building up a Palestinian Arab rejection front.

5. Strengthening the bonds of the alliance with all revolutionary forces of the world: These are the

socialist countries, the national liberation movements, and the working class and its revolutionary and democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

Q. What about the military line after the PFLP operation in Tel Aviv?

A. «Every revolutionary group that undertakes armed struggle should stop every now and then to study and re-evaluate its military methods. The formulation of military strategy is as necessary and important as the formation of political strategy. As for us, we had used a variety of military methods in fighting the Israel enemy. From within the occupied lands we used the methods of urban guerrillas, and the methods of mobile mountain guerrilla units. From the exterior, we used the methods of infiltrating patrols, border clashes and special suicide missions.

«The time came to study and evaluate all these methods in the light of the objective circumstances, the nature of the conflict, and the balance of forces... There is no doubt that this halt, implicating the choice of new methods or the development of old ones, and then making preparations for new action, has taken some time, perhaps longer than what was expected. But we can say now that we stand at the threshold of a new phase of armed struggle, or new military methods that were reached at during this overall and profound critical study.

Q. Do you believe that foreign operations tactically serve the Palestinian cause?

A. «Foreign operations are the natural result of the collision of two opposing forces outside the soil of the homeland. The first

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force is our Palestinian people, who were driven out of their homeland and dispersed throughout the world. The second force are the Zionist interests, which is the direct enemy and the principal beneficiary from the displacement of our people. There are two forces then outside the homeland, which can be described as the criminal and the victim, and are contradictory by their very natures. It is the duty of the revolutionary movement to make plans for this collision and use it to serve the cause of the revolution... We had used a variety of methods in the past. Some of them had served their purpose; others are still suitable for our revolution and our cause.

«An example is the attempt to sink the Israeli oil-tanker Coral Sea in the Red Sea. There remains a very important point in this connection. It is to emphasize that our military action abroad is auxiliary, compared to our military action inside the occupied lands. The latter forms the principal and basic means of our revolutionary struggle.»

Q. The PLO believes that if it can get back a part of Palestine, this will be the first step towards a united and democratic Palestine...

A. In principle, I am not against a «step-by-step» approach that can make our cause progress. But the actual circumstances will not allow any progress. The international and regional balance of powers is unfavorable. Any negotiation will only lead to a recognition, whether implicit or explicit, of the state of Israel whose borders will be guaranteed by Arab and foreign countries.

Q. Would you prefer to see the West Bank and Gaza restituted to King Hussein?

A. This is a false dilemma which Arafat is trying to face us with. The real choice is not between the PLO or King Hussein. It is between capitulation and armed struggle. Our duty is to mobilize the masses and aim them so that they can recover their country inch by inch. Such an objective is not easy to reach. But why should we be less patient or less willing to fight than the Vietnamese people? We would rather fight ten more years or even twenty instead of adopting such a pétainist logic.



EGYPTIAN WORKERS' DEMONSTRATIONS: EGYPT AT A CROSSROADS

Egypt more than any other Arab country stands at a crossroad at this stage, and this involves both political and economic issues; whether regarding the proposed solution of the «Arab-Israeli» conflict, or Egypt's own economic growth. The policy followed by President Anwar Sadat during the four years he has been in power has gradually moved the Egyptian regime from the sphere of national forces to that of the reactionary one. This is manifested best in the Saudi-Egyptian alliance which started before the October war of 1973 and came to prominence after the war. More and more the Egyptian masses are realizing that they have no choice but to continue the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction, and to continue the struggle for social and economic development by introducing revolutionary social changes that would serve the interests of millions of workers and peasants. The Egyptian masses do not start from a vacuum and know very well that any other road will only lead to collapse, failure, and retreat from the gains that they have achieved through their recent national and class struggle.

On the national level the Egyptian masses have the experience of October 1973 which proved the willingness and ability of the Egyptian soldier to combat the enemy and liberate certain areas if he is freed from the political leadership that ties him from carrying out this national duty. On the other hand, there is the political and economic independence which is now being given up by Sadat's regime for the benefit of an alliance with Saudi Arabia and an open door policy both of which have brought back imperialist countries to Egypt. The set back on these levels cannot be seen except through what is happening in the whole region and as affecting the region as a whole.

The burden of the above cited economic policy has been borne by the masses, while the bourgeoisie and the upper classes are making huge profits and paying less taxes. This transformation in the economic policy has resulted

in an acute economic crisis and a balance of payments deficit estimated at thousands of millions of dollars. All of this is taking place without the regime taking any action to control the imports or the sale of the consumer goods or to ration the basic commodities.

It is with this view that the observer can see the Cairo demonstrations on January 1, 1975, when thousands, mostly workers and students, took to Cairo streets protesting inflation and high prices. The demonstrators shouted slogans against Sadat and his premier Dr. Abdul Aziz Hegazi, who is responsible for the implementation of the regime's open-door policy. The demonstrators clashed with police, who used tear gas and batons in an effort to disperse the demonstrations.

Some observers linked the demonstrations with the new budget passed by the «People's Council» (Parliament) the day before. The budget, although the largest in Egypt's history, made allocations to subsidize the purchase of food stuffs and other consumer goods, but made no allowances for raising workers' salaries. The Cairo demonstrations came after strikes and riots in Port Said on December 22, 1974, in which thousands of people attending the ceremony marking the evacuation of British and French troops from Egypt in 1956 voiced their opposition to the regime's policy and many distributed leaflets hostile to the government. Hundreds were arrested in Port Said and Cairo in spite of Sadat's claims that there are no political prisoners in Egypt. In retaliation, the Egyptian security police carried out a campaign of search and arrest against revolutionary and progressive writers and activist workers and students. The campaign did not meet success since such elements learned from previous experiences to disappear when such events take place, but in spite of that, the regime found hundreds of innocent workers to send to jail.

The Egyptian regime has reached a stage where the masses realize that the dramatic change which Sadat promised is not going to

come. In spite of the regime's efforts to conceal its practices through its hiring newspapers, the fulfillment of the national and class tasks will only come through struggle to combat the settlement and the right of the Egyptian people to independence and freedom. These tasks extend to involve the whole spectrum of the struggle on all levels against the local and foreign enemies — the reactionary elements and the Zionist-imperialist enemy.

INTERROGATION. (Nr. 1)

Prepare you to resist against the storm of violence by the will of a thick officer, who wants to triumphate over the humanly value like a beast.

He who speaks about terror is a terrorist himself who left his heart at home as he set foot into the torture room, and smack one's lips deciding to break you.

Resist under the sticks beating you to death, resist under their kicking boots and the electric shocks. One against a crowd is the resistance of a whole people.

Here are your mutilated hands who still hold our holy banner, your power is the basis of the peoples revolution. So it will be no shame to say: I confess!

I confess to be a Fedayee, so call me a terrorist, but the blood that shed was the blood of martyrs, and what ever you want, we shall not hesitate!

Resist under the merciless rage of hiding and humiliation by a callous world that does not hear the cries of children, nor the call for justice of a forgotten people.

Resist!

Resist behind the walls of prisons!

Resist till the end!

All together

Resist!

By Ila Ramdane.



THE 1936 - 39 REVOLT IN PALESTINE : BACKGROUND, DETAILS AND ANALYSIS

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This is the third part of the study of the martyr comrade Ghassan Kanafani on the 1936-39 revolt in Palestine. We include the Footnotes for the first three parts. This study was originally published in Arabic in Sho'oun Falastinia (Palestine Affairs) of the PLO Research Center.



THE INTELLECTUALS :

In 1930, after thirteen years of British occupation of Palestine, the Director of Education admitted in his report that : « Since the beginning of the occupation the government has never undertaken to provide sufficient funds for the building of a single school in the country », and in 1935 the government turned down 41 % of the applications by Arabs for places in schools. In the 300 villages in Palestine there were only fifteen schools for girls and 269 for boys and only fifteen village girls got as far as the seventh elementary grade.

There were 517 Arab villages which had neither boys « nor girls » schools and there was not one secondary school in the villages. Moreover, the government « censored books and objected to all cultural links with the Arab world, and did nothing to raise the educational level of the peasants... » (50)

Thus in 1931 among Palestinian Muslims 251 per thousand males and 33 per thousand females had attended school, and among the Christians 715 per thousand males and 441 per thousand females. (For Jews the figures were 943 per thousand males and 787 per thousand females.)

These figures give an ideal of the educational situation in the rural areas, but not of that in Palestine as a whole, which had played a pioneering role since the start of the Arab resurgence at the beginning of the 20th century. In fact a large number of printing presses had been established in Palestine before the British occupation, about fifty Arabic newspapers appeared between 1904 and 1922, while at least ten more with a wide circulation made their appearance before the 1936 revolt.

A number of factors, which it is not possible to deal with at length here, had made Palestine an important centre of Arab culture, and the persistent efforts of intellectuals migrating into and out of Palestine were a basic factor in establishing the cultural role of Palestine and in the establishment of literary associations and clubs which began to appear in the early twenties.

This cultural development, which was constantly fed by a flow of Arab graduates from Beirut and Cairo, was accompanied by an extensive activity in the field of translation from French and English. The foreign missions that were primarily attracted to Palestine for historical and religious considerations, played a prominent role in disseminating an atmosphere of education in the cities. However, it is not the general cultural climate in Palestine during that period that is of concern to us, but rather in particular the influence of the aggravating economic and political crisis on the literary movement. The development of a certain « popular culture » was very significant : It represented a certain awareness that existed in the rural areas despite the widespread illiteracy, an awareness that was spurred by the rapidly developing economic and political reality. Popular poetry in particular reflected a growing concern on the part of the rural masses over the course of events. This spontaneous awareness led to a spirit of mobilization in the villages.

The majority of urban intellectuals, for their part, were of a feudal or commercial petit bourgeois class affiliation. Although they basically advocated a type of bourgeois revolution, the objective conditions were by no means favorable to the development of the class that would logically lead such a struggle. As political activists, they thus remained under the control of the traditional leadership. Their work nevertheless reflected a degree of awareness that, in general was not shared by their counterparts in other Arab countries.

The struggle between advocates of revolution and reactionaries in the rural areas, and between revolutionary militants and defeatist elements in the city was developing in favor of the revolution. We do not know of a single Palestinian writer or intellectual in that period that did not participate in the call for resistance against the colonial enemy. There is no doubt that the intellectuals, even though they were not, in general, mobilized by a revolutionary party, played an important role in the national struggle.

The position of Palestinian intellectuals was unique. Having completed their studies and returned to their towns, they became aware of incapability of the class they belonged to of leading the national struggle. But at the same time they suffered from their own inability to participate and benefit from the process of industrial development that was essentially controlled by an

alien and hostile community. On the other hand, in the rural areas of Palestine, the peasants, who for centuries had been subjected to class and national oppression, lived in a most archaic society where local feudal and religious leaders exercised absolute authority. Popular poetry often reflected the submissiveness of peasants, (51) which the Palestinian intellectuals, in particular the poets, could not combat easily. Certain intellectuals attempted to overcome the submissive mood of the rural masses and played a prominent role in disseminating progressive awareness.

Wadi al-Bustani, a poet of Lebanese origin who graduated from the American University of Beirut and settled in Palestine, played an important role as a progressive intellectual. He was the first to warn against the Balfour Declaration and its challenges, the very month it was issued. His period, as Palestine was on the verge of armed revolt, produced a powerful vanguard of revolutionary poets whose works became part of the cultural heritage of the masses. On January 29, 1920, the British Mandatory Government sent a letter to the editor of the cultural magazine « Karmel », which was then published in Haifa, requesting the publication of a poem by the celebrated Iraqi poet Ma'rif Al-Risafi that was dedicated to the British High Commissioner and that praised and eulogized him along with a Jewish speaker called Jehuda. The Editor agreed to publish it along with a reply to it. Al-Bustani wrote the reply which said the following :

This long poem, which became very famous at the time, was in fact a unique political document ; it not only made Al-Risafi look a fool, but also asserted, even at that early date, political facts of great importance. It not only mentioned Jewish immigration and the danger it constituted, but also the role played by Britain in fragmenting the Arabs, the Balfour Declaration and its implications, etc.

A short time before this, Al-Bustani had himself led a demonstration, which chanted a song that he had composed himself. He was summoned to an inquiry, and the following appears in the records of the inquiry conducted by the Public Prosecutor :

Public Prosecutor : Statements have been made that you were carried shoulder-high, and that you said to the people who were following behind you : « Oh Christians, Oh Muslims ».

The Accused : Yes.

Public Prosecutor : And you also said : « To whom have you left the country ? »

The Accused : Yes.

Public Prosecutor : Then you said : « Kill the Jews and unbelievers. »

The Accused : No. That violates the metre and the rhyme. I could have not said that. What I said was both rhymed and metrical. It is called poetry.

In the subsequent periods poetry played an increasingly important role in expressing, on all sorts of occasions, the feelings of the helpless masses. Thus when Balfour came from London to attend the opening ceremony of the Hebrew University in 1927, the ceremony was also attended by Ahmad Lutfi al-Said, as the delegate of the Egyptian government, and the poet Iskandar al-Khuri wrote the following lines addressed to Balfour :

Running, from London you came to stir the fire of this battle
Oh «lord» I can not blame you for you are the source of our misery
For, Egypt is to be blamed it only extends us empty hands

Ibrahim Tuqan, Abu Salma (Abd al-Karim al-Karmi) and Abd al-Rahim Mahmud were, at the end of the thirties, the culmination of the wave of nationalist poets who inflamed the whole of Palestine with revolutionary awareness and agitation * As'af al-Nashashibi, Khalil al-Sakakini, Ibrahim al-Dabbagh, Muhammad Hasan Ala al-Din, Burhan al-Abbushi, Muhammad Khurshid, Qayasar al-Khuri, the priest George Bitar, Bulos Shihada, Mutlaq Abd Al-Khaliq, and others.

* Examples of such proverbs:

— He who eats from the Sultan's bread, strikes by his sword; let no grass grow after mine; Today's egg is better than tomorrow's hen; (A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush); When we started selling coffins people stopped dying; The most severe of pains is the present one; He runs after the loaf of bread and the loaf of bread runs before him; Life goes well with the well to do.

* Taufiq Ziyad described this poem in the following words: «I have not known a poetry work equivalent in its strength, sacrifice and bravery with this great poem.» (from *Literature and Popular Literature* — Dar Al Awada, p. 30)

The work of these three, Tuqan, al-Karmi and Mahmud, displays an extraordinary power of appreciation of what was going on, which can only be explained as a profound grasp of what was boiling in mass circles. What appears to be inexplicable prophecy and a power of prediction in their poems, is, in fact, only their ability to express this dialectical relationship that linked their artistic works with the movement that was at work in society.

Ibrahim Tuqan, for example, commenting on the establishment in 1932 of the « National Fund » to save land in Palestine from being sold to the Jews (this was the fund established by the feudal-clerical leadership on the pretext of preventing the land of poor peasants falling into the hands of the Jews) says : « Four of those responsible for the Fund project were land brokers for the Jews »:

According to Taufiq Ziyad, a resistance poet in occupied Palestine (Nazareth) : « Our revolutionary poetry (Mahmud Darwish, Samih al-Qasim and myself) is an extension of the revolutionary poetry of Ibrahim Tuqan, Abu Salma, Abd al-Rahim Mahmud, Mutlaq Abd al-Khaliq and others... because our battle is an extension of theirs. (On Popular Poetry – Dar al-Thaura, p. 14).

« If only one of our leaders would fast like Ghandi – perhaps his fast would do some good. There is no need for him to abstain from food – in Palestine a leader would die without food. Let him abstain from selling land, and keep a plot in which to lay his bones. » 55

The fact that we have concentrated on the role played by poetry and popular poetry does not mean that other manifestations of cultural activity in Palestine did not play any role, or that their role was insignificant. Literary newspapers and articles, stories and the translation movement all played a significant pioneering role. For example, in an editorial published by Yusuf al-Isa in Al-Nafa'is in 1920, we read : « Palestine is Arab – its Muslims are Arab – its Christians are Arab – and its Jewish citizens are Arab too. Palestine will never be quiet if it is separated from Syria and made a national home for Zionism... »

It was expressions of this kind at the beginning of the thirties that fashioned the revolutionary cultural tide in the thirties, which was to play an important role in promoting awareness and sparking off the revolt-writers such as Arif al-Arif, Khalil al-Sakakini (a mocking writer of fiery prose, and son of a master carpenter), As'af al-Nashashibi (a member of the upper bourgeoisie who was influenced by al-Sakakini and adopted many of his views), Arif al-Azzuzi, Mahmud Saif al-Din al-Irani, Najati Sidqi (one of the early leftist writers who, in 1939 extolled the materialism of Ibn Khaldun and deplored idealism). He was probably the first chronicler the Arab nationalist movement from the beginning of the renaissance using a materialist analysis of events, and published his researches in Al-Tali'a in 1937 and 1938. Abdullah Mukhlis (who in the middle thirties, started calling for the view that colonialism is a class phenomenon, and maintaining that artistic production must be militant). Raja al-Hurani, Abdullah al-Bandak, Khalil al-Badiri, Muhammad Izzat Darwaza and Isa al-Sifri (whose eulogy of the death of Al-Qassam had a profoundly revolutionary significance).

This effervescence in the Palestinian cultural atmosphere which reached its climax in the thirties, was expressed in variety of forms, but for many reasons related to the history of Arabic literature, the greatest influence was always exercised by poetry and popular poetry.

This alone explains the role which was almost direct political preaching which poetry took upon itself to play in this period.

As early as 1929, for example, Ibrahim Tuqan disclosed the role that the big landowners were playing in connection with the land problem :

« They have sold the country to their enemies because of their greed for money ; but it is their homes they have sold. They could have been forgiven if they had been forced to do so by hunger, but God knows that they have never felt hunger or thirst. »

In the same year Tuqan had written his epic on the death sentences passed by the Mandatory Government on the three martyrs, Fuad Hijazi, of Safad, and Muhammad Jumjum and Ata al-Zir of Acre. This poem became extremely famous, and came to be regarded as part of the revolutionary heritage, like the poem of Abd al-Rahim Mahmud written on 14/8/1935 in which he addressed the Amir Saud who was then visiting Palestine :

—« Have you come to visit the Aqsa Mosque, or to say farewell to it before it is destroyed ? »

This poet was to lay down his life in the battle of Al-Shajara in Palestine in 1948, but before that he was to play a prominent role, along with Abu Salma and Tuqan, in laying the foundations of Palestinian resistance poetry which later, under Israeli occupation, was to become one of the most conspicuous manifestations of the endurance of the Palestinian masses.

Poetry and popular poetry accompanied the mass movement of the masses from the early thirties, expressing the developments that preceded the outbreak of the revolt.

The poem of Abu Salma : in which he chronicled the 1936 revolt courageously describes the bitter disappointment caused by the way the Arab regimes abandoned it :

You who cherish the homeland revolt against the outright oppression
Liberate the homeland from the kings liberate it from the puppets...
I thought we have kings that can lead the men behind them
Shame to such kings if kings are so low
By god, their crowns are not fit to be shoesoles
We are the ones who will protect the homeland and heal its wounds

Mention must also be made of the popular poet « Awad » who, the night before his execution in 1937 wrote on the walls of his cell in Acre a splendid poem ending with the lines :

«Juda's» speech? or acts of witchcraft? And Rasafi's saying? or lies of poetry.

Your poetry is of the choicest words, You are well acquainted with the jewels of sea verse
but this sea is one of politics if justice spreads high, its low tide begins

Yes! He who has crossed the Jordan river is our cousin But he who comes from across the sea is suspicious

The anger felt against all three members of the enemy trinity – the Zionist invasion, the British Mandate and Arab reaction, both local and otherwise, grew constantly as the situation grew more critical.

At that time the countryside, with the escalation of the conflicts and the outbreak of armed risings, was developing its new awareness through the contacts of its « cultural » elements, with the towns and the multiplication of factors inducing such awareness :

« Good people, what is this hatred ? A Zionist with a Westerner ? »(56) and « the gun appeared, the lion did not ; the muzzle of the gun is wet with dew, » or :

His rifle, with the salesman I say my heart will never rest till I buy it
His rifle got rusty from lack of use rusty but still longing to its fighter

«The bridegroom belongs to us; Woe to him whom we are fighting against-we'll cut off his moustache with a sword. Shake the lance with the beautiful shaft; where are you from, you brave men. We are men of Palestine – Welcome with honor.

Father of the bridegroom, do not worry, we are drinkers of blood. In Bal'a and Wadi al-Tuffah there has been an attack and a clash of arms... Oh, ye beautiful women sing and chant. On the day of the battle of Beit Amrin, you hear the sound of gun shooting, look upon us from the balcony.57

Indeed, the inflammatory call to revolt went to such extraordinary lengths that, after all the inherited proverbs which counselled submissiveness, and constituted a lead with the infallible authority of traditions, popular poetry suddenly became capable of saying: «Arab, son of weak and poor woman, sell your mother and buy a gun; a gun will be better than your mother when the, revolt relieves your cares».58

As the conflict grew more and more acute, the «gun» was to become the instrument which destroyed the age-old walls of the call to submissiveness and suddenly became able to pierce to the heart of the matter, and the revolt as a promise for the future-better than the warmest things in the past – the mother and the family.

But over all this effervescence the patriarchal feudalism was ossified with its impotent leadership, its authority and its reliance to the past.

In the midst of these complicated and heated conflicts, which were both expanding and growing more profound, and which mainly affected the Arab peasants and workers, although they also pressed heavily on the petty and middle bourgeoisie in the towns and the middle peasants in the country, the situation was becoming ever more critical, expressing itself in armed outbreaks from time to time (1929-1933). On the other hand, the Palestinian feudal-clerical leaders felt that their own interests too were threatened by the growing economic force – Jewish capitalism allied with the Mandate. But their interests were also threatened from the opposite quarter – by the poor Arab masses who no longer knew where to turn. For the Arab urban bourgeoisie was weak and incapable of leadership in the stage of economic transformation which was taking place with unparalleled rapidity and a small section of this bourgeoisie became parasitic and remained on the fringe of Jewish industrial development. In addition both their subjective and objective conditions were undergoing charges contradictory to the general direction Arab society was pursuing:

- PR11M,1. Himadeh, Said (ed.) Economic Organization of Palestine American University of Beirut, Beirut 1939, p. 32.
2. Menuhin, Moshe, The Decadence of Judaism in our Time, Institute of Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1969.
3. Weinstock, Nathan, Le Sionisme – Contre Israël, Maspero, Paris, 1968.
4. Ibid.
5. Himadeh, op.cit., p. 26, 27.
6. Weinstock, Op.cit.
7. Himadeh, Op.cit., p. 373.
8. Ibid., p. 376.
9. Collection of Arab testimonies in Palestine before the British Royal Commission, al-Itidal Press, Damascus, 1938, p. 54.
10. Ibid., p. 55.
11. Himadeh, Op.cit. p. 15 (the number of the unemployed increased to 4000 in Jaffa alone after 1936, see footnote 5, p. 55).
12. Collection, Op.cit., p. 55.
13. Ibid., p. 55.
14. Davar, No. 3462 (see ft. note 13, p.56).
15. Collection, Op.Cit., p. 15.
16. Ibid., p. 56.
17. Ibid., p. 59.
18. Yehuda Bauer, «The Arab Revolt of 1936», New Outlook, Vol. 9, No. 6 (81), Tel-Aviv, 1966, p. 50.
19. Ibid., p.51.
20. In 1930, the number of Arab construction workers in Jerusalem dropped from 1500 to 500, while that of the Jews went up from 550 to 1600.
21. Up to 1931, the Zionists expelled 20,000 Palestinian Arab peasants after they bought the land on which the latter used to work.
22. Haim Hanagbi, Moshe Machover, Akiva Orr. «The Class Nature of Israel» New Left Review (65), Jan.-Feb. 1971, p. 6.
23. Theodor Herzl, Selected Works, Newman Ed., Vol. 7, Book 1, Tel Aviv, p. 86.
24. Esco Foundation for Palestine, Inc., Palestine, A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies, Vol. 1, Yale University Press, 1947, p. 561.
25. Kayyali, Abdulwahhab, Modern History of Palestine, Arab Institute of Studies and Publication, Beirut, 1970, p. 174.
26. Documents of the Palestine Arab Resistance (1918-1939, Beirut, pp. 22, 23, 24, 25.

27. Action among the peasants and the struggle against Zionism, The Palestine Communist Party Theses for 1931, Communist Internationalism and the Arab Revolution, Dal al-Haqiqa, Beirut, p. 54.
28. Ibid., pp. 122, 121.
29. Ibid., pp. 124, 125.
30. Ibid., p. 162.
31. Himadeh, Ibid., p. 39.
32. Communist Internationalism, pp. 135-145.
33. Weinstock, Ibid.
34. Collection, p.34.
35. The Sublime Porte had granted this land to the Sursuk family of Lebanon in return for services. See also: Hadawi, Palestine Under the Mandate, 1920-1940, Palestine Studies, Kuwaiti Alumni Association, pp. 34, 36. In 1934, the Zionists
36. Collection, p. 34.
37. Ibid., p. 39.
38. Hadawi, Op.cit., p. 29.
39. Collection, p. 25.
40. Ibid., p. 56.
41. Ibid., p. 58.
42. Himadeh, Op.cit., p. 376.
43. Collection, p. 60.
44. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
45. Ibid., p. 62.
46. Ibid., p. 44.
47. Ibid., p. 63.
48. Rony E. Gubbay, A Political Study of the Arab-Jewish Conflict, Librairie de Droz, Genève, 1959, p.29.
49. Communist International, pp. 143-44.
50. Collection, p. 82.
51. Himadeh, Op.cit., p. 45.
52. «Arab Society» by Dr. Ali Ahmed Issa, quoted in Yusra Amira, Folkloric Arts in Palestine, Beirut, Palestine Research Center, P.L.O., p. 187.
53. Yaghi, Dr. Abdul Rahman, Modern Palestinian Literature, Beirut, p. 232.
54. Ibid., p.237.
55. Ibid., p. 283.
56. Our Popular Songs, by Nimr Sirhan, Jordan, Ministry of Culture and information, p. 157.
57. Ibid., pp. 299-300.
58. Ibid., p.301.

To Be Continued Next Issue



STRUGGLE IN JORDAN: THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF JORDAN

The following article is based on an interview conducted by the PFLP Bulletin with a representative of the People's Revolutionary Party of Jordan (PRPJ). The PRPJ was formed well over two years ago at a time when the progressive forces in Jordan had been handed a severe setback at the hands of the Hussein regime. The new conditions required of all progressive elements to critically evaluate their previous practice and to assess their strength in order to forge a new and potent movement capable of addressing itself to the new subjective and objective conditions of Jordan in the post September 1970 period.

The pre-September 1970 phase of the national movement was so overwhelmingly pre-occupied with the Palestinian question that it, in fact, neglected to incorporate the real needs of the Jordanian masses both in its programs and its actual practice. Such shortsightedness on the movement's part was essential to the Jordanian regime's victory which culminated in July 1971 with the forced retreat of the resistance. The honeymoon period had terminated and the resistance had to take drastic measures to reorganize its forces and to once again develop the potential of not only the Palestinian but also the Jordanian people.

In the midst of these difficult conditions where most of the progressive forces were pushed either into exile, clandestine work or prison, a new reorganization and regroupment offensive was launched. This time the task was understandably more difficult and it required as a prerequisite a truly critical analysis of previous practice in order to postulate a strategy for the progressive forces that took into account the major and principal contradictions to be resolved.

The organizers of the PRPJ from the outset have postulated the need to form through struggle a National Jordanian Progressive Front. The PRPJ issued a political communique of its first congress in the « People's Voice », its own periodic publication (No. 10-Oct. 1974) in which it elucidated its commitment to the formation of a National Jordanian Progressive Front. Such a front armed with a political program would struggle to negate the Hashemite rule of Jordan and replace it by a « National Democratic People's Rule capable of serving the masses by struggling to eliminate the high cost of living and in turn would insure agricultural and industrial development. Moreover, it would turn Jordan into an essential base for the anti-Imperialist struggle ». (« People's Voice »)

To achieve the above it is essential that we probe into Jordan's class configuration so that we can first identify the class foundation of the regime, and the forces of its

negation, i.e., the aforementioned National Front.

In British colonial designs, the creation of Jordan was essential for the execution of the Zionist program. (For a detailed analysis see PFLP Bulletin-May-June 1974 « Jordan's Refugees, Sanctuary or Cemetery for Palestinians »). However, prior to the actual formation of the kingdom, a military institution was founded by the British coupled with the inflow of merchants, the forebearers of the

which brought under its sovereignty both the east and the west banks. The west bank, however, brought with it Palestinian exiles, victims of Zionist expansion.

The Palestinians of the West Bank excelled in farming, in addition they began the rapid process of economic integration into the east bank where they assumed the role of financiers and tradesmen. With the integration of Palestinians and the formation of the kingdom a newly formed class

deciding on the strategy of their struggles ». (Amilcar Cabral: « Weapon of Theory »).

The newly emerged structures were accompanied by a specific class configuration that has of course undergone certain changes since the early 1950's. Such a configuration is part of a structure where certain remnants of feudalism still persist in conjunction with a developing capitalist sector that is rapidly becoming the dominant mode of production.

In this context we can identify the following classes :

A. Feudal: For purposes of analysis, this class is sub-divided into two categories ; 1) Landed Feudal ; 2) Tribal. Both sectors are loyal to the monarchy and contribute a sizeable number of people in important or key governmental posts.

B. Bourgeoisie- Its capital is quite diminutive, and is primarily invested in cement, phosphate and petrol.

C. Comprador- As such, the comprador class gave birth to the bourgeoisie but due to the level of economic development, the comprador as a class still flourishes. Since the establishment of the kingdom, they have been one of its essential pillars.

D. Top State officials (employees)- Although it would be difficult to claim that this group in actuality forms a class it nevertheless is an important social sector whose power and wealth have grown as a direct social result of its allegiance to the monarchy.

They are either directors of state-run business, or state supported projects. In

addition due to their position, they also thrive on rather attractive sums obtained through bribery.

Their welfare is wholly dependent on the state, hence for the most part, they are staunch supporters of the king.

The above social classes in effect from the foundation upon which the power of the state rests, in addition to the military, i.e. top officer corps, which as indicated was one of the forces behind the formation of the state.

As to the forces who bear the historic responsibility of negating the regime by establishing the called for National Front, we enumerate the following :

I- The Working Class : It has yet to develop into a cohesively organized proletarian force, furthermore, it still remains numerically small, i.e., 25,000 at the most. The largest concentration of workers is to be found in the following industries : cement, phosphate, and petrol. However, as the above cited number indicates, there is no one large center where a sizeable number of workers are employed. In addition, labour unions are relatively weak and underdeveloped.

As we survey the rural sector



modern bourgeoisie, imported by the latter as the would be rulers of this future political-economic entity. Ironically, the army was founded well before the actual formation of the state. This fact is important in explaining not only British colonial designs but also gives an inkling as to the social composition of the would-be kingdom.

The east bank of Jordan primarily developed through trade, an activity which linked this sector of Jordan to the general economic conditions of the remainder of the Arab world.

It was not until the post-1948 period when the army without a state and the comprador joined to form the Kingdom of Jordan,

alliance launched an economic development program as of 1951-1952.

In this context we would like to take a cursory look at the newly emerged class configuration. The importance of such a task is adequately posed in the following :

« On the internal level, we believe that the most important weakness or unfavourable factors are inherent in the socio-economic structure and in the tendencies of its evolution under imperialist pressure, or to be more precise, in the little or no attention paid to the characteristics of this structure and these tendencies by the national liberation movements in

of Jordan, in addition to the already cited feudal class, we divided the peasant class into three distinct categories: 1) Middle Farmers; 2) Small Farmers; and 3) Landless Peasants. The latter number approximately 500,000 or slightly more. They are the nascent agricultural proletariat or part of the seasonal labour force. Such conditions require that the sons of families escape the town to find employment or join the army.

The petit bourgeoisie is divided in two large categories:

a) one that is primarily involved in the trade and service sectors; b) the other make up the intelligentsia. Their economic conditions are not bad, they however are not allied to the regime.

There remains the government employees whose number does not exceed 40,000. If we were to define working class in a strictly classical sense i.e., wage earners, then we could include in it: government employees, the agricultural proletariat and the industrial workers.

Before we can terminate Jordan's class configuration, we must mention the army. It includes for the most part the sons of poor families who seek to escape their poor economic conditions. The army, plus the internal security forces and their corresponding bureaucratic apparatus does not exceed 120,000 people. However, it must be noted that one-fourth of the Jordanian population subsists on salaries derived from the military. This makes it imperative for any national front to work within the ranks of the army to organize certain sectors from it. Such an observation should not cause us to overlook the fact that the officer corps (top levels) are part and parcel of the regime.

The PRPJ regards a class alliance between the working class (in its broad definition), peasantry, and petit bourgeoisie as essential for the formation of a National Jordanian Progressive Front.

In May of 1974, the PRPJ offered a proposal for a program for a National Front, to be discussed by the various progressive forces. A finalized version of the program should be available in the near future.

In its unfinished form the program was divided in two parts, the first dealing with conditions in Jordan on the following levels: Political, Economic and Social. The second addresses itself to the desired Arab and international relations.

POLITICALLY

A. The National Progressive Front will struggle to establish a National People's Democratic Rule, integrally allied with progressive democratic people's forces. The Front will strive to secure for the people freedom of speech, press, assembly and demonstration. In addition, the right to political parties, truly representative unions, whereby conditions will be created to turn Jordan into a political center for the Arab liberation forces.

B. Struggle against all forms of capitulation (U.N. Resolution 242, Geneva Conference, etc.). At

this stage of the struggle, the PRPJ must prove its existence by exposing and confronting Hussein's role as a pawn for imperialist strategy.

C. Struggle to permit the Palestinian people to develop their national character, and in turn to recognize their right to self-determination, and their right to establish a democratic state on all of Palestine.

D. It is imperative that the PRPJ form a strong alliance with the Palestinian resistance movement, and in turn to devise a joint program between them. The importance of the above is based on the historic oneness of both peoples.

E. Struggle against tribal, ethnic and national contradictions and merge all efforts to confront the Imperialist-Zionist enemy.

F. Struggle to qualitatively

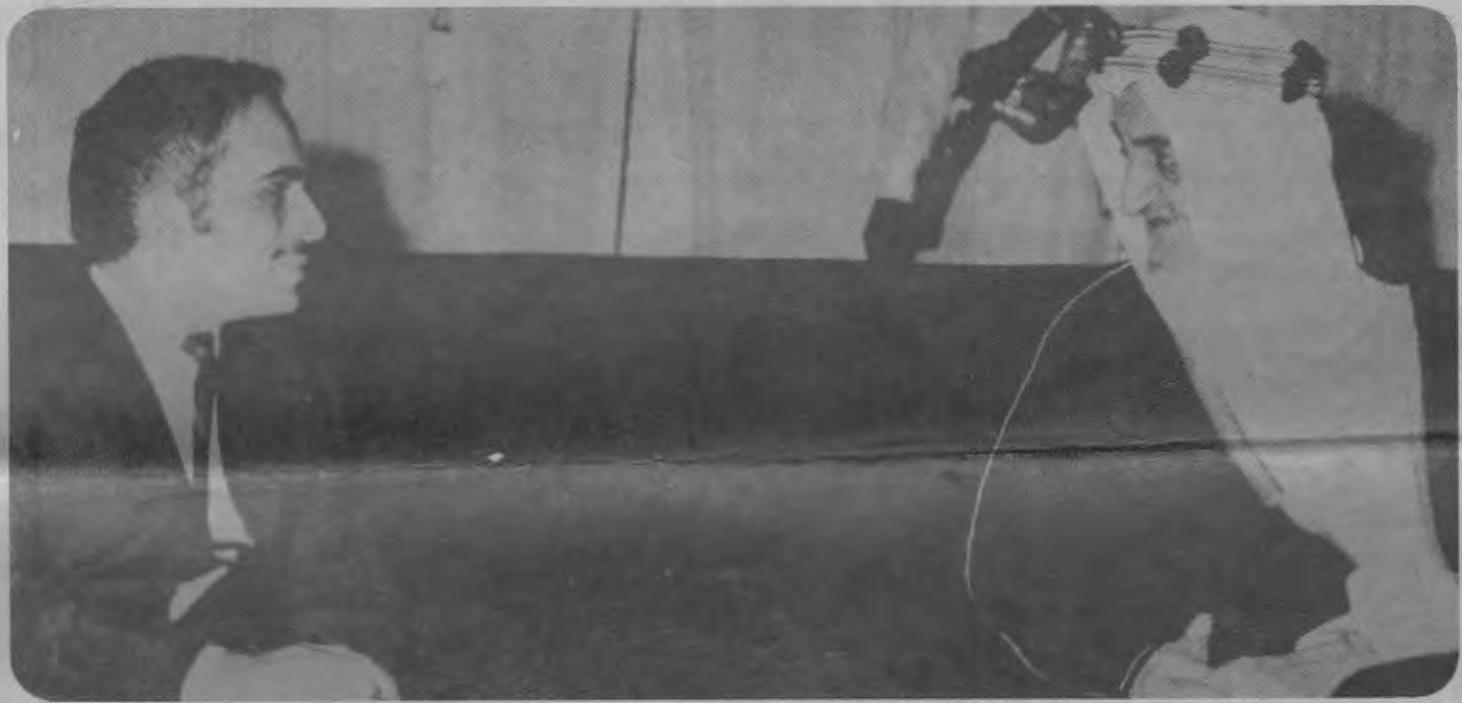
and tribal conflicts, to be accompanied by an offensive against corruption, bribery, and nepotism, all of which are the result of the rule of the feudal comprador classes.

B. As to education, the National Front must provide ample opportunities for education since education is the basis for advancement, development and a real cultural revolution.

— Education is a right and not a privilege, hence it must be made available to all.

— Mandatory education must become universal, and a struggle must be waged to eliminate illiteracy, through the organizing of special educational campaigns.

C. Protect the rights of the workers and peasants by improving their work conditions, determining minimum wages and



change the military institution from a tool of oppressing our masses into a force capable of confronting the Imperialist-Zionist onslaught.

G. Re-organize and modernize the state apparatus so as to rid it of nepotism and bribery.

ECONOMICALLY:

A. Struggle to end our dependent development, through encouraging and advancing the industrial sector through direct state subsidies.

B. In the rural areas, reorganize the social relations of production through planning an agrarian reform that frees the peasants from the yoke of feudalism and the big landowners. This would require special attention to the needs of the agricultural sector through the formation of cooperatives to adequately distribute seeds, fertilizers, needed tools and machinery. Also special attention must be given to forming consulting centers plus cooperatives for the marketing of the agricultural products.

C. The struggle against the outrageous high cost of living ought to be an integral part of the national democratic rule. As a starting point, monopolies must be eliminated and local industry must be encouraged.

SOCIALLY:

A. Struggle to resolve regional

providing the needed social and medical services. In addition, they must have the right to fully pursue their trade union affairs.

D. Struggle to achieve full equality for women in all spheres, political, economic and social.

E. Free education, readily accessible medical care, the building of hospitals and clinics in the rural areas.

F. Formation of a national fund that would have a certain percentage of the national income relegated to it in order to properly and adequately provide the social, economic and medical needs of the people.

As to Arab and international relations, the PRPJ views it as necessary the formation of front ties with all progressive and democratic forces.

We deduce from the cursory survey of the PRPJ's preliminary program, that to mobilize the masses, it is imperative to recognize that the masses are not fighting simply for ideas, rather they are in the struggle to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward. Based on this principle, one can understand why the PRPJ emphasizes the socio-economic welfare of the people. However, it goes without saying that the enhancement of their conditions is dialectically connected to their political development. Hence, although the working class of Jordan is not very politicized,

« we understand the reasons for such and take it upon ourselves to politicize them ».

As to the key differences between the PRPJ and other sectors of resistance, we should like to briefly look at two points:

A. The PRPJ insists that the National Front program must mainly be Jordanian. This view presumes that the inter-relationship between the Palestinian and Jordanian fronts is basically dialectical, which means that to accentuate a short-sighted Palestinianism at the expense of Jordanian national conditions is indeed suicidal and in turn provides the Hashemite kingdom with arsenal to use against the democratic forces in general be they Jordanian or Palestinian. (Arafat's position represents the above par excellence). The reverse of the

above argument indeed also holds true.

B. The second point concerns whether it is desirable to call for the downfall of the regime as part of a program and strategy. The Jordanian Communist Party to the present has yet to do so. Their position is based on the argument that the democratic forces are not strong enough to topple the monarchy, hence such a demand should not be raised. In contradistinction, the PRPJ views it as an essential part of the program to be put forth to the masses.

The above should not be interpreted as if the PRPJ wants to wage direct armed struggle now. Armed struggle is at the basis of its strategy but the present stage of the struggle calls for political mobilization and the building of the party, the vehicle of such mobilization. The Vietnamese revolutionary Nguyen Van Tien puts it succinctly: « What has to be achieved is that the people themselves discover the need for armed struggle. As for guns, these you can always find ».

To conclude, the PRPJ is presently planting the seeds of revolution in the minds of the People and through the building of the party that can guide organize the energy of masses once it is of masses once it is released.



SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE: THE POPULAR



FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF OMAN

In October 1974, the Omani secretary of state for foreign affairs had declared in front of the Arab ambassadors that the Iranian troops had accomplished their mission and would go back to their country.

This tactical position was being taken by the lackey Omani regime on the eve of the Rabat Arab summit conference. Its aim was to «calm down» progressive regimes and prevent too strong attacks on their behalf during the conference.

At the termination of the Arab summit, the same secretary of state announced that new Iranian troops were carrying out an offensive against the P.F.L.O. fighters in western Dhofar. This offensive had been preceded by systematic bombing of the area carried out by the British strikemasters. The bombing was aimed at the civilian populations of the mountains. Its objective was to have the area deserted thus depriving the freedom fighters of any tactical support.

The first operations of the Iranian criminals were fiercely resisted by the P.F.L.O. fighters who killed over fifty Iranian soldiers during the month of January. The expansionist Iranian militarism is now trying to erect a «Damavand line» 90 kilometers east of the South Yemeni border. Barbed wire and mine fields are being installed with the aim of hermetically separating Dhofar from southern Yemen.

Most of the Arab regimes, with the exception of Iraq, Libya, Alge-

ria and Syria have long had a very passive attitude in face of such overt foreign aggressions on Arab land.

Such developments should be viewed in the context of the increased militarization of the gulf, and Iran's bold assertion of protector and guarantor of «peace» in the area. Moreover, U.S. imperialism is increasing its military presence. Already Pakistan's Bhutto has indicated that his offer of an American air and naval base on the shore of the Arabian Sea near the Iranian border, originally offered to Nixon, still stands. In addition, the U.S. is requesting British permission to use the latter's airfield facilities on Masira Island off the east coast of Oman, 400 miles from the crucial Strait of Hormuz. This coupled with the ongoing struggle in Baluchistan has given imperialism, and Iran the excuse to step up their military offensive against the national liberation movements of the gulf and southwest Asia.

More recently, early in February of this year, the Shah of Iran guaranteed the protection of Oman against intruding forces. Of course, these forces are none other than the PFLO and neighboring Yemen. The Omani commander, Maj. Gen. T. M. Creasy, who has now resumed his duties as general in the British army reported that an Iranian ground-to-air defense system is already in service in Oman and supplemented by the Iranian Air Force's «air to

air» capability. Iran will also increase the number of planes based in Oman, particularly F-5 fighters.

As Iran pursues its imperial policy of counter-revolution, it becomes imperative for progressive and democratic forces the world over to mobilize all possible efforts in solidarity with the people of Oman.

The PFLO representative in Beirut has communicated to us that they would more welcome material aid in the form of supplies, medicine etc. On behalf of our comrades-in-arms, we urge you to step up your support both material and political.

Communication with the PFLO is to be handled via their address in Aden: P.O.Box 5037, Aden, P.D.R.Y.

DECLARATION ISSUED BY THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE REVOLUTION IN OMAN:

The second international conference of solidarity with the revolution in Oman was held in Paris from 27 to 30 December 1974. The conference was attended by representatives of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and by representatives of the following organizations: Comité de Soutien à la Révolution en Oman (France), K.R.O.A.V. (Sweden), K.R.O.A.G. (Danmark), Golf and

Palaestina Komiteen (Danmark), Gulf Committee (England), Palestine-Gulf Yemen Solidarity Campaign (Leeds, Sheffield — England), Arab Committee (England), Palestine-Gulf Yemen Solidarity Campaign (Leeds, Sheffield — England), (W. Berlin), Solidaritäts Komitee der Revolutionären Bewegung im Arab-Raum, Comité National Palestine (Belgium), the Gulf Solidarity (USA) which send a message, and several observers.

At the opening session, representatives of numerous Arab and French revolutionary, democratic and progressive organisations greeted the conference and stressed their solidarity with the people of Oman. The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation emphasised the indissoluble links between the revolutions in Oman and Palestine. The conference also sent a message of solidarity to the conference of the G.U.P.S. which was taking place in Paris at the same time. The conference send a cable to the United Nations, to the government of Teheran and to the Sultanate protesting against the current military campaign, and the campaign of arrests and terror against the Omani People.

At this time, the situation in Oman and the Arab Gulf is defined by the following characteristics: the people of Oman under the leadership of P.F.L.O., are fighting a heroic struggle to defend the gains of their revolution and to defeat the reactionary interests, both foreign and domestic, which exploit their country. As elsewhere, the imperialists are trying to crush the revolution by an offensive at several levels:

— militarily they are waging a war of annihilation, using their superior military strength together with troops from Iran and Jordan. At the same time, British imperialism is providing RAF pilots and army officers to direct the local arab counter-revolutionary forces.

— politically, they are trying to crush the revolutionary widespread repression throughout Oman and by using their oil revenues to strengthen the position of imperialist clients within Omani society.

— diplomatically, they are trying to isolate the revolution, and to prevent it from winning the solidarity of potential supporters for their patriotic stand, as well as launching diplomatic plots which try to deny the existence of the revolution.

x Oman is the Vietnam, the center, of the revolutionary struggle in the whole Gulf, the front line in the battle against imperialism and local reaction, both Arab and Iranian. Palestine and Oman are the two most advanced sections of the anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East as a whole.

The current reactionary counter offensive in Oman is closely linked to the overall situation of struggle in the region especially in Palestine and in Eritrea, where popular forces are threatening imperialism. At the same time as the region is acquiring a greater economic and strategic importance, especially because of oil.

The second international conference hailed the heroic resis-

tance of the Omani people in the face of this reactionary and imperialist counter-revolutionary offensive, and greeted the recent armed clash in Rustaq. This situation requires increased solidarity work at the international level, and the conference therefore took the following resolutions:

1) to increase information and political agitation work to counter anti-Arab racism and the silence about the Omani revolution, through the use of films and slide-shows, through increased informational work and through the exchange of published materials on Oman.

2) to carry out a coordinated campaign for the release of political prisoners in Oman, and to launch this campaign in the first week of February 1975.

3) to coordinate and increase the collection of funds for medical aid as a contribution towards the construction of a hospital for the school-children of the liberated area.

4) to distribute the political documents of the Front and to translate these where suitable. To use as the basis of solidarity work the national program of the PFLO and the draft program and the declaration of the second conference.

5) to carry out coordinated activities for the first week of march (week of solidarity with the people of the Gulf), for the 9 June (launching of the armed struggle in Oman) and other important events.

6) to coordinate the work of different groups within each country according to local conditions, and to work with other forces, especially Palestine groups, to maximize solidarity with Oman. To organize a new conference within 2 years.

7) the groups attending the Paris conference send their greetings to the people of Oman and reaffirm their support for the strategy of people's war being waged in Oman. The struggle of the people of Oman forms an indissoluble part of the struggle of the world-wide fight against imperialism and capitalism. As with the victories of the people of Vietnam and the former Portuguese colonies, the victory of the revolution in Oman will be a victory for all peoples.

Long live the 9 June Revolution under the leadership of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman!

Long live the support of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen for the Omani Revolution!

Long live the struggle of the Palestinian People!

Long live the fight of the popular resistance forces in Iran!

Long live the struggle of the Eritrean people!

Down with imperialism, zionism, Arab reaction and Iranian expansionism!

Long live the people's war led by P.F.L.O.!

Long live international solidarity!

Paris, the 30 of december 1974.

ELF HALTS

REACTIONARY ETHIOPIAN AGGRESSION

In our last issue, we gave a brief description of the Eritrean question and the struggle of the Eritrean people under the leadership of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). The fears that the new military regime might carry out an offensive against the liberated areas and the masses of Eritrea became true when the Ethiopian air force moved in and bombed a number of villages north of Asmara (capital of Eritrea). This was met by a counter attack from the ELF forces against the Ethiopian army positions in Asmara. The success of the ELF forces in carrying out such an attack was due to the great confusion prevailing within the Ethiopian intelligence service, and the infiltration of a large number of Eritrean forces within it. A high ranking ELF official revealed that Eritrean elements within the ranks of the Ethiopian army and police played a principal role in the attacks against the Ethiopian army position. The police commander in Asmara, General-Giteom Gibrakzi, had joined the revolution two weeks before the attack took place.

Matters have obviously reached a critical level between the ELF and the new military regime in Addis Ababa which ousted Emperor Haile Selassie in September, 1974. For a time it appeared that the new regime would be willing to negotiate with the ELF, especially when a civilian governor was appointed to Eritrea in August, 1974, after it had been under military government for four years. But soon after, it was discovered that it is only a move towards decentralization, and that the military regime was willing to give more benefits to the traditional leaders that cooperate with it instead of dealing with the ELF, the true representative of the Eritrean people. In other words, the military regime has not taken any steps to end the Eritrean crisis, but has instead installed itself as a substitute to the previous regime.

The military regime has also launched a political campaign against the revolution. It commissioned a five man delegation on a tour of Arab countries allegedly to improve Ethiopian-Arab relations. According to Arab sources, the delegation expressed the view that Eritrean independence was out of the question as far as the military regime was concerned and claimed that Eritrea is historically part of Ethiopia. Faced with the military attack and the political campaign against it, the ELF put the following conditions for possible negotiations: 1) Ethiopian recognition of the ELF as the «sole and legitimate» representative of the Eritrean people; 2) Negotiations should be on the basis of total independence, and not the «formula of federal union which had been imposed by foreign powers,

by means of the United Nations, and which has proved its utter failure»; and 3) Negotiations should be held in a neutral country. The essence of these conditions imply the right of self-determination and independence. With the military regime's policy, the path of a just settlement is still long and the new rulers of Ethiopia should realize first that the era of colonialism and occupation has ended.

With the present situation, the Eritrean national unity (see Bulletin No 14) becomes of paramount importance. The current stage is witnessing efforts to unify the two factions (Popular Forces and Revolutionary Council) of the ELF. No definite positive results have been achieved, but the results of the recent battle show that cooperation on the battlefield has been successful. Both factions have made it clear that they will accept nothing less than total Eritrean independence.

On the other hand, the Ethiopian revolutionaries struggle against the military regime continues in spite of repressive measures

which include executions of military officers of progressive orientation and the kidnapping of a student leader, known for his anti-feudalist activities. Such activities along with the mass wave of arrests are no surprise to the Ethiopian masses and progressive elements since they know that the present minister of the interior is only the same man responsible for security affairs under the Emperor's rule, a man favoured by the U.S. government.

A communique issued by the Union of Ethiopian Students in the Middle East and North Africa condemned the military regime and called on all progressive and democratic forces to assist the Ethiopian progressive forces.

The latest fighting took heavy tolls and was further proof that the Eritrean people are in full support of the just struggle led by the ELF. A cease-fire is presently in effect. However, the Ethiopian regime has been served notice that if they are to renew their aggression they will not only force an Eritrean uprising but a social revolution that promises to stem their reactionary rule.





CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Israel withdraws from all occupied territories and that the Palestinians' rights be recognized via their legitimate representative, the PLO. In short Syria is pushing for the immediate convening of the Geneva conference. If Syria is truly interested in the Palestinians' rights, it is our opinion that she must join her forces with those of the rejection front, for the balance of power as is, remains in favor of Arab reaction and imperialism. Due to the complications involved in (C), the Syrian leadership still maintains a close relationship with the Soviet Union, a fact that displeases Faisal. Therefore, one can understand the increase in Saudi aid to Syria as a further attempt to push the Soviet Union out of the area.

As regards (D), one can already assert that Arab recognition of Israel has defacto, already taken place. All the parties i.e. the «confrontation» states by virtue of their acceptance of resolution 242 and its corollaries have implicitly recognized Israel's right to secure borders. Explicit recognition however, will not be as simple since the Arab leaders must reverse the propaganda they nurtured their people with for the past quarter century. The task however is not impossible since already Sadat and Assad have declared their desire to end the present state of the war, predicated on Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories since 1967 in addition to the need for a Palestinian state as the solution to the Palestinian problem. As for Faisal, he would prefer to accept Zionism, if its existence were at the expense of a revolutionary force possessing the potential to negate Arab reaction.

Of the above, if (C) is the most difficult contradiction to be resolved, the Palestinian contradiction remains as the biggest hurdle of them all.

As mentioned earlier, Faisal with determination is seeking to defuse the PLO's revolutionary content by giving it outright grants and political backing. In the meantime, the PLO leadership along with Syria are calling for the immediate convening of the Geneva conference. A crucial question must be posed however. Is such a demand in contradiction with the imperialist-reactionary plans?

1. The Soviet Union wants the Geneva conference to be held soon;
2. Kissinger agrees to the above, on condition that an Egyptian-Israeli bilateral agreement is announced;
3. The Soviet Union demands PLO participation in the conference;
4. Kissinger's condition to the PLO participation is that the latter must recognize Israel's right to exist.

For point (4) to be actualized, the Faisal-Sadat axis is pressuring the PLO into accepting the U.S. proposals as the only means through which they could achieve anything. As such Saudi intentions in pressuring the PLO leadership aim at aiding the capitulationist forces. In the meantime, the Jordanian regime has been reactivated, whereby Hussein has placed conditions before he would adhere to the agreements of the Rabat summit conference. He demands a structural change in the PLO to make it representative of three basic sectors. a) Part of the PLO as is now, b) the west bank, c) the Palestinians of the east bank (Jordan), on condition that Jordan participate in choosing the new representatives.

Furthermore, both Syria and the PLO have requested the convening of a special session of the mini-Arab summit (Egypt, Syria, Jordan and the PLO). The pressure presently being applied on the PLO is so magnanimous that it is intended to force the leadership to retreat from their originally stated goals and strategy as a pre-condition to their participation in Geneva. As such we can describe the existing difference within the ranks of the resistance as essentially one of orientation i.e. ideological and political.

This ideological and political difference is not based on factional disputes but essentially predicated on two diametrically opposed views of national liberation. Hence it is not sufficient to identify the ultimate goal of any movement to judge its credibility and the accuracy of its analysis. The crucial test which determines a movement's revolutionary dimensions is based on: 1) what social and class forces does it ally itself with; 2) has it been able to determine the specific qualities of the historical conditions, upon which is based the balance of power, within which it must operate; 3) does it view national and social revolution as a dialectical unity; 4) upon what social classes does the successful implementation of its program depend?

Needless to say, the above questions are far from exhausting the issues at hand, however as we answer them we begin to notice that the Arafat position is essentially a continuation of the petit bourgeois understanding of revolution. Though at certain historical stages it allies itself with the masses, its success is dependent not on the masses but with the powers that be. It tries to keep a delicate balance between mass approval and obtaining the blessings of the power that be. In the case of the Palestinian resistance movement, with Arab reaction mainly the Faisal-Sadat axis. Even during the hey-day of the resistance movement's presence in Jordan, it was not defeated on the battle field but in the negotiations that ensued. Arafat's behavior in 1970 was not accidental nor a mistake given his ideological framework. What is at the crux of the matter is not whether Arafat seeks the liberation of all

of Palestine, but as to how he seeks to achieve such a goal, furthermore can such a goal be achieved with such an orientation.

The course that the PLO leadership is pursuing is one of dependence and subservience to Arab reaction, which has emerged as the major axis of power in the Arab region with the coming of the October war. Such a course is subject to the rules of the game that imperialism and Arab reaction have enacted. As this alliance proceeds, and the PLO is ushered into Geneva the only authority it will acquire will be anything other than a «national authority».

How could we realistically call for a «national authority» at a time when Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction are forging an offensive whose goal is the extirpation of all progressive and democratic forces in the region. We are not opposed to the establishment of a truly national authority upon any part of Palestinian soil, but what is on the agenda is a sentinel state to Faisal's liking. Again we would like to take the word's out of the horse's mouth:

«Though he (Faisal) favors the creation of a Palestinian state, he wants to be sure that it is non-communist and non-radical. To this end he supports the more moderate elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and if a Palestinian state is ever established he will probably pour money into it, not only to make it viable but immunize it from Soviet or even socialist coloration.» (New York Times, Jan. 26, 75)

As such though strategically the slogan of «national authority» is correct, if we were to compare it to the specificity of the present historical conditions, it is the wrong slogan to accentuate. The PLO accuses us of being demagogic for not comprehending the need for what is referred to as a transitional program. Historically transitional programs have been adopted by national liberation movements only after the primary contradiction was correctly identified.

Our analysis indicates that the primary contradiction we face, in contradiction to the PLO's analysis, is the imperialist «peaceful» settlement that is being imposed on our masses. To confront such a development we must employ all our energies to halt or negate these efforts. Once we mobilize enough strength capable of negating the imperialist strategy, then we can forward the slogan of «national authority» which would be a legitimate expression of that future historical juncture.

However, before we proceed it is important to clarify the theoretical basis of our position. First, we do not view our conditions as static, neither do we expect to achieve our goal of total liberation of Palestine as a result of faulty class, national or international alliances. Our practice i.e. the development of the potential of our people, is the only means through which we can stem the imperialist settlement and from there to continue our struggle to its proper end of genuine social revolution.

Marx in the «Third Thesis on Feuerbach» accurately depicts the law of change: «The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating... The coincidences of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionizing practice.»

Implied in the above is that not the proletariat, but the «revolutionizing practice» of the proletariat is the basic requirement for the negation of capitalism. In the context of a national liberation movement it is the «revolutionizing practice» of the anti-imperialist forces that can negate imperialism and its strategy. Therefore, we seek basic changes in our circumstances. Such changes are not the result of well written programs that become meaningless but they essentially result from practice, and struggle based on a keen understanding of the objective conditions and the historical forces of their negation i.e. the masses and not the Faisal-Sadat axis.

Any program for the present stage of our struggle must be predicated upon the defeat of the present imperialist-reactionary-capitulationist «peaceful» settlement which aims at terminating not only the Palestinian resistance movement but also at the segments of the new Arab liberation movement. We seek to:

1. Guarantee the development of Palestinian armed struggle.
2. The formation of a Jordanian-Palestinian national front to topple the Hashemite monarchy and to establish a national-democratic regime in its place.
3. To heighten our mass work and military struggle in the occupied territories so that a change in the balance of power will enable us to impose a revolutionary authority on any liberated part of Palestine.
4. As the battle of Kfar Shoubain indicates, it is imperative that we form an Arab front that will unite all of the revolutionary forces in the area.
5. To solidify our international ties with the socialist countries, the national liberation movements and the democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

We must leave illusion aside and arm ourselves with clarity of thought as we proceed along the arduous road of total liberation.

Feb. 27, 1975

PFLP
Bulletin

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