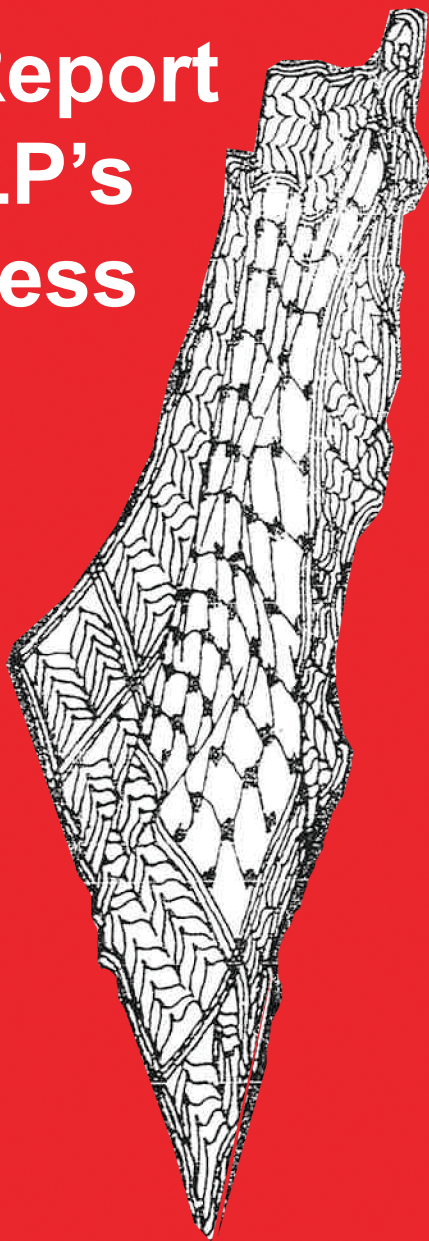


Political Report of the PFLP's 4th Congress



*The Popular Front
for the Liberation of Palestine*

PFLP



**Political Report of the PFLP's 4th Congress
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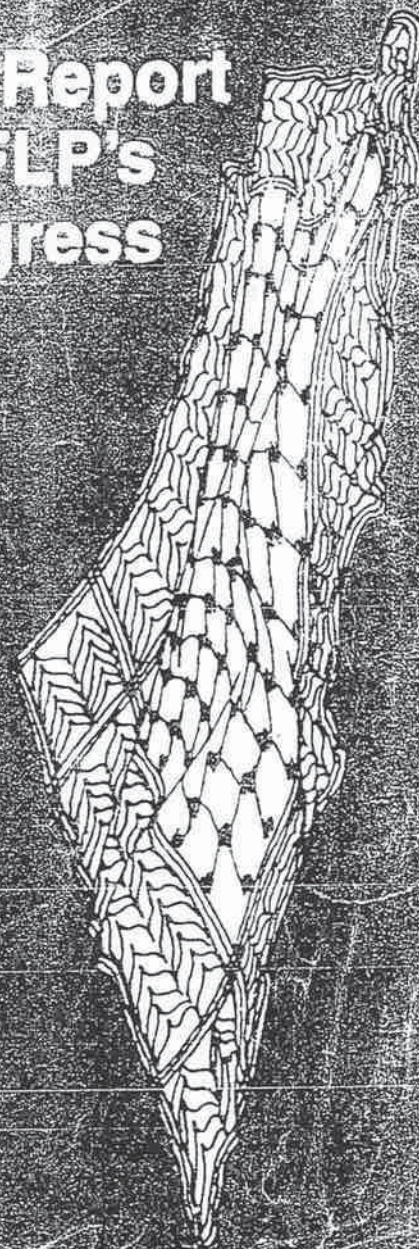


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Forward

In the spring of 1981, the PFLP held its 4th National Congress where the political report contained in this book was adopted. While the document was soon published in Arabic, work on the English translation was disrupted by the subsequent Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This led to the Palestinian revolution's evacuation from Beirut, and the reestablishment of the PFLP's headquarters in Damascus. It also created a new situation and overturned some of the predictions made in the congress report. This applies in particular to the expectation that the Lebanese Army would play the main role in the efforts to liquidate the Palestinian revolution. In fact, 'Israel' itself shouldered this task, waging a genocidal war against the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

The other prediction in question was that Jordan would be the second Arab regime to enter into the Camp David negotiations. Indeed, one of the aims of the 1982 Israeli invasion and subsequent US intervention was to force Lebanon to join the imperialist-Zionist 'peace' plan. For a while, this appeared to succeed with the signing of the May 17th, 1983 agreement, between Lebanon and 'Israel'. Then this was in turn reversed due to the heroic struggle of the Lebanese nationalist forces, supported by the Palestinian revolution. Today, in 1986, we are again faced with a situation where Jordan appears to be the most likely candidate to enter negotiations with Israel under US auspices. Thus, the analysis contained in this report provides a good background for the current situation, if updated by knowledge of developments that have occurred in the interim.

Comrade George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP, dealt specifically with these two points in an interview in autumn 1982, which we print below in excerpt.

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On Lebanon

A review of the 4th congress political report shows that we did not expect the Zionist offensive to be of such size and extent. We foresaw that 'Israel' would attempt to deal a blow to the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon, yet we thought that the basic arena of the offensive would be in South Lebanon. While carrying out the attack, 'Israel' would be paving the way for the Lebanese Army, which was being prepared in terms of armament and training by US imperialist support, so that it would be able to eliminate the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon.

More specifically, we believed that had 'Israel' expanded the occupied border strip and driven the revolution northwards, a question would have arisen in the mind of the Lebanese citizen: Why are the Palestinians in Beirut? Why are they outside the circle of confrontation with 'Israel'? Afterwards, the Lebanese authorities would take advantage of such a blow to complete the elimination of the Palestinian armed revolution. We admit that our expectations were not accurate, and we do not feel any embarrassment as a result of this admission. On the contrary, we feel the necessity and significance of objective self-criticism.

I know that many forces say that they foresaw all these developments, but I think it is my right, as it is the right of every citizen, to ask: What was the military plan adopted by those forces that anticipated the invasion? Where was the military plan of the Joint Forces that were positioned to protect the military presence in the positions invaded?

I mention this issue, for we find some forces claiming to have anticipated everything, but they did not prepare themselves for confrontation. Analysis and prophesies are one thing, and programmatic positions are something else. One of the issues that must be reviewed by the Palestinian revolution is relations with the Lebanese National Movement. Did the Palestinian revolution deal with it as the leadership of the Lebanese masses and the basic force concerned with confronting the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary offensive against Lebanon? Did the Palestinian revolution consider itself a supporting force to the Lebanese National Movement in Lebanon? The PFLP continuously stressed the significance of the Lebanese National Movement's role and its leadership of the masses. We also stressed good revolutionary behavior and applied the necessary restrictions in order to, at least, set a minimal example to other revolutionaries in dealing with the masses.

Our stands during the war were also discussed by the Central Committee, and some mistakes were pointed out. Yet in general, the military and political stands taken during the fighting were highly estimated.

On Jordan

The PFLP's political report states that Jordan will be the second link (after Egypt) in the Camp David process, while events have shown that Lebanon is targeted as the second link. What is your comment on this?

First we have a tradition that we have practiced for many years: Between every two successive PFLP congresses, we have critically reevaluated all our political positions taken in the interim. If we find that we have made a mistake in one position or another, we never feel hesitant or embarrassed to announce this. Reading through our 4th congress political report, one would find more than one misjudgement.

Second, we have to distinguish between three things: the general analysis in light of which the PFLP proceeds in every stage, political predictions and expectations, and specific political positions. There are analysis, expectations and stands. Concerning the basic analysis dealt with by our 4th congress in the section of the political report entitled «The Stage of Camp David», we feel proud that our analysis has proven correct.

Concerning expectations, we were of the opinion, but not definitely, that Jordan would be the second link in the Camp David process. At the time, we said that the plot aims at eliminating the Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon, and that weakening the Palestinians militarily would facilitate the Jordanian regime's moves towards joining the political settlement. For this reason we thought that Jordan would be the second link. Now in light of the present facts, I accept the self-criticism implied in the question, since the situation looks as if Lebanon will be the second link...

Preface

In an atmosphere brimming with confidence in the revolution and the masses, and with unshakable faith in the inevitability of victory, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) held its 4th National Congress in late April, 1981. The theme of the congress was expressed in the following slogan: «The 4th National Congress is an important step towards completing the PFLP's transformation into a Marxist-Leninist party; establishing a united Palestinian national front; stepping up the armed struggle; defending the revolution and reinforcing its militant positions; aborting capitulationist settlement efforts; and strengthening militant inter-Arab and international relations.»

The congress convened at a time when the organic connection between Arab reaction on the one hand, and imperialism and Zionism on the other, had become more fully exposed through the conclusion of the Camp David accords, the establishment of military bases for the imperialists on Arab territory, and affording them naval facilities. This was concurrent with increased encroachment on liberties, repression of the masses and crackdowns on nationalist and progressive elements.

The congress convened at a time when the Zionist enemy, supported by imperialism and Arab reaction, had become adamant about liquidating the Palestinian cause and revolution. This was primarily manifested in the abortive attempts to impose the «autonomy» plan in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip; in the stepped-up military operations against the forces of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement in Lebanon; in the heightened hostility and aggressiveness of the Phalangists, and their collaboration to impose the Israeli-Phalangist scheme for Lebanon.

The convening of the congress was in full compliance with the principles of democratic centralism. The Central Committee had finished the drafts for the political, organizational, military and financial reports. In due course, these had been circulated to the party rank and file, where they were seriously and extensively discussed; many additions, deletions and amendments were proposed. The party's organizational units then held conferences to discuss and finalize their proposals, and elect delegates to the congress. Thus, the final reports were a compilation of the contributions of all party units and, consequently, a true expression of their views and convictions. All in all, the congress, in its preparations, proceedings and outcome, reflected deep awareness and creative application of Marxist-Leninist principles in the life of the party. It was carried out in an atmosphere of democracy, comradeship, responsibility and constructive criticism.

Over the past years, the PFLP, guided by the documents and resolutions of the 3rd National Congress, has waged an arduous and consistent struggle to accomplish its tasks on both the Palestinian and Arab levels.

In the organizational sphere, the 4th National Congress was a major juncture where the PFLP paused to consider the progress made in transforming into a Marxist-Leninist party. Transformation is the main organizational task. Without this, we will never be able to lay a sound basis for developing our national struggle and leading it to victory. Having reviewed the course of the Palestinian revolution over the past years, we see more clearly than ever before the primacy of this task above all others. It is the main prerequisite for insuring that we and the revolution are set on the right course, to achieve the goals for which our people have been struggling for the last 33 years.

We firmly believe the 4th National Congress has contributed to the crystallization of a number of ideological, political, organizational and military matters, which will increase our capabilities to advance and develop our struggle on both the Palestinian and Arab levels.

The fact that the 4th National Congress adopted all the reports and several important resolutions, concerning the various aspects of our struggle, testifies to the solid ideological, political and organizational unity of the PFLP.

The congress discussed profoundly and in detail the theses and tasks posed by the revolution since its beginning. It dealt at length with the special significance and primacy of the Jordanian arena. The congress gave particular attention to the capitulationist settlement trend which has

ominously permeated the Arab region; it stressed the necessity of struggling to remove the harmful effects this trend has on the Palestinian and Arab masses.

In appraising the PFLP's political stands concerning Palestinian affairs, the congress discussed in detail the role played by the PFLP between 1972 and 1981. The congress stressed that the PFLP was the main Palestinian force opposing the capitulationist settlement trend; the main force in the revolutionary democratic trend that is radically confronting Zionism, imperialism and reaction; and the organization which tirelessly strives to have inter-Palestinian organizational relations regulated on sound democratic foundations within the framework of the PLO.

The great success realized by the 4th National Congress is an embodiment of our faithfulness to the memory of the comrades who have sacrificed their lives for our cause. It is a strong testimony to our confidence in the inevitable victory of the revolution, however great the difficulties and sacrifices may be.

The congress paid homage to all the comrades who had been martyred in the period between the 3rd and 4th congresses, while fighting the enemy in the occupied homeland or defending the revolution outside its borders. Particular mention was made of the late members of PFLP's Politbureau: Ghassan Kanafani and Mohammad Al Aswad (Guevara Gaza), and the late members of PFLP's Central Committee: Abdul Karim Al Khateeb (Abu Amal) and Abdul Wahab Al Taiyeb. The congress greatly valued the sacrifices made by our masses in Palestine and Lebanon in the heroic struggle for the victory of our just cause.

Let us march on, consolidating the positions of our revolution and our people's struggle for liberation, democracy, socialism and unity.

Victory to our revolution!

Glory and immortality to our martyrs, noblest and most dutiful of men!

Part One

The International Situation

- The Realities of the International Situation*
- The Nature of this Epoch*
- The General Course of History*

Introduction

— Despite setbacks in one part of the world or another, the forces of liberation, progress, peace and socialism are steadily scoring successes and victories in the worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction. This confirms that the course of history in this epoch is that of transition from capitalism to socialism.

..... This crucial political thesis, the most effective weapon in the hands of revolutionaries, no longer derives its validity solely from the objective laws of social change. It is now being confirmed by the realities of the present historical process and the truths deduced therefrom. Thus, the purpose of this report is not to repeat the scientific analysis which Lenin made, concluding that imperialism is capitalism in the stage of monopoly, decay and downfall; that it bears within itself the seeds of the socialist revolution and its inevitable triumph, as well as the alliance of the oppressed peoples of the world with the international working class movement. Rather the purpose of this report is to confirm with facts that the course of history in this epoch is actually moving in that direction. The period between our 3rd and 4th congresses provided plenty of facts and events that confirm the validity of this thesis.

Chapter 1

The General Crisis of the International Capitalist System

There is no need here to reaffirm that capitalism is suffering a structural crisis, one that is rooted in the capitalist system itself. It is common knowledge that imperialism undergoes constant aggravation of its general crisis, affecting all fields of the capitalist system - economic, social, political and ideological. Though the capitalist countries are suffering crises of differing degrees, these crises have a ripple effect and are all interlinked. Consequently, the trend is towards aggravation of the general crisis.

On the economic level, the capitalist system has undergone a series of crises which caused the outbreak of two world wars. The most severe was the international economic crisis in 1929-33. Here we are not undertaking a historical review of this phenomenon which is part and parcel of the capitalist mode of production. The capitalist crisis stems from the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of ownership of the means of production. This contradiction affects the distribution of the fruits of production. What is of critical importance to us here is to trace the escalation of the crisis over the past few years, and the emergence of its new, qualitative character.

It is now evident that there is a decrease in the growth rate and an increase in the unemployment rate. The inflation rate is ever soaring. These symptoms worry the imperialists, for the prospects for growth are dim. The phenomenon of escalating economic crisis is coupled with occasional, sudden, temporary revivals. Such revivals are attributable to short-term increases in consumer demand as a result of incentives to industry and selling on credit, as means of expanding the market. The stockpiling of products, in the hope of selling them, also plays a role in the sporadic

growth of production and temporary, artificial booms. Recession is not an anticipated danger, but an existing fact. William Miller, chairman of the board of governors of the US Federal Reserve Bank and Secretary of the Treasury, acknowledged that recession is not only a potential danger, but an actual reality. The gross national product in capitalist countries declined on an average of 3.3% in the first half of 1979, as compared to the previous year.

The current crisis of the capitalist economy stands out from previous ones in terms of inflation. Inflation has acquired a new, qualitative character that exerts a great influence on the overall economy, leading toward recession. Although inflation is an inherent characteristic of the capitalist system, it used to run at 3-4%. Though such an inflation rate has a negative impact on the masses' standard of living, capitalist experts consider it a normal phenomenon. However, when the inflation rate jumped to 15% in 1977, this aroused anguish in capitalist circles, because a crisis of this dimension has devastating repercussions on the international capitalist system. The inflation problem worsened throughout the capitalist countries in 1978 and the first half of 1979. US newspapers reported that the inflation rate rose higher than any time in the past 28 years.

The crisis of the capitalist system is also manifest in rising unemployment. At the time of the Tokyo Summit, held by the greatest industrial powers to find solutions for the energy crisis, newspapers reported that the number of unemployed in these countries was more than 18.5 million workers in 1979.

The crisis also plays a role in aggravating relations between the imperialist countries on the one hand, and the developing countries that remain dependent on the international capitalist system on the other. The crisis in the developed capitalist countries led to a decline in the demand for the raw materials exported by the developing countries, and a decline in the prices of these materials, except for oil.

The escalation of contradictions among the major industrial capitalist countries is another characteristic of the crisis of the capitalist system. This crisis is no longer manifest in the kindling of global war, as was the case in World War I and II, because the development of the socialist community's economic and military power acts as a restraint on the aggressive tendencies of the capitalist system. The developed capitalist countries are forced to inhibit their mutual contradictions for the sake of a united position in the face of the socialist system. Nonetheless, the internal mechanisms of the capitalist system give rise to such contradictions and

consolidate them. The cessation of war among these countries has not automatically ended the economic wars which today assume various forms: The tariff war (the Nixon Administration's decisions concerning Japanese imports), the financial war (cancellation of the Bretton-Woods accord)*, the permanent monetary crisis and currency devaluation are some forms of the ongoing, undeclared economic war. Another form of the economic war is fluctuation in the prices of basic resources. An example of this was the US role in the 1973 oil price increase, to gain the upper hand in competition with Japan and western Europe. All these phenomena reflect the persistent attempts of the stronger capitalist circles to develop and insure their interests at the expense of the weaker capitalist countries on the one hand, and the 'third world' countries linked to the imperialist market on the other.

Obviously, this crisis is closely linked to the intensification of contradictions in the respective capitalist countries, between the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the working class and other harmed strata on the other. In the midst of the current crisis of the capitalist economy, the capitalists step up their fierce attacks on the interests of the working class in the capitalist countries. The standard of living of the working class is deteriorating: Parallel to this, there is a rise in the struggle of the working class on the political and economic levels. Statistics point to the mounting class struggle between labor and the capitalists. The number who take part in strikes rises annually. Statistics show that 50 million workers went on strike in the capitalist countries in 1977. Of course, the level of strike militancy is not the same in all these countries, as shown by the data of the European Common Market's statistics bureau. One of the distinguishing features of the current labor movement in the capitalist countries is the long duration of strikes. Strikers are often forced to wage a protracted struggle in order to achieve their legitimate demands. There were many prolonged labor conflicts in 1977, such as the strike declared by 160,000 coal mine workers in 22 states of the US in January, which lasted several months.

This is the picture of the international capitalist system during the period covered by this political report, as confirmed by facts and figures. It shows a continuing and deepening crisis that contributes in an unprecedented manner to decline and instability in production, which is both deep and enduring. The international capitalist system is also characterized by a low level of investment, chronic partial use of industrial capacity, inflation of a qualitatively new character, chronic unemployment and

the escalation of internal and external contradictions. In view of the dialectical relation between the economic base and the superstructure, it is natural that the economic crisis of the capitalist system is reflected in the political, social, cultural and ideological domains of the society. The capitalist system is facing a general, comprehensive and aggravated crisis.

Next we must stress a fundamental and critical subject: The current, acute crisis has a qualitative and particular character. It is not caused by coincidental or superficial factors as portrayed in the various analyses of bourgeois ideologues who attribute the cause of the crisis to the energy crisis and soaring oil prices. The real cause of the crisis is to be found in a set of factors inherent in the capitalist economic system and the laws that govern its functioning. The crisis is also caused by the growing might of the socialist system, the victories of the national liberation movements and the consequent liberation of new countries from dependency on imperialism.

The mechanisms which govern the course of the capitalist system lead to increased concentration and monopolization of the means of production. This intensifies the root cause of capitalism's crisis, i.e., the structural contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of ownership of the means and fruits of production. These mechanisms remain in effect despite all the reforms and anesthetic measures taken by the bourgeoisie. There is an ongoing concentration of the means of production and growth of monopolies in every single capitalist state and internationally.

On the national level, the power of the monopoly capitalist state is steadily increasing: State intervention in the economy is broadening, whereby the state purchases industrial and agricultural products from the capitalists and grants them loans and credits. The government thereby aims to increase production, control the devastating factors inherent in the capitalist system, and put a lid on the economic crisis. However, the ultimate effect of this intervention is to serve the interests of the monopolies and continue the process of concentrating property and the means of production. This process severely damages or destroys small and medium-sized enterprises. In 1977, more than 18,000 firms declared bankruptcy in Japan - 20% more than in the previous year. In West Germany, Britain and other West European countries, the number of firms that went out of business rose by 10-15% in 1977, as compared to 1976. Hence the process of concentration and monopolization continues on the national level

and plays an increasing role in aggravating the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of ownership. This is the fundamental contradiction that underlies the crisis of overproduction in the capitalist system.

On the international level, the activities of multinational monopolies are ever increasing in the imperialist countries. This marks a new stage in the concentration of production and capital, which plays a special role in the escalation of the current crisis of the capitalist economy. This concentration is the main characteristic of the imperialist system at this stage. In the early seventies, 40% of the industrial production and 60% of foreign trade were subordinated to the selfish interests and control of a few hundred multinational companies. The activities of this network of multinational companies, which extends throughout the capitalist world in the fields of production and marketing, intensified the capitalist system's contradictions and were an important factor in rapidly expanding the crisis which acquired an unprecedented dimension. The crisis of capitalism can only be explained in terms of the structural crisis of the capitalist system itself. All the attempts of the bourgeois economists will not succeed in obliterating this fact.

However, this fundamental factor is no longer the only factor that lies behind capitalism's crisis. There are other fundamental objective factors that contribute to deepening and aggravating the capitalist system's crisis. These consist of the triumph of the 1917 socialist revolution, the construction of socialism in 17% of the globe and the achievements of this system, the victory of socialism in a number of other countries, the consolidation of the socialist system on the international level, and the growing role of the socialist economy in the international production and market. The importance of this factor in destabilizing the capitalist system will become clearer when we consider the nature and extent of the economic achievements realized by the socialist system.

In addition to capitalism's structural contradiction and the growth of socialism, the national liberation movements and their victories play an important role in intensifying the crisis of capitalism, putting the entire capitalist system at a dead end. This factor is leading the entire capitalist system to its inevitable collapse in the face of the growth of the revolution's forces. The national democratic revolution triumphed in more than one country and opted for socialism and relations of mutual support with the socialist countries. This has narrowed the international geographical field where imperialism can plunder the wealth and resources of the peoples.

By the same token, it has restricted the imperialist market and compounded its difficulties.

Hence, it becomes evident that the general crisis which the capitalist system is experiencing is not transitory. It is deep-rooted and headed toward far more complications and eventually explosion, despite all the panaceas prescribed by the bourgeois economists. These can only mitigate the symptoms. The capitalists cannot find any real remedy for this enduring crisis.

*The Bretton-Woods accord bears the name of the place where it was signed in July 1944. The accord conferred upon the US dollar the value of gold, for the purpose of determining the exchange rate of the currencies of other countries. Thus, the international monetary system transcended the gold standard and became a combined dollar and gold standard. The US has thus far breached this accord on two essential issues. First, the US has drastically depreciated the value of its currency more than once. Second, it rejected the principle that the dollar can be exchanged for gold at its nominal value, and refused to pay its foreign debts in gold. This state of affairs led to the so-called Eurodollar problem, i.e., the European paper dollar.

Chapter 2

The Successes of the World Socialist System

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism is the first parameter of the course of history, marking the transition from capitalism to socialism. The successes achieved by the socialist countries in every sphere, particularly economics, constitute the second parameter.

The world capitalist system is heading for decay and collapse in accordance with its own objective laws. In contrast, the economic system of world socialism is developing by virtue of its objective laws. Despite the difficulties encountered, it is advancing the development of the productive forces and the various material and spiritual aspects of life. Here we will leave it to factual data to make the contrast between the two different social systems.

Between 1971 and 1976, the rate of economic growth in the developed capitalist countries averaged 3.2% annually, while in the socialist countries it was 8%. The industrial production of the COMECON countries, whose population is only half that of developed capitalist countries, became equal to three quarters of the latter's industrial production. The socialist community accounts for one-third of world industrial production; thirty years earlier, this percentage was only 18%. The national income of the COMECON countries increased sevenfold between 1950 and 1976, whereas it increased only threefold in the countries of the EEC. In the same period, investment in the COMECON countries rose tenfold, while it rose only by 3.5 times in the EEC countries. Per capita output rose by 5.1 times in the Soviet Union between 1951 and 1976; it rose only three times in the EEC countries.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the per capita share of the national product differs in character in socialist and capitalist countries. In

the former, it is a genuine expression of the extent of improvement in the standard of living of the toiling masses and the society in general. In the latter, it essentially reflects greater enrichment of the more affluent sector of capitalists. Indeed, the average per capita share of the national product in capitalist countries disguises the great disparity between the share going to the respective classes and the vast differences in people's living standards.

Kosygin, in his report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, said: «The steady march of our country manifests itself first and foremost in higher rates of economic growth and faster growth of production capacity. Consider the following data on the latest period including 1970: To double its national income, the USA needed 20 years, Britain more than 30, and Federal Germany about 15; the Soviet Union, on the other hand, needed only 10 years. Whereas it took the USA 18 years, Britain 22, and West Germany more than 11 years, to double their industrial production, it took the USSR only 8.5 years to achieve the same. The USA managed to double basic capital assets within 22 years, Britain 19, and West Germany 10, but the USSR succeeded in achieving the same in only 8 years. Such is the pace of the socialist economy. This is convincing proof of the systematic development and dynamic quality of our national economy, which is without par in the economies of the aforementioned capitalist countries.»

«The real per capita income approximately doubles once every 15 years», said Kosygin in his report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU. «In other words, within the life span of a single generation, the socialist society rises to a qualitatively new standard of consumption several times.»

In his report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, held this year, Prime Minister Tichonov said: «Increasing labor productivity is the primary factor of economic growth. The productivity of social labor should be increased by 17-20% during the 11th five-year plan. In this way, 85-90% of the increase in the national income must be obtained. It is proposed that a big increase in the growth rate of labor productivity be secured in industry, construction, railway transport and agriculture, compared with the 10th five-year plan.»

These are some of the general facts about the economy of the socialist community as regards production capacity, whereby 10% of the world's population accounts for one-third of world industrial production, and as regards its growth rates compared with those of the advanced capitalist countries. The significance of these facts becomes clear when they are viewed in terms of the relative youth of the socialist system: Only

64 years have passed since the October Revolution, and only about 35 since the emergence of the socialist community. This is a brief period in historical terms and in comparison with the several centuries of the capitalist system. Moreover, in the majority of cases, the building of socialism took place in underdeveloped capitalist countries. Even Czarist Russia was only a weak link in the world capitalist system, further weakened by World War I. The socialist revolution had to establish the material and technical base for building socialism. When we take these facts into consideration, we can with full confidence and clarity perceive the result of the economic contest between the two mutually opposed social systems over the next few decades.

Having focused on the overall picture, we should point out that we are fully aware that the socialist mode of production has its difficulties and problems. To this day, the total production of the capitalist system is still greater than that of the socialist countries. The measures taken by capitalism to alleviate its crisis are delaying its total defeat and collapse. All this, however, raises no doubt as to the final outcome of the ongoing economic contest between the two systems.

The fact that we stress the economic aspect of the ongoing conflict between socialism and capitalism should not be construed to mean that the successes of the socialist system are restricted solely to this aspect. Naturally, the economic successes of socialism constitute a solid foundation for successes in the political, social, cultural, scientific and ideological fields. They also constitute a base for building the military might required to deter imperialism and its aggressive tendencies and plans which aim at destroying socialism and perpetuating imperialist hegemony over the peoples of the world and the plunder of their wealth.

The economic development of the socialist countries is not the result of the exploitation of the workers and other toilers in these countries; or of the domination of other peoples and the plunder of their resources, as is the case with the capitalist system. Rather it is the result of resolving the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production, whereby the producing masses become the proprietors of the fruits of production. Thus the process of progress and development favors the interests of its makers; socialism's economic successes are converted into social, scientific, cultural and spiritual advances that benefit the people of the socialist countries and all the forces of progress and liberation in the world.

For the people in the countries of the socialist community, every five-

year plan implemented means a multitude of achievements in terms of education, culture, medical care, housing, clothing, welfare and the satisfaction of various other material and spiritual needs. It is not our purpose here to enumerate and evaluate all the achievements of the countries of the socialist community in every field; we will only point out some main ones:

- Socialism provided a democratic, Leninist solution for the problem of national minorities within one state.
- There is social and economic equality between the socialist states on the basis of economic integration; the slight difference between the standards of living in the respective socialist countries attests to this equality.
- According to the principle of proletarian internationalism, socialist countries extend strong and unselfish support to the oppressed peoples' struggle against imperialism. All these achievements revolutionize relations among the people of the same country, among the socialist countries themselves, and between them and other peoples. In this way, democracy, equality, justice and solidarity are deepened and consolidated as a basis for such relations.

As for the military defense capabilities of the socialist countries, the USSR in particular, global evidence indicates great progress and growth. It is no longer possible for imperialist and reactionary circles to stop the deterioration of their own conditions. This is thanks to the victories scored by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The growing military defensive might of the socialist community is one of the main elements checking the world imperialist forces and their constant inclination to wage war in order to overcome their difficulties and successive, periodic crises. This frustrates imperialism's incessant efforts to dominate other peoples and control their markets and resources. Thus, the socialist community's defense capacity complements the liberation and revolutionary process, accelerating the demise of the capitalist system in its highest form, personified in the imperialist forces of the world.

Chapter 3

The Victories of the National Liberation Movements

The third parameter that confirms the character of the epoch, as that of transition from capitalism to socialism, is the victories scored by national liberation movements and the qualitative change in their nature. In the period between the 3rd and 4th congresses, national liberation movements achieved victory in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Afghanistan in Asia, as well as in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe in Africa. In addition, there was the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua and Grenada in Latin America. Thus we have before us more than ten victories won in a period of nine years.

This series of victories won by the oppressed peoples, despite imperialism's might and potentials, is not due to coincidental factors. Common to all these victories is the current international situation, and the growing role of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community in supporting the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle.

What distinguishes the national liberation movements is not only the increase in the number of victories won, and the ability to inflict military defeat on imperialism, despite its military superiority. There is also the change that has taken place in the structure of these movements and the class character of their leadership. The national liberation movements referred to above are marching towards a genuine national democratic revolution with a socialist orientation, in order to solve the economic and social problems confronting them. What is the explanation for this change that has taken place in the nature of the national liberation movements? What has introduced a social element into their national content, and weakened the leading role of the national bourgeoisie, to be replaced by the working class and its allies?

Imperialism confronted the bourgeois-led national liberation movements with neocolonialism, whereby colonies were granted formal political independence on the condition that imperialism's economic interests be preserved. On this basis, the majority of independent nations of Asia and Africa came into being, particularly after World War II. This increased the UN's membership to over 150 nations as compared to the 50 constituents of 1945.

The majority of these nations are still economically dependent on imperialism, regardless of the degree of their political independence and the position of most in the so-called non-aligned movement. This dependency may not be formalized in legal agreements binding these countries to the imperialist camp. Yet it exists implicitly due to the international division of labor and imperialism's domination of the world market. The bourgeoisie of these countries, owing to their dependency on the bourgeoisie of the imperialist nations, and being the weakest link in the chain, is rendered incapable of accomplishing the economic liberation of their countries. They are content with crumbs from the profits reaped by the imperialist bourgeoisie through plundering the resources of the peoples and the fruits of their labor. The contradictions that sometimes arise between the bourgeoisie of the three continents and imperialism are internal ones, within the same camp. They arise when the local ruling class tries to increase its share of the plunder of the people of these countries.

Under these circumstances, such countries and their peoples are trapped in a vicious cycle in terms of development and economic growth, despite their formal political independence. In many of these countries, the rate of growth in production is scarcely ever higher than that of population increase. The gap between developed and underdeveloped countries widens year after year; the dependence of the three continents on the capitalist countries, even for food products, increases with time.

With this in view, the only solution is a national democratic revolution that shakes off the domination of imperialism and the dependent bourgeoisie. This paves the way to economic liberation that can be achieved only by an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, together with other toilers and certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie. In the battle against imperialism, this alliance will find itself allied with the countries of the socialist community. This latter alliance is the second essential condition for the process of development, growth and genuine economic independence from the fetters of the capitalist system.

This explains what happened in Angola and Afghanistan; it is the path of development open to all countries of the three continents. These objective conditions play a role in the people's movements which acquire a national democratic content, placing them at the beginning of the road to socialism. The course followed by Vietnam, Afghanistan and Democratic Yemen meets the aspirations of the peoples of the three continents, for it is the only way to initiate and sustain the process of growth and development.

The new worldwide objective conditions pave the way for the victories won by the national liberation movements over imperialism. Yet this does not mean that such victories are automatically realized; subjective conditions also play an essential role in this process.

These are the three main parameters determining the progress of history as seen in the facts and events of the period covered by this report. This overall view does not deal in detail with the contradictions within the imperialist camp and the future repercussions thereof, or with the difficulties of the international communist movement and the secondary contradictions between the socialist countries; nor does it deal with the so-called non-aligned countries and their prospects. Nevertheless, it sketches the conflict currently going on in the world and pinpoints its main parameters with facts.

Armed with these scientific facts that are constantly being proved correct in practice, we shall be more confident that our revolution is bound to triumph; we feel assured as to the future of our just struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Chapter 4

The Course of the Political Conflict in the International Arena in the Objective Perspective of the Epoch -Current Realities and the Policy of Peaceful Coexistence -The Battle Raging Within the Bounds of the Policy of Peaceful Coexistence

The following developments compelled imperialism to reconcile itself to the existence of the socialist system and its own inability to destroy this system through war without risking total destruction. The firm stand of the glorious October Revolution in the face of all attempts to destroy it; the triumph of socialism in a number of other countries in the wake of World War II; the alliance and solidarity between these countries as a socialist community; the great successes of these countries in the economic and other fields; the consequent increase in their defense capacities and their beginning to achieve military superiority over the imperialist camp; the socialist community, first and foremost the Soviet Union, acquiring nuclear weapons with which to face those of the imperialist camp; the stockpiling of such weapons by the opposing systems to an extent that threatens all-humanity with destruction.

War has been the means to which imperialism resorts to overcome its crises, to resolve contradictions among its component powers in the interest of the strongest, and to preserve full domination of the world. In today's circumstances, not even the strongest imperialist power can resort to global war to preserve imperialist hegemony and interests. If the imperialist powers resort to war against the socialist system, they themselves will be threatened with total destruction. Recourse to war as a means of resolving contradictions among the imperialist powers has become out of the question in view of the increasing development and consolidation of the socialist system, which threatens the future of the imperialist powers as a whole.

In contrast, the laws governing the growth of the socialist economy do not lead to war. Rather, peaceful coexistence provides the most favor-

able conditions for such growth. Moreover, the ideological and political line of the socialist system conceives of the world anti-imperialist revolution as based on the struggle of the working class together with the peoples dominated by imperialism; it does not envision a global war to be won by the socialist system over the imperialist system. This is why the October Revolution proclaimed a policy of peaceful coexistence. Lenin formulated this policy, putting forth its theoretical, economic and political principles. The Soviet Union has constantly followed and promoted this policy, defining its positions on this basis. Thus, the cause of socialism is now linked to the question of peaceful coexistence as much as imperialism has been linked to war. Imperialism conceded and reconciled itself to this policy only after new, concrete facts crystallized in the international arena, making global war equivalent to its own utter destruction.

No sooner had the October Revolution triumphed than imperialist military attempts began, to strangle the first socialist state. These continued until around the end of the twenties. During World War II, imperialist Nazi Germany tried invading the Soviet Union to destroy the first socialist experiment. Soon after the end of World War II, Churchill and other imperialist leaders began beating the drums of war against «the communist threat». Thus, the cold war started, threatening to turn hot at any moment, and continuing throughout the fifties. The SALT I agreement was not concluded until 1971, i.e., as a consequence of the socialist system's having become strong enough to destroy the entire imperialist system, should imperialism resort to war. Ultrareactionary imperialist circles still cry war now and then, calling for unchecked nuclear armament and employing tactical nuclear weaponry in the conflict against socialism, but peaceful coexistence depends on the balance of nuclear power and on the fact that it benefits the economic interests of both systems (technology for the Soviet Union, markets in the socialist countries for certain products of the imperialist countries, and the general expansion of trade between the two systems). However, within the bounds of the barrier erected by peaceful coexistence, imperialism, especially the USA, conducts aggressive policies and schemes that sometimes threaten a relapse to the cold war and place the world on the brink of the abyss.

1. The Policy of Peaceful Coexistence

After it was formulated by Lenin, the policy of peaceful coexistence was debated at length within the CPSU itself. This led Lenin to wage a serious ideological struggle against the opponents of this policy, elaborating its principles and explaining its benefits for socialism. Later, detente was restored on the international level: SALT I was concluded; trade increased between the two systems as did relations in other fields. The policy of peaceful coexistence again became the subject of debate among the anti-imperialist forces of the world revolution, particularly in the three continents.

At one time, the PFLP was among those who feared that this policy might have adverse repercussions on the national liberation movements. We admitted that peaceful coexistence was a Leninist thesis, providing the most favorable conditions for the development of socialist construction. We did not demand that the Soviet Union undertake direct military confrontation of the capitalist system, or export revolution. However, we warned against this policy leading the socialist countries to reduce support to national liberation movements, or to pressure them to give up the policy of violence against imperialism, and moderate their political stances, so as to avoid international tension. The Soviet Union's attitude towards our national cause, at that time, called for a political settlement of the Arab-Zionist and Palestinian-Zionist conflict on the basis of preserving 'Israel' and recognizing the legitimacy of its existence. This was a basic factor sustaining our apprehension and determining our attitude towards the policy of detente. However, actual developments have dispelled our fears, and led us to reconsider our attitude and adopt a sounder stand. It is now evident that the policy of peaceful coexistence led to the steady growth of the socialist economy; it also led to deepening capitalism's crisis and intensifying contradictions among the imperialist powers and among the monopolies within individual imperialist countries. Above all, while this policy was in force, several victories have been won by the national liberation movements, with the support of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

It was in a climate of peaceful coexistence and detente that the great victory of the heroic Vietnamese people over US imperialism was won; the support rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was among the factors that contributed to that victory. Then we witnessed the political, moral and military support they afforded the revolutions in Angola

and Ethiopia. Then came Soviet support to the Afghani revolution. This provided decisive evidence that the policy of peaceful coexistence neither bars nor diminishes the internationalist solidarity of the socialist community with national liberation movements, when the subjective factor is not lacking in these revolutions. Imperialism will no doubt always attempt to exploit the policy of peaceful coexistence; it will constantly pressure the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community to abandon their internationalist duty towards national liberation movements, as a price for this policy. Imperialism will also keep trying to harness this policy so as to impede the world process of revolutionary change and undermine the alliance between the forces of socialism and liberation in their common struggle against imperialism and reaction. The imperialist powers will, moreover, keep trying to present the policy of peaceful coexistence as a bargain between imperialism and socialism at the expense of the oppressed peoples. However, facts and events have proved the fruitlessness of all these attempts.

The PFLP is an organization that believes in the principle of criticism and self-criticism, and their role in setting things right. We now admit the unsoundness of our former stand on the thesis of peaceful coexistence. We see the necessity of boldly reconsidering that stand and crystallizing a sounder and more appropriate view. The policy of peaceful coexistence does not impede the national liberation movements, provided the movement in question does not lack the subjective factor, i.e., the revolutionary tool, to lead the struggle against imperialism. Regarding the difference between us and the socialist countries on the political settlement based on the preservation of 'Israel' and recognizing its legitimacy, we believe that this difference will be resolved by a combination of factors. Chief among these is the perseverance and growth of the Palestinian revolution in general, the crystallization and growth of its leftist element in particular, and the radical deepening of its antagonism to imperialism and reaction. To this will be added the continuous exposure of 'Israel' as an embodiment of the world Zionist movement which the socialist community considers reactionary, fascist, racist, and a tool of imperialism in the entire region. In addition, there is the comradely dialogue which will accompany principled militant solidarity, in a protracted battle such as the one we are waging to eradicate the existence of imperialism, Zionism and reaction in our region.

2. Imperialism's Aggressive Schemes During Peaceful Coexistence

Unlike the socialist countries, imperialism does not pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence due to faith in its ability to win the economic contest between the two systems, or on the basis of an ideological stand. The imperialists observe this policy only because they cannot resort to global war, owing to the balance of nuclear power. Apart from this, the policy of imperialism retains the aggressive character inherent in its exploitative economy, which is imposed by force on the exploited, dependent and oppressed nations. With the victories accomplished by the forces of socialism and liberation, it is only natural that imperialist aggressiveness escalates. This impacts on the international political situation, despite the difficulties that prevent imperialism from waging a third world war. This explains the recent increase in international tension and the reemergence of the cold war refrain.

What, then, is the gist of the aggressive master plan through which imperialism strives to stop, or even reverse, the march of history and the process of revolutionary change currently in effect on a worldwide scale?

Before addressing this matter, it must be pointed out that imperialism, unlike the socialist community led by the Soviet Union, does not constitute a harmonious and unified whole. Contradictions exist among the imperialist powers and within each of them (such as the differences between the military-industrial complex and other industries in the US). This presents us with a variety of conflicting programs, though they may have much in common. However, with the victories won during the last few years by the forces of socialism and progress, the hawks have moved to a position of confrontation; it is now their programs that are put forth for implementation. Reagan's success in the 1980 US elections is an indicator of this. In the light of international developments in the interest of the forces of liberation, progress and socialism, we expect such imperialist programs to continue.

The plans of the hawks in the US and other imperialist countries can be traced to the writings of President Carter's national security adviser, Brzezinski, and to the documents of the Trilateral Commission which includes Carter. This commission represents the awareness of the main imperialist countries (the USA, capitalist Europe and Japan) that their common interests are imperiled by recent international developments.

The Trilateral Commission began functioning in 1973. It represents a fresh attempt by world imperialism to find solutions for its economic and political crisis. The significance of the commission lies not merely in its being a think-tank. Rather, it represents a marriage between the ideologues of imperialism, the proprietors of capital and the politicians; it includes in its ranks men representing the acme of power. It is best described as an attempt to become a federation for the unions of the international monopolies, an advanced form of the cartels about which Lenin wrote. Hence it can be maintained that the programs and propositions of this commission represent, in general terms, the main orientation of the influential economic circles of the US and other major imperialist countries.

The Plans and Aims of the Trilateral Commission:

First: To strive to control the contradictions among the imperialist countries; to organize their mutual relations, so that the imperialist camp stands united in the face of the challenge resulting from the great, continuous change in the balance of forces between capitalism and socialism. In this context, US imperialism plays a leading role, whereby it imagines it can stem the growing international role of the socialist community.

The contradictions among the imperialist centers have played a major role in international politics. They were behind World War I which provided the objective conditions for the triumph of the October Revolution and the emergence of the world's first socialist state. They were also behind World War II which provided the objective conditions for the triumph of socialism in a number of European and Asian countries and the emergence of the socialist community. In other words, these contradictions constantly lead the capitalist system into crisis; the capitalist system seeks to resolve the crisis through war. Objectively speaking, this weakens capitalism and strengthens socialism.

After World War II, owing to the defeat of Japan and the vast destruction suffered by capitalist Europe, the USA became the leading imperialist power, occupying the central position among the capitalist countries. The US dollar became the most powerful currency of the capitalist world.

Japan and the imperialist centers of Europe became economically, politically and militarily dependent on the USA, as seen in the Marshall Plan, NATO, etc. This state of affairs continued for some time. Yet things never remain static; they are in constant motion. In the imperialist system, this motion is governed by the very laws of the capitalist system. The economy of Europe and Japan began to recover; the US was interested in initiating this recovery so that capitalist Europe could stand up to the growth and development of the socialist community. Besides, it was the US economy that was shouldering the main burden of defending the capitalist system.

Then came the US war in Vietnam and the burdens this placed on the US economy. This contributed to changing the constellation of relations among the imperialist centers. Capitalist Europe and Japan had become serious economic competitors to the USA by the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. Japanese and European products began to limit the opportunities open to the US economy. Some began to invade the US market itself. An increasing deficit began in the US's balance of payments. All this aggravated the contradictions among the imperialist countries. The socialist community's policy of peaceful coexistence, by concentrating on the question of Europe's security, played a part in deepening these contradictions.

The new realities of the international situation ruled out resorting to global war, in the traditional sense, as a means for resolving these contradictions. Prime among the new realities was that the socialist community had grown strong enough to menace the entire capitalist system. However, the new international realities have not prevented these contradictions from expressing themselves as a virtual economic war waged by the USA against the other imperialist centers, aimed at subjugating them and perpetuating its own domination of the entire capitalist system. In this respect, one can cite the Nixon Administration's cancellation of the Bretton Woods accord of 1945; the devaluation of the US dollar as a means of encouraging the export of US products; the imposition of customs duties on specific imported commodities, particularly Japanese; the benefits reaped by the US in 1973, as a result of the oil embargo and the increase in oil prices; the US demand that Europe and Japan increase their share of the burden of defending the capitalist system; the US generating international tension to compel Europe and Japan to follow its economic, political and military policies.

With these measures US capitalist circles succeeded in regaining their position of relative superiority in the imperialist camp. A major con-

cern for the Trilateral Commission, and the monopoly interests it represents, is preserving the unity of the capitalist camp, controlling its contradictions and unifying its policies in every sphere, in the face of the socialist system. The concentrated effort to unite the three main centers of capitalism under US leadership, is the central link in the chain of policies advocated by the Trilateral Commission. This line was pursued by the Carter Administration as we shall see later.

Second: To shift to the offensive vis-a-vis the socialist community, adopting policies that would put the socialist community on the defense.

The Trilateral Commission, and the monopolies it represents, believe that the Soviet Union and socialist community have benefitted from the policy of peaceful coexistence, thanks to the policies of the Nixon Administration. They believe this must be changed, so that peaceful coexistence is made to operate in favor of the capitalist countries, with the socialist countries kept on the defensive.

The commission speaks of alleged repression and coercion in the countries of the socialist community, thus the necessity of focusing on the question of liberties and human rights. The commission also speaks of the Soviet Union's alleged domination and hegemony over the other socialist countries; from this follows the necessity of making use of this question, determining the weak links, and breaking these links in order to disintegrate the socialist community and flirt with some of its members. ←

Last year, 1980, when the disturbances erupted in Poland, imperialism thought its opportunity had come. It exploited the situation ruthlessly in order to promote the aims stated above, sparing no effort to break this link in the socialist community. Facts, however, indicate that it is the United Workers Party of Poland that is responsible for the situation having deteriorated to this level. The current acute crisis in Poland is being further aggravated by imperialist-reactionary circles. We believe that to solve this crisis, the United Workers Party should devote all efforts to rebuilding and fortifying itself, purging bourgeois and opportunist elements that have infiltrated its ranks. The party must devote serious attention to the Polish working class with a view towards mobilizing and organizing it to defend Poland's gains and oppose the real enemies. Moreover, there must be serious attention to rectifying the economic errors which have been committed in the past years, for these underly the emergence of the crisis.

To return to the plans of the Trilateral Commission: Imperialist circles also speak of alleged Russian chauvinism and oppression of other nationalities in the Soviet Union, thus the necessity of making use of these contradictions. In addition, they speak of Islam in certain Soviet republics and the necessity of making use of this factor. Thus, imperialist circles advocate putting the Soviet Union on the defensive so that its «true face», as they assert, will be exposed to all, i.e., to the people of the socialist countries and of the oppressed countries, who consider the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as the main supporters of their struggle for liberation and development.

From a military point of view, imperialist circles declared that they must free themselves of the Vietnam Syndrome, achieve military superiority and confront any threats to the imperialist system by military means.

Third: To consolidate relations with China, benefitting from the Chinese leadership's deviation.

This aims at establishing an imperialist-Chinese alliance in the face of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community. This line is no a result of the recent cooperation between the US and China, particularly in Afghanistan. It has been part of the commission's documents from the start, long before US-Chinese relations reached their present level.

Fourth: To consolidate relations with the countries of the three continents in order to keep them dependent on the capitalist system, and so that the capitalist system remains the ideal which they strive to emulate.

The commission's documents pay lip service to the freedom of the peoples of the three continents. They speak of the necessity of abandoning fascist and dictatorial regimes, of supporting liberal, democratic tendencies, of offering economic aid and other such myths. In reality, we find that imperialist policy results in greater dependency and backwardness; greater repression to ensure the continuation of this dependency; the use of all means and the instigation of religious, communal and ethnic strife to keep these countries weak; and undermining any mass movement to keep them in the orbit of imperialism.

In our area, the Camp David policy and the related fascist-imperialist-Zionist sectarian scheme in Lebanon, the sectarian scheme concocted for

Syria and other similar designs, constitute the real translation of all the lofty ideals espoused by the Trilateral Commission. Similarly, the feverish imperialist moves in the Caribbean, Latin America, Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Gulf, Africa and elsewhere are concrete instances that reveal the real stances of imperialism towards the three continents.

Such are the main features of the plans of the imperialist circles represented in the Trilateral Commission and the US Pentagon. The Carter Administration exemplified this policy in action. Carter began his term by raising the issue of human rights, receiving dissidents in the White House and visiting Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. There followed a series of capitalist summit meetings. There were talks about the need for strengthening NATO; a resolution was adopted in May 1978 to increase its budget. The Carter Administration also began talks to conclude the SALT II agreement, while declaring the neutron bomb and budgets for the production for new missiles and aircraft capable of delivering nuclear warheads and bombs. As the price for US ratification of SALT II, the Carter Administration enacted various maneuvers to extort concessions from the Soviet Union, such as Soviet collusion with the Camp David accords. This was followed by the NATO decision to install the Pershing II and cruise missiles network in Europe, which directly jeopardizes the security of the Soviet Union and the socialist community and, consequently, world peace.

The people's victories in Iran and Afghanistan dealt a painful blow to imperialism and its stooges and plans. This impelled imperialism to exercise its aggressive policies in the region in a flagrant, unrestrained manner. Thus, after the triumph of the Iranian revolution and the collapse of the Shah's regime, Carter visited the region, and the Camp David accords were concluded. US Secretary of Defense Harold Brown also toured the area, and there was talk of establishing the Fifth Fleet and the Rapid Deployment Force, and reinforcing US military bases on Diego Garcia and Masirah (Oman), as well as other political and military maneuvers.

After the events in Afghanistan, the policies of the Carter Administration, the Trilateral Commission and the Pentagon generals became crystal clear, expressing the interests of the mightiest monopolies. Carter announced a number of anti-Soviet measures. He put off submitting the SALT II agreement to the Congress for ratification. He tried to mobilize the entire imperialist camp and to distort the image of the Soviet Union. He tried to use Islam to serve imperialist designs, and sought new bases in

Kenya and Somalia. He sent Brown to visit China, after which Sino-American cooperation became more evident. These policies strained the international situation and brought the world to the verge of a new cold war, thus seriously jeopardizing peaceful coexistence and international detente.

Imperialist circles have tried to blame the strained international situation on the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. Some liberal circles try to explain that the US administration's attitude was dictated by the presidential election campaign. However, careful examination of the course of political events in the international arena reveals that such imperialist policies are really a logical consequence of imperialism's impasse and the victories won by the socialist camp and liberation forces during the last few years. The imperialist policies are the implementation of the line adopted by Carter and his adviser Brzezinski, which has been advocated for some time by the Trilateral Commission and other imperialist circles. Indeed Carter's State of the Union address, particularly the introduction, provides the explanation for the factors underlying the imperialist policies. The address reads in part: «Three main developments have contributed to the emergence of the challenges now confronting us. They are: The steady growth of Soviet military forces stationed outside the Soviet Union; the overwhelming dependence of industrial democracies on Middle East oil supplies; and the pressure for social, religious, economic and political change in many developing countries, such as exemplified by the revolution in Iran.»

Careful examination of the thoughts entertained in these phrases, voiced by Carter himself, reveals the real causes behind the aggressive preparations being made by US imperialism. The social, economic and political change in the developing countries, which Carter speaks of, is what we view as the successes scored by the national liberation movements. The overwhelming dependence on oil supplies from the Middle East refers to a factor in the economic crisis afflicting the international capitalist system; this system is based on the exploitation and plunder of the resources of other peoples who have now become conscious and are struggling for their right to control these resources. The US is totally dependent on import for 26 of the 36 basic raw materials needed for its industry. In the present international political situation, the US can only escalate its war preparations and aggressive policy to retain control of these raw materials. Concerning the stationing of Soviet troops on foreign soil, this simply means that the military might of the Soviet Union and the

socialist community has grown to an extent that enables them to exercise international solidarity; this ended the era when imperialism could bully the people of the world without restraint.

In this State of the Union address, Carter was compelled to admit, in his own terms of course, the main factors underlying the general crisis of imperialism, which impel it to adopt aggressive schemes that endanger civilization as a whole. Soviet military support to the Afghani revolution provided the US with the pretext for unveiling all the plans which had been accumulating as a result of the historical process and the steady aggravation of imperialism's general crisis. Events in Afghanistan unmasked the reality of the policies and plans whereby imperialism would confront the socialist community with increasing aggressiveness.

A national democratic revolution took place in Afghanistan in April 1978. It is common knowledge that this was the work of indigenous forces, not exported by the Soviet Union. Imperialism, together with reactionaries at Afghanistan's borders and counterrevolutionary forces inside the country, was quick to start hostile activities in order to abort the revolution. Soviet support was forthcoming to enable the Afghani revolution to put an end to the imperialist-reactionary intervention. Foreign intervention was initiated by the imperialist and reactionary forces. Soviet support came later to counter this intervention and help the Afghani revolution face the counterrevolutionary forces motivated by imperialism and reaction.

Military support to the Afghani revolution is a clear indication of the policy adopted by the Soviet Union and socialist community in response to imperialism's aggressive schemes. The countries of the socialist community adhere tenaciously to peaceful coexistence, but they will by no means allow imperialism a free hand to carry out hostile activities against the people of the world, or arrest the worldwide process of revolutionary change. Nor will they allow imperialism to exploit the socialist community's desire for peace. Their insistence on peaceful coexistence will never mean readiness to compromise with imperialism at the expense of the people. Nor will it prevent the Soviet Union, or other countries of the socialist community, from carrying out their internationalist duties in full.

For the countries of the socialist community, peaceful coexistence means that they will not resort to war as a means of solving their contradiction with the capitalist system; they will not export revolution. At the same time, it means letting the worldwide process of revolutionary change proceed unrestricted; it means standing firm in the face of imperialist schemes to impede this process. The Soviet Union and the countries of

the socialist community will spare no effort to make necessary compromises in order to sustain peaceful coexistence. They do so for the sake of humanity and progress, to expose the totally reactionary, aggressive nature of imperialism and to aggravate contradictions within the imperialist camp. However, such compromises will be limited, not affecting the line that has materialized over the past years. This line is characterized by firm confrontation, no submission to blackmail, and mutual support between all the forces of liberation and socialism in the common struggle against imperialism.

In the light of the above, we can make the following statements:

- The policy of peaceful coexistence will remain imposed on the imperialist camp because of the destructive consequences entailed by nuclear war. }
- There will continue to be conflict within the framework of peaceful coexistence; there will be upsurges of conflict, and imperialism will resort to every available means short of global nuclear war.
- The realities of the international situation will lead to the heightening of this conflict, resulting in limited wars, military threats, international tension and cold war, etc.
- The international balance of forces will enable the camp of socialism and liberation to achieve more successes which imperialism will be forced to swallow, despite its war cries.
- During the coming years, the curve showing the course of history will continue upwards; there may be downward turns at certain junctures, but they will not affect the general trend.
- Our epoch is that of transition from capitalism to socialism. This has been affirmed in the past years and will be further and more distinctly confirmed in the coming years.

Chapter 5

The International Communist Movement

1. The Chinese Leadership's Retrogression
2. Eurocommunism

A historical review of the international communist movement shows that at various stages it was, naturally enough, subject to contradictions. These sometimes grew quite acute, causing the movement to split for a time, then reorganize in the light of new developments and the lessons derived. The First International came to an end after the Paris Commune. It was replaced by the Second International which failed to survive the circumstances brought about by World War I. Then came the Third International which had to dissolve its central organization in 1943.

Using scientific socialist thought, this phenomenon was analyzed. It was attributed partly to the infiltration of petit-bourgeois elements, which resulted in leftist and rightist tendencies. It was also attributed to inability to master dialectics; there was inability to apply dialectics to the concrete, objective conditions facing the working class movement, or to conflicting points of view elicited by new developments. There was inability to apply dialectics for understanding the dynamics of the conflict, the phenomena issuing therefrom, and the positions to be determined. Dialectics were moreover needed to formulate the lessons to be derived from this phenomenon of internal contradictions, and to determine the correct way to handle it.

We deem it beneficial to introduce this chapter in this way, to provide an objective view of the current conflict within the international working class movement. Otherwise, this phenomenon might throw us into a state of confusion, doubt or despair about the future of the conflict between socialism and capitalism. Contradictions and disputes within the international communist movement are a natural phenomenon, accompanying its development. They have never halted the ever advancing march, nor will they ever do so.

1. The Chinese Leadership's Retrogression

When the Chinese revolution triumphed under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (GPC), this was regarded as a great victory for socialism and the international working class movement. China's geographic and demographic size gave that triumph special significance: Socialism then encompassed one-third of the world population.

In the first years after the victory of the revolution, China maintained an alliance and solidarity with the Soviet Union and the communist movement in general. Then, in the latter half of the fifties, differences began to appear between the Soviet Union and China on a number of ideological and political questions. At that time, these differences were considered natural ones, attributable to the differing conditions and experiences of the two countries. Even when China began to speak publicly of these differences, publishing the memoranda sent by the CPC to the CPSU, this was not regarded as acting contrary to the rules that govern relations between two socialist countries. On the contrary, many among the national liberation movements, ourselves included, considered China's action as a sound embodiment of relations between socialist countries. These should be based on independence and mutual respect, in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. Open ideological dialogue was seen as an important means of developing the international communist movement and preserving its unity on sound foundations.

At that time, China's political position called for intensification of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism; this influenced our position, causing us to strongly sympathize with China in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

However, this dispute took a new turn when the Chinese leadership began to speak of social imperialism and the Soviet Union's deserting the revolutionary camp. We did not support this view of the Chinese leadership; as can be confirmed by the publications of our central bodies. Yet we did not anticipate the serious, adverse repercussions it would have on the unity of the communist movement. Nor did we realize that it was inconsistent with the rules that should govern the handling of contradictions between socialist countries.

Unable to foresee the consequences of the Chinese view, we kept calling for the unity of the socialist camp. We remained attached to China's attitude vis-a-vis imperialism, the more so on account of imperialism's refusal, until the beginning of the seventies, to recognize the People's Republic of China.

Then the Chinese leadership declared the thesis of «the three worlds». This depicted the international conflict not as a class struggle between capitalism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but as a struggle between countries with different levels of economic development. At first, this thesis put the Soviet Union in the same camp as US imperialism. It later began to consider the Soviet Union as constituting an even greater danger to the peoples of the world than US imperialism. This led to the slogan for a worldwide front against the Soviet Union. During his visit to Washington, Deng Xiaoping explicitly called for such a front. This explains the current alliance between China and imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leadership's propositions were applied to foreign policy. This helped us to pinpoint China's new position as regards the international conflict, as well as the conflict in our region. We cite China's position towards the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, Mobuto in Zaire, the Shah of Iran, Numeiri in Sudan, and Sadat of Egypt, who was regarded as a national hero who had liberated his country from Soviet influence. On the other hand, there was the Chinese position against the MPLA in Angola. At last came China's premeditated aggression against Vietnam. At that time, the PFLP adopted a firm position and declared its condemnation of this aggression. These political stances culminated in open Sino-American cooperation in supporting the counterrevolution in Afghanistan. This definitively determined the Chinese leadership's position in the international conflict as one of retrogression and cooperation with imperialism.

Naturally, there are a number of factors that explain the Chinese leadership's retrogression and deviation. Prime among these is the petit bourgeois character of the Chinese leadership itself. This class structure paved the way for the deviation and contributed to its assuming such proportions. Other factors contributing to the deviation are: the class structure of the Chinese society on the eve of the revolution's triumph, the great difficulties that faced socialist construction, and the setbacks suffered in the course of development. The deviation expressed itself in erroneous political and theoretical positions, resulting in this particularly Chinese way of handling contradictions within the Chinese revolution and the CPC on the one hand, and between China and the countries of the socialist community on the other.

The structure of the Chinese society naturally affected the class structure of the CPC whose membership consequently included large numbers of peasant and petit bourgeois elements. Such a class structure

provides fertile soil for the growth of idealist, subjective, adventurist and chauvinist tendencies.

There are three factors involved: the policies of the Chinese leadership, the nature of the Chinese society on the eve of the revolution's triumph, and the class structure of the CPC leadership. These factors combined explain the Chinese revolution's deviation, its leadership's retrogression and the opportunist tendencies that led to a series of adventurist ideological, political, organizational and economic positions which it is not our purpose to discuss here.

On the eve of the victory of the revolution, the Chinese society was primarily an agricultural one. In contrast, Russia was not exclusively an agricultural society on the eve of the triumph of the October Revolution, although it was not a developed industrial country. It was an agricultural industrial society in which capitalism had developed to a degree which provided only the minimal material base for building socialism. On this foundation, the October Revolution managed to begin the process of socialist construction, thanks to sound economic policies worked out by Lenin after bitter ideological struggles within the party. The CPSU later completed the process under the leadership of Stalin, with great efforts and sacrifices.

In contrast, socialist construction in China started at an extremely low level, dictated by the conditions of the Chinese society itself, influenced by a subjective, idealist desire to surmount this situation, Mao formulated his policy of «The Great Leap Forward». This aimed at accelerating the process of development and eliminating certain stages. This policy resulted in failure, which in turn accentuated tensions within the CPC and with the Soviet Union which opposed such policies.

The failure of Mao's program for socialist construction weakened his position in the party. His response was «The Cultural Revolution» and the conflicts that followed within the CPC. The setbacks suffered in the process of socialist construction complicated China's relations with the Soviet Union, for the Chinese leadership began to accuse the Soviet Union of failing to perform its proletarian internationalist duty, by not providing China with what was needed to manage the objective obstacles. The Soviet model was achieving more and more successes, while that of China was suffering failures.

It was under these contrasting conditions of the two countries that China's hostility to the Soviet Union developed; the theory of social imperialism was elaborated. This was followed by the theory of «the three

worlds," which was undoubtedly connected with China's failures on the economic front, in contrast to both the US's developed capitalist economy and the Soviet's successful socialist construction. The theory of "the three worlds" is a subjective expression of China's economic condition, as compared to the US on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other. It totally disregards the qualitative differences between the two systems that are similar in terms of industrial development and production in general, yet totally different in terms of their structural nature, the laws governing each, and their social and political objectives.

In view of the theories of "the three worlds", social imperialism and the two super powers' struggle to redistribute spheres of influence, and the total disregard for the qualitative difference between capitalist US and socialist USSR, China's shift to alliance with US imperialism is foreseeable and explicable. Based on the above outlook, it was sufficient for the US to pursue a policy of rapprochement with China, to make China respond positively on the basis of mutual hostility to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Thus the theory of the "two imperialisms", capitalist and socialist, turned into a theory of old imperialism and new imperialism; the latter was considered more youthful and dangerous, and applied to the Soviet Union. From this view sprang China's call for a worldwide front to check the alleged newly emerging, advancing and, hence, more dangerous imperialism.

The increasing clarity of China's explicit alliance with US imperialism today fills the hearts of revolutionaries with deep sorrow and pain. So does the Chinese leadership's hostile campaign against the Soviet Union, and the unmistakable reflections of this position in befriending the forces of reaction, and antagonizing the forces of liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time, this clarity puts an end to the state of confusion and division which some revolutionary forces experienced at the beginning of the Sino-Soviet dispute. At that time, China's firm opposition to imperialism, and related ideological and political theses made it possible to create confusion and division in the ranks of the anti-imperialist camp. For a time, Maoist parties mushroomed in various parts of the world. Some contingents of the national liberation movements, ourselves included, viewed China as a supporter and ally that exceeded the Soviet Union in hostility to imperialism. Now, when China's position as an ally of imperialism has become evident, the picture is no longer blurred: Increasingly, it shows the Soviet Union as consistently and in principle hostile to imperialism, continuously attaining achievements in socialist construction

and excelling in the economic contest with the capitalist system. This further consolidates the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist front. This is perhaps best evidenced by the fact that none of the recently liberated countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered splits along pro-Soviet / pro-Chinese lines. They are carrying on with their national democratic-socialist revolution, finding in the countries of the socialist community their principle allies. The same applies to national liberation movements that are still struggling for victory. In a word, the world revolutionary movement is marching on and winning victories despite the Chinese leadership's retrogression.

This reappraisal of China's place in the international revolutionary process naturally includes reconsideration and criticism of our earlier position, dating back to the time China began to speak of social imperialism. For a time, we were preoccupied with only one side of the picture: China as a socialist country led by a communist party, adopting a strong anti-imperialist position, supporting the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples' struggle against imperialism, and refusing to recognize the Zionist entity. We were unable to foresee the repercussions of China's views and position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, on the world socialist system. We can point to a number of factors that led us to adopt our position; one of them was Vietnam's appeal for the unity of the socialist camp. Yet this will only explain, not justify, our inability to perceive the dangers of the line China pursued in relation to the Soviet Union and the socialist community, from the time it began to consider contradictions with the Soviet Union as antagonistic, as contradictions with the enemy.

Such reconsideration is now a basic necessity for us in order to remove any confusion or ambiguity as to the world revolutionary process in the present era and our position in this. The socialist community, led by the Soviet Union, is the pole representing socialism as opposed to capitalism; it is the pole where the national liberation movements find support in the struggle against imperialism. With this reconsideration, we place ourselves in the framework that today represents the unity of the communist movement. On the basis of profound understanding of Marxism-Leninism and commitment to proletarian internationalism, we consider ourselves responsible for making political decisions concerning the Palestinian and Arab cause. At the same time, we are fully aware that alliance with the countries of the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union, links the Palestinian and Arab revolution to the world revolution; it interconnects the national democratic and the socialist revolution; it

realizes the slogan «Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!» Ideologically and politically, we consider this reconsideration a decisive end to a situation which was for a time dominated by confusion.

Does this mean we no longer consider China a socialist country? The character of any country's regime is primarily determined by the mode of production. This in turn is determined by the forces and relations of production prevailing in the given society and constituting the base of its socioeconomic formation. Yet this is not enough, for the superstructure is an inseparable reflection of the economic base. The dialectical relationship between the economic base and the superstructure must be in full harmony if the superstructure is to fulfill its role in furthering the development of the economic base. In the light of the disharmony between the socialist economic base and the superstructure, we can say that today China is socialist in terms of its economic base, but non-socialist in terms of the leadership's ideological and political line. Thus China stands at a crossroads: Either socialism will triumph completely in the superstructure, which requires drastic changes almost amounting to a revolution; or the non-revolutionary line will persist; this will be reflected on the economic level, gradually removing the socialist content.

2. Eurocommunism

It is not our purpose here to present a comprehensive study of Eurocommunism. We will not cover all its tenets, supporting arguments or their impact on the European communist parties' positions on central political issues, as currently being debated in Europe and globally. Here, we are interested in only the most important questions of Eurocommunism.

As expressed by Santiago Carrillo, Secretary General of the Spanish Communist Party, in his book *Eurocommunism and the State*, the essence of Eurocommunism is that it is no longer necessary that the European communist parties employ force to seize state power; concurrently, the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary to keep the proletariat in power and complete the socialist revolution.

To support such propositions, Eurocommunism points to the change that has taken place in the nature of the contemporary capitalist state. Eurocommunism maintains that the emergence of the monopoly state means that several classes oppose the state. Thus, revolution is the demand not only of the proletariat, but of the majority of the masses. This «makes accession to power possible through the ballot boxes, by winning the majority of votes.» Eurocommunism maintains that once state power is seized, there is no need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, or smashing the old state machinery. They say it is not possible in the modern state to destroy the army in the traditional manner. They assert that it is possible «to transform the military mentality democratically» by reforming the military system. According to Eurocommunism, this is feasible because the underprivileged classes predominate in the army.

Eurocommunism also argues that the international situation and the balance of nuclear power no longer permit any substantial disequilibrium in the international balance of forces. Hence, Eurocommunism counsels caution lest national liberation struggles develop into a nuclear world war. Similarly, it preaches that the transition from capitalism to socialism should be made gradually, by peaceful means, to avoid upsetting the balance of forces and unleashing a universal nuclear disaster.

Eurocommunism's arguments have been reflected in its political attitude toward the conflict between the forces of socialism and liberation on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction on the other. Thus, some European communist parties justify their country's remaining in NATO after their coming to power. They even speak of the necessity of

a European military organization established on a purely national, not class, basis. Such arguments were behind opposition to the Soviet Union's «intervention» in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Such arguments were behind the Italian and Spanish communist parties' opposition to the Soviet Union's support to Afghanistan's revolution, to enable it to face the counterrevolution manipulated by imperialism and the reactionaries. Eurocommunism does not stop here. Carrillo goes even farther, declaring that the next stage will be neither socialism nor capitalism, but «a stage of long-lasting coexistence between the two forms of property, private and public.»

Now we are entitled to ask: What is left of Marxism, Leninism and communism? In the light of these arguments and their political application, where does Eurocommunism stand vis-a-vis the world revolutionary movement? These arguments discount all the lessons derived by the working class in the long and strenuous struggle against capitalism and all forms of revisionism. Where are the lessons of the Paris Commune? Where are those deduced by Lenin, without which the October Revolution would not have triumphed and survived the countless attempts to destroy it? Without those lessons, working class struggles would have remained trapped in the bog of reformism.

Marx's contribution, says Lenin, is not discovering the class struggle; writers had spoken of this struggle hundreds of years before. His contribution lies in deducing from the class struggle the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat: «Only a Marxist deduces from the class struggle the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat» (*The State and Revolution*). Lenin also says, «The proletarian revolution is not possible without destroying the bourgeois state machinery by force and replacing it with a new machine» (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*). Lenin says, «The dictatorship of the proletariat is precisely the essence of Marx's doctrine... (it) is of the utmost importance for all countries, especially for the advanced, especially for countries at war, and especially at the present time.»

Eurocommunism discounts the foundation on which the proletarian revolution stands; it scraps all the lessons the working class has accumulated through long and arduous struggle. However, neither our arguments nor the lessons derived by Lenin will convince Eurocommunists, for they see themselves as attempting to develop Marxism, to bring it in line with new conditions. Eurocommunists correctly postulate that Marxism is not a rigid doctrine; hence, it should always be reconsidered and criticized in

order to be further developed. It is true that reconsideration and criticism are essential ingredients of Marxist theory, but there is a great difference between developing Marxism and revising it.»

If Lenin's conclusions are too old and too theoretical a response to Eurocommunism, the example of Chile, which occurred at the same time Eurocommunism was making its views public, is certainly an up-to-date and practical retort. The Chilean example did show the possibility of the revolutionary forces coming to power through the ballot box without resorting to violence. Nevertheless, it proved the impossibility of retaining power and effecting socialist transformation without destroying the old state machinery and imposing proletarian dictatorship on the forces of counterrevolution, who will never be reconciled to their defeat.

«The transition from capitalism to communism constitutes an entire historical epoch. As long as it is not complete, the exploiters will inevitably retain the hope of returning - a hope which turns into attempts to return... and they will rush to fight... drawing behind them the largest part of the petit bourgeoisie» (Lenin). History has not recorded a single incident where the exploiters stood by, calmly watching a revolution being carried out and established. Exploiters will defend their class privileges and power to the last breath. If they are ousted from power, they will again and again attempt a counterrevolution. This happened in Russia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. Cuba and elsewhere: it is now happening in Afghanistan.

Eurocommunists do say that the bourgeoisie will probably resort to war if the democratic solution proves unsuccessful. To Eurocommunism, the resort to war remains a probability, whereas in reality it is an inevitability. The bourgeoisie will remain strong for a long time, even after the triumph of the proletariat. It will draw strength from international capital, and from the financial, organizational, managerial and military capabilities it can muster. It will derive strength from its knowledge of the state's secrets and from the mentality it cultivated in the society during the generations of its power. It will draw strength from its ability to make use of the economic difficulties faced by the revolution in the initial period following its triumph. It is impossible for the bourgeoisie to lay down its arms after the first defeat. Rather it will wield all weapons in order to regain state power and recover its former positions and privileges. The only force capable of facing all such attempts is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our view on Eurocommunism is related to our analysis of the infiltration of petit bourgeois elements, influences and thoughts into the working

class and its parties. It does not differ from earlier analyses of this phenomenon. Moreover, the bribes paid by the bourgeoisie to certain influential working class circles, together with certain reformist policies adopted by the state, provide favorable objective conditions for the emergence of such trends.

Our appraisal of Eurocommunism does not, however, mean that we regard these communist parties as having totally deserted the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist camp. Thus, it is only natural for us to seek relations of cooperation and alliance with these parties in the interest of our national cause, notwithstanding the reservations stated above.

Chinese revisionism, Eurocommunism, the New Left and the various trends bred by the struggle within the world communist movement in earlier stages, do not radically change the overall picture of the ongoing struggle between capitalism on the one hand, and the working class and the oppressed peoples on the other. The substantial successes, achieved by the countries of the socialist community, keep the constellation of the struggle crystal clear: Imperialism and the forces of reaction are aligned against the forces of world revolution represented by the countries of the socialist community, the national liberation movements and all the working class and democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

The phenomenon of differences, dissent and splits within the world communist movement is concurrent with the growth and development of the working class movement in its struggle against capitalism, in order to create a new society: socialism.

Chapter 6

The Countries of the So-called «Third World» in Asia, Africa and Latin America

Our reading of the international political situation and its horizons is not complete without considering the state of affairs in the countries of the so-called «third world». We will try to chart their future course in the light of the realities of the epoch and their experience over the last thirty years.

These countries account for more than half the globe, and more than half its population. Extrapolations, based on rates of population increase, indicate that the population of these countries will be more than two-thirds of the world population by the end of this century. It is, therefore, natural for these countries to play a special role in determining the future of humanity and the global struggle we dealt with in earlier chapters.

The term «third world» is really an expression of certain political, economic and social conditions common to most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, despite the relatively insignificant differences between one country and another. In the time of colonialism, these countries were directly colonized by the capitalist countries, which resulted in the total destruction of their national economies. In many colonies, agricultural production was reduced to a single crop, such as cotton, for the purposes of industry in the capitalist countries. Their economies were totally subordinated to those of the advanced capitalist countries. They were opened to foreign capital which plundered their natural wealth and controlled their agricultural and industrial production in a manner suited to the interests of capitalist production. Under such conditions, it was unavoidable that the process of economic development in the colonies be arrested. This adversely affected all aspects of life: social, cultural and scientific. Thus these countries were placed in a state of backwardness, colonialism having sealed off all prospects of development and progress.

In this situation, it was natural that the people's struggle in these countries focused on this overt colonialism and its military presence. Similarly, it was natural that the bourgeoisie in the colonies was among the classes fighting the colonialists. Due to its greater capabilities and shrewdness, as compared with other classes, this bourgeoisie often occupied the leading positions in the struggle against colonialism. To these anti-colonial people's struggles were added the conflicts in the form of World War I and II between the capitalist nations, as well as the triumph of the October Revolution, and later the emergence of the socialist system on an international scale. The combination of these developments forced the colonialists to pull out of most colonies and grant them formal political independence. Scores of newly independent countries joined the UN. At this juncture, generally speaking, traditional colonialism was practically ended: Most colonies had become formally independent nations, each with its own national flag, anthem and seat in the UN.

But how did things go in these countries after they attained formal independence?

Generally speaking, the national bourgeoisie held political power, while the country remained subordinate and economically dependent on the metropolis. The bourgeoisie of the «third world» was unable to compete with the bourgeoisie of the metropolis; their economies were controlled by the laws of the world capitalist market. Thus, the «third world» bourgeoisie was unable to create an industrial revolution as had the bourgeois classes of Europe, North America and Japan. Instead, this bourgeoisie reconciled itself to its second-rate status, dependent on the metropolis; it contented itself with a share of the imperialist bourgeoisie's exploitation and plunder of the peoples of the «third world».

Owing to the chains binding the countries of the three continents to neocolonialism, their economic development process has hardly been proceeding better than before. While a small bourgeois class has become increasingly more affluent and extravagant, the majority of the masses have sunk deeper and deeper into poverty and backwardness. The gap between capitalist and dependent countries has been widening year after year; the majority of the masses in the latter countries are unable to get enough nourishment. It has become increasingly evident that unleashing the development process in these countries is largely contingent on a national democratic revolution against neocolonialism and the parasitic, local bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie is the lackey of imperialism, oppressing the people and continuing their exploitation and subjugation on behalf of the imperialists.

By the fifties, it had become evident that the parasitic, dependent bourgeoisie was unable to lead the development process, that its interests were interwoven with those of imperialism, and that it oppressed the people on behalf of imperialism. At this time, other strata of the bourgeoisie, namely the petit and middle bourgeoisie, undertook to lead the development process. The readiness of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, to support the peoples in any battle against imperialism, was an objective factor that contributed to this tendency. The middle and petit bourgeoisie tried to pursue an independent course of their own. Politically this was based on non-alignment. Economically, it was based on development plans, planned economy, agrarian reform, the public sector, and, in some cases, attempts at industrialization. In this, they relied on tactical alliance with the Soviet Union. These sectors of the bourgeoisie regarded their course as «non-capitalist development», allegedly neither dependent on imperialism nor requiring strategic alliance with the socialist community. The actual process, however, soon revealed the laws that governed this course and the results to which it would lead.

At first, the political and economic battles fought by the petit and middle bourgeoisie gave the impression that there really was a third course of development open to «third world» countries. Representative leaders of this course include Nasser, Nehru, Sukarno and Nkrumah. Time, however, soon showed the people of these countries, in practice, the limits of such independence and its ability to solve the problems of development, and the results to which it would lead. For a time, these countries managed to wrench some concessions from imperialism, though the latter continued to wield the baton. However, as their power was prolonged, the petit and middle bourgeois promoted their own private and class interests. As these interests grew, they gradually intertwined with those of the big bourgeoisie and ultimately imperialism. Gradually, the policy of these strata began to divert accordingly. Even if they had opted to carry on the anti-imperialist line, these strata would not have mounted a real assault on imperialism, because they lacked the necessary weapons, namely, organized, mobilized masses and a principled, strategic - not tactical - alliance with the socialist community.

This, of course, does not mean that the petit bourgeoisie, which now leads the masses' revolutionary struggle against imperialism, is ultimately bound to reverse and identify itself with imperialism. Far from it; there are revolutionary democratic forces in the petit bourgeoisie who possess cer-

tain subjective conditions, mainly unreserved commitment to Marxism-Leninism. These elements do have the ability to carry on with the struggle against imperialism and its local, reactionary allies, and to press ahead in the direction of radical, socialist transformation of the society. This happened in Democratic Yemen, Angola and Mozambique. There, the progressive forces managed to withstand the onslaughts of imperialism and reaction; they mobilized and organized the masses, and developed a strategic alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They are now pressing ahead to complete the national democratic revolution as a prerequisite for socialism, providing its material and technical base.

Moreover, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America admire the stand of the pro-socialist democratic revolutions of Vietnam, Cuba and others. These revolutions are in possession of the subjective conditions, namely revolutionary theory and a vanguard party. The peoples see their progress towards genuine political and economic liberation and development. They thereby discern the only course open to them for development and advancement: This is the course of the working class and its party in alliance with the socialist community; the course of national democratic revolution that provides the material and technical basis for the socialist revolution.

In the context of the realities of the times, the national democratic revolution has become an integral part of the socialist revolution. There is no longer any perspective for a bourgeois democratic revolution such as occurred earlier in some countries. We consider this an essential thesis in connection with the struggle currently going on in various parts of the globe between the forces of socialism and liberation on the one hand, and imperialism and reaction on the other. Today the course of development has been defined for the peoples of these countries which account for half of the world, in terms of both area and population. In the context of the worldwide struggle and the pressing need for development, the road to the future becomes crystal clear before the peoples. Their choosing the right option is of utmost importance, since these countries' liberation from economic dependence on imperialism will further aggravate the crisis of imperialism; it will provide the objective conditions for the working class in the capitalist countries to accomplish the revolutionary task it is assigned: smashing the capitalist system and building socialism.

Now it remains to underline the magnitude of the difficulties met by a democratic revolution in the course of accomplishing its tasks and paving the way for the socialist revolution. Recently, some such revolutions

occurred in the vicinity of the Arab homeland (in Afghanistan and Ethiopia). This created an atmosphere of optimism among the Arab masses. It is important for us to be sure that this optimism is based on a realistic view of what these revolutions stand for and the difficulties they have to overcome. First, they face a state of extreme underdevelopment owing to long years of economic dependence on imperialism. They have inherited a dependent, backward economy; there is hardly any industry of substance; agriculture is distorted and no less backward. Naturally enough, this economic backwardness is further complicated by social backwardness and widespread ignorance. In Afghanistan, for example, illiteracy afflicts 90% of the population. The societies of the «third world» are dominated by backward, feudal and bourgeois ideologies, by mystical notions and backward social customs. All these factors combine to make revolution an extremely difficult and complicated task.

In addition, the subjective conditions for the revolution are not fully developed or mature. For instance, the takeover in Afghanistan in 1978, was effected chiefly through a coup d'etat by the national armed forces; it did not come about as the culmination of a long struggle by organized, mobilized masses, led by a people's revolutionary party. This does not mean that we disapprove of revolutionaries seeking the help of the armed forces to accomplish a revolutionary takeover; we only want to draw attention to the difficulties that await the revolution after the takeover.

One such difficulty for the Ethiopian leadership is the national question; it has not yet proposed a solution based on the right to self-determination. For the past twenty years, the Eritrean people have been waging a struggle for this right, using all means. With the overthrow of the Haile Selassie regime, it was expected that the revolutionary regime would find ample scope for a democratic solution to the Eritrean question. However, nothing of the kind seems forthcoming so far, despite the efforts that have been made in this connection. The PFLP believes in the right of a people to self-determination, and that it is necessary to find a peaceful solution for the Eritrean problem. Such a solution should be based on self-determination and on the necessity of uniting all democratic forces in the African Horn to face the imperialist and reactionary plots which aim to destroy them all.

In Iran, the revolution has adopted a political line that is hostile to both imperialism and the socialist community. Yet it persecutes the leftist forces that fought the Shah's regime; it has not proposed a democratic solution to the question of national minorities in Iran; it does not seem to

be contemplating a united national front or a program for economic and social development. These matters entail serious consequences which affect the entire future of the situation in Iran.

In the light of the above analysis, accomplishing the national democratic revolution in such countries is an arduous task, fraught with dangers and vulnerable to setbacks. The main tools accessible to the revolution in such countries, that will to a great extent decide their future, are as follows: the unity of the national democratic and revolutionary forces; reliance on the masses, releasing their potentials and stimulating their initiative; establishing close relations with the socialist community; adopting a development program capable of securing equality and liberation from the imperialist market.

This, in broad outline, is the constellation of the current worldwide struggle between the forces of liberation, peace, progress and socialism on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and reaction on the other. Obviously, it is only a sketch; it does not cover all details or particularities involved. Yet it does pinpoint the main forces in the field and the parameters which shape the future of the struggle. Within this framework, details and particularities can be added. This would make the picture richer, without making us lose the orientation that guides our steps along the road of humanity's future in the coming decades.

Part Two

On the Arab Level



Introduction

During the period covered by our political report, numerous important events and developments occurred, including the 1973 October War, the Geneva Conference, Kissinger's shuttles, the war of attrition in the Golan Heights, the disengagement on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts, the Arab summits in Algiers and Rabat, and the civil war in Lebanon.

Of all these, the most decisive event was the conclusion of the Camp David accords following Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, and the treacherous peace treaty between the Sadat regime and the Zionist entity. This particular event was the result of accumulated concessions on the part of the Arab regimes in the seventies. It placed the Arab national liberation movement at the threshold of a new stage with a drastic change in the character of the conflict and the alignment of forces involved. This accelerated the national struggle's merger with the social, class struggle. In the process, the true position of the reactionary forces and the bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the struggle is revealed; the classes siding with the revolution, and the special role of the working class, is more clearly defined, as is the nature of the next stage of the revolution and its prospects. All this makes the Camp David accords stand as the title of a new stage in the history of the Arab struggle. Therefore, to understand, analyze and define the tasks of this stage, will be our guide to action for a long time to come. Hence, it is natural that these accords are the focus of our political report on the Arab level.

Camp David, with the treacherous peace treaty entailed, is not a transitory political incident. It is more than an important event in the history of the Arab nation's struggle against its enemies. It is comparable to the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1918, which substituted British and French col-

onial rule for Ottoman oppression. It is comparable to the dis-
Arab defeat in the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948 and 1967. At the
of these events had decisive effects on the entire constellation
of the struggle, on the nature of the class alliance within the
liberation movement, and on the quality of its tasks. In this
accords will affect the Arab national liberation movement, the Zionist
placing it at the beginning of a new stage. Some, though

The Camp David accords are closely connected with imperialism
aggression of June 5, 1967. They are largely to achieve this
related, of the Arab defeat in that war. This was conceived in the
and Zionism wished to achieve. Though they

immediately, the seeds of the Camp David determine our tasks,
womb of the 1967 war, only to be born in our role in leading the
Our ability to analyze this stage, national and class aims: lib-
forms the point of departure for effort this reason, the stage of
Palestinian mass movement and this report. Thus, comprehen-
eration, democracy, socialism, etc. will not obscure the con-
Camp David is the focus and main forces and parameters, and
sive discussion of events in
stellation of the struggle and
the program for grappling

Chapter 1

The Stage of Camp David What is It and What are the Factors that Led to It?

The novelty of the Camp David accords lies not only in the fact that an Arab regime, that of Egypt, admitted its inability to confront the Zionist entity and concluded a truce. The Egyptian regime went so far as to accept what for all practical purposes amounts to unconditional surrender. The Egyptian regime explicitly and officially recognized the Zionist entity's right to existence and security in the land of Palestine. It normalized relations, concluded cultural, tourism and commercial agreements and even talked of possible political and military alliance with the Zionist entity. We can compare this with the official Arab stand which professes non-recognition and economic boycott of the Zionist entity, regarding any relations as tantamount to treason. Even compared to what Sadat himself used to say before his visit to Jerusalem, that normalization would take generations, we realize the enormous change introduced by the Camp David accords. Truly it ushers in a new, qualitatively different stage in the history of the struggle against Zionism, the Zionist state and the imperialist forces that created and sustain this state.

The Palestinian and Arab masses have persistently opposed the imperialist-Zionist invasion. Their opposition has grown more intense as Zionism's aims and ambitions have become more evident. Until the conclusion of the Camp David accords, the masses' attitude had prevented any Arab regime or representative body from recognizing or dealing with the invaders. This is the reason why the Hashemite rulers of Jordan have always attempted to disclaim Feisal's meetings with the Zionist leader Weizman. Similarly in 1948, due to the crimes committed by Zionism against the Palestinian people, all Arab states, regardless of political inclination, had to send their armies to Palestine, pretending to fight the estab-

lishment of the Zionist state. When this state came into existence, the Arab states were faced by the monstrosity of the Zionist invasion and the great agitation of the Arab masses. Accordingly, they not only refrained from recognizing 'Israel', but also decided to boycott it, as well as the companies that deal with it. King Abdullah of Jordan was at the time collaborating with Britain and other imperialist powers, to facilitate the establishment of the Zionist state. He had to make his contacts with the Zionists in secret. These contacts remained unknown to the masses until a Jordanian army officer, Abdullah al Tel, revealed them in his memoirs.

We recall the three famous *no's* of the Arab summit held in Khartoum, Sudan, despite the defeat in June 1967. We can compare this with the implications of the Camp David accords: negotiations, formal recognition, normalization of relations and raising the Israeli flag in Cairo. Through this comparison, one realizes that the Camp David accords really mark a qualitatively new stage. This explains why our masses were initially stunned by these accords. It motivates us and the entire Arab national liberation movement to present our masses with our analysis of this phenomenon, its implications for the future of the struggle, and the revolutionary program needed to confront it.

There have been explanations for the Camp David accords, that fail to trace this change back to the bourgeois tendencies that began after the defeat of 1967. These tendencies were accentuated after the death of Nasser, as petrodollars strengthened the positions of the bourgeoisie and reaction in Egypt and the region. Yet there are explanations that do not relate Camp David to the economic, class and political developments and changes of the two preceding decades. Instead, these explanations attribute the change entirely to the personality of Sadat, or to other marginal factors. This is why we find it necessary to point out and discuss the main factors that led to the stage of Camp David.

First: The class, social and economic effects of petrodollars on the oil-producing countries themselves, on neighboring Arab countries and the region generally:

Particularly after 1973 and the rise of oil prices, petrodollars began to pour into the region. The Arab countries now produce about twenty million barrels of oil daily. Saudi Arabia alone produces more than ten million barrels daily. Knowing that crude oil now sells at \$30-35 a barrel, we can easily calculate that Saudi Arabia's daily revenue from crude oil is over \$300 million; that of the entire Arab area is roughly double that amount. This

means an annual income exceeding \$200 billion. Is it possible for such a flood of petrodollars not to have consequences on the economic, social and class conditions in the region?

It is true that part of this flood turns into deposits in the banks of the imperialists. Here it is used to rejuvenate and develop the world capitalist system. Another part goes to the purchase of arms for the purpose of repressing the masses, at the same time promoting the military industries of the capitalist countries, as a means to alleviate their economic crisis. Yet a portion of this revenue remains in the oil-producing countries. From there, a part seeps to neighboring countries and the region generally. This creates economic, social and class transformations that are no longer difficult to discern and study.

The economies of countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, etc., are dependent on the world capitalist system. This makes the bourgeoisie of these countries subservient. They are unable to invest this revenue so as to create the capital accumulation and infrastructure needed to build a developed capitalist economy. They are hence incapable of creating a strong capitalist state. All that such a bourgeoisie can do is to buy imperialist countries' products and undertake service enterprises or other economic activities that serve or complement imperialist production, but do not replace or even compete with it. This accounts for the increasing number of millionaires, compradors, middlemen and contractors. This phenomenon has become obvious in the oil-producing countries in particular and the entire Arab area in general.

This class has multiplied in size, wealth, power and influence over the past years. Where do the interests of such a class lie? Do they flourish with the continuation of the Arab-Zionist conflict, the spread of armed struggle, the growth of the Palestinian revolution and its cohesion with the Arab mass movement? No, the interests of this class lie in putting an end to this conflict. As King Hassan II of Morocco eloquently put it: "The combination of Arab riches, Western technology and Jewish genius is certain to make this region a paradise on earth." For whom would this paradise be? Certainly not for the dispersed Palestinian masses; nor for the millions of Yemeni, Palestinian, Jordanian and Lebanese workers selling their labor power in the worst of living conditions in the Gulf. It would be a paradise for the capitulationist bourgeoisie and reactionary classes.

Petrodollars and the social changes they brought about were certainly among the factors that led to Camp David and the new situation. Yet one may argue that the Arab states, including the reactionary and oil-pro-

ducing ones, rejected Camp David. How then can one indiscriminately lump their positions with that of Sadat? It can also be argued that Egypt is hardly an oil-exporting country, and that the social class phenomenon in question is not so prevalent in Egypt as in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait or the United Arab Emirates. How then can we explain that it was Sadat who took the lead to Camp David rather than other seemingly more likely Arab regimes? Similarly, one may ask how can we explain Syria's objection to Camp David, since Syria's ruling class was also subject to the effects of the petrodollar phenomenon?

In answer we say: Are the reactionary Arab regimes really opposed to Camp David and what it stands for? Didn't the first meeting between Egypt, represented by Hassan al Tuhami, and 'Israel', represented by Moshe Dayan, take place in Rabat under the auspices of King Hassan II? Didn't Hussein of Jordan describe Sadat's visit to Jerusalem as a courageous step? Haven't the Jordanian monarch's secret contacts and meetings with Zionist leaders become common knowledge? Don't Numeiri, Qabus and Barre still maintain diplomatic, political, economic and military relations with Sadat's regime, notwithstanding that the Zionist enemy's flag is raised in Cairo? Wasn't Saudi Arabia pushing Sadat in this direction, persuading him to expel the Soviet advisors and sever relations with the Soviet Union? Didn't this mean that Sadat would be left with only one alternative: substituting alliance with imperialism for alliance with the Soviet Union? Saudi Arabia was the mastermind that planned the crime and, once it was accomplished, denounced it. It was Saudi Arabia that encouraged many of the economic and social retreats that Sadat made when he came to power after Nasser's death. On many occasions, Saudi aid to Egypt was granted on the implicit condition that such retreats be made.

The trail blazed by Sadat is the course which these regimes, and the social forces they represent, see as expressing their own orientation and securing their interests. Their turn to follow suit will come when it becomes opportune for them to declare their true stance.

As for the argument that Egypt does not rank as an oil-rich country, this is true. However, it does not disprove the fact that, for a number of reasons, Egypt was the Arab country whose class structure was most affected by the petrodollar flow. Posing as the biggest Arab state confronting 'Israel', Sadat's Egypt became an alluring place for petrodollar investors, thanks to the regime's policy of liberalization, the economic legislation passed for this purpose, and the ample opportunities for investment

in tourism, services and other fields. Any investigation of the rightist economic changes effected under Sadat will indicate the extent to which the class of millionaires has grown in terms of its interests, number and influence, in recent years. There is no doubt that this class was one of the factors that led to Camp David and the beginning of a new era of full alliance with imperialism and its Zionist base in the region, 'Israel'.

As to why it was this class in Egypt that took the lead, and not its wealthier counterparts in Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich countries: Egypt was a confrontation state with territory occupied by the Zionist enemy. Thus, Egypt was called upon to redefine relations with the Zionist entity. The others, oil-rich or otherwise, were not called upon to initiate such a move.

As for Jordan, the Zionist entity was less willing to withdraw from the West Bank than from the Sinai. This made the Jordanian regime reluctant to be the first to take such a step; it prefers to wait for the appropriate moment to join in.

Syria presents still more complications for imperialism's plan to crush any nationalist opposition in the countries surrounding the Zionist entity. This complication is due to several factors which essentially stem from the new turn the settlement has taken: Imperialism and Zionism accept nothing less than complete Arab consent to their conditions. This leaves no margin for even the semblance of patriotism on the part of the Arab regimes. Moreover, the proposed settlement does not provide for Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories; nor does it offer a genuine solution for the Palestinian question. Concurrently, developments during the last two years have been characterized by intensified activities on the part of the traditional Arab bourgeoisie and reactionary religious groups. These aim to overthrow the national bourgeois regimes, seize power and proceed towards capitulation, in alliance with the ultraright sections of the bourgeoisie in Egypt and other Arab countries.

Thus the Syrian regime is required to confront these challenges with a careful reassessment of all its economic, social and military policies. Decisive blows must be dealt to the strongholds of the traditional bourgeoisie and the reactionary religious groups that seek closer ties with the imperialist market. Syria is also required to expand mass participation and institutionalize democratic principles for mobilizing the masses, so that they may effectively combat the internal reactionary forces, and take an active part in opposing the Zionist enemy and capitulationist policies throughout the region. Moreover, further consolidation of relations with the socialist community, especially the USSR, will make Syria better pre-

pared to confront the plans of the overt and covert proponents of the Camp David accords.

We should point out that the flow of petrodollars and their impact on the region, would not have caused such a retrogression in Egypt if not for the bourgeois nature of the regime, and the inability of the state bourgeoisie to complete the tasks of the national democratic revolution. Its deviation from the revolution began to manifest itself gradually in the wake of the 1967 defeat. Millions of Egyptians poured into the streets after this defeat, refusing Nasser's resignation and demanding that he carry on with the revolution. In so doing, they pointed to the tasks of the revolutionary option which they were urging Nasser to carry out: the line of the masses, demanding to be organized and mobilized, and that their class enemies be smashed; the line of steadfastness and preparation, of mobilization and not yielding; the line of violence and people's war. However, Nasser's state institutions and bourgeoisie were incapable of pursuing such a line. Regardless of our assessment of Nasser as a progressive, patriotic and nationalist leader, with achievements on both the national and pan-Arab level, it was the bourgeois character of the state he headed that decided the nature of the reaction to the defeat. In this light, one can explain Nasser's compromise with Saudi Arabia and domestic reaction, his acceptance of UN Security Council resolution 242, the Rogers plan, etc. These concessions served as a springboard for Sadat to move to total alliance with imperialism and its Zionist base, 'Israel', and to reverse all that the July 23rd, 1953 revolution stood for.

This class-oriented approach spares us many pitfalls in evaluating events. The Egyptian-Israeli negotiations reached a deadlock shortly after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem; the Camp David summit talks lingered, and the press began to speak of the difficulties of success. When there were obstacles to concluding the peace treaty, opinions were expressed to the effect that Sadat would discover the futility of his chosen course and return to the option of the Geneva Conference and Arab solidarity. However, our sound understanding of the class forces behind the Camp David option enabled us to penetrate the events without illusions; we could correctly assess the friction which was impeding the talks and how it would be overcome. This class approach also enables us to see through the professed opposition of the reactionary Arab regimes to Camp David. It enables us to foresee the course of action that the Jordanian regime will pursue vis-a-vis Camp David, when the right moment comes for it to express its real attitude.

The impact of the petrodollar flow into the Arab region in general and Egypt in particular, and the bourgeois nature of Sadat's regime, were not the only material factors and objective developments that led to Camp David. Another factor was recent economic developments in the Zionist entity.

Second: The requirements of Israeli economic growth

Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as a consequence of the 1967 aggression, provided favorable conditions for 'Israel' to develop its economy to a new, qualitative level. From the beginning, the Israeli economy was superior to that of the dependent, underdeveloped countries. This superiority was due to several factors. First and foremost was imperialist and Zionist aid and investment aimed at strengthening 'Israel' as an aggressive military base. Naturally, military strength required a relatively strong economic base. The aid provided by Federal Germany, under the guise of reparations, played a special role in financing the Israeli industrialization program implemented from 1951 to 1966. As a result, Israeli industry expanded greatly, but the qualitative turn in the Israeli economy came only after the 1967 aggression. In 1966, the Israeli economy was in crisis; there were 100,000 unemployed, i.e., 10% of the labor force.

The June 1967 aggression provided favorable conditions for the Israeli economy. For one, US aid increased in recognition of the role 'Israel' had played in undermining Nasser's leadership. The more pronounced the role of the Zionist entity becomes, the more US military and economic aid it gets. Statements of Nixon and Carter, on the level of US assistance to 'Israel' during their respective terms in office, bear witness to this. 'Israel' receives a bigger share of US foreign aid than all other friends of the US in the world.

Moreover, after the 1967 aggression, Zionists in various countries became more willing to invest in the Zionist entity. Zionist millionaires from Europe and America held a conference in Jerusalem after the aggression, to discuss how to boost their investment in our occupied homeland. More important still are the opportunities that the new occupation afforded the Zionists to exploit cheap and vulnerable Arab labor. In addition, the 1967 occupied territories became new markets for Israeli products. Now 20% of Israeli industrial exports go to the 1967 occupied territories; in 'Israel', 50% of the agricultural labor force and 36% of the industrial labor force are Palestinian Arabs (including Palestinians from the land seized in

948). In addition, 'Israel' acquired the Sinai oil fields and the water resources of the West Bank, and confiscated more than one million dunums of land.

As a result of all this, the Israeli economy experienced greater growth after the 1967 aggression than it ever had before. The Israeli economy differs substantially from the economies of the dependent «third world» countries. In 'Israel', the annual per capita income is \$4,000; industrial output is 30% of the gross national product; industry accounts for 86% of exports. Imports consist of 7% consumer goods, 13% capital goods, and 80% raw materials. Substantial industrial concentration occurred during the 1970s. With all this, 'Israel' is today close to being a bourgeois industrial state. The labor force and markets provided by the occupied Arab territories contributed to the attainment of this level of growth. This being the case, how can one imagine that 'Israel' would give up all these privileges, especially when its capitalist development has reached a stage that requires still more Arab markets and labor?

This state of affairs explains Israeli insistence on normalisation of relations. Tracing the complicated talks conducted between the Zionist entity and the Sadat regime, one sees clearly that 'Israel' was in no way prepared to discuss any settlement that did not guarantee prompt and complete normalisation. 'Israel' was not satisfied with direct negotiations, implicit recognition, guarantees for its borders, or simple political recognition. 'Israel' insisted on complete normalisation with Egypt. Today it is even speaking of using the Nile to irrigate the Naqab (Negev) desert, joint investment projects in the Sinai, etc. The Israeli economy can no longer tolerate the Arab economic boycott, or any restrictions impeding it from sharing in the Arab bourgeoisie's and reactionaries' exploitation of Arab labor, markets, oil and water resources. Thus, the requirements of Israeli economic growth constituted another factor leading to Camp David.

Third: The increased importance of the Arab region for imperialism, especially the US, in the 1970s

Until the middle of this century, the Middle East owed its importance primarily to its strategic geographical location and international waterways: the Arab Gulf, the Strait of Hormuz, the Sea of Oman, the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. The area became much more important after the discovery of abundant oil reserves. Now, owing to the energy crisis and the great dependence of the world capitalist economy on oil, the Arab region has assumed vital importance for imperialism.

The US was self-sufficient in oil in the 1950s. During the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt in 1956, following the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the Iraqi Petroleum Company (IPC) pipeline was blown up, and Europe suffered an oil shortage. The US, however, was not affected; it was able to partially replace Europe's Middle East oil supplies. Today, the picture is totally different. The US now consumes about 2 million barrels of oil a day. Domestic production satisfies only 50% of this need, so the US now imports about 50% of its oil needs. This percentage is rising despite all the counter measures taken by the administration. A large part of this oil import comes from the Arab region. Hence, if the flow of oil supplies to the US is blocked or jeopardized, the US economy will be shaken to an intolerable degree. This explains the passage in Carter's State of the Union address where he considered the US's increasing dependence on imported oil as one of the most important factors affecting the US economy. The importance of oil is still greater, for the exporting countries' oil revenues have become a significant factor in the financial and commercial sectors of the imperialist countries, particularly the US. Thus, the US considers the region to be within the bounds of its security sphere. A region so vital to US security cannot be left alone, without Camp David, without an imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance to secure these interests.

In a speech delivered at a conference on the Middle East, held in the State of Missouri in 1979, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Harold Sanders, said, «For many years, the Middle East has been considered a strategic crossroads and a sort of bridge connecting Europe with Asia and Africa. It used to be the lifeline of the British. During the fifties and sixties, the region assumed new significance, because it became the chief oil supplier of our NATO allies and Japan, and owing to the importance of Turkey and Iran in preventing Soviet expansion southward to control that oil. Even at that time, the Middle East did not seem to have any immediate, overwhelming significance for the US itself. We could at that time choose to stand back and not get directly involved in Middle East problems. This situation, however, has changed remarkably in the seventies.» Elsewhere in his speech, Saunders said, «From the economic point of view, the Middle East is regarded as one of the fastest growing world markets, and we have an obvious interest in developing commerce to help offset oil costs. Besides, the Middle East nations, with their enormous financial resources, can influence the stability of the world economy.»

In his June 1, 1978 report to the Congress on US Middle East policy, Saunders, one of the foremost US experts on the Middle East, portrays with figures the magnitude of US interests in the region. He says that imports accounted for 22% of total oil consumption in 1977, and that the figures are rising year by year. He also mentions that the Arab governments then possessed a surplus of \$140 billion that could be invested; that US exports to the region in 1973 amounted to a value of \$3,500 million, i.e., 5% of total US exports; and that by 1977, US sales to the Middle East has risen to \$12.3 billion, representing 10% of total exports. In addition, there are over 90,000 US nationals working in the region.

Such is the development of US imperialist interests in the region over the past years. It is only natural that such developments have an impact on imperialist policies and the means for their implementation.

We have outlined three changes in the Arab region in recent years: the class changes in the nature of the regime and bourgeoisie in Egypt, economic developments in the Zionist entity and the growth of imperialist, particularly US, interests in the region. It was natural for these three changes to converge in a new policy, that of Camp David and the tripartite alliance, in order to secure and further the economic interests of the parties concerned. The policy of a state is not formulated in accordance with subjective tendencies. It is the concentrated expression of that state's economy. Naturally, this thesis also applies in our region, in the light of these developments and changes.

The persistence of the Arab-Israeli conflict threatens the interests of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. For 'Israel', the conflict is a barrier to economic expansion; it prevents 'Israel' from participating in plundering the wealth and taking advantage of the markets in the region. For Arab reaction, the persistence of the conflict undermines its natural alliance with imperialism; it continuously fuels the masses' consciousness and alliance with the forces of socialism and liberation. For imperialism, the persisting conflict is between its allies, Zionism and Arab reaction, whereas US interests lie in these allies joining hands against their common enemy: the masses and their progressive organizations, and the socialist forces backing them.

The Camp David accords are the political expression of the convergence of interests between imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, the latter represented at this stage by the Sadat regime. Of course, the accords are a preliminary step towards military cooperation and alliance

to protect the common interests of these three from the mass movement and the forces of change in the region. It is possible that minor antagonisms will persist for some time between the Zionist entity and Arab reaction, represented by the Sadat regime. This would not refute our basic argument, for such antagonism exists between Greece and Turkey, although both are members of NATO; many other examples can be cited of such antagonism. An alliance denotes convergence of interests, not total identity.

The Zionist entity strives to remain imperialism's primary ally in the region, its share of the plunder being proportionate with its services. For its part, imperialism recognizes the particular characteristics and abilities of this ally, but it is also aware that Arab reaction has a role of its own which the Zionist entity cannot perform. US imperialism realizes that 'Israel', as a settler-colonial society allied with the US, is not vulnerable to internal revolutionary change in the foreseeable future, as happened in Iran and might happen in Egypt or Saudi Arabia. At the same time, the US knows that the Egyptian regime can play a role in protecting reactionary Arab or «Islamic» regimes. The US knows that this role cannot always be directly performed by the Zionist entity.

Thus the Zionist entity and the Egyptian regime vie for the US's favor. For this reason, Begin favors deployment of US forces in 'Israel' and protests US arms deliveries to Egypt above certain limits. This explains why there is less than full accord between Zionist and Arab reactionary interests. It explains the US attitude toward their differences. The US arbitrates these disputes, solving them in the interest of the joint alliance, but always favoring the Zionist entity, for it is the most secure strategic base, thanks to its settler-colonial nature and organic links to imperialism.

In general, this is the analytical background for the new course represented by the Camp David accords and the new era it heralds. This qualitatively new phenomenon is unprecedented in the history of the Arab-Zionist conflict. It is not a chance occurrence when an Arab regime moves to openly recognize, reconcile and ally with the Zionist entity. There have been Arab rulers who, at times, were no less defiant of their people's feelings than Sadat. Yet, aside from Bourguiba's 1966 statement about the Arab «mistake» of not accepting the partition of Palestine (sic), no Arab ruler has called for or acted on the basis of openly recognizing or accepting the Zionist entity, cooperating, making peace or allying with it. Arab reaction did prove unable to confront Zionism in 1948. Moreover, some Arab reactionaries secretly collaborated with imperialism and

sometime Zionism, against the Palestinian people. King Hussein requested Zionist help via the US, in his fight against the Palestinian resistance in 1970. Nevertheless, these acts and attitudes amount to nothing compared to the Camp David accords which went to the point of direct negotiations, official and open recognition, documented peace, alliance and cooperation with the Zionist entity.

It is the material and economic conditions and developments mentioned above that explain this phenomenon and the stage it ushers in. These three factors constituted a force acting in the direction of Camp David. Economic developments and interests are always a major force functioning to secure and promote these same interests.

In addition, the revolutionary changes on the international level, the continued victories and successes scored by the forces of socialism and liberation, constituted yet another factor. These impelled the forces of imperialism, Zionism and reaction to adopt the course of Camp David, hoping to protect their interests from the winds of change blowing throughout the world. It was clear to all that the collapse of the Shah regime, and the triumph of the Iranian revolution, stimulated and accelerated the conclusion of the Camp David accords. Carter himself rushed to the region, shuttling between Cairo and Tel Aviv for several days, to convince their leaders of the dangers threatening their interests in the region. Carter convinced them to overcome the differences that were blocking the conclusion of the peace treaty.

US aggressiveness has generally intensified in recent years, as discussed in Part I of this report. Imperialism's aggressive activities concentrated on the region of the Gulf and Indian Ocean, following the Shah's fall. The Camp David accords is one implementation of this aggressive policy in the Arab region.

Having dealt with the material, objective factors responsible for Camp David, let us examine the subjective factors. The main subjective factor contributing to the birth of Camp David is the crisis experienced by the Arab national liberation movement, including the Egyptian revolutionary movement. Objective conditions in the world are conducive to the triumph of popular movements, if the movement in question has the class leadership, ideology, political program and means of struggle capable of mobilizing the masses' vast energies and militant potentials. This question will be dealt with elsewhere in this report. Suffice it to mention one essential point: The option of a negotiated settlement with the Zionist entity, which was adopted by sections of the Arab national liberation

movement, especially the PLO leadership, contributed to Camp David. This made it easier for Sadat and the class he represents to move to negotiate, recognize, make peace and ally with the Zionist enemy.

Prior to the Camp David accords, unequivocal mass rejection of the Zionist enemy had prevented Arab reaction from taking its natural position alongside the Arabs' national enemy. Then, after the 1973 October War, the «Arab solidarity» countries, then the PLO leadership, adopted the idea of the proposed political settlement with the Zionist enemy, based implicitly or explicitly on negotiations with and recognizing 'Israel'. This paved the way for Sadat to complete his plan. It provided him with the argument which he repeated on several occasions to justify his policy: If everybody, the PLO included, is prepared to negotiate with Israel, then why should I not take the initiative?

In Part III of this report, we will discuss the question of revolutionary forces having at times to make compromises with the enemy, the importance of tactics and the imperatives of the respective stages of struggle. Regardless of debate on these questions, advocating a negotiated settlement under the balance of forces then prevailing, when the revolutionary forces were unable to control such a course and its consequences, helped the capitulationist, reactionary forces. Once the idea of a negotiated settlement, recognizing the Zionist entity, had become acceptable in principle, it was easier for Sadat to pursue his own interpretation of relations with the Zionist entity.

Such is our view and analysis of the Camp David era.

Chapter 2

Objectives and Plans of the Camp David Pact

Certain forces and most Arab countries think that the Camp David policy pertains solely to the Arab-Zionist and Palestinian-Zionist conflict. They regard Camp David as only aiming to provide a solution to this conflict, favoring the Zionist entity. This view is too narrow; it lacks political insight as to the scope of Camp David. Hence, it fails to provide the basis for a sound anti-Camp David policy.

Our preceding analysis of Camp David presents a scientific, comprehensive view of all the interrelated objectives sought by the parties to Camp David. This analysis shows that the Camp David pact seeks not only to liquidate the Palestinian cause and secure Arab recognition of the Zionist entity as a legitimate, integral part of the region. It also seeks to secure imperialist, particularly US, domination of the entire region, including the oil sources. Camp David is intended to guarantee all imperialism's oil, financial and commercial interests, for these have become so vital that their loss could shake the imperialist system and plunge it into a complex economic crisis.

The Camp David pact also aims to insure 'Israel' a lasting, legitimate existence in the Arab region, eliminating every objection to its existence and getting the Arab countries to normalize relations with it. This should open the region for 'Israel' as the strong, secure military base on which imperialism can rely for protecting its interests from the winds of change in the region. The Camp David era is required to strengthen this base, rewarding 'Israel' with its share of wealth, resources and markets of the region.

Furthermore, Camp David aims at securing the domination of the ruling reactionary and bourgeois forces in Egypt and other Arab countries. It

aims at providing them with expertise, arms and other aid, enabling them to remain in power and repress any resistance by the masses who are exploited by the alliance of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

Of course, Camp David is also related to the objective of destroying the Arab regimes and forces that oppose this pact, especially the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese National Movement, Syria, Democratic Yemen, Libya and Algeria. Camp David aims to destroy the forces threatening the reactionary Arab regimes, especially those forces waging armed struggle. Imperialism's objective in the Camp David era is to liquidate not only the Palestinian revolution and cause, but every one of the aforesaid forces without exception. This means to liquidate them militarily if possible, or politically if their structure allows for political abortion, or both.

Finally, Camp David fits into US global strategy which seeks to contain the world socialist system by surrounding it with pro-imperialist pacts, as a preliminary step to neutralizing some of its countries, and thereafter attacking the whole system and defeating it.

The PFLP prides itself on having formulated a comprehensive, scientific perception of the dangers of the proposed negotiated settlement. This settlement aims at securing imperialist domination, legitimizing and perpetuating the Zionist entity, bolstering the reactionary forces in the Arab region. Our view may sound axiomatic now, but earlier we had to exert great propaganda efforts to establish its validity, as opposed to other views which approached the settlement question only from the viewpoint of the conflict over the occupied Arab territories and the Palestinian cause. We have always viewed the proposed negotiated settlement as a comprehensive scheme aimed at establishing a new order in the region in the light of developments on the international, Arab and Palestinian levels.

Imperialism's plans for realizing the objectives of the Camp David pact:

First: Intensifying direct imperialist military presence in the region

US imperialism stepped up its direct military presence in our region, motivated by a number of considerations. One is the increased importance of imperialist interests in the region which has become part of the US's vital security sphere. Another consideration was the collapse of one

of imperialism's main outposts in the region: the Shah's Iran. Imperialism derived certain lessons from the inability of a local reactionary military establishment to prevent the victory of a people's revolution. This lesson was reinforced by the Qaba incident in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, where the regime was unable to put down the insurrection for several days. Finally, the recent revolutionary changes and developments on the international level prompted increased US military presence. This is not to say that the US had abandoned the Vietnamization policy derived from the lessons of Vietnam. Rather, while continuing that policy, the US will also rely on its own military forces.

The steps already taken by the US in this direction have become evident and well-known: establishing the Rapid Deployment Force and the Fifth Fleet, stepping up military presence on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, expanding the base at Masirah, Oman, and concluding agreements with Kenya, Somalia, Oman and Egypt for leasing bases to be used by the US armed forces.

By concentrating on US military presence, we do not intend to exclude other imperialist forces. France, for one, does not seem to be in full agreement with US imperialism in all its global policies. Yet France has deployed its armed forces in certain parts of the world, including the Arab homeland, and can be expected to do so again. The French intervention in support of Mauritania against POLISARIO, and in Tunisia, against the Gafsa uprising, are cases in point.

Second: Bolstering the military capacity of subservient states as outposts for imperialism

First and foremost among these states is the Zionist entity, a settler-colonial society sharing a common fate with imperialism; the Zionist entity is prepared to fight on the conviction that if imperialism is ousted from the region, its own existence will be imperiled. The Zionist entity is handsomely rewarded for this role, which fosters its enthusiasm. US military aid to the Zionist entity is not only massive; the equipment given is of a quality sometimes denied NATO countries; it sometimes even rivals that of the US armed forces. During President Nixon's term, the General Chief of Staff of the US Armed Forces resigned in protest over this state of affairs. These facts put in perspective the significance attached to the role of the Zionist entity in this part of the world.

Any survey of the Israeli military establishment (the qualitative and quantitative growth of armament capacity and the progress made in milit-

ary industries) confirms the real weight of this imperialist base with facts and figures. Such a survey shows that the level of Israeli armament far exceeds defense needs. Imperialism does not give all this assistance to the Zionist entity out of sentimental attachment, but rather as a part of its global preparations and regional military schemes.

For the foreseeable future, 'Israel' will continue to be imperialism's most important base in this part of the world. Needless to say, the Zionist entity does not dedicate itself to such a role only to win the applause of the US, or the so-called free world, but rather for the share of the bounty it receives in return for its services. The Camp David accords are now making the Zionists' wildest dreams come true: 'Israel' now plans to accomplish economic growth and expansion of its political and military role, exceeding its previous accomplishment by several times.

Next to the Zionist entity, Egypt now emerges as a base that is being prepared by US imperialism for a special military role on the regional level. Imperialism scored a great success during Sadat's term: Egypt shifted from a position of patriotism, allied with the Soviet Union, in Nasser's days, to a position of reaction, allied with imperialism. This was one of the US's greatest triumphs in the seventies. It was a qualitative, strategic gain on the regional level. Viewed from the other perspective, it was a great loss for Egypt's patriotic forces and the forces of socialism and liberation internationally. Egypt is an ideal base for imperialism in this part of the world due to its geographic position, population (42 million), relative scientific and technological superiority (compared with Saudi Arabia or Sudan) and its historical influence in the Arab region, Africa and West Asia. Except for the potential threat of developments in the class struggle unfavorable to Sadat's regime, Egypt offers numerous, important advantages, providing increased strategic, economic and political support to the main imperialist base in the region, 'Israel'.

Egypt is second only to 'Israel' in imperialism's regional plans, and its military capacity is bolstered accordingly. US military assistance to Egypt this year amounts to \$1.5 billion, compared to about \$2 billion for 'Israel'. It is expected that imperialism will continue to reinforce Egypt's military capacity. The role which imperialism and the reactionary Arab bourgeoisie require Egypt to play in the region is revealed in Sadat's continuous declarations on regional strategic questions and the «Soviet threat», his willingness to put more Egyptian bases at the disposal of the US, and to support any Arab regime that is threatened, particularly in the Gulf area. The deployment of Egyptian forces in Oman and Sudan, and Sadat's assis-

tance to the regimes in Zaire and Morocco, are clear indications that these declarations are being put into effect.

It has now become evident that the treacherous peace treaty Sadat concluded with the Zionist entity was not, as professed, meant to alleviate Egypt's military burdens so that it could turn to development. Rather, it aimed to increase these burdens and turn them in another direction, to preserve the interests of the tripartite alliance to which Arab reaction and the capitulationist bourgeoisie are party.

Saudi Arabia ranks third, after the Zionist entity and Sadat's regime, in imperialism's plan to bolster and develop the military capacity of the countries that constitute its military bases in the region. Owing to the nature and relatively small population of the Saudi society, Saudi Arabia is far below the Zionist entity and Egypt in terms of military power. All the same, it ranks third in the US plan, owing to its financial resources. The aim of the US plan for bolstering military capacity is related to another aim: recovering as much as possible of the revenues paid to Saudi Arabia for oil.

Through these three bases, US imperialism maps out its regional military strategy. Through the flow of US military hardware, and stepping up the military capacity of these bases, US imperialism militarizes its industrial production as a means of overcoming its economic crisis. At the same time, it insures the suppression of the people's movement and the forces of change in the region, and completes the chain of its global military strategy.

By concentrating on these three bases, we do not mean that the other reactionary Arab regimes are excluded from US plans. Their military capacity is also being bolstered, in North Yemen, the Gulf States, Sudan, Morocco, etc., but on a smaller scale.

Third: Drawing Other Arab forces into Camp David

So far in this chapter, we have focused on the military aspect of the Camp David plans, but this does not necessarily mean that the imperialist plans will be implemented by launching more wars in the region. Imperialism is making all these military preparations to face emergencies and revolutionary situations, to be able to achieve its political ends by the mere threat of resort to military means. This is also part of US imperialism's global plans to increase international tension, whereby it seeks to overcome its general crisis and solve its economic problems through militarizing production.

Alongside these military preparations, imperialism has political plans for continuing the Camp David process and accomplishing the objectives noted earlier. Naturally, political efforts will be accompanied by military pressures and carefully weighed, limited military action calculated to draw other Arab forces into the Camp David process.

US imperialism knows only too well that the settlement concluded on the Egyptian front, though a great breakthrough, is nevertheless insufficient to fully reverse the course of the struggle in the region. Alone, it cannot turn the tide against the people, the progressive forces and their alliance with the forces of socialism and liberation internationally. Apart from the Egyptian front, there are the Syrian, Jordanian and Lebanese fronts. If the situation on these fronts remains as it is, this will impede realization of US imperialism's aims and the securing of its interests in the region. The Arab-Zionist and Palestinian-Zionist conflict will remain unresolved, despite the fact that one of the main belligerents, Egypt, deserted to the enemy camp. Persistence of the conflict will prevent bringing the other reactionary forces into full, open alliance with Zionism and imperialism. There will continue to be favorable objective conditions for the growth of the Palestinian and Arab revolutionary movement, and for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to continue to have influence in the region, strengthening their relations with the contingents of the Arab national liberation movement. Imperialism will, therefore, spare no efforts to expand the Camp David settlement to include the remaining links on the northeastern front (Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinians).

It is, of course, difficult for us to foretell precisely how imperialism will proceed in carrying out its scheme in terms of timing and sequence. It is equally difficult to determine for certain which Arab country will join Camp David next, and in what order the other candidates will follow, bringing in all the other fronts. Nevertheless, we postulate that the Camp David alliance will generally pursue the following tactics:

a) Intensified deceptive maneuvers and political traps, billed as amending the Camp David accords, a new framework linked to them, or a new settlement formula for the other fronts. This is all for the purpose of keeping the settlement alive and obscuring political differences, thereby preventing political polarization and alignment into patriotic and revolutionary forces on the one hand, and reactionary forces, pretending to be opposed to Camp David, on the other. These maneuvers aim to win over the national bourgeoisie, and isolate the revolutionary forces, with a view to undermining the opposition to Camp David on those fronts.

It is not a coincidence that the mass opposition to the treacherous peace treaty has been countered by a number of such deceptive maneuvers. We have encountered a proposal for amending the UN Security Council resolution 242; a so-called European initiative, a round of intensive activities by the Socialist International, and a revival of the Jordanian-Palestinian state proposal. This is aside from 'full autonomy' and the proposal to implement this immediately in the Gaza Strip, etc.

The big gain realized by imperialism and Zionism, through the Camp David formula, leaves them a fair margin to make some concessions without significantly lessening their gain. The proposals being offered by imperialist and related forces are only meant to test reactions, for US imperialism has perceived that Camp David cannot be sold to the Palestinians, and that the reactionary Arab regimes find it awkward to accept this formula. In view of this, US imperialism will be willing, with Zionism's consent, to turn some of these exploratory proposals into genuine, negotiable ones when it finds that conditions have matured for their implementation and that there is a new Arab or Palestinian party that is willing to negotiate. This presupposes that such proposals take the long term interests of Zionism and 'Israel' into account.

b) To sap the military strength of the Palestinian revolution, Lebanese National Movement and Syrian regime, while at the same time following the aforesaid tactic of maneuvers to erode the opposing forces' political position. Imperialism is well-aware that, under the existing conditions, neither Syria nor the Palestinian revolution will accept any of the formulas now being offered. Hence the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance will go on dealing military blows to these forces with a view to destroying them, or weakening them to the point that they are compelled to discuss the proposed formulas. It is within this framework that one should view the incessant Zionist-Phalangist attacks on the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement in South Lebanon, as well as the attempts of the traditional bourgeoisie and reactionary religious forces to undermine Syria and influence its political decisions.

It is natural for these two tactics to be closely interconnected with a view to attaining one and the same objective, for while political maneuvers dampen the urge for opposition, military attrition promotes the tendency to accept such maneuvers.

c) Driving the Arab masses to despair by making it steadily costlier to sustain their patriotic stand; undermining their morale through psychological warfare; and offering the capitulationist forces more arguments to jus-

tify their capitulation. An illustrative example is the current Israeli air strikes against civilian targets in South Lebanon, to destroy the people together with their homes and land. This is intended to drive the masses to despair, especially when it is constantly being suggested that all these sufferings are due to the Palestinian revolution.

A similar situation prevails in the occupied territories, where the Zionist authorities exercise all forms of aggression, persecution, humiliation and torture against our people. The Zionists spare no means to impress upon our masses the image of 'Israel' as an «unconquerable power», aiming at driving them to despair.

By pursuing these three major tactics, the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance seeks to create new conditions on the northeastern front, enabling it to draw a second Arab party into Camp David, so that others might follow suit, one after the other. It is difficult to foretell for certain who will be the next after the Sadat regime, but most likely it will be the «Jordanian-Palestinian link».

With this as a likelihood, together with other, internal factors, an intense struggle arose in the Zionist entity between Likud and the Labor Alignment over whether to have early elections. It was finally agreed to hold elections at the end of June 1981. In this context, it is the Labor Alignment that would enable the alliance of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction to win a second Arab party over to the imperialist-Zionist settlement scheme. The Labor Alignment's policy on the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, is that their fate should be decided through negotiations with the Jordanian regime; part of the territories will eventually be returned to this regime; and the Palestine question must be solved via a Jordanian-Palestinian state. The Labor Alignment opposes the 'autonomy' plan, because it believes that this would either pave the way for an independent Palestinian entity, or jeopardize the Jewish character of 'Israel' through the incorporation of so many Palestinian Arabs.

If the Labor Alignment wins the upcoming elections, it will propose a plan to this effect. This would appeal to the Jordanian regime, providing it with a justification for joining the settlement. This regime praised Sadat's visit to Jerusalem at the time; it has waited to see what this would produce, but saw nothing in the 'autonomy' plan to justify joining at that stage. The 'autonomy' plan does not promise Jordan the return of any occupied territory. All along the Jordanian regime has been required to be a partner in the liquidation of the Palestinian cause. Yet it has not been allotted anything by which to justify this treacherous move. Unlike Sadat, to whom the

Sinai was returned under the Camp David accords, Hussein is offered nothing with the 'autonomy' plan. A Labor Alignment victory in the next elections, and the consequent offer of its plan for the liquidationist settlement, would motivate and provide justification for Jordan to join in. As is known, Jordan's main objection to the Camp David accords is due to its not getting a share; it is not founded on hostility to imperialism or rejection of the Zionist entity on Palestinian territory. Nor does the Jordanian regime really believe in the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, or the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

In the early seventies, the Jordanian regime presented its plan for establishing the «United Arab Kingdom», including «the Jordanian entity and the Palestinian entity.» Here the Jordanian regime finds common ground with the Labor Alignment, despite persisting differences on boundaries, Jerusalem and other questions related to more recent developments.

The Jordanian regime has grown bolder due to its relations with the PLO leadership, and the official relations established with it by a number of nationalist regimes on the basis of opposition to Camp David. These provide a partial cover for the regime to take steps toward Camp David. In his speech at the UN General Assembly last year, King Hussein made no mention of a Palestinian state under PLO leadership, despite his pretended recognition of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Rather, he spoke in general terms about the rights of the Palestinian people and a Palestinian entity.

If the Labor Alignment wins the elections, the Jordanian regime will use the thesis of «regaining the land,» which the Labor plan provides for, as a weapon in the face of Arab regimes opposed to this plan. Hussein will taunt them for being unable to regain any occupied Arab territory, yet objecting to his taking the opportunity to do so. There is no doubt that the reactionary Arab regimes will support this line of reasoning. The schemers, including the Jordanian regime, wager that the tactics mentioned above will succeed in undermining opposition from the Palestinian revolution, Syria and the Arab nationalist forces, by the time the plan is ready for implementation.

Of course, nobody can predict that the Labor Alignment will win the next Knesset election. Nevertheless, the «Jordanian-Palestinian link» remains the most likely to follow Egypt into the Camp David pact. Should Likud win the elections, attempts to draw the Jordanian regime in would waver temporarily, owing to Likud's rigid line, refusing to return any

occupied territory and insisting on a solution based on «autonomy for the inhabitants, not the land.»

Should the Likud win, attempts to incorporate Lebanon into the Camp David accords can be expected to continue as before. This means more military attacks on the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement. It means more support to the Lebanese fascist forces led by the Phalangists, so that they can play a bigger role in preparing and participating in the elimination of Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist armed presence, and weakening Syria's position so that it cannot prevent Lebanon from joining the Camp David alliance. We expect that Begin will continue the efforts to minimize, if not eliminate, Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist armed presence, and weaken Syria's influence on the situation in Lebanon. The US imperialist-Zionist plan will continue this policy and press for the Jordanian regime to join the settlement. The weakening or liquidation of the Palestinian resistance and Lebanese National Movement, combined with a weakened Syrian position, would facilitate Jordan's entry. The Jordanian regime is awaiting the removal of these impediments to reveal its real intentions.

This is the outline of the enemy plan for drawing new parties into the enclosure of the imperialist settlement. The planners realize that every party drawn in will pull another after it, until all have joined: Jordanian, Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese. We are not, however, saying that this plan will be realized. There is a vast difference between conceiving a plan and putting it into effect. The Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement oppose this scheme and possess all the prerequisites for frustrating it.

Fourth: Undermining the Arab nationalist regimes opposed to the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary pact

The imperialist plan is primarily concerned with the northeastern front bordering on the Zionist entity, and with the Gulf area. Yet this does not mean that the plan excludes other Arab regimes that oppose Camp David and alliance with imperialism, Zionism and traditional reaction. On the contrary, the Camp David alliance knows the connection between these regimes and the forces opposed to the plan on the northeastern front and in the Gulf area. Thus, the Camp David pact intends to strike the nationalist regimes. The coming years will witness an imperialist plan in action for undermining these regimes.

In the light of the bourgeois nature of some of these regimes,

imperialism will first wager on the gradual class transformation that will aggrandize the state bourgeoisie and link its interests with those of the traditional bourgeoisie and reaction. Such a transformation would pave the way for the transition from opposing imperialism to alliance with it, by providing the economic base for this alliance. Meanwhile, the planners will reactivate the traditional reactionary forces to set up their opposition to the nationalist regimes. They will arouse and fuel a variety of ethnic, tribal, religious and sectarian contradictions, to exhaust and disintegrate these regimes.

If the methods of containment and attrition prove ineffective, war by proxy will be employed, using imperialism's lackeys in neighboring countries to attack the nationalist regimes. Democratic Yemen is a case in point. Being the first Arab workers' and peasants' state to emerge in proximity to the oil fields, it is viewed by US imperialism as a threat to be neutralized by all means, including military force. Similarly, owing to the major oil reserves in Libya and oil's increasing importance, imperialism will spare no efforts, including military aggression, to restore traditional reaction to power in Libya, if the methods of assassinations, conspiracy and containment fail. Saudi Arabia and Egypt will not hesitate to carry out this mission on behalf of US imperialism, once international, Arab and domestic conditions are auspicious.

Fifth: Striking all Arab nationalist, democratic and communist forces

The Camp David alliance objectively constitutes a new level of challenges for the Arab masses. As a result, the masses will increasingly rally around the nationalist, democratic and communist forces to defend their interests and their future. The interactions of this process will be intensified by imperialism's worldwide economic crisis, for its repercussions are felt daily by the Arab masses in rapid, continuous price rises. This is an important phenomenon; it will affect the course of the struggle along with the national threat which the Camp David accords pose to the Arab nation as a whole.

There are already many concrete indications of the direction which the mass movement will take due to the new objective conditions brought about by Camp David. These accords mean a ferocious imperialist-Zionist-reactionary onslaught on the region, the masses and the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces. The following developments indicate the mass response to this challenge: The escalating strike

movement and widespread social struggle in Morocco; the Gafsa uprising in Tunisia; the advances of POLISARIO against the reactionary Moroccan regime; the deterioration of the regime in Sudan, with the growth of mass, political, social and trade union struggles, and of the democratic and communist movement; the escalation of the Egyptian masses' opposition, the aggravation of the Sadat regime's crisis, and the mass reaction to the raising of the Israeli flag in Cairo; the heightening of the mass movement in Bahrain, Kuwait and the Gulf generally; the steadfastness of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO); the heightened struggle of the National Democratic Front of North Yemen; and the Qaba uprising in Mecca. Last, yet most important, is the steadfastness of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement, despite the incessant plots of imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the Lebanese fascists. Equal to this is the heroic stand of our masses in occupied Palestine; they brought the Camp-David accords to a deadlock on the Palestinian level. No Palestinian has so far dared to get involved in the 'autonomy' plan.

Under such circumstances, repression will intensify against the mass movement. Fascist tendencies will multiply, backed by the repressive apparatus which the reactionary Arab regimes have continually sought to build and consolidate. Retrogressive and divisive sectarian, tribal and ethnic tendencies will be promoted to secure these regimes a semblance of popular support and enable them to confront the mounting mass movement.

Sixth: Diverting the mass struggle from the national, class enemy to an imaginary one, and to side issues

Imperialism will keep warning of the alleged ambitions of the Soviet Union in the region, and the «communist threat», with a view to arousing all retrogressive nationalist and religious tendencies, thus diverting the mass movement from the real enemies. Such imperialist efforts were conspicuous after the Soviet Union's internationalist support to the Afghani revolution, which intended to help it face the counterrevolution and imperialist-reactionary intervention. The Islamic Conference Organization held an extraordinary session in Islamabad, especially to discuss the «Soviet intervention». This was attended by most Arab and many Islamic countries. The conference and the resolutions it passed are a concrete example of the means to be used by the enemy forces against the popular movement.

By brandishing the «communist threat», imperialism hopes to effect

a major change in the constellation of contradictions in the region. It hopes to divert the course of the mass movement into a direction that serves imperialist strategy. Following the Camp David accords and the imperialist threats to the Iranian revolution, mass resentment against imperialism escalated in the region. Imperialism soon availed itself of the opportunity afforded by events in Afghanistan, to deflect this resentment. Since then, the reactionary forces have been striving to divert the struggle into other directions. Imperialism tries to portray every victory won by the popular movement as portending the threat of «Soviet communist infiltration» into the region; it is using this weapon to the utmost to combat the progressive and revolutionary forces.

Moreover, imperialism will endeavor to fan ethnic, religious and communal contradictions in the Arab region generally, and in certain Arab countries in particular. This aims to divide the mass movement and fragment the countries opposed to imperialist policy. Also Zionism will strive to accentuate and sustain all internal conflicts, particularly sectarian ones. The growth of sectarianism in the region, and the emergence of one or more states on a sectarian basis, would render Zionism a great service. The Zionist entity would thereby cease to be the only state in the region with a socio-political system based on sectarianism. Zionist propaganda never speaks of the Palestinian Arabs in 'Israel' as Arabs. It constantly refers to three distinct minorities: Muslims, Druze (incidentally, a Muslim sect) and Christians. Now Zionist propaganda presents Israeli atrocities in Lebanon as «supporting and protecting» the Christians in Lebanon. The aggravation of sectarianism in Syria and several other countries, the recent sharpening of the Coptic question in Egypt, and the stirrings of the Berber question in Algeria, are instances of the increasing imperialist and Zionist activity in this field.

Such are the main tactics by which imperialism seeks to realize its strategic objective of dominating the region.

Chapter 3

The Nature and Salient Features of the Post-Camp David Era, and the Condition of the Arab National Liberation Movement

We said earlier that the Camp David accords placed the Arab struggle and national liberation movement at the threshold of a new era. What is this era like?

First, it must be pointed out that following World War I, the Arab reality was characterized by fragmentation, backwardness and colonialism, including Zionist colonization. Hence, the Arab revolutionaries raised the slogans of unity, liberation and progress. During the period from World War I up to the present, the Arab struggle has passed through several stages, each having its own distinctive features. After the stage of liberation struggle, whereby some Arab countries achieved political independence, the Arab struggle suffered a defeat in 1948 with the establishment of the Zionist entity, which ushered in a new stage. This was followed by Nasser's era with achievements on the domestic level and their impact throughout the Arab world. Then came the defeat of June 1967, and the ensuing new political stage which paved the way for the present stage: the Camp David era. What characterizes this era?

First: The expansion of the Zionist invasion, the increasing strength of the Zionist entity, the growing evidence of its being the primary imperialist tool for striking the mass revolution throughout the Arab homeland, its readiness to take further steps towards the full realization of the Zionist venture, and its beginning to participate with imperialism in exploiting Arab wealth, markets and labor.

With this, the reality of the Zionist invasion becomes more evident than ever before. Today, Zionism represents a danger not only to Palestine and the Palestinian people. It is the major counterrevolutionary force

which must be confronted and fought, if the Arab masses, particularly in the Arab East, are to achieve liberation and a socialist-oriented, national democratic revolution. The national democratic liberation movement in the region can no longer plot the course of its struggle, or define its tasks, without taking this fact into account.

Statements about the Zionist dreams and aims in the region have been made since the Zionist invasion began. Yet never has the Zionist threat appeared so imminent, portentous and necessary to combat. The June 1967 aggression accentuated this fact, but it is now that it assumes absolute reality in the eyes of the masses and revolutionary forces. Objectively speaking, it is natural for this to lead the contingents of the liberation movement to join forces in confronting the common enemy which is entrenched in the heart of the Arab homeland.

Second: The intensified organic connection between imperialism and Zionism through more direct imperialist military presence in the region.

The interconnection between Zionism and imperialism dates back to the beginnings of the world Zionist movement. Until World War II, Zionism was mainly connected to British imperialism. After that, the US became the center of world imperialism; Zionism has been mainly connected to US imperialism ever since. This interconnection manifested itself before and after the Balfour declaration of 1917, during the British colonization of Palestine and other Arab countries, after the establishment of the Zionist entity, throughout the 1950s, and before and after the 1967 Israeli aggression. The novelty of the Camp David era is how deep and how dangerous to the entire region this interconnection has grown.

The British colonialists used to pretend to be unbiased arbiters between the Zionists and the Arabs in Palestine. The US, in the 1950s, was keen for its aid to the Zionist entity to be granted through Federal Germany and the old colonialist European states, in order not to betray its own bias towards the Zionist entity. There were also Kennedy's attempts to mediate between the Zionist entity and Nasser's leadership in the early sixties. When a political settlement for the Arab-Zionist conflict was first proposed via the Geneva conference, the US agreed to the proposal, pretending to be a neutral arbitrator in the conflict between the Arabs and a Mideastern state called 'Israel'.

In contrast to these appearances, the Camp David era has crystallized the reality of the imperialist-Zionist relationship. It has shown the Zionist state as it really is: a settler-colonial society planted in our home-

land by imperialism and Zionism to preserve their interests, not to find a solution for the Jewish question. Any study of Jewish immigration to Palestine, particularly after the establishment of the Zionist state, shows that this has not been a spontaneous movement of a people seeking self-determination in the «Land of Israel», as imperialism and Zionism allege. Rather, it has been a premeditated scheme aimed at the creation of a settler-colonial society on which imperialism can rely to strengthen its positions in the region, and secure its domination and exploitation. Imperialism has moreover intensified its direct military presence in the region. Though we do not regard this as a revival of direct, traditional colonialism, it nevertheless constitutes a distinctive feature of this era.

Third: The most significant and distinctive feature of the Camp David era is the Egyptian regime's shift to official, open alliance with the Zionist entity and US imperialism - the first move of its kind in the history of the Arab-Zionist conflict. The theoretical and political implications of this constitute the basis for understanding the nature of this era and how to approach it.

The Arab defeat of 1948 exposed the inability of the traditional reactionary and newly independent regimes to confront Zionism, because of their subservience to imperialism as well as their class nature (feudalist or parasitic, dependent capitalist). Prior to the defeat, these regimes had proven equally incapable of developing their countries, or making any progress towards unification.

To confront the defeat and eliminate dependence and backwardness, a revolution broke out in Egypt in 1952. It removed these classes from power and embarked on the tasks of liberation and development. Though the July 23rd revolution was not led by the working class and its party, its leadership had a different class character than the prevailing Arab regimes. It represented certain strata of the national bourgeoisie. It initiated programs that represented the interests of these strata and of broad sectors of the masses. Under the new class leadership, there was a great upsurge in the Arab national liberation movement. Significant achievements were realized in terms of the general slogans of the Arab revolution: unity, liberation and progress. In Egypt, social change occurred: Feudalism was smashed; a ceiling was put on the size of private property; land was distributed to peasants, and cooperatives were encouraged. Banks, big businesses and foreign trade were nationalized; the public sector grew and development plans were formulated and

implemented with a degree of success. Close relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were developed; an anti-imperialist line was adopted and pursued. Egypt established itself as one of the leading non-aligned countries.

On the Arab level, there was the merger of Egypt and Syria. The July 23rd revolution served as a supportive base for a number of revolutionary victories in the Arab homeland, such as the Algerian revolution, the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq, the crushing of the feudal-capitalist alliance in Syria, the overthrow of the Hamideddin dynasty in Yemen, the liberation of South Yemen, the rise of the Omani revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy in Libya.

However, following this class in power, we discover its limitations. This class was incapable of continuing the national democratic revolution, due to the gradual growth of its interests while it was in power, and their eventual merger with the interests of the classes it had deposed. Consequently, this leadership began to suppress the masses; the revolutionary process faltered, then came to a halt. Later, the ruling class made an about-face; it reversed the march of Egypt, to land in alliance with imperialism and Zionism. Thus the Sadat regime proceeded, and such is the result.

From this, we conclude a number of basic political-theoretical facts. First and foremost is that the bourgeoisie, including all its strata, is incapable of leading the Arab revolution or accomplishing the tasks of the national democratic revolution in the context of the realities of the times.

Concurrently, only the working class, in alliance with the peasantry and all the toilers and unprivileged of the society, is qualified to do so. Consequently, the national democratic revolution is linked to the socialist revolution; the slogans of Arab unity and liberation must be linked with those of democracy and socialism.

This thesis has been confirmed by ensuing events and the nature of the struggle in our homeland. This enables our masses to assimilate and act on this thesis, for they learn much more from life than from books: This thesis will be imprinted on the masses' consciousness, for the end to which the July 23rd revolution has come in Egypt, will be more or less the end of the course followed by the petit and middle bourgeoisie in other Arab countries. The symptoms of faltering and impotence are already there, and the Sadat-style reversal has begun.

The bourgeoisie has proved in practice its inability to realize the slogans of progress, liberation and unity, which it raised upon coming to

power. The communal and ethnic conflicts now raging in more than one Arab country are evidence that the bourgeoisie cannot preserve national unity within the boundaries of each country.

These three characteristics of the Camp David era, particularly the reversion of the extreme right of the Egyptian bourgeoisie to official alliance with Zionism and imperialism, define the Arab national framework and the class content of the coming stage. The fact that the Camp David scheme covers the entire region gives the struggle its pan-Arab character; that the bourgeoisie is party to the Camp David alliance determines its class content.

So much for the characteristics of the Camp David era from the standpoint of the enemy camp. As for the main characteristics of the masses and forces opposed to Camp David, we can briefly indicate the following points:

1. Some reactionary Arab regimes and forces are in collusion with imperialism and Zionism, without having yet made a formal alliance as Sadat did. This enables them to feign opposition to Camp David. Obviously, this will delay the process of polarization in the new era; such delay will adversely affect the mass struggle.

2. Following Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, the bourgeois Arab nationalist regimes adopted a patriotic stance, opposing the visit. They condemned and called for struggle against the Camp David accords. The nationalist regimes' antagonism to the Camp David accords allowed the revolutionary class forces to rise up and crystallize potentials for opposing the Camp David line. This attitude of the nationalist regimes was not, however, translated into practical action capable of thwarting the Camp David plans. Therefore, the revolutionary forces must shoulder the responsibility for struggling to radicalize the opposition. They must activate the nationalist, democratic and revolutionary forces, and carry the battle to the end.

3. Both the progressive Arab nationalist and the communist currents of the Arab national liberation movement are afflicted by a crisis which we will discuss later on. This crisis precludes the crystallization of a new class leadership for the mass movement with a new political and military line. Neither current has stepped forward to lead. This does not, however, mean that the forces of these two currents no longer exist or that it is impossible for them to play such a role. In the radical section of the anti-Camp David alliance, the past period is now being reviewed; lessons are

being derived, and attempts to overcome the crisis are underway. Hence, there are revolutionary nuclei for the mass movement to rally around in the coming stage, though these have certain limitations.

4. Repression has been exercised against the Arab masses in the name of unity, liberation and socialism. This has brought the masses to the verge of desperation and apathy; it has rendered them politically vulnerable to certain as yet unpredictable ideologies, such as the renewed influence of religious ideology and political trends, particularly after the triumph of the Iranian revolution led by the clergy. On the other hand, the masses are demonstrating militant preparation and potentials in occupied Palestine, Lebanon and elsewhere in the Arab homeland. If crystallized, these militant potentials could be effectively employed in the coming stage of our struggle, provided that it is based on a program that sums up the masses' experience and conforms to their aspirations. The challenges posed by the Camp David alliance, and the adverse effects of the crisis of the world capitalist system on the masses' daily life, provide the objective conditions for crystallizing these potentials. For its part, the Arab national liberation movement must overcome the crisis of its class structure, and draw up a political program based on a correct diagnosis of its difficulties.

5. The growth of the forces of socialism, liberation and progress in both magnitude and might, and their firm opposition to imperialism and its efforts to hamper the process of change all over the world, as in Afghanistan and elsewhere, will constitute objective internationalist support to the Arab mass movement. This factor will help the masses confront the Camp David alliance, formidable as it is, and defeat it.

International conditions exist for such victory, and objective conditions in the Arab homeland are ripe for change, thanks to the economic, social and political developments.

Chapter 4

The Arab Scene: Forms of Counteraction to the Camp David Accords

In the light of the above analysis of the Camp David alliance and its main objectives, there arises a Herculean historic task: radical, strategic confrontation of this enemy alliance. This requires us to determine the classes with interests in and capabilities for such confrontation. We must determine the nature of the class alliance to lead this effort, and the role of the working class in this alliance. We must determine the program of action through which this alliance can defeat the enemy alliance and achieve the goals of the Arab nation in this stage of struggle.

While addressing these topics, we will deal with the situation of the Arab national liberation movement and the nature of its crisis. Concentration on the program for radical, strategic confrontation should not be at the expense of discussing how the confrontation is faring in the context of the conditions of the nationalist and revolutionary forces. We must also assess the forms generated by this situation, and determine the current tasks appropriate for the situation, whereby we can link the tactical tasks to the radical, strategic ones. Our long, rich experience in struggle has taught us that strategic vision and programs alone are not sufficient for leading the masses. They must be combined with the correct tactics in order to fulfill the strategic tasks. The interconnection between strategic and tactical tasks is the main prerequisite for ascending to the level of strategic confrontation.

We will deal first with the anti-Camp David action that has been generated by the Arab reality and the balance of forces between the nationalist and revolutionary forces. Then we will assess the forms of counteraction. In opposition to Camp David, there emerged the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, the Arab People's Conference, the

national accord proposed by Baghdad for the unification of Syria and Iraq, and the Baghdad Summit. The Arab mass movement opposed Camp David in occupied Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt and other Arab countries. Will such confrontation be able to defeat the Camp David line and cancel its results?

1. The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front

Before Sadat's Jerusalem visit, Egypt, Syria and the PLO, encouraged by Saudi Arabia, were working together for an Arab-Zionist settlement on the basis of the Geneva conference, though the three parties were not in full accord on details. The diplomatic and political moves of this Egyptian-Syrian-Palestinian alliance had the approval of the Arab countries in general, as was manifested at the Algiers and Rabat summits. The Palestinian Rejection Front and the few Arab states rejecting the settlement line were unable to curb this official Arab position which continued from the October War, 1973, up to Sadat's Jerusalem visit.

Then the visit occurred, and no doubts remained as to the imperialist-Zionist nature of the settlement Sadat had embarked upon; the Arab masses' hostility to the visit became clear. Then, the Egyptian-Syrian-Palestinian alliance broke up; Syria and the PLO adopted a stance opposed to Sadat's move, while Egypt continued towards full capitulation. Libya convened a conference in Tripoli, which was attended by Syria, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, Iraq, the PLO and the Palestinian Rejection Front. The conference resulted in forming the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. All the participating parties joined with the exception of Iraq, which made some unconvincing excuses. Later political developments exposed Iraq's real position.

The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front held its second conference in Algiers at the beginning of 1978, its third in Damascus in September 1978, and its fourth in Tripoli, Libya, in April 1980. Almost three years have lapsed since this front came into existence. What is our evaluation of it, and what stance do we adopt in the light of this evaluation?

The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has not categorically rejected a political settlement. It rejected the particular settlement Sadat accepted, but continued to speak of a just, comprehensive settlement based on Israeli withdrawal from the land occupied in 1967, and the fulfillment of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. It kept silent on the imperialist-Zionist entity's existence on Arab territory, whereas there can be no peace or justice so long as that entity exists.

Even in its latest statement, the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front did not make a clear distinction between the enemy camp, comprising imperialism and Arab reaction in addition to Zionism, and the camp of friends composed of the socialist countries with the USSR at the forefront, together with liberation forces all over the world. Such a distinction is necessary for knowing exactly who are the enemies to be fought, and who are the friendly forces with whom to establish principled, strategic alliances, to help us counteract the enemy alliance. Some parties to this front have left the line open to the Arab reactionary forces and regimes. Some are wagering on a role to be played by Europe. These two policies indicate that the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has not made a decisive break with all parties of the enemy camp. Hence, it does not offer a new confrontation strategy that is qualitatively distinct from the official Arab strategy that prevailed before Sadat's Jerusalem visit.

The failure of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front to radicalize its political position and clearly distinguish between enemies and friends is primarily due to the class nature of the majority of its members. It is the bourgeois nature of these nationalist forces that is responsible for producing such a compromising attitude toward the imperialist and reactionary forces. Moreover, the bourgeois nature of most of this front's member states is responsible for its lack of effectiveness, as well as for the contradiction between its position in theory and its ability to enact this in practice. The national bourgeoisie theoretically aspires to liberation, independence, national unity and other ambitions, proportionate with its political weight and material interests. Yet it is unable to fulfill these aspirations and fight the decisive battle against imperialism.

This weakness has been manifested in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front's failure to take any radical economic measures against imperialism. It has failed to effect any genuine mobilization or to pool its members' forces and potentials for use on the various fronts of the battle with the enemy. It has failed to put into effect its resolutions on establishing unified institutions, mobilizing unified capabilities and entering the actual confrontation with the Zionist entity. None of this has been done, despite all the theoretical and practical resolutions stressing the necessity of an offensive policy for such confrontation.

The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has not only failed to realize the unity of its member states; it has not even set up institutions for real coordination that could gradually lead to such unity. Lacking such institutions, it has restricted itself to conferences held under pressing polit-

ical circumstances and resulting in political communiques and resolutions that find no institutions to implement them. Because of the lack of institutions to coordinate and unify their efforts, the member states have not been in agreement on several crucial political issues, such as at the extraordinary Islamic Conference in Islamabad, and concerning the Baghdad accord and the Soviet aid to the Afghani revolution.

Having pursued an indecisive political line, having a discrepancy between words and deeds, and having failed to unify or coordinate member states' positions and efforts, the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has fallen short of the expectations of the Arab masses and vanguards. It has not proven to be a counterforce equal to the Camp David alliance, capable of leading and mobilizing the masses and their potentials in a revolutionary struggle to confront and defeat the enemy alliance.

This evaluation of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front proceeds from a strategic point of view, assessing it as the opposite pole to the Camp David alliance. However, we must also assess it as a part of the current confrontation of Camp David, at a time when the Arab revolutionary forces are unable to lead the masses on an alternative revolutionary line. From this angle, the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front has actually represented a political stance opposed to Camp David. It pressured Iraq into proposing unification with Syria. It was behind the convocation of the Baghdad Summit and its resolutions for boycotting and relatively isolating Sadat, thus depriving the Camp David accords of official Arab and international validity. It prevented the other Arab fronts from crumbling as fast as imperialism wished.

In this perspective we can pinpoint our position on the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. We take part in this front and struggle to create a mass situation which will press for radicalizing its political line, implementing its resolutions, setting up institutions and integrating the efforts and potentials of its members. Yet we must clearly state that this front falls short of the minimum required for the tasks posed by current developments.

Our position on the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front is not dictated solely by the current situation, the developments based on alliance with the patriotic forces, and the need to radicalize this front's position and end its wavering. More importantly, our position is dictated by the state of the revolutionary forces and their need for such alliances in order to build their own capabilities, popularize their program among the masses, and mobilize the masses' potentials on the basis of this program. Thus, allying

with the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front should not obscure the radical confrontation program or lessen the struggle for it, for only this program can offer the historic, class, ideological and political alternative to the Camp David alliance.

2. The Arab People's Conference

At the same time as the Tripoli conference which produced the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, Libya called a large number of Arab revolutionary, progressive and nationalist forces, parties and organizations to another conference. This was of a different nature: It would voice the mass response to Sadat's Jerusalem visit and the treasonous line it symbolized. This was called the Arab People's Conference. It created a permanent secretariat responsible for following up the conference resolutions and coordinating the efforts of the participants. The secretariat has been active since then; it has held a number of sessions, each time adopting resolutions on the basis of which steps were taken on the Arab and international levels. How do we assess the Arab People's Conference, and what is our position in the light of this assessment?

In terms of political line, the Arab People's Conference represented an advanced step in comparison with the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. The political statement issued by the Conference took a decisive position against the Zionist entity and the line of settlement based on coexistence with it. Similarly, the political statements issued by the secretariat are an advanced step towards polarization and distinguishing between friend and enemy. The charter currently proposed as its political program addresses a number of theoretical questions, including the stand of the bourgeoisie in the confrontation and the limitations of its role. Still, can we be satisfied with programs in isolation from the structure of the forces involved in the Arab People's Conference, and the lack of harmony between this structure and the programs it proposes?

By highlighting the political program, we do not mean, however, that the Arab People's Conference and secretariat documents provide a comprehensive analysis of the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement or of the program for ending this crisis. Rather, the Arab People's Conference's main weakness is its class structure in general, and the contradiction this produces between its programs and its ability to carry them out. Some of the many forces and parties in the Conference are linked to Arab regimes, and have the same class structure. By virtue of the Conference's origin, these same forces and parties are the most influential constituents;

mainly they control its programs and activities. This explains many of the obstacles impeding the Arab People's Conference. These obstacles stem from the aforementioned contradictions and the attempts by each of the various constituent forces to dominate the Conference and have it serve the interests of the state they represent. For example, the Arab People's Conference was faced by the Iraqi Baath Party's position against the communist parties and their representation in the secretariat. It faced the Iraqi Baath's opposition to POLISARIO. Such situations are logical reflections of the heterogeneous class composition of the Arab People's Conference, which plays a part in impairing its effectiveness. Other forces and parties have not been the decisive force. Moreover, they themselves are to various degrees burdened by the symptoms of the Arab national liberation movement's crisis; this limits their effectiveness among their masses for the time being.

Thus, the Arab People's Conference has not so far proved to be a pan-Arab front progressive enough to mobilize all the capabilities of the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces to counteract Camp David. It does not constitute a force that can pressure the Arab regimes opposed to Camp David into translating their opposition into practical programs and policies. Therefore, while we adopt a positive attitude of support and cooperation with the Arab People's Conference, we will continue to struggle to make it more effective. We will work to coordinate the efforts of its advanced and effectual forces, so that it might be the prelude to the required progressive Arab front capable of mobilizing the masses to face the challenges.

3. The National Accord for the Unification of Iraq and Syria

Iraq's refusal to join the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front resulted in some isolation for the Iraqi regime. Iraq's excuse - that the front did not reject 242 - was not acceptable to the Arab masses or their patriotic, progressive and revolutionary organizations. The masses really wanted the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front to take a decisive stance on UN Security Council resolution 242 and the line of negotiated settlement in general. However, they found no sense in a stance that for all practical purposes put Iraq and its potentials outside the battle field, when Iraq by itself was unable to constitute a counterforce against Camp David, superior to the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. Also, there

were possibilities open for developing this front's political line. On the other hand, there was no possibility for the proposal of a settlement formula other than Camp David, which might have given the Syrian regime an opportunity to drift back into the trend of negotiated settlement under the cover of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, as the Iraqi regime allegedly feared.

The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front carried on, holding its second and third conferences during 1978. Sadat, for his part, was going further and further in his treacherous enterprise with the danger this line represented for the Arab nation's future and liberation cause. In this context, Iraq's position became more isolated and awkward. When the Camp David accords were concluded, Iraq proposed the unification of Syria and Iraq, and called for an Arab summit to counter the accords and adopt a unified stance against Sadat's regime.

This time Iraq did not require that Syria renounce resolution 242, as it had done at the Tripoli conference. It was evident that Iraq's proposal for unification with Syria was intended to replace the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, rather than complementing it by becoming its backbone. The unity proposal was combined with a call for returning to the confines of 'Arab solidarity' which ignores and hampers the polarization of progressive and reactionary forces. Moreover, there were indications that Iraq was going to use the unity step to strike the revolutionary forces and minimize the role of the Palestinian revolution. Despite all this, the Arab masses and the patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces hailed the Iraqi move. Some even began to pin their hopes on it, rather than on the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, for countering the Camp David line. This was because of Iraq's economic, demographic and military weight, its adjacency to Syria - a confrontation state with the Zionist entity, and the qualitative superiority of the unity of Syria and Iraq, as compared to the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front's type of unity.

Regular meetings between the Syrian and Iraqi regimes to realize this unity began. However, the emotional appeal of the proposal soon faded as obstacles brought about by the conflicting interests of these two bourgeois regimes began to surface. Then differences within the Iraqi Baath Party emerged and were used as justification for the Iraqi regime to back out of its own proposal and absolve itself from the responsibilities of the common struggle.

In our opinion, the failure to materialize of the Iraqi proposal, for unifying Syria and Iraq, is a great lesson. All earlier national bourgeois attempts

to realize a merger or other form of unity between Arab countries had also failed. However, their failure did not kill the hope that some unifying steps might yet be achieved by the national bourgeoisie. This was demonstrated by the hopes most Arab patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces pinned on Iraq's move. This attempt at unity occurred in the context of the great challenges that the Camp David alliance poses for all Arab national forces, and the dangers it poses to the entire future of the Arab nation, particularly the consolidation and spread of the Zionist cancer. Seen in this context, the failure is a final, decisive indication of the Arab bourgeoisie's inability to rise above its narrow class interests for the sake of accomplishing a genuine unifying step. This is especially true in view of the fact that the Iraqi and Syrian regimes raise the slogan of unity, and regard this as the *raison d'être* for their stay in power. Moreover, the Iraqi regime always boasts about pan-Arab nationalism and the immortal mission of the Arab nation.

We stress this thesis so that the Arab working class, its parties and other organizations, see that the task of realizing Arab unity now falls exclusively on their shoulders. The working class is the only force capable of leading the national movement to achieve Arab unity. Such unity will provide the best conditions for socialist construction, besides satisfying social and cultural aspirations for pan-Arab unity. That does not mean that we will oppose unity efforts initiated by national bourgeois regimes and forces. However, our support to such efforts should be closely combined with a firm demand for freedom of mass action, a democratic climate for all parties and forces of the working class and other toilers, and progressive, national democratic policies in all spheres: economic, social, cultural and political. The bourgeoisie will not be able to carry on with the national democratic revolution unless it allies, in a democratic form, with the toiling classes, the workers and peasantry. In this way, the latter classes will be able to heighten their activities and expand their role in the revolutionary process. With time, they will rise to the leadership of the mass movement. By adopting such a patriotic position, the bourgeoisie will be a bridge for the masses to go on to achieve their aims. This took place in Angola, Mozambique, Democratic Yemen and other countries. There, certain sectors of the bourgeoisie played a progressive nationalist role. This paved the way for restructuring the class alliance so that the working class ascended to the position of effectiveness, influence and leadership. With the expanded role of the workers and other toilers, and the shrinking of the bourgeoisie's role, this alliance was able to accomplish the tasks of the national democratic revolution, on the way to socialist transformation.

4. The Baghdad Summit

Most Arab countries are dominated by reactionary forces (the alliance of parasitic big capital with the remnants of the landed aristocracy). Only in a limited number of Arab countries is the national bourgeoisie in power. Moreover, the ability of the national regimes to radically confront imperialism and Zionism is limited. In view of these factors, it is easy to predict the outcome of the official 'Arab solidarity' policy. Indeed, over a long period of Arab mass struggle, this policy has produced hard facts which render theoretical analysis redundant; our masses are able to determine a correct position on this policy.

In 1936, official 'Arab solidarity' played a role in aborting the Palestinian revolt. In 1948, this same 'solidarity' curbed the Arab mass movement that was burning with enthusiasm to struggle against the founding of the Zionist entity in Palestine. The outcome of such 'solidarity' was hardly any different after the national bourgeois revolution in Egypt and other Arab countries. The first Arab summit, called by President Nasser to thwart the Israeli project for diverting the Jordan River, not only failed to do the job. It also served as a cover for the Arab nationalist regimes, enabling each to put the blame for the common failure on others. Ever since, the outcome has been more or less the same. Arab summits have been a cover for the reactionary Arab regimes to feign hostility to Zionism, while hiding their real collaboration and alliance with imperialism, Zionism's chief supporter. For the nationalist regimes, the summits have been a cover for hiding their impotence. For example, economic measures, such as using the oil weapon against the US, are subject to Arab unanimity. In some cases, Arab summits have been used as a cover for suppressing the mass movement. Following Black September in Jordan, 1970, the committee formed by the Arab summit facilitated the Jordanian regime's job of eliminating the Palestinian resistance (under the guise of mediation).

Despite this history, the Iraqi regime called for holding yet another summit in Baghdad in 1978, to deal with Sadat's treason and draw up a program to counter the Camp David accords. Iraq's concurrent proposal for unity with Syria provided the justification for calling the summit. Iraq's main argument was that Syrian-Iraqi unity would be the primary force for countering Camp David. The call for a summit was presented as a secondary move, not to be viewed in isolation from the unity proposals. It was claimed that the prospect of Syria and Iraq's unity would serve as a pressure within the summit, compelling all Arab states to commit themselves

to the minimum requirements for countering Sadat's treason.

Mass agitation against the Camp David accords, and Sadat's flagrant treason, had placed his reactionary allies in an awkward position. The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front had been created and adopted resolutions against Sadat's regime. The Syrian-Iraqi convergence was in its prime at the time. Due to these three factors, the Baghdad Summit was compelled to condemn Sadat's line. Later, in the Arab Foreign Ministers' Conference, held in Baghdad in March 1979, after the conclusion of the treasonous peace treaty, it was decided to suspend diplomatic and, to some extent, economic relations with the Egyptian regime.

It is true that the summit resolutions have been effective in isolating Sadat's regime, creating difficulties and depriving it of official Arab legitimacy. Official Arab condemnation of Sadat's treasonous line reinforced the mass condemnation. To this extent, the resolutions are positive; consequently, we demand that they be implemented. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that these resolutions are a mere formality for some regimes. Somalia, Sudan and Oman still maintain diplomatic, political, economic and military relations with the Egyptian regime. Other Arab regimes maintain such relations secretly. Saudi Arabia and others have not taken seriously the resolution on boycotting the Egyptian regime economically. Moreover, the level of official confrontation has dropped. This was particularly manifest at the Tunis Summit which did not discuss how opposition to Sadat's regime was to be continued.

Finally, we will reiterate our overall assessment of Arab summits and official 'Arab solidarity' as being the solidarity of the reactionaries and the impotent. We will reiterate our position on furthering the struggle for polarization between progressive and reactionary regimes.

It was clear that by calling an Arab summit, Iraq intended to prevent the process of polarization required by the objective conditions prevailing in the region following the conclusion of the Camp David accords. The reasons put forth by Iraq failed to disguise its real intentions. This move harmonized to a great extent with the Iraqi regime's policies over the two years preceding the Camp David accords. It is in harmony with Iraq's later policies. The Iraqi regime has been developing the closest of relations with the Arab reactionary axis led by Saudi Arabia, thus trying to align with the side opposed to the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. For its part, this front has been steadily proposing that the Iraqi regime relinquish its policies and join. Yet all attempts to persuade the Iraqi regime to join this front have failed. Instead, Iraq continues to strengthen its ties with

reactionary Saudi Arabia and Jordan, after having exploited party differences with the Syrian Baathists to back out of its unity proposal.

In addition, the Iraqi regime has fostered reactionaries and lackeys, such as Abdul Kawi Mikkawi and his ilk, to operate against Democratic Yemen. Iraq has resumed collaboration with reactionary forces in Syria, with a view to overthrowing the regime. It has strengthened its relations with Arab reaction and pursued a rightist policy within the Iraqi-Saudi-Jordanian axis. It has persecuted the communist and democratic forces in Iraq, persisted in its chauvinist approach to the Kurdish question, and aligned with imperialism and reaction on Afghanistan. Finally, it proposed the National Charter, aiming to direct Arab struggle against an alleged communist and Soviet threat, instead of concentrating against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This initiative was hailed with enthusiasm by Somalia, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and other reactionary Arab countries. All this testifies to the fact that Iraq has been reverting to a rightist position. This reversion is attributable to the bourgeois-class nature of the regime, which has been further consolidated by the increased oil revenues. A regime with this class nature is capable of initiating a national struggle against imperialism, but proves unable to continue; thus it begins to retreat, covering its impotence by invoking the communist and Soviet 'threat'.

A nationalist regime really concerned with confronting the Camp David alliance, with preparing to battle the Zionist entity to liberate all the national soil - without ceding a single inch, as the Iraqi regime says - would never pursue such policies. Genuine confrontation policies have become easily identifiable. Many years of struggle have shown in practice which policies are conducive and which obstruct liberation. The Iraqi regime is unable to actually fight against the Zionist entity, for fear of risking the interests of the ruling elite. This explains the side-battles it contrives to the detriment of pooling all efforts for the main battle. Its position on the Iranian revolution manifests the process of deviation to a rightist position allied with reaction. No sooner had the Iranian revolution overthrown the Shah than the Iraqi regime raised contrived 'Arab' claims to the three islands and Arabistan (Ahwaz), whereas it had kept silent on this question in the time of the Shah. The Iraqi regime began policies that ultimately prepared the climate for the war with the Iranian revolution, which is still raging.

The Camp David intrigues against the Palestinian revolution, and all the contingents of the Arab national liberation movement, aim to liquidate

the Palestinian cause once and for all, to legitimize and consolidate Zionist settler-colonialism in Palestine, and secure imperialist domination over the wealth and fate of the Arab region. In this context, the Iraqi regime's contrived war against the Iranian revolution can serve no other end than diverting the struggle from its proper class context and from the correct, urgent objective of countering the Camp David accords and their consequences. The Iraqi-Iranian war can only serve the aims of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance.

We condemn Iraq's going to war against the Iranian revolution which overthrew the Shah's regime and dealt a severe blow to imperialism and Zionism in the region. We advocate efforts to end this war, so that imperialism, Zionism and reaction cannot take advantage of it; so that Iraq may devote its material, human and military potentials to the Arabs' main struggle against the Camp David accords; and so that the Iranian revolution may contribute to the struggle against the Zionist enemy in occupied Palestine, and reinforce the Arab struggle against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plans, as it declared it would do the moment it triumphed.

Even if the Iraqi regime retains some trace of patriotism, the only way to sustain and kindle this is to struggle against the regime's rightist policies and to support Iraq's nationalist, democratic and progressive forces.

These are the formulas produced by the Arab reality in confronting Camp David. We have tried to assess these in a scientific and realistic manner, taking into consideration the necessity of making use of contradictions in the enemy camp, strengthening the stance adopted by the patriotic regimes, and taking into account the balance of forces, the state of the national liberation movement and the role of the revolutionary forces. At the same time, we deem it equally or even more important to evaluate these formulas in terms of ability to confront Camp David, thwart the line of treason and accomplish the tasks of the unitarian, national democratic revolution. By asserting this, we intend to confront the Arab revolutionary forces, ourselves included, with the pending tasks of radical, strategic confrontation. In class, ideological and political terms, such confrontation constitutes the qualitative, historic alternative to all existing formulas. It is the task of other classes, i.e., the workers and peasants, not the bourgeoisie.

Finally, it must be noted that the mass movement in certain Arab countries has gone far beyond these insufficient formulas in opposing the enemy alliance and its schemes. The mass uprising in occupied Pales-

tine, and the steadfastness of the Palestinian revolution, allied with the national movement in Lebanon, have upset the Camp David designs and brought them to a deadlock on the Palestinian level. So far, the Palestinian mass movement has prevented any Palestinian figure, traditional leadership or reactionary group from accepting the 'autonomy' fraud proposed by the Camp David alliance to solve the Palestinian problem and end the Palestinian-Zionist conflict. Such an obstacle to the enemy scheme is certainly more effective than all the formulas discussed above.

Palestinian mass action, confronting the new era, constitutes the most significant mass action in the Arab arena. Yet it was not an isolated instance. In Saudi Arabia, the Qaba uprising in Mecca revealed the helplessness of the repressive forces despite massive armament budgets. It exposed the regime's vulnerability, creating much anxiety in imperialist circles regarding the prospects of their oil interests. This added to the Camp David alliance's concern about defending their interests and carrying out their schemes. Such mass action reflects the vast, militant potentials of the masses; it shows they are bound and able to confront their enemies. This places all Arab revolutionary forces face-to-face with the great, historic task of leading the masses in this confrontation and providing the subjective conditions (the tool and the program) for their victory. Failing that, the mass movement will remain exposed to the dangers it has faced in the earlier stages of its struggle. Chief among these is the danger of their struggles being aborted if led by the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie will divert the struggle to serve its own selfish class interests, and then turn against the mass movement to repress and abort it.

Chapter 5

The Program of Current Tasks for Confronting Camp David

Here we deal with the program of tasks currently facing the Arab national liberation movement in its present state: the nationalist regimes and the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary parties, forces, organizations and institutions. These tasks can be realised in the foreseeable future, if these forces are really determined to confront the traitorous line, to stick to the patriotic position and action, and defend themselves against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary onslaught that seeks their destruction once and for all.

The nature of these tasks means that the vast majority of the masses will rally around them, regardless of ideological or political affiliation at this stage. The extent to which each Arab nationalist regime, and each nationalist, progressive or revolutionary Arab force, commits itself to accomplishing these tasks will determine the extent of its mass support. In as much as these tasks constitute a framework for consolidating the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces, they will enable the revolutionary forces to acquire leading influence and, finally, to assume the leadership of this broad alliance. They will rise with this profound, all-inclusive mass movement to the level of accomplishing the objectives of the Arab democratic revolution, heading towards building the Arab socialist society.

What then are the tasks?

First: To act seriously to isolate Sadat's regime diplomatically, politically, economically and in all other spheres, in the Arab, African and Islamic arenas, among the non-aligned countries and internationally; to struggle hard to blockade the regime's traitorous line and halt it as a prelude to eliminating it.

Together with the PLO, the Arab nationalist regimes have a special responsibility. As participants in Arab summits, they can call to task the reactionary Arab regimes that fail to comply or comply only partially with the boycott resolutions. Furthermore, their presence in other political forums assigns them responsibility for isolating Sadat's regime there.

The task of isolating Sadat's regime should be coupled with full political, informational, financial and material (including arms) support to the Egyptian mass movement and nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces, for overthrowing the regime together with its treasonous line. The Camp David scheme seeks to transform Egypt into a principal, internally stable base, capable of policing the region for imperialism. The more the Arab liberation movement succeeds in opposing the Egyptian regime, the less will be the regime's ability to perform the tasks it is assigned.

Second: To confront US imperialism together with all its policies, plans and interests in the region.

The nationalist regimes are emphatically called upon to use oil as a weapon against the US, to withdraw their funds from its banks, bar it from their markets, and to stop all relations with it. All Arab nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces are required to expose the policy of imperialism, oppose all its activities and strike at all forms of its presence in the Arab homeland.

The US was a full partner in concluding the Camp David accords. This exposed the fraudulence of Arab policies allegedly seeking to neutralize the US and win it over to a less biased position towards 'Israel' in settling the Arab-Zionist conflict. Never has US imperialism's hostility towards our just cause been so clear to the Arab masses. They now demand that we strike at the snake's head - US imperialism, and not be satisfied by hitting its tail - Sadat. Arab nationalism can no longer be separated from taking a stance against US imperialism. Nationalism rules out cooperation and alliance with the US; nationalism means opposition to all US policies, plans and interests in the region. After the conclusion of the Camp David accords, one cannot profess hostility to Zionism yet persist in alliance with imperialism. Revolutionary progressive forces should make use of this situation to radicalize the nationalist position. By adopting concrete positions of hostility towards imperialism and its interests, the nationalist regimes make the reactionary regimes' position more awkward. Thus it is easier for the mass movement to step up its struggle against these regimes.

Oil's importance is vital and growing; imperialism's dependence on Arab oil in particular is increasing; Arab deposits in imperialist banks are assuming increased importance, as is the Arab market. In view of these factors, and the strategic importance of the Arab homeland generally, we can imagine the harm we can inflict on the imperialist enemy once the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces begin a serious and continuous struggle against its interests. The task of these forces is to show, with facts and figures, the volume of imperialist interests in our region, and consequently the degree of harm we can cause them. Mass awareness of such facts will stimulate the struggle to strike at these interests. We can thereby bring pressure to bear on the Arab regimes which secure these interests for the imperialist enemy.

Third: To secure earnest support to the Palestinian revolution from all the nationalist regimes and nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces in all spheres: political, informational, financial and material, including arms.

Backing the Palestinian revolution is the task of all forces without exception. Concrete support to the Palestinian revolution should become the criterion for judging the seriousness of every force in confronting the Camp David alliance. The continuous mass struggle waged by our people under occupation constitutes an almost total mass uprising. Together with the revolution's steadfastness in the face of the March 1978 Israeli invasion of South Lebanon and ensuing aggressions and plots, this indicates what an obstacle the Palestinian revolution poses for the Camp David designs. Hence, the task of all nationalist regimes and nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces is to support the Palestinian revolution; to provide all the requirements of steadfastness for the Palestinian masses under occupation, and for the Palestinian and Lebanese masses in Lebanon; to demand that all fronts, particularly the Jordanian, be opened for Palestinian operations against the Zionists in occupied Palestine; and to struggle against all reactionary pressures and maneuvers aimed at undermining or diverting the Palestinian revolution.

Fourth: To earnestly support the Lebanese National Movement and the Lebanese masses, enabling them to withstand the dangerous imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plot.

Through the conflict raging in Lebanon, this plot aims at striking the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese National Movement and Syria, as

well as establishing a fascist, isolationist, sectarian regime. After securing its domination over Lebanon, this regime would join the Camp David alliance and subject Lebanon to the same imperialist-Zionist conditions as were imposed on Egypt.

The main force to confront this plot is the Lebanese masses led by the National Movement. They are allied in particular with the Palestinian revolution and Syria, and with all the Arab nationalist regimes and forces, and the forces of liberation, progress and socialism in the world. In this light, supporting the Lebanese National Movement becomes a central task of the entire Arab national liberation movement.

The enemy camp is striving hard to make the Lebanese masses break with the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. One of their main weapons is the destruction, killing and eviction practiced for years by the Zionist enemy and Saad Haddad's forces against the Lebanese masses. The Lebanese National Movement's inability to secure the minimal conditions for the masses to hold out, particularly in the South, makes it easier for the enemy camp to achieve this end. We do not mean that this is the only reason for the gaps in the mass situation in Lebanon today; rather it is one of the reasons.

In this light, providing material support and especially arms to the Lebanese National Movement, in addition to political, moral and informational support, is one of the tasks of the nationalist regimes. The Lebanese arena should not be considered important solely because the Palestinian revolution maintains open presence there.

Fifth: To support Syria's stand in the face of internal and external imperialist-Zionist-reactionary schemes that aim at bringing Syria to its knees and drawing it to the course of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary settlement.

Geographically, Syria faces 'Israel' that occupies the Syrian Golan Heights. The Syrian regime is unequivocally opposed to Camp David, a stand which constitutes a great help to both the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. The Camp David alliance aims at weakening Syria to facilitate the subjugation of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese nationalist forces. Taken together, this means that all Arab nationalist regimes and nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces are duty-bound to rigorously back Syria and reinforce its steadfastness.

Syria's stand against the Camp David accords has further radicalized

its positions on both Arab and international affairs. This has manifested itself in many ways: a more positive position in the Lebanese arena, a changed stance towards the Lebanese National Movement, more enthusiasm for the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, support to the Iranian and Afghani revolutions, and more eagerness for closer relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, culminating in a friendship treaty with the USSR. This has made Syria a major target of the enemy scheme. The disturbances created by the forces of reaction in Syria are no doubt linked in one way or another with the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plots.

The nationalist regimes are required to extend material and military support to Syria. The nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces are required to reinforce their relations with the Syrian regime with a view to strengthening its progressive, nationalist, political position. Syria must translate these positions into actions and grant democratic freedom to all nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces.

Sixth: To strive to strengthen the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, promote its effectiveness, deepen relations of solidarity between its members and settle differences between them. This should be done through democratic dialogue, explaining the real dangers threatening all, and stressing the importance of cooperation to face these dangers.

The effort to strengthen the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front should aim at deciding its political line and deepening its progressive, nationalist content. Clear-cut distinction between the enemy and friendly camps must be made, as this is imperative for every growing struggle. Moreover, it should aim at seriously implementing this line together with the adopted resolutions. Finally, this front should build effective institutions to deepen solidarity and coordination between its members.

In this respect the PLO has a special responsibility for promoting the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. In the light of the rapid, successive developments in the Arab region, the PLO must cooperate with the other members to eliminate the obstacles to holding a new Steadfastness and Confrontation Front summit. This summit should discuss current developments with a view to adopting a unified position on them. Furthermore, the PLO has a special role to play in effecting a real polarization between nationalists and reactionaries in the Arab arena. New steps by the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front would constitute a basic beginning for such polarization.

The PLO should abandon its unremitting efforts for convening an Arab summit to restore official 'Arab solidarity'. Experience has proved that such 'solidarity', in the final analysis, serves only Arab reaction. Rather, the PLO should move to adopt an unequivocal policy that makes a clear distinction between friends and foes. This is the course that serves our national cause as well as our anti-Camp David struggle. As an opponent of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, the PLO should strive in every way for implementation of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front's resolutions for setting up and developing joint institutions. Without this, the confrontation in the region will merely be marking time.

The Steadfastness and Confrontation Front's current state of stagnation should be transitory. The schemes of imperialism, Zionism and reaction ought to stimulate all members to act promptly to stop the deterioration of the situation in the region. We believe that while the PLO bears a special responsibility, the other Steadfastness and Confrontation Front members bear an equal one.

Seventh: To strive earnestly to strengthen the Arab People's Conference and augment its effectiveness and ability to unify the positions and activities of the member parties, forces and organizations.

The present inability of the Arab revolutionary forces to establish and lead a progressive, pan-Arab front, makes the Arab People's Conference a necessity for coordinating the pan-Arab mass movement with a view to accomplishing the tasks of the current stage. The presence in the Arab People's Conference of a substantial number of progressive and revolutionary forces makes it possible to promote it, develop its political line and deepen its progressive nationalist nature. Democratic dialogue can be practiced for handling contradiction between members. Militant relations can be strengthened to invigorate the Conference, implement its resolutions and increase its mass orientation.

The progressive and revolutionary forces must attend the meetings of the Arab People's Conference and its permanent secretariat; they must participate in prior preparation of such meetings, and coordinate to insure that resolutions get implemented and all duties carried out. This must result in improving the Conference's effectiveness as the existing framework for coordinating the positions and activities of the nationalist, democratic and revolutionary forces of the Arab national liberation movement, regardless of whether they are in power or not.

Eighth: To strive tirelessly for democratic freedoms for the toiling masses and their political parties, trade unions and mass organizations.

The only force capable of confronting the Camp David designs is the masses and the progressive and revolutionary organizations. The masses, generally speaking, now suffer from extreme frustration as a result of having been suppressed and having their slogans misused by leaders that claim to be acting to realize these same slogans. The persistence of this state of affairs threatens the masses and hence the nation's ability to withstand and confront the Camp David schemes.

In the fifties, the mass movement played an effective role, confronting the Baghdad Pact and other imperialist plans. In Syria in particular, the mass movement was able to thwart numerous enemy designs. However, the undemocratic attitude of the national bourgeois regimes later weakened the mass movement and paralyzed its initiative. Hence, the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces that are not in power must struggle for democratic freedoms for the toiling masses. Also, the nationalist and progressive press and revolutionary writers and intellectuals should focus on this task. Democratic rights must assume the status of a patriotic, progressive and revolutionary value, a moral and political value equal to patriotism itself. Genuine patriotism should be measured by the attitude towards democratic freedoms.

We do not demand that the nationalist regimes provide the liberal bourgeois freedoms of capitalist societies. We demand democratic freedoms for the broad masses, not for their enemies. Democratic freedom for all patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces, regardless of ideological or party affiliation, should be linked in principle with: 1) the position on imperialism, Zionism and reaction; and 2) controlling antagonism between different ideological, class and political trends within the framework of cooperation against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy. Should secondary contradictions override the main contradiction with the enemy camp, the mass movement would be divided and weakened. This would pave the way for crackdowns on democratic freedoms.

Belief in the masses, in democracy and in the masses' right to choose a position and act on it, are necessary conditions in the period of unified, national democratic liberation struggle. One of imperialism's and reaction's main weapons for dividing the mass movement is brandishing the «communist danger» and the threat it allegedly poses to religion, traditions, nationalism and beliefs. On occasion, patriotic forces have fallen in this trap. Thus imperialism, Zionism and reaction succeed in dividing the

mass movement and fomenting ideological antagonisms within its ranks.

In confronting Camp David, the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces should be aware of this danger; they must immunize the masses against it. Political unity on the basis of opposing imperialism, Zionism and reaction must prevail over any ideological differences. The nationalist forces should realize that those who have responded to the tune of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism have in practice landed in the enemy camp. The communists, for their part, should concentrate primarily on their political program for opposing imperialism, Zionism and reaction; they should respect all ideological trends that follow a political program opposed to the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy.

Ninth: To reinforce solidarity and mutual support among the Arab liberation forces in order to back the nationalist, democratic and revolutionary forces of each and every Arab country, so that they may protect themselves against the Camp David plan, augment their own capabilities, and overcome the imperialist-backed reactionary forces in their respective countries.

We have earlier stressed the necessity of supporting the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese National Movement and the Egyptian mass movement in particular. This support should also be extended to Democratic Yemen which has been threatened by military aggression as well as plots concocted by Saudi, Yemeni and Iraqi reaction in collaboration with local counterrevolutionary forces. Democratic Yemen should also be helped to overcome its current economic difficulties. Moreover, support should be given to the National Democratic Front of North Yemen; the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO); the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces in the Gulf, Saudi Arabia and Iraq; and the Sudanese people and their nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces. Support should also be extended to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya which faces Sadat's military threats and the intrigues of the Camp David alliance. POLISARIO and Algeria should also be supported against the activities of the reactionary Moroccan regime and the plots of hostile forces aiming at undermining the revolution. Support should also be given to the struggles of the Tunisian and Moroccan masses against reaction.

Strengthening militant solidarity among the contingents of the Arab national liberation movement is the way to reinforce their confrontation of the enemy alliance. This is also the way to create a progressive, pan-Arab front to lead the Arab national democratic revolution oriented towards socialism.

Tenth: To struggle seriously for strengthening international solidarity between the Arab national liberation movement, the forces of socialism and national liberation movements of the world, and the democratic and working class forces in the capitalist countries.

The current changes in many a country in the region will, thanks to their proximity to the Arab homeland, contribute to consolidating the Arab national liberation movement. These will consequently turn into points of support for our mass movement against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The same applies to mutual support with the patriotic, progressive and revolutionary regimes and forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is equally necessary to strengthen the cooperation and the mutual support between the Arab national liberation movement and the progressive and democratic parties and forces of the advanced capitalist countries. The central link in this effort to enlist solidarity is to consolidate relations with the countries of the socialist community, particularly the Soviet Union.

The need to consolidate cooperation and mutual support between the Arab national liberation movement and the Soviet Union arises from national rather than class considerations. In the Camp David era, US imperialism is exercising all its weight to impose its domination and schemes on the Arab region. To confront this, we must enlist the support of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. They are the polar opposite of imperialism, capable of standing up to its attempt at world domination.

These are the ten tasks lying ahead for the Arab national liberation movement, nationalist regimes and all the nationalist, progressive and revolutionary parties and forces. As a contingent of the Arab liberation movement, it is our duty to pose and agitate for these tasks in our work with the masses, and to struggle tirelessly for their fulfillment. These tasks are the basis for dialogue and agreement with other forces, and for mobilizing our masses.

These tasks are designed to multiply the masses' capabilities for confronting the Camp David threat. As such, they are certain to be understandable and acceptable to the broadest masses, regardless of ideological affiliation. At the same time, these tasks can be realized if there is real national resolve. These tasks will become tangible criteria for checking the nationalism of each and every Arab regime, party or organization. This provides a great opportunity for the more democratic and revolutionary

groups to earn increased mass support, enabling them to embark on the tasks of their radical strategic program.

Chapter 6

Program of Strategic Tasks

The strategic tasks are not limited to withstanding, containing and counteracting the Camp David alliance and its schemes. They aim at defeating the treasonous line and the Camp David alliance; liberating Palestine from Zionism; eliminating all of imperialism's military, economic and cultural presence and influence on Arab soil; ending the authority of Arab reaction and the impotent, capitulationist bourgeoisie; and ultimately realizing the aims of the Arab nation: liberation, democracy, socialism and unity.

Therefore, these tasks are primarily posed for the revolutionary forces within the Arab national liberation movement, particularly working class regimes and organizations. These tasks require a prolonged, arduous struggle and must be maintained despite the numerous political developments that will take place in the period. Naturally, our discussion of these tasks will be combined with a review and analysis of the Arab liberation struggle since the beginning of the present century. This includes an evaluation of the stages this struggle has undergone and the lessons it has yielded, the role of each class at every stage and what prevented the working class from playing the leading role that could be expected in the light of the objective developments on the world level. The current crisis of the Arab national liberation movement must be assessed, together with the program to pull it out of this crisis. Although the report does not deal with these topics as separate subjects, their essence will be clarified while discussing the program of strategic tasks, as follows.

First: To wage an unremitting revolutionary struggle to consolidate the role of the working class within the broad class alliance opposed to

imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the capitulationist right-wing bourgeoisie, so that the working class may eventually assume the leadership.

This task is the central link which connects all the other strategic tasks for accomplishing the Arab national democratic revolution that will proceed toward socialism. A critical review of the Arab national liberation movement, from the beginning of the century until Sadat's shift to the enemy camp proves the validity of this thesis. Our masses have waged serious and prolonged struggles against Zionism and colonialism, then against Zionism and neocolonialism. Their failure to be liberated from imperialism and Zionism is in no way due to their own helplessness or abandonment of the struggle. This failure is rather due to the bourgeois-feudal character of the leadership of these struggles.

In the period following World War II and culminating in the emergence of the Zionist state in Palestine in 1948, our masses struggled. At times, they took up arms against colonialism and Zionism. However, the subservient big bourgeoisie, allied with the remnants of feudalism, led the struggle at that time. They were satisfied with the formal independence that had been won by the masses' struggle. They stopped at that, content with the benefits and the privileges they had accrued, thanks to being in power, and their ties with foreign capital and their role as comprador in the continuing imperialist plunder. Economically, this class is a mere appendage to imperialism. It was unable to effect any significant social change or economic development. Consequently, this class resorted to coercion against the masses, striving to arrest their struggle. This class proved unable to face Zionism; its impotence culminated in the defeat of 1948. Yet the Arab masses did not stop their struggle against Zionism and imperialism. They carried on, but this time by struggling against this impotent class that had allied itself with imperialism.

In the 1950s, a new stage of struggle began with the July 23rd revolution in Egypt as the center, led by strata representing the petit and middle bourgeoisie. These new class forces overthrew the subservient big bourgeoisie which was allied with the feudalists. There were political, economic, social and cultural achievements at this stage in Egypt and throughout the Arab homeland; several progressive, nationalist Arab regimes emerged, unlike the pre-1948 regimes. Yet these achievements remained governed by the nature, interests and abilities of the petit and middle bourgeois strata. Production remained generally capitalist in character, and relations of economic dependence continued, attaching

these regimes to the imperialist world market. Under these conditions, the interests of the ruling class grew and intertwined with the interests of the old bourgeoisie and world capital, despite all claims to a 'third course' of development, and despite tactical relations with the socialist community. This economic and class structure formed the base for these regimes' programs in the ideological, political and cultural spheres.

In politics, these regimes vacillated between antagonizing imperialism and reconciling with it. At one point, relations with the socialist community were promoted; then came talk of problems involved in these relations. There was opposition to Arab reaction, and then compromise with it in the forum of 'Arab solidarity'. On the social level, these regimes realized some benefits for the masses, but under the banner of leveling class differences. On the ideological front, their 'scientific' socialism was an eclectic hodgepodge. These regimes mobilized the masses when they were in contradiction with imperialism, then coerced and suppressed the mass movement when it surpassed their own programs. This vacillation applied in all fields, resulting in hypocritical practices known only too well to all of us, since we have lived with the symptoms and consequences.

This class secured its interests through controlling state power; it made use of the mass struggles to improve its own position in the world capitalist system and market; its interests grew and interlinked with those of the old bourgeoisie which it had overthrown without changing the mode of production. No sooner had this occurred than this class slowed down its progressive march, then stopped and began to retreat to a position of alliance with world capitalism, abandoning the masses and their interests. The transition of Sadat's regime to its current position of treason provides concrete proof of the course of this class. This shows clearly that the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement over the past decades lies in the class nature of the leadership that used the masses' sacrifices to promote its own selfish interests. Hence, we see the importance of striving to consolidate the role of the working class so that it may assume the leadership of the mass movement in the coming stage.

Obviously, the Camp David alliance intends to attain full control of the Arab region. This harms all the Arab masses, only benefitting the capitulationist bourgeoisie whose interests are totally intertwined with imperialism. Thus, the class forces antagonistic to the Camp David alliance are not only the working class, but also the peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie and certain strata of the national middle bourgeoisie. We are keen to build and maintain a broad class alliance comprising all the clas-

ses harmed by Camp David. However, we should insist on working class leadership for such an alliance. Only then can we ensure that the alliance will withstand the confrontation, that the victory will be for the toiling masses and not usurped by the bourgeois component of the alliance. Only then can we achieve full liberation from economic dependence, by setting up a new mode of production that is independent and antagonistic to the capitalist mode of production and the imperialist camp founded on it.

This is the lesson yielded by the experience of the Arab national liberation movement in the 1950s, in response to the 1948 defeat suffered under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie and feudal remnants. The Camp David era requires the same kind of class alliance, but with one essential difference. In Nasser's era, the alliance was led by the national bourgeoisie, but we should now make use of the lessons of that era. We must strive to change the nature of the class relations within this alliance, so that the working class assumes the leadership, and a retrogressive march like Sadat's is avoided. The difference is a qualitative one. Other peoples' experiences, as well as our own, teach that the ability of the working class and its vanguard contingents to assume the leadership of the broad class alliance depends primarily on understanding the reasons that have so far precluded the ascent of the working class, despite decades of struggle. Some Arab communist parties have been in existence for more than fifty years. This justifies the question as to why the working class has not ascended to the leadership. The more courageously and objectively Arab communists can face this question and analyze it, the greater their chances of ascending to the leadership with the working class they represent.

First of all, it must be taken into account that the role of the working class has been limited, qualitatively and quantitatively, by certain objective factors. In most Arab societies, the bourgeoisie is chiefly mercantile; the industrial bourgeoisie is very small in size; the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry and marginal groups comprise the bulk of the society. In these societies, the working class can only be small in size and low in concentration in accordance with economic backwardness and dependence.

These objective factors should be taken into account in order to evaluate the role of the Arab working class and communist parties. However, in the light of the international developments that have taken place in this century, these objective factors are no longer the decisive ones. The victory of the October Revolution and the emergence of the world's first workers' and peasants' state had far-reaching repercussions. This

revolution consolidated itself; socialist revolutions occurred in several other countries; and a world socialist system came into being. After this, the role of the working class in the underdeveloped countries is not to be judged by size or concentration, or by the membership of the parties representing it, but by the revolutionary program it adopts to lead the people's anti-imperialist struggle, backed by the socialist community. Today, there is ample evidence attesting to the truth of this thesis. In Vietnam, for example, the economic development was not qualitatively different from that of the Arab homeland. There the Vietnamese Communist Party led the working class and the popular movement to victory by consistently pursuing the revolutionary program it had formulated. Vietnam is not an isolated example of the world revolutionary situation affecting the role of the working class in extremely backward countries. Before Vietnam, there was the case of Mongolia; since, there has been Laos, Afghanistan, etc. All this shows that the Arab communist parties should responsibly face up to the subjective factors that have so far barred them from assuming the leadership of the broad class alliance of the Arab national liberation movement.

What are the most important of these subjective factors?

A. *The traditional view of the nature of the stage of the revolution in the Arab homeland and the role of the working class in this stage:*

European communist parties came into being as working class parties, responsible for effecting and leading the socialist revolution. The process of change in European societies was assumed to go through two distinct phases: the bourgeois democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie, followed by the socialist revolution led by the working class. The leading role of the communist party was considered to relate only to the socialist revolution.

However, the Bolsheviks led by Lenin developed this view. Lenin stressed the necessity of the working class leading the democratic revolution. He emphasized the bourgeois democratic nature of the Russian revolution, but opposed handing the leading role over to the bourgeoisie, leaving only a subordinate role for the working class. Lenin says, "The proletariat has to carry out the democratic upheaval to the end; it has to win the peasantry to its side in order to crush the resistance of the autocracy by force and paralyse the wavering of the bourgeoisie. It has also to effect the socialist upheaval by drawing to its side the semi-proletarian masses to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and paralyse the wavering of the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. These are the

tasks of the proletariat." Thus the Russian working class and its party became responsible for effecting the democratic upheaval, namely, the bourgeois democratic revolution, instead of waiting for the bourgeoisie to accomplish this task and then taking over to effect the socialist revolution. "Our party sticks to the view that the role of the proletariat is that of leading the bourgeois democratic revolution" (Lenin).

After the triumph of the October revolution, the Leninist view of the national liberation movements also developed. Lenin began to view them as part of the socialist revolution and not the democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist system. This considered, the national liberation movements acquired a social content in addition to their national character. This is why the working class in the countries of these movements should assume the leadership of the democratic revolution as well.

By clinging to the traditional view of the role of the working class and its vanguard party, the Arab communist parties missed the opportunity of having a growing role in leading the mass struggle at the earlier stages. The traditional view reduces most activities of these parties to the trade unionist and reformist demands of the working class. The Arab communist parties did play a role in the struggle against colonialism, but they conceded the leading part to the bourgeoisie. This made their own struggles only secondary, subordinate to those of the bourgeoisie. Since the Arab communist parties do not consider themselves responsible for leading the struggle at such a stage, it is only natural that they not strive to assume leadership. Consequently, they have not so far attained the leading position within the class alliance required by the stage of national liberation.

B. *With the rise of the nationalist petit bourgeoisie in the fifties and sixties, the Arab communist parties were dazzled by the political, economic, social and cultural achievements of this bourgeoisie. This led them to consider the progressive nationalist regimes of that time as leading a special stage of 'non-capitalist' economic development, preliminary to socialist transformation.*

This provided justification for the Egyptian communist party to dissolve itself. Other Arab communist parties were content to support these regimes. They exempted themselves from the major revolutionary role of leading the working class and the whole society to accomplish all the tasks of the national democratic revolution, and carry on to effect the socialist transformation of society, a task only the working class and its

vanguard party can shoulder. Limiting themselves to a subsidiary role as they have so far done, how could the Arab communist parties be expected to ascend to the top of the alliance that links them with the other classes of the national democratic revolution?

The thesis of non-capitalist development is both scientific and feasible. Yet proclaiming non-capitalist development, without securing the conditions that make it possible and socialist-oriented, allows the bourgeoisie to mislead the masses; it encourages the communists to be complacent. To be conducive to socialism, non-capitalist development must be based on a set of conditions:

- firm antagonism to imperialism;
- economic independence from imperialism;
- combining the development process with establishing the closest political and economic relations with the socialist countries;
- granting full democratic freedoms to the masses, so that they may fully exercise their right to political and trade-union association;
- popularising scientific socialist thought;
- last, but not least, securing the subjective conditions for carrying out this revolutionary task, namely, the leading role of the working class and its vanguard party.

Unless the thesis of non-capitalist development is judged on this basis, we should not be surprised to hear Siad Barre of Somalia, and his kind of bourgeoisie, speak of their own 'non-capitalist road' to socialism.

Understanding why the Arab working class has been unable to approach the leading position in the Arab national liberation movement is the first step towards attaining that position. It is the first step towards extricating the Arab national liberation movement from its crisis. We regard this task as the central link in the problems facing Arab revolutionaries today. Yet our analysis of the Arab national liberation movement's crisis, and of the program to overcome this, is not complete unless undertaken in connection with the other tasks.

Second: To wage a serious, tireless revolutionary struggle to wrench power from Arab reaction and the capitulationist bourgeoisie, and establish a new class power: people's democracy, led by an alliance of all toilers with the working class as leader and guide.

In the light of our review and analysis of the earlier stages of struggle, only people's democracy is capable of accomplishing all the tasks of the national democratic revolution and linking it to socialist revolution. If Arab

communists do not work to seize power, they allow the bourgeoisie to do so. After all, the bourgeoisie is able to find alternative candidates among its various strata to hold political power on its behalf. In the light of experience, the seizure of state power is most likely to occur country by country, rather than on an Arab national scale. Yet the results will not be restricted to the country where the takeover is effected. Shouldering the pan-Arab tasks of Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine, such a regime will create an overwhelming upsurge in the Arab mass movement. A case in point is the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Shouldering the pan-Arab tasks of Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine, such a regime will create an overwhelming upsurge in the Arab mass movement. A case in point is the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Despite limited resources, PDRY is playing a valuable role in connection with the national liberation movement in North Yemen and Oman, indeed, in the whole Gulf region and Arabian Peninsula. Hence, we can imagine the great revolutionary effects created by a people's democratic power emerging under the leadership of the working class in Sudan, Iraq or some other Arab country. A similar role was played by Nasser's Egypt; it created a great upsurge throughout the Arab world. Among other things, this swept away Iraq's reactionary regime, overthrew the monarchies of Yemen and Libya, and liberated Algeria and South Yemen from colonialism. This gives an idea of the greater and different role to be played by Egypt, once an alliance of workers, peasants, other toilers and the patriotic bourgeoisie, led by the working class, comes to power.

We realize how crucial and intricate this task is. Consequently, we are aware of the harm an adventurist course could inflict on the working class and mass movement. We realize as well the necessity of securing both the objective conditions needed to bring about revolutionary change. At the same time, we stress that addressing this task should always be the focus of attention for the Arab working class and all Arab communists. By concentrating on accomplishing this task, the working class will release its full potentials, channel them properly and daily multiply its activities and efficacy. Shouldering this task on a consistent basis should be part and parcel of the Arab communists' action, directing their efforts towards understanding the nature and contradictions of the power to be overthrown; how to make use of these contradictions, and what tactical slogans and programs are needed to aggravate the existing regime's crisis; the importance of broad alliances and the programs that will make these possible, as well as the principles that should govern the relations bet-

ween the parties to these alliances; the programs and activities that rally the masses; and the kind of organizational structure and principles which would enable the working class party to seize power and effect revolutionary change.

Linked to the thesis on seizing power is another basic and central thesis that constitutes a task in itself. This is the thesis on the militant methods by which political power is seized and maintained. We are referring to revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Any serious effort to seize power from Arab reaction and the, capitulationist bourgeoisie should rely on preparation for armed class war (insurrection), as the only way to accomplish this task. The particular manner in which revolutionary violence manifests itself will differ from one Arab country to another. It will probably assume various forms: armed insurrection, armed insurgency - military coups carried out by soldiers connected with the working class party and the mass movement - protracted people's liberation war, etc. However, in all cases, the essence is the same, namely, that «the major issues related to the life of the peoples are settled only by force» (Lenin).

Our emphasis on the thesis of armed struggle and revolutionary violence should not be construed as underrating the necessity of other forms of struggle, political and otherwise, by trade unions and other mass organizations, including parliamentary struggle. However, important as they are, these forms of struggle only contribute to ripening the objective and subjective conditions needed to effect change; only by revolutionary violence can the change itself be effected, and the new power maintained. The most probable error of the working class party is not failing to stress these methods, but rather failing to understand the primacy of revolutionary violence.

This section of our report, through outlining the tasks for the new stage and the role of the revolutionary forces, attempts to look into the current crisis of the Arab national liberation movement and why the role of the Arab working class and communist parties has been less than leading or effective. In line with this, we must glance back at the history of the Arab communist parties over the past decades to see to what extent they have been oriented towards the task of seizing power, and whether they have used all forms of struggle, political and otherwise, to this end. Apart from Hashem Al 'Ata's coup in Sudan, in which the Sudanese Communist Party was involved, is there a single serious attempt by any Arab communist party to seize power? Were not the objective and subjective condi-

tions ripe for the communist party to seize power in Iraq at the time of Abdulkarim Qasem? Didn't Democratic Yemen's experience concretely indicate that the presence of the forces of the United Arab Republic (Egypt) in Sana'a created favorable conditions for armed struggle in South Yemen? This task was then shouldered by the Arab Nationalist Movement in South Yemen. Did the Moroccan Communist Party undertake the task of armed struggle against the Spanish colonialists in the Sahara? Yet today the party believes the Sahara to be part of the national soil, thereby justifying siding in practice with King Hassan's regime against POLISARIO. Did the Algerian Communist Party perceptibly contribute to, let alone lead, the Algerian people's struggle against French colonialism? Did it have any real role in Algeria's revolution of one million martyrs, that was the focus of the Arab masses for seven years?

In the eyes of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of communist parties and liberation forces worldwide, the Palestinian armed struggle ranks in the forefront of the world national liberation movement. Yet has the Jordanian Communist Party / Palestinian Organization played any leading or contributing role in igniting this struggle which was initiated by some bourgeois forces, revolutionary democratic forces and forces identifying themselves with the working class? Didn't the Arab communists' failure to take part in these armed revolts against colonialism, revolts now lauded by all Arab communist parties, result in weakening the role of the working class, leading to the current crisis of the Arab national liberation movement?

What is our point here? As a contingent of the Arab national liberation movement, we ought to review and analyze the history of this movement to understand its current crisis. Moreover, we must sincerely address ourselves to establishing the strongest relations with the Arab communist parties with a view to setting the Arab national democratic revolution on the course to socialist revolution. Therefore, we humbly submit our contribution to drawing up the program of the tasks of this stage, to be carried out primarily by the revolutionary forces.

Third: To wage firm, revolutionary struggle against Zionism and its political entity, 'Israel', with a view to removing this racist, imperialist, colonialist entity from Arab soil; liberating Palestine through a protracted Arab-Palestinian people's war; rejecting any settlement with this entity; creating an overwhelming revolutionary mass upsurge for the long struggle.

The Israeli state is the focal point of the collision between the Arab masses and imperialism. Moreover, the struggle against 'Israel' will expose the betrayal of Arab reaction and the capitulationist bourgeoisie, while integrating the struggles of the Arab masses in the entire region.

The starting point in shouldering this task is to define one's political and ideological position toward the Zionist movement and its polity, the state of 'Israel', and toward any settlement with this entity based on recognition and coexistence. Before 1948, the international communist movement, including the Arab communist movement, and the Arab national liberation movement had a definite position. The international communist movement, including the Arab communists, had a firm ideological position on Zionism, viewing it as a racist, colonialist movement linked with imperialism. The international communist movement and the Arab communists had a decided position on the thesis of the Jewish 'people' and the Jewish 'nation'. They maintained that the Jews did not constitute a nation, and hence called on Jewish proletarians to integrate their struggle with that of the people where they lived. However, after 1948, when the USSR and other countries of the socialist community recognized the state of 'Israel', this position underwent a major change, affecting the entire Arab communist movement. Thus, the starting point should be to determine a scientific, political-ideological position on the Zionist movement and its polity, 'Israel'.

In order to avoid sounding chauvinist or immature in our dialogue with the communist parties of the world, we must scientifically discuss a whole list of topics, including:

- the origin of the Zionist movement and the nature of its ideology;
- the class forces that established this movement, drew up its program and defined its objectives;
- the origin of the relation between Zionism, colonialism and imperialism;
- the number of Jews in Palestine at the turn of the century and the factors that stimulated Jewish immigration; whether this immigration was really an expression of a people's aspirations or whether it was artificially perpetrated to mask a colonial invasion;
- the level of this immigration before 1948, and what percentage of all Jews live in Palestine;
- the scientific definition of a nation and whether Jews constitute a nation; how can one explain that 75% of this 'nation', granted it exists, is outside the polity it has created?
- the nature of the class struggle going on within this entity; the dimensions

and prospects of this struggle in the light of the fact that the entire Zionist society (all classes) benefits from the schemes of settlement and domination, and from the imperialist aid extended to this entity in return for its policing the region in the interests of imperialism; whether one can separate Zionism, which world communism vehemently denounces, from 'Israel'; whether it is realistic to think of the existence of a non-Zionist 'Israel'.

As for Arab communist parties, we are entitled to say that these topics were not dealt with. Zionism and its polity 'Israel' have shown in practice, over a long period, what this society really is and what objectives were behind its creation. This indicates the correct political and ideological position on Zionism and the Zionist state. So, does 'Israel' represent a people that aspires to self-determination and is entitled to this right and to opt for secession if it so wishes, according to the Leninist thesis? Or is it just another Rhodesia, an imperialist, colonialist, fascist and racist society that constitutes direct colonialist military presence on Arab soil, intended to impose imperialist domination?

The point of departure for undertaking this task is to delineate a firm political position on Zionism and the Zionist entity. Moreover, it is equally necessary to take a firm position on the line of political settlement that has prevailed since the October War of 1973. Before that war, only the Arab communist parties, of all the contingents of the Arab liberation movement, were reconciled to the existence of 'Israel'. All other contingents, the Palestinian revolution in particular, struggled on the basis of liberating all of Palestine. After October '73, the picture changed; some contingents of the Palestinian revolution and the Arab liberation movement began to falter, proposing an interim program for settlement with the Zionist entity. This necessitates a decisive political-ideological position on the part of the Arab revolutionary forces. Besides repudiating the settlement line, which we shall take up in the Palestinian section of this report, we are confronted today with the concrete consequences of this line which Sadat used to justify his visit to Jerusalem and later the treasonous treaty. Here it suffices to stress the necessity of making a clear distinction between charting phases in the process of liberating the whole of Palestine, and replacing that goal with a Palestinian state in part of Palestine as a result of a settlement concluded at the price of accepting the permanent existence of the Zionist entity.

In conclusion, the adoption of a definite political-ideological position of no coexistence with Zionism is the basis on which Arab revolutionary

forces should approach the task of liberating Palestine, as one of the tasks of the strategic confrontation of the Camp David process.

Some warn of the adverse consequences that such a position could have on the Arab communist movement's relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, and with the international communist movement generally. We reply to this from the theoretical point of view by referring to the set of principles laid down by the international communist movement as a basis for inter-party relations. These principles provide, among other things, for every communist party's right to independence, for mutual respect of points of view and for the need to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively and solve differences of opinion through democratic dialogue.

On the practical level, our reply is as follows: Before the October War, the Arab national liberation movement had fairly good relations of cooperation with the USSR and the international communist movement. The more radical and serious we are in opposing imperialism in practice, the closer such relations will be. Moreover, 'Israel' exhibited its arrogance after 1967, and was exposed as an outrightly aggressive imperialist base; Zionism's subversive activities against and within the countries of the socialist community have become known. As a result, we can now, more than ever, see a worldwide ideological trend that views Zionism as an outright reactionary and racist movement, and not at all one of the national liberation for the 'Jewish people'.

This situation provides firm common ground for dialogue on the position to be taken towards 'Israel' as a political, economic and military entity that embodies Zionism in reality. It is the duty of the Arab communists to bring home to the world communist movement the grim reality of Zionism and the Zionist state as we have experienced it in practice. The task of liberating Palestine is one of the main strategic tasks of the confrontation program for defeating the Camp David alliance - the program of the Arab revolution in its national democratic stage, leading to socialism. To complete our view of this task, it is necessary to stress that the liberation of Palestine, particularly in the Camp David era, is no longer solely a Palestinian national task. Like the task of realizing Arab unity, the task of liberating Palestine has historically been a pan-Arab task for the Arab national liberation movement to accomplish, despite the special role assigned to the Palestinians. Previously, this task owed its pan-Arab character mainly to the thesis of Arab unity. It used to be discussed, and positions determined, with reference to that thesis. Now it is confirmed as a task of the entire Arab national liberation movement on the grounds of an analysis of the Camp David era, as set out in this report.

The Zionist state is now US imperialism's No. 1 base for the suppression of the national movement in any Arab country. The Zionist enemy now occupies parts of Syria and Lebanon; it still occupies part of the Sinai. 'Israel' is the base that daily offers its services to imperialism for securing the oil and other interests in the region. The future of the peoples of the entire region hangs on the destruction of this Zionist polity.

The pan-Arab character of the battle against the Zionist state requires that all the contingents of the Arab national liberation movement shoulder their responsibilities. They must confront the activities of imperialism and its local allies on one hand, and seriously take part in fighting the Zionist enemy over the length of the borders with occupied Palestine on the other. A position against Zionism and 'Israel' must become an item on the programs of the nationalist, democratic and revolutionary forces of every Arab country. This position must be converted into full support to the Palestinian revolution. It must be turned into action to initiate the national democratic revolution in every Arab country for the purpose of mobilizing all the country's potentials for the liberation battle. In this, the initiative should be taken by the revolutionary elements of the Arab national liberation movement, particularly the communists.

The fact that armed struggle has been going on for quite a while makes this strategic task immediately applicable, as has been the case in Lebanon. Once the revolutionary forces seriously set out to implement this task, then the struggle for the liberation of Palestine will reveal the potential of the Palestinian cause for creating an overwhelming revolutionary mass upsurge. The Zionist entity represents the focal point of collision between us and imperialism; the reactionary and defeatist bourgeois forces' impotence will be revealed; armed struggle will spread to other Arab countries, thanks to this struggle's unifying effect. This will lead to accomplishing the tasks of national liberation in some Arab countries, national democratic tasks in others, and even tasks of the national democratic revolution verging on socialist transformation in certain others. Thus, the task of liberating Palestine will be linked with and, indeed, the key to realizing the objectives of the Arab national democratic revolution on the road to the socialist revolution.

The position adopted by the Arab communist parties towards the Zionist state on its proclamation in 1948, had extremely detrimental effects on their popularity amongst the Arab masses and, consequently, on their ability to lead the mass movement. This constitutes another basic factor in understanding the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement and its bourgeois leadership, as well as the limited role of the Arab com-

munist parties in the uprisings of the 1950s and 1960s. In the wake of the 1948 defeat, the emergence of the Zionist state, the usurpation of Arab land and eviction of the Palestinian people, the Arab masses were full of resentment and rage at the reactionary regimes. These regimes had proved unequal to the confrontation; some had even plotted against the Palestinian people's struggle and cause. The Arab masses expected the leadership to mobilize their potentials and convert their anger in a decisive struggle against imperialism, the Zionist enemy and the comprador capitalist class that had aborted earlier struggles. The masses considered Arab fragmentation to be one of the causes of the defeat. At this very time, the Arab communist parties, blind to all the perils the Zionist invasion spelled for the Arabs' destiny, advocated recognition and peace with 'Israel'. They paid no attention to the question of Arab unity or to eliminating fragmentation which was the material base created by colonialism to control the region. Instead, they restricted their struggle to reformist demands, and raised the slogan of "bread and peace". In this way, the Arab communist parties left ample scope for the petit and national bourgeoisie to ride the mass movement and lead the new stage of struggle which Sadat and his defeatist bourgeoisie so ignominiously ended. Moreover, the position of the Arab communist parties towards the Zionist entity was used by reactionary and bourgeois forces as a justification for suppressing them as traitors to the sacred cause of Palestine. In addition, this position alienated vast sectors of the masses from these parties (as well as from communism)

After the 1967 aggression, the same attitude was reflected in these parties' stance on UN Security Council resolution no.242, on Palestinian armed struggle which acquired much strength after the 1967 defeat, and on the question of a negotiated settlement. We reiterate that by pointing out all this, we only intend to make our modest, dutiful contribution to analyzing the Arab national liberation movement's crisis, in order to determine the causes that have so far allowed the bourgeoisie to assume the leadership and pushed the Arab working class and communist parties into the background. This stems from our sincere desire to see the Arab working class and communist parties reconsider their past experience and make use of its lessons in order to ascend to the position they should occupy, leading the revolutionary national democratic class alliance in the confrontation of Camp David. We are particularly pleased that some of these parties are making such a reassessment already. This will certainly advance their leading the mass movement in their respective countries,

and the Arab national movement in the stage of the national democratic revolution on the road to the socialist revolution.

Fourth: To strive tirelessly to realize Arab unity and a united pan-Arab people's democratic state; to posit Arab unity as a central slogan of the national democratic revolution on the road to socialist revolution.

The existence of a united Arab nation is an established historical fact, dating back to the epoch of the Islamic-Arab renaissance and continuing for many centuries thereafter. The factors of common language, history, and psychological and cultural traits, on which the unity of the Arab nation rests, could only have evolved through a long historical process. Otherwise, we cannot explain the existing unity of language, the feelings of identity, belonging and common destiny, the oneness of psychological and cultural traits and aspirations. The concept of the Arab nation and its unity has become controversial at this period of history due to political fragmentation, with the Arab people having been divided into a number of political entities, and the resulting lack of economic unity. This fragmentation is, however, only transient. It is the result of the colonialist Sykes-Picot agreement which aimed at redistributing imperialist interests after World War I, and providing the material base for suppressing the movement of the Arab masses, dividing and emasculating their struggle. It is inadmissible that this transient reality be used to dispute the existence of the nation. Several examples can be cited of nations lacking economic unity, such as Germany, Korea and Vietnam prior to the liberation of the south. These nations, however, never ceased seeking unity. It is a fact that when such nations succeed in liberating their occupied land, they unify their societies on a socialist basis.

Regardless of theoretical controversy as to whether the Arabs constitute a single nation or multiple ones, any scientific review of the political movement in this region, from the beginning of the last century up to the present, shows the existence of a single, all-comprising Arab nation, constantly propelled towards unity by virtue of its historical and objective existence. The political slogans raised by vanguard forces at various historical stages, to mobilize and rally the masses, are not the expression of chauvinist or subjective tendencies. They really reflect the needs, conditions and implications of the society's evolutionary process, as well as the maturation of the objective conditions that render such slogans realizable.

The slogan of Arab unity and independence was raised in the struggle against Ottoman oppression and the 'turkicisation' scheme. Again,

unity was the masses' slogan in various Arab countries in the struggle against British and French colonialism which caused the state of fragmentation. The Arab masses saw the lack of Arab unity, as well as the impotence and collaboration of the ruling class, as one of the main causes of the 1948 defeat. Then the slogan of Arab unity was rejuvenated and crystallized after 1948, when the petit and national bourgeoisie rode the tide of unity to enlist the masses' support against imperialism and the traditional classes. Last, but not least, one recalls the incredible surging force the mass movement acquired when Syria and Egypt merged to form the United Arab Republic. All this expresses how strongly the Arab masses long for national unity in order to achieve national self-fulfillment based on common language, history, land, and psychological and cultural traits.

The struggle to realize Arab unity is not only based on the people's right to self-determination and national unity; it is also vital for firm struggle against imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the defeatist bourgeoisie. Arab fragmentation was the material basis for imperialist domination over the region. It was one of the factors that made Zionism's early victories possible. Today, fragmentation provides the optimal framework for reaction and the bourgeoisie to control the mass movement. Hence, contrary to fragmentation, the workers, peasants and all the toiling masses in the Arab homeland should adhere to the line of Arab unity.

The Arab nation today accounts for more than 150 million people, ranking fifth among the world's nations in terms of population. In area, the Arab homeland is about 4 million square miles, which puts it among the world's three largest countries. It abounds in natural resources, particularly oil, of which it has more than half the world's reserves. Nevertheless, despite all these potentials, this nation stands helpless and defeated before the Zionists who occupy a small part of its territory, thanks to its fragmentation into statelets and the class character of its regimes. Arab unity will release, mobilize and pool these potentials, once the toiling masses take power. This would provide the objective conditions needed to utterly defeat the Camp David alliance. Arab unity would also bring the material conditions for building the base of the socialist revolution. As a single united polity, the Arab nation would certainly build socialism more easily and securely than would Bahrain, the UAE, Djibouti or any other Arab country going it alone.

The history of Arab struggle has shown the traditional reactionary classes to be unable to realize Arab unity after having taken power in the formally independent Arab states. In practice, they became a force

antagonistic to such unity. After 1948, the petit and middle bourgeoisie proved similarly unable to accomplish Arab unity, aside from the 1958 merger of Syria and Egypt, which was abrogated in 1961, due to the bourgeoisie and its programs. The prospects of Arab unity posed a threat to their class interests which had developed under fragmentation. Thus, for all its 'nationalist' bragging, this class, too, became unable to realize Arab unity; some strata of the class even turned against it.

«The Arab rulers are unwilling to realize Arab unity due to fear for their chairs,» as the man in the street plainly puts it. By 'chairs' he means the class privileges their power affords them. Thus it is the working class and the new alliance of the toiling classes that must undertake the task of accomplishing Arab national unity. Herein lies the qualitative difference between the European and the Arab nationalist movement. In Europe, national unity was the task of the bourgeois democratic revolution, carried out by the bourgeoisie with the aim of removing the (feudal) barriers to their trade, and unifying the national market. In contrast, owing to the incompetence of the dependent Arab bourgeoisie, Arab unity will be the task of the working class and other toilers, as part of aims of the national democratic revolution with a view to providing the best possible framework for building a socialist society. All the tasks of the Arab national democratic revolution today rest with the working class and revolutionary vanguard parties.

In Europe, national unity was a must for capitalist development, but in the Arab homeland, the prospects of independent capitalist development are sealed off due to the Arab bourgeoisie's dependence on world capitalism. Thus, Arab national unity is a vital necessity for the only mode of development possible at present, i.e., socialism. National unity in Europe was necessary for the bourgeoisie to build the capitalist society. Today, national unity is needed by the Arab working class to lay the ground for building a socialist society. Thus we delineate the kind of Arab national unity which the revolutionary forces strive to realize, as distinct from the unity called for by Arab reaction and defeatist, dependent bourgeoisie. The Arab national unity sought by revolutionaries is radically opposed to imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the defeatist bourgeoisie. It is to be realized by the toiling masses in order to free them to carry on the struggle for all the objectives of the Arab national democratic, socialist-oriented revolution.

As long as political fragmentation prevails, the task of struggling to realize Arab national unity will remain within the limits of propaganda,

mobilization, agitation, and mutual support and solidarity with the struggle of the Arab masses in each country. As soon as the revolutionary forces seize power in a given Arab country, this task shall assume the form of active, daily and programmed struggle for realizing concrete unitarian steps with neighbouring Arab countries in accordance with the revolutionary regime's program for the Arab masses in those countries. Thus, such a unitarian program becomes a weapon in the hands of the revolutionary, progressive and patriotic forces against the power of the ruling class which, by virtue of its class interests, is opposed to Arab national unity. The unitarian program is a weapon for establishing the political power of the working class and the revolutionary democratic alliance of the toiling classes with which the cause of Arab unity has become attached. Then the task of Arab national unity will rise above propaganda, to become a factor escalating the mass movement and interlinking the various tasks comprising this program. The struggle for unity will then be a patriotic struggle in one aspect, a class struggle in another and a pan-Arab national struggle in yet another. Thus, the struggle of the masses in each and every Arab country will comprise an Arab national democratic revolution linked with the socialist revolution.

We review the Arab communist parties' past policies and practices on the premise that they had primary responsibility for crystallizing and consolidating the role of the working class in leading the Arab national liberation movement. Such a review reveals erroneous theoretical and political positions that contributed to minimizing the role of the working class and its parties in the Arab national liberation movement. This constitutes one of the factors underlying the movement's current crisis. The correction of these positions is thus part of the program for the coming stage, aiming at overcoming this crisis and placing the movement on the threshold of a new stage. In this new stage, the Arab working class should lead the movement of the toiling masses of the Arab nation towards liberation, democracy, socialism and unity. This means accomplishing all the tasks of the Arab national democratic, socialist-oriented revolution in the light of the realities of the time: the national democratic revolution's integration with the socialist revolution, and the dependent bourgeoisie's inability to effect national unity.

The Arab communist parties should have undertaken struggle to realize Arab national unity, adopting it as one of their primary objectives and slogans. They should have mobilized the masses and their vanguards, theoretically and politically, to struggle for Arab national unity in

accordance with programs that were congruous with the political situation as well as with these parties' stands. Instead, the Arab communist parties long contended that the Arabs do not satisfy the conditions for constituting a single nation. They were blind to the need for struggle for Arab unity in order to confront the enemy camp and schemes. Some of these parties viewed Arab national unity through the European model, i.e., as the task of the bourgeoisie, not the working class. Moreover, when the petit and democratic bourgeoisie raised the slogan of Arab unity at the time of their ascent, some Arab communist parties raised the slogan of democracy as opposed to unity, instead of struggling for consolidating the unity (of Egypt and Syria). Such stances weakened the Arab communist parties' appeal to the masses.

Now is the time for the Arab working class to wrench the slogans of Arab nationalism, unity and the liberation of Palestine, out of the hands of the bourgeoisie which uses them to serve its own selfish interests. This will enable the working class to lead a broad class alliance and the broadest sectors of the masses that spontaneously felt how badly they need Arab unity to accomplish national self-fulfillment and provide the prerequisites of liberation and socialist construction.

One of the most significant positive developments of the present period is that some Arab communist parties are critically reviewing their past positions and adopting new ones on essential issues such as the Palestinian question and Arab national unity, seizing political power, revolutionary violence, and the leading role of the working class in the stage of national liberation. Such review, coupled with practice accordingly, will lead to the rise of the working class, advance its leading role and help provide the revolutionary alternative for the leadership crisis in the Arab national liberation movement.

Fifth: To carry out serious, uninterrupted struggle to consolidate the Arab revolutionary movement's solidarity with all revolutionary forces in the world: the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular, the national liberation movements of the three continents, and the democratic and working class forces of the advanced capitalist countries.

Today the world is divided into two mutually antagonistic camps: the camp of socialism, liberation and progress on the one hand, and the camp of imperialism and reaction on the other. The battle is going on between the two camps on all levels with the involvement of all parties. The results of this global confrontation affect the progress of the revolution

everywhere. Thus, it is necessary to reinforce proletarian internationalism in the face of imperialism and reaction. With capitalism having evolved into imperialism on the one hand, and socialism's triumph and establishment in several countries on the other, the liberation struggle against imperialism came to be associated with the forces of socialism; the national liberation movement became part of the socialist revolution. In the light of the realities of the times, the national liberation movement would jeopardize an essential factor for victory if it detached itself from socialism. Hence, this task (proletarian internationalism) is part and parcel of the program of the Arab democratic, socialist-oriented revolution. Firm opposition to imperialism, Zionism and reaction necessitates closer relations of solidarity with the socialist countries and all contingents of the world revolution. It is no longer possible to separate firm opposition to imperialism from proletarian internationalism.

Certain bourgeois groups are trying to contrive contradictions between nationalist and internationalist struggle. They claim that the conflict between imperialism and the socialist camp stems from mutually exclusive hegemonic motivations on both sides, thus putting the Soviet Union in the same position as the USA. They attribute the instability of the region to the two superpowers' rivalry, and so on and so forth, to the end of the harangue we know only too well. Such a line is currently being promoted by the Iraqi regime and applauded by Arab reaction. Such misrepresentation leads to confusing friend and foe, and depriving the national struggle of the components of its future triumph. Moreover, with time, it will become the cover under which the bourgeoisie will move to ally with imperialism and counter the revolution.

It is part and parcel of the tasks of the revolutionary forces in the Arab national liberation movement to counteract this dangerous misrepresentation, expose its fallacy and the class motives lurking behind it. Our practice of the principle of international solidarity should begin with stepping up the role of the revolutionary forces in the pan-Arab struggle. Our ability to contribute to international solidarity depends on how effective we are in each Arab country and on the pan-Arab level. The more we adhere to the cause of the Arab masses and contribute to the struggle for their triumph, the more internationalist we will become.

The prevailing world situation constitutes the objective factor for defeating imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This must be supplemented by the subjective factor, i.e., a revolutionary program and practice. For us, the subjective factor is the most important one.

The slogan of proletarian internationalism should not be a decoration whereby we parade as progressive and hide our inability to act and take part in leading the Arab national struggle. Neither should we use it passively, contenting ourselves with applauding the victories of other peoples and the forces of socialism, and waiting for the revolutionary tide to reach our region. Apart from promoting the revolutionary forces' role in each country and on the pan-Arab level, there is our duty of reciprocal solidarity with all the forces of world revolution in their ferocious battle against imperialism and reaction. Our solidarity with the socialist countries should not be merely expedient, to secure arms and aid. This is a side issue. The main point is to strive for greater solidarity, interdependence and unity within the ranks of the world communist movement; to promote an objective view of the special role of the Soviet Communist Party in this movement; and to work for greater cohesion between the three main components of world revolution: the socialist countries with the Soviet Union at the forefront, the national liberation movements, and the democratic and working class forces of the advanced capitalist countries.

Our role in promoting international solidarity should be based on the set of principles for inter-party relations, established by the world communist movement through long and rich experience. These principles provide for mutual respect between communist parties, and the right of each to apply Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with the particular conditions of their nation and country. By fully grasping and actually practicing these principles, we can step up our internationalist role and appropriately interrelate our patriotic, nationalist and internationalist struggle.

Such are the main central tasks of the strategic program for confronting the Camp David era. Clearly, they are the tasks of the national democratic stage. These tasks are naturally interconnected with the strategic tasks of the socialist stage.

**Until 1982, Palestinian communists were still a group in the Communist Party of Jordan. In that year, they formed the Palestinian Communist Party.*

Chapter 7

The Central Strategic Organizational Tasks

First: Earnest struggle to unify the communist movement in each country.

Colonialism's division of the Arab homeland into separate polities is an established reality that the revolutionary forces can neither ignore nor automatically surpass. The unity of the Arab revolution implies that its instrument be united, i.e., the united Arab communist party. National struggle in the general sense is not enough; nor is agitating the Arab masses by means of purely nationalist slogans. The new class alliance of the toilers, under working class leadership, cannot be built by a mere call for Arab unity. It can be built by confronting the ruling bourgeois-reactionary alliance in each and every Arab country and by confronting the oppression, persecution and exploitation whereby this alliance controls and suppresses the masses on the backdrop of fragmentation. Hence, the unity of the Arab revolutionary instrument will be effected through the development of the revolutionary forces in the separate states to the extent that they become able to smash the bourgeois-reactionary state power with a view to uniting these states in one polity.

The process of unifying the instrument for a unitarian Arab revolution will go hand in hand with the growth and development of the revolutionary forces in the separate states. Hence, the importance of a sound relationship between the struggle in each country and the pan-Arab nationalist struggle, each country's struggle being carried out with a unitarian pan-Arab nationalist perspective. This is needed to ensure the growth and crystallization of the patriotic, progressive and revolutionary forces in every country on the one hand, and their unitarian Arab nationalist orientation on the other. This does not mean that the formulas and instruments

of unified Arab revolutionary action (the Arab communist party and the progressive Arab nationalist front) will be excluded from the program of the revolutionary forces in each Arab country at the beginning. Rather, it means that building the instruments and formulas of revolutionary action in each Arab country determines the revolutionary forces' ability to contribute to the building of the unified instrument of the Arab revolution.

Thus, it is natural to begin with the organizational tasks and the unity of the communist movement in each country. These items should be high on the agenda of communists in the individual countries. It is incumbent on us to tackle these items due to the phenomenon of transformation in the national liberation movements, whereby parties, forces and organizations develop from a revolutionary democratic, petit bourgeois line to a Marxist-Leninist, working class line of scientific socialism.

What took place in Democratic Yemen substantiates the thesis of transforming the course of struggle. At the beginning, the revolution in South Yemen was led by a petit bourgeois organization, committed to national liberation. In the course of the struggle, this organization changed its orientation. It developed a revolutionary democratic character committed to adopting Marxist-Leninist theory and, finally, it did so. The transformation process was combined with struggle for the unity of the communists in the country, culminating in the foundation of the Yemeni Socialist Party, as the realization of the above-mentioned goals. The experience of Democratic Yemen substantiates not only the thesis of transformation, but also the thesis on the necessity of the unity of the communists in each country. Revolutionary Democratic Yemen scored an unprecedented victory by founding the first Arab workers' and peasants' state. All the forces of liberation and socialism, including the Arab communist parties, have a common assessment of what occurred in that corner of the world. These facts make clear the validity and importance of the theme under discussion. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that the Arab communist parties and all Arab communists closely study Democratic Yemen's experience, for it is not an ordinary phenomenon. It is closely connected with our convictions about the future Arab communist movement in each country and on the pan-Arab level.

The phenomenon of transformation is one of the specific characteristics of the current era. It is connected with the objective international developments of this century, which made it feasible. It is also related to other phenomena, namely imperialism and capitalism's penetration of the backward countries and its control of their development process - arrest-

ing, distorting and restricting their growth. This blocked these countries' independent capitalist development and possibilities for progress. Meanwhile, the triumph of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism on a global scale prompted a broad spectrum of social forces, besides the working class, to believe that cooperation with the forces of socialism was the sole available route for developing towards scientific socialism. In other words, the transformation phenomenon is closely linked to the original Leninist thesis that the national liberation movement shifts from being part of a bourgeois democratic revolution, to being part of the socialist revolution.

The dual nature of the petit bourgeoisie enables the transformation process. The petit bourgeoisie has something in common with the bourgeoisie, i.e., ownership of means of production, and something in common with the working class, i.e., manual work. The petit bourgeoisie owns small means of production and is self-employed. This constitutes material attachment to the bourgeoisie. Yet the petit bourgeoisie is equally attached to the working class due to the damage the big bourgeoisie inflicts on small-scale production. The pendulum of the petit bourgeoisie can swing either way. The very same fact explains the possibilities of transformation on a global level under the objective conditions. We have witnessed the transformation phenomenon on a global scale: in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Transformation not only applies to a few individuals or trends, but involves entire organizations and parties. The existence of objective factors does not make the transformation process automatic or inevitable. It is not an absolute law which applies to all petit bourgeois parties, organizations and forces. The transformation process comes about as a result of bitter, protracted struggle. It requires a set of subjective factors within the organization concerned. Transformation is a long process of struggle within the organization which remains prone to setbacks and dissolution. It may be accompanied by many members leaving the organization. During the process, we also witness disillusionment and opportunist trends, in addition to shallow, mechanical and or purely verbal understanding of Marxist theory. Although transformation is not a smooth process, it has succeeded in more than one instance and country. In the Arab homeland, the first real national democratic revolution, linked with the socialist revolution, took place in Democratic Yemen. In the light of these facts, which clarified the characteristics of the previous stages, the course of the Arab national liberation movement has reinforced and crystallized the

transformation phenomenon. It is a mistake to ignore this phenomenon or fail to give it serious consideration and due analysis.

Arab communist parties should carefully analyze the previous phases of struggle in each country and on the pan-Arab level. This struggle prompted a broad spectrum of the toiling classes to rally around the petit bourgeoisie when it carried the torch of confrontation against imperialism, Zionism and reaction in the fifties and sixties. Nasserism represented not only the national bourgeois and petit bourgeois movement, but was a broad-based class coalition, including workers, peasants and downtrodden petit bourgeois strata. The parties representing these strata stood by the petit bourgeoisie and national movement. Nasserism led that phase of struggle, and raised and fought for slogans responsive to the needs of these strata. The first signs of the petit bourgeoisie's impotence emerged with the 1967 defeat. In the aftermath of this defeat, some trends, organizations and parties of the downtrodden classes washed their hands of the bourgeoisie. Some began to leave the petit bourgeois camp in favor of the positions of the working class. We earlier referred to Democratic Yemen as a vivid example of transformation, but it is not the only country where this phenomenon emerged. Transformation also began in parties and organizations of North Yemen, the Gulf and Arab Peninsula, and in some other countries of the Arab East (Mashreq); today we witness Marxist-Leninist contingents in the Lebanese, Jordanian and Palestinian arenas.

Concerning the other Arab countries, we take Egypt as an example: The Egyptian Communist Party dissolved itself due to its analysis that the regime was pursuing non-capitalist development which would lead to building socialism. This led to the foundation of new Marxist-Leninist parties. It is erroneous to overlook the existence of these parties which presently exist alongside the reestablished Communist Party of Egypt. Rather, all Marxist parties in Egypt and other Arab countries are faced with the task of unifying the communist movement. This does not mean that all revolutionary forces in the Arab countries are faced with this task, but it does apply to the vast majority.

Conviction in this task is the point of departure for accomplishing it. Based on such conviction, Arab revolutionary forces must engage in objective, comradely dialogue, cooperation, solidarity and mutual support in each country. Later, other steps can be taken towards unification. Organizational and coordinating links must be forged and constantly developed, aimed at unification of the communist movement in each

country. Organizational rigidity is a bourgeois characteristic which must be abandoned by any communist organization wishing to prove its sincerity.

Second: Serious struggle to form a progressive national front in each country

We stress that the working class and the communists must assume a leading role in the current phase of struggle, and tackle its tasks. We do not underestimate the importance of a class coalition as the objective basis for forming an alliance capable of inflicting defeat on imperialism and achieving the other tasks of the stage. However, it is imperative that the working class assume leadership in the stage of national democratic liberation in the developing countries.

The ability of the working class to lead the phase of national democratic liberation in the backward countries is not dependent on its size, degree of concentration, or the number organized in its party. Rather, it depends on the ability of the working class and its party to form a broad-based coalition capable of mobilizing the potentials of the toiling masses. Without such a coalition and mobilization, any effort to lead the masses will isolate the party and lead to failure. Thus, such coalition is essential for achieving the tactical and strategic political tasks of the struggle.

Forming a broad national front is the organizational application of building a broad-based class coalition of workers, peasants, toilers, petit bourgeoisie and some sectors of the national bourgeoisie. This front would encompass all forces, parties and organizations representative of these classes. Such an alliance would be instrumental in bringing about change in each country. We should vigorously strive to build a progressive national front to muster the potentials of the class alliance which is hostile to Camp David, to imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the capitulating bourgeoisie.

Proceeding to establish such a front does not only depend on carrying out the tasks of the previously mentioned stage, namely, unification of the communists and the working class assuming leadership of the front. Establishing a progressive national front should be an integral part of the communists' working program, regardless of the balance of forces between them and the other parties, organizations and forces.

Serious communist efforts to form a broad front and contribute to its success will result in drawing the people closer to the communists, since the formation of such a front is an objective mass need. Increased mass

attachment to the front would gradually increase the communists' effectiveness in the ranks of the masses. Ultimately, the communists would occupy leading positions in the front.

The success of the revolutionary forces in establishing the broad-based alliance, advancing towards taking power and becoming leaders, will depend on their ability to understand the nature of the front's program and how to regulate relations between the different forces in the front. It also depends on the extent to which the revolutionary forces play an exemplary role and rally the masses around the front and its program.

As for the orientation of the front's political program, it need not adopt scientific socialism and socialist revolution, nor assign the leading role to the working class. The program should simply identify the friends and enemies in the stage of national democratic revolution. The minimum platform is a political line which rises to the challenge of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Then, it is the communists' task to clarify and radicalize the program to the utmost, taking into account the realities of the forces which make up the front.

Democracy is the basic principle for governing relations among the different forces in the front. There is no room for any one force to monopolize power. Democratic, comradely dialogue is the means for resolving disagreements. The power delegated to each force would depend on its resources and effectiveness. Acknowledging the principle of democracy benefits the front as such, as well as the interests of the revolutionary forces. It is assumed that, as time goes by, these forces will play a growing role.

The principle of democracy, for regulating internal relations in the front, means the right of each party to ideological, organizational and political independence. Abiding by the minimum program does not rule out the revolutionary forces having their own political program, while abiding by the common program. Exercising this right lays the foundation for the gradually evolving process of aligning the masses with the most progressive and revolutionary forces.

Along with this alignment process, communists can set an example before the other political forces and the masses, in terms of discipline, effectiveness, activity, self-denial, perseverance and other revolutionary, proletarian virtues. For the communists to be able to assume a leading role, their deeds must speak louder than their words. Practicing revolutionary positions, slogans and programs is the only way to solidify the communists' leading role. It is incumbent on the communists to mobilize

the masses around the front's positions and programs, and to consolidate their role in constantly supervising, disciplining and assessing its role. In this sense, the masses constitute an enormous pressure group on which communists can rely to face any contradictions arising within the front. Depending on the masses' power helps the communists consolidate the front's positions and effectiveness.

Third: Launching a serious, diligent, protracted struggle for building one united Arab communist party, capable of leading the Arab national democratic revolution and staging the socialist revolution.

The unity of the Arab communist movement and the thesis of an Arab communist party are related theoretically to the thesis of the Arab nation and the objective basis for its unity. These theses are also linked with the thesis of the working class and its leading role in the current, national democratic stage. These are the theoretical premises for the Arab communist party. The feasibility and importance of uniting the Arab communist movement is based on their veracity.

Defining the tasks of the struggle for Arab unity falls in line with our strategic political program. Next, it is of critical importance to define the framework for an Arab communist party in line with our strategic organizational tasks. Our view of the nature, slogans, objectives and tasks of the revolution determines the nature of the revolutionary methods to be used in leading it. This is common sense, but we present these facts to unveil any contradictions which might arise between Arab revolutionary forces. Some forces speak of the existence of the Arab nation; they raise the slogan of unity and recognize the importance of the linkage between national and pan-Arab struggle. Yet they do not focus sufficient attention on creating the organizational prerequisites for this.

We have so far underlined the importance of struggling for the unity of the Arab communist movement and building a single, united Arab communist party. This task is valid and necessary. Achieving it requires a set of sound political and theoretical premises. It is crucial to dwell on the objective and subjective conditions involved in achieving this task, in order to foresee the many complexities of the different stages ahead. This task requires arduous, protracted struggle, and clarifying these complexities will enable us to bring it about. Our ability to achieve this task is not dependent on enthusiasm or rhetoric, but rather on our ability to envision the long complex path, with its many diverse directions, which will

lead us to our goal. A simplistic and idealistic route is inconceivable, for this would not help us achieve successive, tangible steps towards realizing this task.

Foremost among the subjective and objective conditions, governing the struggle for this task, is the reality of division. It is crucial to draw up a clear, concise program for dealing with the reality of multiple regional and political entities. Today, there are more than twenty independent Arab states. Here we will not cover all the efforts of the ruling class in these states to deepen and consecrate division and regionalism. Nor will we discuss how far the regimes have come in solidifying the material, class, ideological and educational pillars of independence. Instead we will focus on the disparity between the level of development in the existing political entities, which has led to disparity in the development of the revolutionary process. While the Palestinian people are waging a battle against direct colonial presence, the masses of other Arab countries are struggling against traditional reaction (the alliance of the dependent big bourgeoisie and the feudalists), as in Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, the Arab Peninsula and Gulf countries, etc. The Egyptian and Sudanese people are waging a battle against a bourgeoisie which has capitulated. Other Arab forces in still other countries have been endeavoring to find a way to deal with national bourgeois regimes which raise the banner of confronting imperialism, Zionism and reaction, but whose programs and policies have proven ineffective in providing the prerequisites for confrontation. At the same time, Democratic Yemen is heading towards socialist revolution.

This diverse reality does not negate the political or theoretical validity of the theses which underly the necessity of united Arab revolutionary struggle. It does, however, reveal the magnitude of the odds. It also reveals the dire need for pooling resources to find sound solutions for these problems. Otherwise, the united Arab revolutionary struggle will suffer setbacks and falter.

There are other objective and subjective conditions which influence how we approach and realize our task. Among these is the reality of the Arab communist movement, which cannot be overlooked in any attempt to build a single Arab communist party. All Arab communists must address this problem, regardless of their current positions. The current reality of the working class movement shows that all communist parties and trends have concretely failed to extricate the Arab liberation movement from its crisis. This failure applies both to those parties which were the first to espouse scientific socialism, and those which were founded in

the shadow of existing communist parties, aiming to bypass them. It is therefore incumbent on all Arab communists to engage in an extensive dialogue about the predicament of revolutionary action, prior to any one contingent claiming that it alone represents the working class party and that the others are opportunists.

The struggle for building one, united Arab communist party does not start in a void, but by dealing with the reality of the Arab communist movement. In the light of this reality, there are a set of obstacles besetting the task of building an Arab communist party. Currently, relations among the Arab communist parties are limited to periodical meetings, political communiques and sharing a set of common positions. Due to the theoretical position of the majority of Arab communist parties with regard to the thesis of the Arab nation and pan-Arabism, their agenda does not include the task of finding revolutionary solutions for the crisis of the Arab liberation movement, or for building a united Arab communist movement.

We acknowledge and give serious consideration to the sound theoretical positions recently adopted by some Arab communist parties. These are highly significant and could greatly influence the future course of the Arab communist movement, but first we will deal with the existing reality: The Arab communist parties' cooperation has so far been confined to periodical meetings and issuing political communiques.

Concerning the parties and organizations that transformed to the position of scientific socialism, some of them have suffered confusion in analyzing the reasons for the failure of the Arab national movement, led by the petit bourgeoisie, from which they originated. Instead of pinpointing the class factors that kept the Arab national movement from achieving its goals, they attributed its failure to its theses such as: the Arab nation, Arab unity and having a unified instrument for the Arab revolution. This caused them to neglect the link between the struggle in each country and the pan-Arab struggle. In practice, they confined their struggle to the framework of the respective countries.

In the light of these factors, we would like to draw up a working program in order to contribute to achieving this task in the foreseeable future;

a. Conveying our views to all Arab communist forces, parties and organizations, and holding a dialogue on the subject. Listening responsibly and attentively to all points of view, and asking all communists to state their positions on the problem and means of solution.

b. Solidifying our relations with all forces, parties and organizations of the communist movement, and attempting to put such relations into action through militant solidarity.

c. Attempting to develop these bilateral relations into ongoing relations of coordination. Such relations should ensure the stability and continuity of the dialogue, turning its theme into concrete political, informational and military programs. No matter how modest these programs might be in the beginning, such coordination ultimately aims at the crystallization of a formula for joint action on the basis of democratic centralism.

d. Endeavoring to find an organizational formula for coordination among the communist forces which already have militant ties by virtue of their geographic location or other factors.

Communist forces in the Arab Peninsula and Gulf are required to draw up an organizational formula for coordination which transcends bilateral relations. Constant efforts should be made to consolidate such a formula for united action.

In the Arab East, Lebanon and Palestine in particular, efforts should be continued and concentrated on drawing up an organizational formula for regular and effective coordination. Once the formula is developed, it should be given to other communist parties for their approval. The unification of two or more communist organizations, in one Arab country or more, into a single party on the basis of democratic centralism, depends on the existence of certain prerequisites. These are ideological, political and organizational unity, reflected in a political program and an internal platform.

A political program is needed as a prerequisite step to address the Arab revolution and the pan-Arab issue, and to lay the groundwork for closer cooperation among communist forces. This program should spell out the nature of the relationship between national and pan-Arab struggle for the united parties. The internal platform would address all issues concerning the nature of the relationship between the organizational bodies for each country and on the pan-Arab level, and how to instate the principle of democratic centralism in the branches of the party. Once answers are found to the set of theoretical, political and organizational issues, the ideological groundwork will be laid for establishing a united approach. Then, we should resolutely embark on the unification process.

The task of developing the theoretical groundwork is not only for other communist parties; we should also do our share of the work. There is no doubt that the task is difficult and complicated. Nevertheless, we should not shy away from struggling to realize it. Despite all these odds, the march towards achieving this task should not remain at the slow pace witnessed so far.

The unity and triumph of the communist forces in Democratic Yemen prompted the communist forces in the Arab Peninsula to place the unification process on their agenda. Without a doubt, the victory of the communist movement in any Arab state would influence the pace of building a united Arab communist party.

Fourth: The serious struggle to establish a pan-Arab progressive national front

A progressive national front would be instrumental in attaining the above-mentioned strategic political tasks. The proposed Arab communist party would be an organizational framework for the unification and mobilization of the forces and resources of the working class on a pan-Arab basis, and the crystallization of the party's leading role in the revolution. The progressive national front would be an organizational framework for unifying and mobilizing the classes which suffer at the hands of the alliance of imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the bourgeoisie. These classes are the working class, peasants, toilers, the petit-bourgeoisie and some sections of the national bourgeoisie. Such a broad-based class alliance aims at assembling all national, democratic and revolutionary parties, forces and organizations within a single national front across the Arab homeland. Such a front would mobilize and lead the Arab masses toward their common goals. In the process of achieving these goals, the national front would lend its support to the Arab masses struggling in each country and to national regimes antagonistic to the enemy camp. It would direct the Arab masses' struggle toward spheres of joint struggle.

The present inability to form such a front stems from the balance of forces between the nationalist forces and the revolutionary, progressive forces. The existence of more than one revolutionary Arab regime would provide the progressive national front with a base on which to rely. This would facilitate putting into action the organizational task, although the conditions for forming such a front are not yet available. For the time being, it is our militant duty to educate and raise the level of consciousness of the masses and the revolutionary and progressive forces. This would prove the validity and indispensability of such a task, so that these forces would be prepared to participate when favorable conditions occur.

The proposed progressive national front shares common denominators with the national fronts (in the respective countries), in terms of tasks and prerequisites for success. Common theses are applicable to

both types of fronts, such as the program, the basis of internal relations, the exemplary role of the revolutionary forces, and rallying the masses.

These four strategic organizational tasks are interlinked, but not in a mechanical way. Uniting the communists in each country serves the task of establishing a national front, but it is not a prerequisite for forming the national front. The same applies on the pan-Arab level. Moreover, it is possible to establish the Arab national progressive front before completing the task of forming a united national front in each and every country. We are faced with the necessity of having a dialectic view of these tasks due to the reality of the division, disparity and differences between the level of the revolutionary work in the different Arab countries, and due to the link between the national and pan-Arab struggle.

Chapter 8

General Evaluation of Our Political Work and Positions on the Arab Level

Before ending this section of our political report on the Arab level, we ought to take time to daringly and responsibly review our political programs and positions for the period between the 3rd and 4th national congresses. We do so for the purpose of identifying our mistakes, learning from them, and exercising the process of criticism. We strongly believe in the importance of this process in rectifying the course of the Front. Therefore, it is necessary to exercise it daringly and faithfully, as we are faithful toward our masses and martyrs, and to the destiny of our homeland, nation and future generations.

As to the subject at hand, the party base and cadres of the Front shoulder a special responsibility, exceeding that which they bear for the rest of this report. Leadership committees are mainly in charge of mapping out programs and defining positions, due to their presumably advanced political and theoretical level. The rank and file play a somewhat minor role in this phase. However, the rank and file are more capable of evaluating and criticizing our programs and positions, since practice provides them with tangible evidence of their validity or invalidity. At this stage, theories and theses which are substantiated by tangible facts will be retained; those not substantiated can be modified or discarded. Here the rank and file can supplement the leadership's role by thoroughly and daringly completing the process of review and criticism. Otherwise, the leadership might consciously or unconsciously rationalize shortcomings and mistakes, or drift into subjectivity.

It is assumed that our cadres and rank and file recall the party's positions on the issues under review, from the Front's central magazine, internal publications, communiqués and seminars. If necessary, they must

refer back to these documents in order to fulfill their responsibilities in the process of review, criticism and extracting lessons. Through our first hand experience in the Front, we are all of the opinion that there is a vast difference between practicing criticism in a responsible, objective, scientific way (within party channels, in accordance with organizational traditions) and criticizing by loose talk in an emotional manner (outside the customary revolutionary party struggle).

Our fourth congress offered everyone the opportunity to engage in the process of criticism, assessment and review. This is the real guarantee for insuring the Front's steady progress, deepening its unity and solidifying its structures. The nature of this report does not permit reviewing every single detail pertaining to every political point of view or position taken in the past. This is the task of the Front's leadership committees, cadres, and rank and file in their daily militant activity. The agenda of the congress includes a general, but thorough reevaluation process, without getting bogged down in details. Citing any piece of evidence is aimed at substantiating general conclusions and lessons. In light of this principle, we record the following:

First: The validity of our basic political theses, as recorded in *The Tasks of the New Stage* (document of the 3rd national congress) and *The Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine* (document of the second congress), generally constituted the basis for sound political programs and stances on the Arab level.

In *The Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine*, we identified Arab reaction's position with the enemy camp, at a time when Palestinian and Arab national forces limited their programs to the pan-Arab nature of the battle, and called for pointing all guns against the Zionist enemy. Some progressive and left-wing forces drew the line between the basic contradiction with the Zionist enemy and the contradiction with Arab reaction, which they considered as secondary.

Theoretical theses in turn affected political programs and positions. In view of these theses, our positions were determined on Arab summits and on relations with the Arab reactionary regimes. Thus it was possible to expose the conspiracies, maneuvers, aggressive plans and attempts at containment enacted by Arab reaction. This is not a secondary matter, but an essential guide in determining positions within the framework of the official Arab situation.

Our analysis of the nationalist regimes and the principle of alliance and conflict, as the basis for relations with these regimes, were recorded

in *The Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine. The Tasks of the New Stage* developed this analysis, clarifying that the problem with these regimes is not only their programs which are incapable of achieving liberation, and end in failure and defeat. The problem is also the process of regression which most of these regimes will undergo, gradually moving to the right and taking reactionary positions. In the light of this analysis, we adopted our positions on the Steadfastness Front, the charter for unifying Syria and Iraq, and other issues, without infantilism or illusions.

In its main documents, the PFLP has presented central theoretical theses on the following: a radical position against Zionism and imperialism; the pan-Arab nature of the battle and its class content; and the position of the revolution in the international conflict. The impact and validity of these themes is clearly seen on our political stances and programs, regardless of tactical blunders and the need for further development of these theses, which we cover later.

Second: In addition to the validity of our basic political theses and their expression in the validity of our political programs and positions, we positively evaluate the PFLP's ability and initiative in discovering the phenomena, transformations and new complex stages through which the conflict passes on the Arab level within the framework of the overall stage. In the middle of 1973, even before the increase of oil prices, the PFLP predicted the far-reaching effect of the oil wealth on the imperialist plans, and on the political, social and class transformation in the Arab world. Actual developments have substantiated the essential nature of such phenomena and transformation. By the same token, the PFLP presented a thesis, prior to the cessation of the October War, that it would be followed by an intense drive to settle the Arab-Zionist conflict, and that this drive stood a reasonably good chance, better than ever before, of materializing. We predicted that there would be a single formula for settlement, i.e., imperialism's formula. Since then, the PFLP has been capable of exposing the essence of the settlement drive in spite of the disarray which marked the period, as seen in the positions of various progressive and national forces.

The drive to settle the Israeli-Arab conflict concealed the true motive of the imperialists. The real aim is to settle all the problems of the area in accordance with a malicious scheme designed to liquidate all the revolutionary, progressive and nationalist forces, in order to entrench imperialist domination in this strategic, oil-rich area. In fact, the settlement drive, whose essence we exposed, constituted the headline for the entire

period under review. Hence, we are entitled to record general satisfaction with the validity of the rationale behind our programs and political positions.

It is worthwhile to bear in mind that we have cited only a few examples to make our point, not attempted a thorough review to clarify the whole picture.

Third: We fault ourselves in the evaluation process, because we took positions, raised slogans and embarked on tasks without sufficient elaboration, clarification and accuracy, and without specifying all the necessary guidelines for achieving them. For example, we set the task of struggling to establish an Arab front including all the forces antagonistic to the enemy scheme. Yet we did not specify whether the proposed front was intended for immediate implementation, or a task requiring a set of conditions to be achieved. Did that mean that we had to concentrate our efforts for some time to come, on creating these conditions? Was this front to be composed of forces with common political positions or was it to be a front with a political program for the entire stage of struggle? Did we have in mind a national front against imperialism and Zionism? A progressive democratic front against imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the capitulating bourgeoisie? Or a revolutionary front, led by the working class and the alliance of the democratic masses against imperialism, Zionism and the classes linked with imperialism? Sometimes we were inclined to think that this front would only include non-official and non-governmental parties and organizations. At other times, we underscored the role of the forces waging armed struggle, to the extent that we entertained the idea of forming a special front-type framework for these forces regardless of their ideological and class structure.

Another example pertains to the particularity of the Palestinian revolution within the Arab national liberation movement. What exactly is this particularity? How do we understand it and translate it into programs and militant tasks? In addition, there were controversial subjects having to do with our understanding of the reality of the Arab communist movement, Arab revolutionary action, and revolutionary Palestinian alliances on the Arab level, etc. Although our positions have on the whole acquired more clarity and depth in the course of our march, the basic lesson to be learned is the necessity of developing our theoretical and political theses. We must make more efforts to examine and discuss these without getting absorbed in daily duties, specially due to the reality of the resistance, and the traditions and habits that govern the method of work of its leadership.

Fourth: We committed a handful of tactical blunders involving analysis, predictions and the resulting positions. For instance, when Sadat's regime began to move to the right, we ruled out entirely any armed conflict between his regime and the Zionist entity. Thus, the October War came as a surprise to us. The masses that rallied around us found difficulties in explaining it within the framework of our analysis.

When the Syrian troops moved into Lebanon and clashed with the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese National Movement in 1976, we acted - in positions and analysis - as if the Syrian regime had totally shifted to the reactionary camp. For some time we treated the Syrian-Egyptian-Saudi alliance as if it would continue until the final phase of an overall settlement. Hence, we thought that the settlement would go forward at a more rapid pace, involving all the fronts in a package deal, including settlement of the Palestinian cause. In some instances, we presented specific predictions about the sequence of steps of the settlement.

The theoretical root of these blunders lies in the extent to which we grasped the process of the bourgeoisie's shift to the enemy camp. The road of reality is very complex; it does not follow the straight path implied by our general strategic analysis. As the Arab bourgeoisie shifts to the right, obstacles arise to hinder its direction, as a result of unresolved contradictions with Zionism. It takes a relatively long time to dissolve these obstacles. Moreover, when the Arab bourgeoisie takes a generally nationalist position, it wages occasional battles against the masses and revolutionary forces. The course of the bourgeoisie vacillates between two contradictory positions. This vacillation may continue, be repeated and take new turns before ending in a definite position which leaves no room for speculation.

We assert the validity of our general analysis about the bourgeoisie and the national regimes, and the validity of our strategic stances. However, we should make our strategic stances more precise and thorough, so that we can accurately interpret political events, develop sound political tactics, and avoid unequivocal predictions on the tactical level. The lesson to be drawn is the necessity of taking more careful positions not only vis-a-vis the process of strategic conflict but also concerning secondary contradictions within the enemy ranks, differences in the nationalist ranks and the development of these contradictions, both secondary and primary. In this way tactical positions will complement strategic positions.

After Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the signing of the Camp David agreements, the PFLP took a number of sound tactical political positions

which were dialectically linked with the strategic analysis. Overall, the PFLP's dedication to the strategic position during the period under evaluation, had a very positive effect, but that does not rule out the necessity of stressing this lesson. We need to stress the tactical principles that have been proven valid through practice and the people's revolutionary experience: the principle of benefitting from the differences within the enemy ranks, the principle of the vacillation of the centrist forces, etc. As the PFLP's role becomes greater, we will be more able to practice these principles and prove their validity through experience.

Part Three

*The Palestinian
Situation*

Introduction

The Camp David process faced the Palestinian national struggle with a stage more complicated than any previous one. This stage is characterized by the development of the military and economic power of the Zionist entity, increasing its influence and domination in the Arab region. This stage is conducive for the Zionist enemy to expand its economic and military capabilities, for the imperialists consider the Zionist enemy as the main power on which they can rely to carry out their schemes in the region.

On the military level, the enemy's forces increased quantitatively and qualitatively. Today, 'Israel' produces fighter planes and tanks, and more arms than England. The military industry accounts for approximately 8% of the Israeli gross national product. Arms and military hardware comprise more than 10% of total Israeli exports. These figures are mere references to the Zionist entity's quantitative and qualitative leaps in the military sphere. The same is true in the economic sphere.

The picture is not all that rosy, however, for the Zionist entity suffers from a set of cumbersome economic woes such as a high inflation rate, trade deficit, the accumulation of foreign debts, a high drop-out rate among immigrants and increased emigration abroad, particularly to Canada and the USA. In addition, there are acute social contradictions, relative political unrest, widespread corruption, and political isolation in the international arena. Nonetheless, the main characteristic in the current stage is that Israeli capabilities and resources are thriving; new opportunities are opening for continued growth, particularly after the establishment of relations with the Egyptian regime.

The Camp David stage heralded tremendous complications for the Palestinian struggle, because of its special feature, i.e., that factions of

Arab reaction have allied directly with the Zionist enemy. It is not a secondary matter when the Arab country with the greatest capacity, Egypt, switches to the enemy camp. It is a serious matter when the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon is confronting forces that overtly collaborate with the enemy, further complicating the battle. The struggle of our Palestinian people has always been difficult and complicated due to the nature of the Zionist movement and its organic link to imperialism. Today, the struggle encounters a new, added twist in the already complicated reality.

Due to these factors, added to the reality of the Arab liberation movement and the impotence of Arab officialdom, the title of the enemy plan is liquidating the Palestinian cause, not solving it. The plan is to liquidate the Palestinian revolution rather than taming it by striking a deal with the leadership of the revolution.

These are the special features of the current stage of struggle in the Palestinian arena.

What is the enemy plan for liquidating the Palestinian cause?

Chapter 1

The Enemy Plan for Liquidating the Palestinian Cause and Revolution

First: Liquidating the Palestinian Armed Struggle in Lebanon - The Central Link In the Enemy Plan to Liquidate the Palestinian Cause

Preserving the Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon symbolizes the continuation of the revolution. Through this symbol, the Palestinian revolution can maintain its international recognition as a national liberation movement. Broad international support rules out liquidation of the cause. The revolution enables the Palestinians to rally a broad international front of socialist, progressive and democratic forces supporting the Palestinian cause. Unless the enemy forces silence the Palestinian gun, they cannot claim to have resolved the Palestinian cause whose legitimacy even imperialist countries, enemy forces and public opinion in these countries have been forced to recognize. Thus, in the enemy's eyes, the revolution's presence in Lebanon constitutes an obstacle to liquidating the Palestinian cause, which must be eliminated.

On the other hand, preserving the Palestinian armed presence constitutes the optimal moral, political, military and financial support to the struggle of our people in occupied Palestine. The past few years have evidenced the dialectical relation between the struggle of our people in occupied Palestine and the ongoing Palestinian revolution in Lebanon. The enemy has spared no efforts to liquidate the struggle of our masses in Palestine, through a special scheme designed for this purpose. Still, the enemy is well aware that eliminating Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon is a prerequisite for hitting the struggle in Palestine and liquidating it once and for all.

The presence of the Palestinian armed revolution in Lebanon, and its political influence in the Arab arena, constitute an obstacle to the reactionary regimes, Jordan in particular. It makes it difficult for them to ascend the Camp David train and take their natural position alongside the Camp David alliance. This fact has become clear to the enemy camp. Furthermore, the reactionary regimes fear that the torch of the Palestinian revolution will revolutionize the whole area in the long run. As a result of the continuation of the Palestinian armed revolution and its attachment to the Lebanese masses and National Movement, the Lebanese masses, through the National Movement, took up arms against the common enemy. This is an example of the role which the Palestinian revolution can play vis-a-vis the Palestinian masses everywhere, the Arab masses and the Arab national and progressive forces. In this way, the particularity of the Palestinian revolution, its role and position within the Arab national liberation movement, is transformed into a concrete model in Lebanon.

By the same token, the mutual relationship between the Palestinian revolution and liberation movements around the world finds expression in a process of interaction and solidarity in Lebanon. This special relationship bolstered both the Palestinian revolution and the other liberation movements. Also, in view of the existing relations of support and solidarity between the Palestinian revolution and the socialist countries, particularly the USSR, the imperialists deem that the survival of the overt Palestinian revolution in Lebanon constitutes a foothold for the Soviets in the area.

For all these reasons, liquidating the Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon is a top priority in the scheme of the enemy alliance for eliminating the Palestinian cause and its influence. In these circumstances, the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plan aims not only at eliminating the Palestinian armed presence, but targets all Lebanon as well, due to the following factors: the organic relationship that has developed between the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement in common struggle; the eruption of the Lebanese regime's crisis because of this relationship; and the attempts to advance the Camp David stage and its plans throughout the area. Those who benefit from the Lebanese system aim at preserving the exploitative regime which is imposed on the masses. To this end, they collaborate with imperialism and the Zionist entity on the basis of overlapping interests. Imperialism and Zionism support these reactionary forces in Lebanon in return for their boarding the Camp David train. The Lebanese regime could thereby keep exploiting the masses, while imperialism and Zionism would achieve a new chapter in the com-

prehensive Camp David schemes for the area. Consequently, the essence of the plan drawn up for Lebanon is to impose fascist hegemony whereby Lebanon would enter the Camp David alliance. Naturally, the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon would be liquidated in the process.

This scheme takes on crucial importance in view of the deployment of Syrian troops in Lebanon. Among other things, the enemy plans to exhaust the Syrian forces in Lebanon, in order to pressure and eventually defeat Syria as a force antagonistic to Camp David. Hence, Lebanon became an arena for intense confrontation between the parties to Camp David and the forces antagonistic to it. It is the Lebanese National Movement's duty to assume a practical role in the confrontation, since the enemy scheme aims to impose fascist hegemony on the Lebanese masses. It is also incumbent on Arab national, revolutionary and progressive forces to realize that the battle in Lebanon is their battle against the Camp David schemes.

It is imperative to grasp the course whereby the enemy intends to carry out this scheme. Various forces are involved, having been assigned different, but coordinated roles, despite occasional diversionary tactical changes in the role of some forces. What is the Zionist role? What is the role of Saad Haddad's militias? What is the role of the fascist Lebanese Front? Where does the Lebanese regime stand in this scheme? What is the role of the reactionary forces in the nationalist areas? How are the roles of these forces interlinked? Which is the major force assigned the fundamental role? What is the magnitude of the military and political factors involved in carrying out the scheme?

The Lebanese civil war, which aimed at dealing a blow to the Lebanese mass movement and the Palestinian armed presence, has gone through several phases. At each phase, one of the enemy forces led the onslaught, backed in one way or another by the others. It is not our intention, in this report, to review the details of these phases, draw the lessons and identify the interlocking roles of the respective forces at each stage. It is our goal to unveil the basic features of the next stage through analysis, past experience and following the events in Lebanon.

A. The Role of the Zionist Enemy

The Zionist enemy played a role in carrying out the scheme during the various phases of the civil war. In March 1978, this amounted to an outright military invasion of South Lebanon, against the forces of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. The Israeli role

was then distinguished by air raids in particular. For six months in 1979, the Zionist entity scored consecutive military strikes against the forces of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement, and the Palestinian and Lebanese masses, in South Lebanon. Consequently, there was a massive influx of displaced people driven to the Sidon and Beirut areas. The Lebanese authorities seized on this state of affairs and called for an Arab summit which was held in Tunisia. On this pretext, they called for a united strategy and the evacuation of the revolution's forces from South Lebanon. Meanwhile, the Zionist entity continued its sea, land and air raids on Lebanon, under the pretext of protecting its borders and/or «the Christians».

Do we expect the Zionist entity to play the major role in this scheme? What precisely is its role? What are its objectives? Should 'Israel' contemplate assuming the major role in eliminating the Palestinian and Lebanese armed presence, it must occupy all Lebanon and wage a battle against the people as a whole. This could be very costly in political and military terms. The 1978 Israeli invasion of Lebanon backfired politically, when a broad spectrum of forces, including the Lebanese National Movement, rallied around the Palestinian revolution.

The goal of certain forces in Lebanon converges with that of the Zionist entity. This absolves the enemy from directly undertaking such a role. The Zionist entity will continue playing a military role in Lebanon, but within the bounds of supporting the militias of Saad Haddad and the fascist Lebanese Front (the Phalangists). This would engage the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement in a war of attrition, and deal blows to the masses in order to make them despair, paralyze their effectiveness and create a spirit of resentment against the armed nationalist forces. This in turn would give the Lebanese authorities and reactionary forces justifications for implementing their political and military schemes against the revolution and the Lebanese National Movement. These schemes are underway. Of course, we expect that the Israeli role will wax and wane in accordance with the charted course, paving the way for the reactionary forces in Lebanon to assume a surrogate role and undertake the final liquidation of the armed nationalist presence in Lebanon.

The elimination of the Palestinian armed presence in Jordan was not carried out by the Zionist entity. The Zionists' semi-daily raids and military strikes on the revolution's bases in Jordan did not terminate the revolution. Rather, the Zionist enemy set the conditions for the Jordanian regime to undertake the liquidation of the Palestinian armed presence.

B. The Role of Saad Haddad's Militias

While the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement were preoccupied with defending their existence against the fascist Lebanese Front's militias in Beirut, the mountains, the north and the rest of Lebanon, the Zionist enemy succeeded in gradually infiltrating the southern border villages under the pretext of offering humanitarian aid to the population. Thus, the Zionist enemy was able to establish a gateway for supplying the fascist forces with weapons, creating the objective basis for building a fascist military force under the leadership of Saad Haddad. This force assumed the practical role of carrying out the Zionist scheme under the banner of «defending» and «liberating» Lebanon from the Palestinian and Syrian forces. Subsequently, Saad Haddad proclaimed the so-called state of «Free Lebanon» in the South, as a miniature model for Lebanon as a whole. Today, this force patrols the borders of the Zionist enemy. Alongside the Zionist enemy, it works to wear down the morale of the masses and make them despair. The aim is to gradually spread the influence of Saad Haddad's militias in order to connect the fascist area in the South with other fascist-dominated areas of Lebanon.

Haddad's military potential is limited. Even some bourgeois sectors in the patriotic areas reject the hegemony of this fascist secessionist. As a result, Haddad's forces alone are not capable of carrying out the scheme charted for Lebanon, but they can play a supplementary role.

C. The Lebanese Front and Forces

The fascist Lebanese Front precipitated the civil war in Lebanon. At the outset, it played a major role and took advantage of the state of war to impose its control in certain areas, through tactical political moves. Today, it insists on retaining power in these areas. By collaborating with the Zionist enemy, the Lebanese fascists succeeded in increasing their military power.

Due to political and military reasons, the Lebanese Front is not assigned the role of finally liquidating the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement. Today, its role is that of providing bridgeheads for the Lebanese authorities to implement their basic role of liquidating the nationalist presence on the pretext of preserving the unity of Lebanon. The Lebanese Front practices political tactics entitled «either a unified fascist Lebanon or the partition of Lebanon.» Based on this blackmail, the Lebanese state is trying to wrest all the concessions it can from the national forces, and win the maximum Arab and international official support under the pretext of Lebanon's unity.

D. The Role of the Lebanese Regime

Reviewing the roles of the Zionist entity, Haddad's militias and the Lebanese Front, leads us to the conclusion that the Lebanese regime is the major force assigned the role of liquidating the Palestinian and Lebanese revolutions, and carrying out the whole scheme charted for Lebanon. It relies, of course, on the supporting roles assumed by the other enemy forces. The Lebanese regime possesses a set of political and military cards which qualify it to carry out this scheme. Its daily practices are a living testimony to its role. Since there is still not overt, declared cooperation between the Lebanese authorities and the Zionist entity, the regime can play a set of subversive roles against the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement, which cannot be assumed by the other antagonistic forces.

In addition, the Lebanese regime, as the official authority of all Lebanon, can build up a military force through alliance with imperialism and reaction. The same degree of leverage is not available to the puppet Saad Haddad or the Lebanese Front. The Lebanese regime has more room to maneuver politically, and is today feverishly endeavoring to rebuild its military force to greatly exceed the might it had before the outbreak of the civil war. Today, all the arrangements have been made for an army of 40,000 soldiers. There is obvious US enthusiasm to supply the Lebanese Army with the necessary military equipment. Behind this enthusiasm lurks the role charted for the army: imposing the hegemony of the exploitative regime on the Lebanese masses and liquidating the Palestinian revolution.

In addition to the Lebanese Army, arrangements are underway to expand the Internal Security Forces to 20,000 policemen, to equip this force and prepare it psychologically to protect the exploitative regime and hit the revolutionary forces. Moreover, the regime has been strengthening the Deuxieme Bureau (military intelligence), increasing its budgets and authority, to enable it to demoralize the masses in the nationalist areas. This is to prepare the Deuxieme Bureau to exercise the repressive role it had in the past, and expand its role for the future.

While preparing its personnel to play their assigned roles when the time is right, the Lebanese regime is working politically to create the optimal atmosphere for cracking down on the revolutionary forces. These political roles are by no means less dangerous than the forthcoming military roles. They constitute the objective requirements for assuming the military role. The state's most dangerous political activity is preparing pub-

lic opinion for the forthcoming military battle. The Lebanese regime is taking advantage of the agony of the masses caused by the Zionist and fascist forces, to give the impression that only the state can relieve this agony.

The political and propaganda line adopted by the regime is a clear attempt to disorient the masses and prevent them from knowing the real causes of the current Lebanese crisis. The authorities attribute the crisis to the presence of the Palestinian revolution, not to the Zionist-imperialist-fascist scheme for Lebanon. To them, Zionist encroachments, the fascists' implacability and the lack of law and order, are all caused by the revolution. The Lebanese state's facade of 'neutrality' enables it to divert the masses' attention away from the national and class enemy, and blame the current unrest on the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement. Hence, we see the dangerous role which the state plays. The fascist forces cannot play such a role with equal success, due to their blatant relations with the Zionist enemy.

The Lebanese masses are vulnerable to the regime's brainwashing due to their harsh living conditions, the wrong practices of some factions of the Palestinian resistance, and the shortcomings of the Lebanese National Movement, its inability to rally the masses around a sound analysis of the events, and agree on an effective program for national salvation. The regime is counting on the reactionary and bourgeois forces in the nationalist areas to lead the masses in asking the army to step in and impose law and order, on the mistaken assumption that the return of the exploitative regime's control is the only remedy for the situation.

Before the outbreak of the civil war, the regime began to crack as a result of the Lebanese masses' escalating struggle which threatened the domination of the regime of the 4%.* This regime, which ignited the civil war under the cover of fighting the Palestinian revolution that allegedly threatened «Lebanese sovereignty», has managed to stage a temporary comeback, imposing its hegemony on the Lebanese masses. The Lebanese regime is also attempting to divide the masses in the nationalist areas and drive them to desparation, by escalating contradictions and sectarianism. The regime is concentrating on the Shiite community, aiming at fomenting hostility between them and the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement. The authorities might succeed in their efforts by virtue of the Shiite community's being located in the South, and the level of destruction and suffering to which they are subjected.

Here the role of the reactionary figures in the Shiite sect comes into

play. The activities of the Deuxieme Bureau further complicate the matter, for it has developed a scheme for infiltrating agents into the Amal movement which was originally established to fight for the rights of the Shiites as an underprivileged sect. The mission of the Deuxieme Bureau agents is to instigate clashes between Amal and the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement, that appear to be clashes with the Shiites as such. Since the outbreak of the civil war, the fascist forces have worked to incite the Shiites against the national forces. The role of the Lebanese regime increases the dangers of this scheme.

The Shiites, especially in the South, are the most persecuted, exploited and oppressed citizens of Lebanon. By virtue of this reality, they have been very enthusiastic about the Palestinian revolution; they were the sector of the masses most supportive and attached to the revolution. They fought alongside the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement in the South, and in Shiyah and Nabaa (sites of intense civil war battles in Beirut). Today, the Lebanese authorities are slyly and cleverly working to deprive the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement of this mass support on which the revolution has relied from the beginning of its presence in Lebanon.

In previous phases of the civil war, reactionary and bourgeois forces in the nationalist areas were unable to take a blatantly hostile position against the Palestinian revolution and Lebanese National Movement. Today, with the Lebanese regime's return to the fore, such forces have started to express their longstanding enmity towards the revolution and the masses, under the cover of calling for the state to extend its sovereignty and assume security tasks. The subversive operations carried out by the Deuxieme Bureau provide the proper atmosphere for the Lebanese authorities to assume all these roles. The regime and reactionary forces can take advantage of the reluctance of the National Movement to assume the task of regulating security in the nationalist areas, and the fact that some factions of the Palestinian revolution have undertaken these tasks which rightfully belong to the Lebanese National Movement. Although the Lebanese regime tries to pose as the 'arbitrator' between the belligerent forces, it actually works to passify the masses, disorient the patriotic forces and sow discord among them. It does so through harping on the theme of 'harmony' and compromise solutions, in an attempt to gain time for completing its political schemes and building its repressive apparatus.

In the Arab arena, the Lebanese state can play a particular role in car-

rying out the scheme, of which the Lebanese Front is no longer capable. The Lebanese government does not have overt relations with the Zionist entity. Rather, it maintains very close, direct relations with US imperialism and its embassy in Beirut. By speaking of "security" and "sovereignty", the Lebanese regime can win over most of the Arab regimes. This would facilitate its task in carrying out the charted scheme for Lebanon.

This is the essence of the imperialist-Zionist-fascist scheme for Lebanon, and these are the landmarks of the course to be followed for implementing it. Within the general picture, there are various contradictions, details and possibilities for relative changes in the role of each force. Moreover, the enemy forces have ample opportunity for political maneuvers and tactics which may impair clear political vision as to the essence of the scheme and the path of implementation. Thus, it is necessary to keep the essence of the scheme permanently in mind, despite all contradictions, relative changes and tactics. For example, Zionism and some of the fascist forces are endeavoring to establish a sectarian state in Lebanon, so that the Zionist state would not remain the only state established on a religious basis. Meanwhile, the regime and some fascist forces are trying to impose their domination on Lebanon as a whole. Some of these forces would strive to set up a military dictatorship, while others would be keen to give the dictatorship a democratic facade. As for tactics, some attempt to emphasize the Palestinian "threat". On other occasions, the Syrian "threat" is stressed. These antagonistic forces are in complete agreement that, ultimately, armed Palestinian presence should be brought to an end. They also agree that the exploitative system should be restored. Their natural alliance is with US imperialism, the common denominator which directly or indirectly joins Arab reaction and Zionism, to hit the mass movement.

Due to the nature of the scheme and its major objective of imposing reactionary domination on the Lebanese masses and linking Lebanon with Camp David, the Lebanese National Movement is basically responsible for mapping out a confrontation program. Such a program should incorporate the minute details of the political, military and organizational aspects of the confrontation. This program should identify the contradictions within the enemy ranks, and how to exploit these. It should define those forces who stand on middle ground, and how to neutralize or win them over. The program should aim at developing a national democratic trend in the fascist-controlled areas, capitalizing on the conflicts generated by the Phalangists' inclination to monopolize power in these areas.

Efforts should be made to take advantage of Franjeh's particular position within the Maronite community, and to show how the Maronite sect monopolizes power and claims to represent all the Christians of Lebanon. The program should specify how to defeat the regime's plans for the Shiites, and how to regulate life in the nationalist areas. It should determine the magnitude of social struggles within the confrontation program. The Lebanese National Movement should specify how to work within the state's military institution and put forth its own programs for preparing military forces. The confrontation program should be based on the legitimacy of the struggle against Saad Haddad's so-called state. It should determine how to rally the broadest sectors of the masses and increase the nationalists' military forces. The program should address issues such as regulating relations between the contingents of the National Movement and finding solutions for the forces which remain outside its framework. The program should define the frame of reference for alliances on the Arab and international level.

The concern of the Palestinian revolution centers on one crucial issue regarding the essence of the analysis and political line. Our analysis revealed the nature of the fascist, Zionist and imperialist scheme for Lebanon, and the prevailing state of dual power. These circumstances do not permit any halfway solution or extended lull in the conflict. It is the armed nationalists against the armed fascists. Such an antagonistic contradiction cannot be solved without the defeat of one of the protagonists. All positions and tactics should be formulated and practiced on this basis.

The experience of the Lebanese National Movement since 1975, should have illuminated and consolidated this fact as the basis for developing all positions and tactics, regardless of theoretical and political analysis of the nature of the conflict in Lebanon. Any defeat for the Lebanese National Movement means a defeat for the Palestinian revolution, and the success of the central provision of the imperialist-Zionist scheme for liquidating the Palestinian cause. It is our duty, also from the angle of solidarity with the Lebanese National Movement, to struggle and engage in dialogue to entrench this fact. We are not in the process of reviewing all the phases of struggle in Lebanon, or drawing the lessons of each phase. Nevertheless, our conclusion is that the Lebanese National Movement did not program its struggle at the outset of the civil war. It thus overlooked the fact that the conflict cannot end without the defeat and liquidation of one of the opposing sides.

Today, the National Movement raises slogans for Lebanon's unity,

Arab identity, independence and democratic development, and takes certain tactical stances. These slogans and stances may be very sound in the light of the current balance of forces and the mass situation, as long as there is an overall practice and national liberation program based on the premise that the contradictions are antagonistic; there are no halfway solutions or extended lulls. Otherwise these slogans, tactics and stances constitute a fatal blunder, resulting in deluding the people, and creating passivity and a state of waiting in the ranks of the National Movement and the masses.

These slogans and tactics are not incompatible with regulating the life of the masses in the nationalist areas. The National Movement's undertaking such a task would be the concrete link between its tactical moves and the basic fact of the nature of the ongoing antagonistic contradictions.

Our program for counteracting the enemy scheme is as follows:

1. A firm political decision to defend the Palestinian armed presence at all costs, without relinquishing any revolutionary achievements.
2. Mobilizing, training and arming all the Palestinian masses to defend the revolution.
3. Achieving maximum military coordination between the Palestinian contingents on the basis of united leadership and planning.
4. Taking firm disciplinary action against blunders, shortcomings and misconduct that damage the Palestinian revolution's relations with the Lebanese masses.
5. Promoting our military capabilities in terms of personnel, training and armament to the highest possible level.
6. Fighting against Saad Haddad's forces which constitute a buffer zone, preventing the Palestinian revolution from exercising its legitimate right to fight the Zionist enemy on all fronts.
7. Fighting the Zionist enemy from across the Lebanese border, despite the barriers and difficulties entailed.
8. Strengthening our relations with the Lebanese National Movement, devoting all possible resources to consolidate its capabilities, so that it assumes the leading role in the conflict. This would clarify the conflict as being basically inter-Lebanese. We could achieve this goal through totally linking our militant struggle with the Lebanese National Movement, supporting the Lebanese masses through supporting the movement, not

exceeding its authority, but supporting it to fully exercise its authority and duties.

9. Forging and deepening the Lebanese national - Palestinian alliance with Syria, since Syria is directly concerned and its destiny is linked with the conflict.

10. Working to have all Arab progressive and nationalist forces support the Lebanese National Movement, providing the requirements of steadfastness; confronting these forces with their duties toward the Lebanese National Movement and masses, particularly in South Lebanon. In supporting the Lebanese National Movement, these forces would be indirectly supporting the Palestinian revolution.

Second: Imposing the 'Autonomy' Project by Liquidating our Masses' Resistance in Palestine

Attempts to carry out the next provision in the enemy's scheme, to liquidate the Palestinian cause and revolution, are underway on more than one front. While the top priority is liquidating the Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon, the second item on the agenda is imposing the 'autonomy' project, claiming that it provides a solution to the Palestinian cause. The theme of 'self-administration' is evident from the title itself. This project does not go beyond giving the West Bank population autonomy in managing their daily affairs. The Israeli interpretation of 'autonomy' was revealed in a clause of the Egyptian-Zionist treaty, stating that the current Zionist government insists on retaining sovereignty over the land. Regardless of contradictions between Sadat's regime and the Zionist government over interpretation and implementation of the treaty, its ceiling remains crystal clear, as the title shows. Moreover, 'Israel' remains capable of imposing its own interpretation, as it is doing in practice. The Zionist interpretation is full Israeli sovereignty over every inch of Palestine; anything less is considered a betrayal of the Zionist doctrine. Accordingly, Jerusalem is the eternal capital of the Zionist entity, and the Zionist entity has an indelible right to establish settlements, as has been repeatedly stressed by Begin.

Our masses have heroically resisted the 'autonomy' conspiracy in Palestine; no Palestinian has dared to declare readiness to be an accomplice to this conspiracy. Nonetheless, all evidence attests that Begin, and the Zionist trend he represents, are endeavoring to impose this solution, capitalizing on the Zionists' prevailing superior power and the historic opportunity afforded by Sadat's capitulation. The Begin government's policies for imposing 'autonomy' are as follows:

A) The Zionist Settlement Policy

Currently, the Zionist entity is feverishly expanding existing settlements and building new ones, in order to impose new realities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The policy of creating facts is rooted in the history of the Zionist movement and its invasion of Palestine. The Zionist enemy has always put such a policy into force on the ground. The Likud boasts that in terms of building settlements, it has achieved much more in a few years than the Labor Party accomplished over the many years it was in power. Settlement-building accelerated following the conclusion of the Camp David accords. Settlement projects targeted Palestinian population centers. More funds have been appropriated for settlement budgets; new programs have been mapped out. Any keen observer of the current settlement policy can grasp the magnitude of the Likud government's determination to impose new realities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

B) Economic Subordination

Surveying the economy of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, year by year, shows that the trend is towards complete dependency on the Israeli economy. The Zionists have a systematic policy aimed at destroying the semi-independent economic infrastructure of these areas, for this is one of the components of the Palestinian national identity. Economic subordination is part and parcel of Zionism's settler colonialist policy which aims not only at plundering the resources and manpower of the occupied territories, but also at expelling our masses from their homeland. Ultimately, this aims to fulfill the Zionist project of establishing "Greater Israel" on the ruins of our people's national existence.

The Zionist enemy is also escalating its systematic policy to destroy the essential conditions for agriculture in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The basic features of this policy are as follows:

1. Confiscating Palestinian land under various pretexts and by various means: The enemy consistently confiscates land that is termed "absentee property" or designated for security and military purposes. Very often, the Zionist enemy prohibits Palestinian peasants from tilling their land under the pretext that it is located in a military zone, in order to get access to this land and then confiscate it.

2. Rationing water for Palestinian peasants: In addition to confiscating vast water resources in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and diverting them for use in the Zionist entity and its institutions, the enemy also rations the amount of water available to Palestinian peasants, per tree or acre.

Usually, the amount falls short of meeting the peasants' needs. The shortage of water causes tremendous damage to crops, hence discouraging the peasants from agricultural work and investment. Often, income from agriculture does not meet the peasants' basic needs.

3. Controlling the market: The Zionists in effect impose an embargo on the traditional agricultural products, whether by controlling marketing or by unfair competition with Zionist agricultural products. This aims to force the Palestinian peasants to grow crops which provide raw material for Israeli industries. This increases the enemy's control over Palestinian agriculture, subordinating it to the needs of Zionist production. Faced with these conditions, plus spiralling inflation, the Palestinian peasant cannot make ends meet. Ultimately, he is forced to leave farming and join the wage labor market, working in Zionist institutions, factories or farms.

Industry in the West Bank and Gaza Strip suffers from the most adverse conditions: inflation, soaring prices, rising production fees and taxes of all sorts. The industry there does not receive any support or subsidy from the government. Since these industries were not strong in the first place, they cannot compete with Israeli industry. Israeli products have invaded the West Bank and Gaza Strip markets, destroying national industrial firms. The Zionist enemy sometimes encounters difficulties in destroying or subordinating firms to its own institutions through the gradual effect of the economic laws which control the process of annexing the West Bank and Gaza Strip markets, destroying national industrial firms. The Zionist enemy sometimes encounters difficulties in subordinating firms to its own institutions through the gradual effect of the economic laws which control the process of annexing the West Bank and Gaza Strip economy. In such cases, the Israeli authorities do not hesitate to try to directly Judaize these firms as happened with the Jerusalem Electric Company.

Due to the expulsionist nature of Zionist colonialism, the Zionists shy away from investing capital in the West Bank and Gaza Strip economy. Zionist colonialism has no intention of establishing its own institutions on the wreckage of the Arab firms. Thus, the first direct outcome of devastating our national industry is the destruction of the Palestinian working class as well. The working class is put in a double bind. Workers can either emigrate which plays into the enemy's hands, or they have to work in Zionist firms, without union protection, under the worst kind of class exploitation.

In the sphere of commerce, the Zionist enemy aims at gradually taking full control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip markets. Statistics show that 90% of imports to the West Bank and Gaza Strip come from 'Israel', making them the biggest importer of Israeli goods. The value of these imports surpasses the value of Israeli exports to any other country in the world. For instance, the value of Israeli exports to the West Bank and Gaza Strip reached \$366 million in 1975, whereas those to the USA were valued at \$308 million, and those to the United Kingdom, \$171 million. Thus we see the core of the subordination policy adopted by the Zionist entity towards the West Bank and Gaza Strip in all spheres.

C) Obliterating the Palestinian National Identity, History and Culture

From the start, the existence and future of the Zionist enemy hinged on eliminating the national identity of our people. Based on this concept, the Zionist authorities enact their daily racist policies. A close look at the policies of the Labor Alignment or the Likud, since the establishment of the racist Zionist entity, clearly reveals this concrete, consistent political course. The Zionist authorities have constantly worked to obliterate the national heritage of our people, falsifying and altering our cultural history. In line with this, they revised the entire educational curriculum. The Zionists also forcibly replaced the historical names of our cities and villages with Hebrew names.

Following the 1967 occupation, the Zionist authorities imposed their curriculum on all Palestinian Arab schools in occupied Jerusalem. During the Likud's years in power, the occupation authorities stepped up measures against Palestinian educational institutions. They restricted the activities of the Higher Education Council, closed down the Abu Dees College of Science, amended the education law, and granted the military government emergency powers to interfere in educational affairs, including the administrative affairs of educational institutions.

In the same policy framework, the occupation authorities are launching a fierce onslaught against all national cultural expression. They put restrictions on the distribution and sale of educational and literary books, on art exhibitions, or any national cultural activities. Historical and religious sites in Jerusalem and Hebron have been subjected to Judaization. These concrete acts attest to the racist, colonial nature of Zionist policies.

D) Zionist Policies of Terror, Oppression and Collective Punishment

Since the very first day of its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Zionist enemy has made a mockery of all humanitarian traditions and laws. It has practiced the cruelest form of mass arrests, rounding up residents of one quarter or village, detaining them for long hours under the worst of weather conditions. Women and children are not exempt from all sorts of persecution and torture. This policy has persisted throughout the years of occupation, taking the form of collective annihilation, thus expressing Zionism's fascist character. The fascist entity stepped up its inhuman practices after the signing of the Camp David accords and the ensuing 'autonomy' talks. The escalating repression took new forms, such as besieging entire cities and villages for days and weeks at a time, with economic blockades and day-long curfews. At the same time, these cities and villages are subjected to attacks by semi-official Zionist groups with official complicity.

In an attempt to paralyze the militant spirit of our people and bring them to their knees, the enemy put into effect the policy of detention, putting people away in the Zionist, Nazi-like jails under the worst conditions and the cruelest sort of 'civilized' torture. Those arrested are not only persons charged with affiliation to resistance organizations. Anyone who expresses opinions against the occupation might be detained. Very often, families, neighbors and acquaintances of wanted individuals have been arrested in an attempt to terrorize and paralyze the masses. This policy finds its parallel in the dreadful Nazi concentration camps. Over the years of occupation, 100,000 individuals have been detained. At any given time, there have been 4,000 political prisoners behind the Zionist bars. Some of them have been subject to administrative arrest, without trial or specified charges, and held for as long as six years, as in the case of the militant Ali al Jamal. More than sixty militants have been martyred under the savage torture in Zionist jails. Some detainees have spent more than thirteen years in detention centers, and are still subject to all sorts of psychological and physical torture, carried out in accordance with a systematic policy for destroying Palestinian militants, physically and morally. The enemy still refuses to treat militant detainees as prisoners of war, according to international laws.

The systematic policy of expelling nationalists, from all walks of life, continues; the number of those expelled exceeds 1,600. This policy is designed to empty the occupied territories of any nationalist leadership.

The current form of this policy is deportation without any legal proceedings, as was the case with Mayors Milhem and Qawasmeh, and Sheikh Tamimi. Often expulsion has involved entire families. It has been imposed in various forms, such as full expulsion from the homeland, or evacuation of families from their birthplace and usual residence, to far away places. This is an attempt to distance the family from its original social environment, and deprive it of its former means of subsistence, thus deliberately breaking down the social structure and relations.

Vis-a-vis militant Palestinians who launch heroic operations in the occupied homeland, the Zionist enemy resorts to the worst forms of fascist repression. In addition to demolishing militants' houses, the Zionists often demolish nearby houses or even entire quarters. More than 150,000 houses have been demolished in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including three entire villages west of Ramallah, razed to the ground.

Besides the policy of creating facts as a means of imposing the 'autonomy' project according to the Zionist formula, the authorities recently escalated their repressive measures against the Palestinian masses. The aim is to force them to yield to a fait accompli, facilitating the emergence of a reactionary Palestinian trend, willing to be an accomplice. Arrests, repression, deportations, curfews and all sorts of pressures have mounted recently, aimed at imposing the 'autonomy' conspiracy by force. Nonetheless, our masses in Palestine took a heroic stance against the Camp David accords, making it difficult for any Palestinian party to collaborate.

Despite that, the 'autonomy' project is still alive; a number of measures are underway to force it on our masses. It constitutes a central link in the enemy's schemes for liquidating the Palestinian cause. Thus, foiling this scheme constitutes a major task for the revolution at this stage.

While following the 'autonomy' conspiracy and the efforts to impose it, we should watch for the activities of US imperialism and Sadat's regime. US envoys and embassy staff in 'Israel' have tried to talk some Palestinian figures into dealing with this project rather than rejecting it altogether. They tried to make the project look like a first step towards resolving the Palestinian cause, and asked Palestinian figures to wait until the outcome of the negotiations was clear. Lately, these attempts abated, but they can be reactivated at any time. Sadat's regime has made attempts along the same lines. Sadat's proposition to enforce the project in the Gaza Strip first, is a dangerous attempt to find a way out of the predicament for 'autonomy'.

The Egyptian regime sees application of 'autonomy' as a first step to imposing it in the West Bank. The regime is betting on the Strip, because it knows the reactionary figures there; it is counting on an active reactionary trend, the restoration of relations between Egypt and Gaza, and Egypt's relative ability to maneuver via its embassy in 'Israel'.

Occasionally, it seems that there are contradictions between the points of view of Sadat, Begin and the US, about how to apply the 'autonomy' project. However, all these parties agree on the essence of the Camp David accords which is a major threat to the Palestinian cause. Developments might occur in the stances of these parties, but they would merge in carrying out the scheme which is designed to liquidate the Palestinian cause. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the nature of the existing contradictions between Sadat and Begin on how to apply 'autonomy' resemble the contradictions which led Dayan, and later Weizman, to leave the Likud government.

Thus, a major task of the Palestinian revolution at this stage is serious, constant struggle for foiling the 'autonomy' conspiracy, based on the following guidelines:

1. Adopting a firm political line against all versions of 'autonomy' to prevent any Palestinian force from finding a pretext for dealing with this conspiracy.

The Palestinian revolution rejected the 'autonomy' project and called for foiling it. We must constantly reaffirm this position. We must oppose all attempts at amending and decorating 'autonomy' to make it palatable for some reactionary Palestinian figures. In fact, some figures were lured into dealing with the project indirectly, through their contacts with US emissaries, and their efforts to keep abreast of developments in case a project for 'full autonomy' emerged. The stance of the revolution must be firm and decisive so as to prevent any reactionaries from sneaking into treachery, relying on vague, 'flexible' stances to cover their gradual move towards being accomplices.

2. Escalating the struggle of our people in Palestine against the conspiracy, through military action and all forms of militant and mass struggle.

It is crucial that 'autonomy' be rejected by the Palestinian revolution, by the Arab states and masses and internationally. Yet the decisive factor

in foiling the conspiracy is that the masses reject and fight 'autonomy' and prevent any party from participating in it. The Palestinian masses' all-out confrontation will direct a heavy blow to the enemy scheme and expose the falsity of the claim that it will resolve the Palestinian cause.

We are proud of the way our masses have assumed their role in resisting the Camp David accords and the 'autonomy' conspiracy. Our masses have risen to the challenge of various enemy schemes and scored victories, despite the arrogance and ruthlessness of the occupation authorities.

In order to counteract the confiscation and settlement policies, committees for defending the land were formed, though as yet these have not incorporated broad sectors of the masses. Nevertheless, forming the committees provided a suitable framework for mobilizing the broad social forces ready to join the struggle against the enemy and its policies in this respect. It is the responsibility of all national trends and forces to join in this struggle and widen the scope of activities to include all the occupied territories. Our masses' uprisings forced the enemy to back down from its decision to set up Alon Moreh settlement on the site which was originally selected. The plan was not cancelled, but the enemy opted to transfer the settlement to a nearby site. This heralds the possibility of scoring victory over the enemy with regard to the current link in the conspiracy against Palestinian land.

A prominent example of struggle against the policy of annexation, subordination and destroying Palestinian national institutions, was the resistance to the Zionist decision to take over the concession of the Jerusalem Electric Company. An important role in this struggle was assumed by the Arab Trade Union of the company, despite the hesitation of some right-wing figures in the company's administration. This resistance was a militant landmark in the struggle against the Zionist policy of creating facts as part of the overall Zionist colonial settlement policy in Palestine. To counteract the heroic resistance of the Arab Trade Union, the Zionist enemy attempted to divide the company's concession and restrict the areas of its operation. Despite this, our masses, led by the workers of the company, scored a moral and political victory in this battle.

The enemy's policy is to obliterate the Palestinian national identity, and empty the occupied territories of the national figures who have played an important role in leading the mass movement. However, mass uprisings succeeded in forcing the Zionist enemy to withdraw its decision to expel the militant mayor, Bassam Shaka. Then the enemy resorted to an

assassination attempt to get rid of him, revealing Zionism's inherent racism, fascism and aggressiveness. The defeat of the Zionists' special decree to expel Shakaa, and their subsequent failure to assassinate the nationalist mayors, generated a rise in the mass movement. The enemy then resorted to sneaky, cowardly means, expelling the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, and the religious judge of Hebron. In our estimate, the masses and national leaders are capable of confronting and challenging this cowardly method in the future.

Despite the Zionists' fascist 'anti-terrorist' law which aims to obliterate the Palestinian national identity and dispel Palestine's history and national heritage, the national action confronting this policy widened in scope. Despite the enemy's ban on art exhibitions to revitalize our national heritage, our masses have managed to organize more than one, even if for only a day. Despite being banned, the national theatre movement in Palestine is still very active. Our masses have succeeded in finding ways of getting around the enemy's iron fist measures. For instance, Bir Zeit students organized a wedding festival where there was more than one theatrical performance showing the national identity of our masses and their struggle. Our masses' festivals have turned into open theatres where plays are presented. The enemy attempted to halt these cultural activities. The enemy has forbidden the hoisting of the Palestinian flag and prosecutes anyone who does so on charges of threatening the «security of Israel». Yet Palestinian flags continue to fly throughout Palestine including over the land which the Zionists usurped in 1948. Furthermore, our masses managed to defy the enemy's measures in simple, yet creative ways. For instance, they turned displays of fruits and vegetables into Palestinian flags by the way they arranged them.

Our militants in Israeli jails are challenging the enemy's policy of trying to destroy them physically and break their nationalist spirit. Employing all forms of struggle, these militants set an outstanding example of the steadfastness of our people in the face of Zionist ruthlessness. The strike staged by inmates of Nafha prison, and those which followed in other jails were a blow to the enemy and its schemes. The militants of Nafha transformed the jail, which was designed to be their graveyard, into a shining militant focus for our masses and all the forces of peace and progress around the world. The militants exposed the enemy's spurious claims to democracy and civilization. The committees for defending the prisoners should receive support from all nationalists in the occupied homeland so that they become a mainstay for national action.

The PFLP was at the heart of the mass movement. It has had a prominent role in tackling the Zionist settler gangs. When Kahane's gangs tried to raid our towns in the West Bank, our comrades were among the first to intercept them. The PFLP also had a prominent rôle in heading off the enemy's attempts to confiscate the concession of the Jerusalem Electric Company. Alongside other nationalist forces, the PFLP played a distinctive role in the popular uprising which foiled the Zionist attempt to expel the militant mayor, Shakaa. The PFLP, along with other nationalist forces, worked to stop the vacillation of rightist and bourgeois circles in Palestine and abroad. Collective resignation of the municipal councils was a national necessity to counter the Zionist enemy's attempt to expel the militant mayor.

The PFLP's organization inside and outside the jails played a pioneering role in the battle fought by militant prisoners. The Zionist prison administration could not deny the PFLP's leading role in this battle.

When Al Khazendar (prominent reactionary figure in Gaza) raised his voice against our masses' rejection of Camp David and the 'autonomy' conspiracy, the PFLP silenced him once and for all. This was one of the ways the PFLP practiced its firm position to discourage capitulationists.

The recent escalation of mass resistance in the occupied territories attests to our masses' ability to combat the enemy's policies, relying on the experience they have gained in their constant confrontation with the enemy and its repressive policies. The recent escalation is also based on our masses' strong belief that their cause is just, and that they have a responsibility for the continuation of the Palestinian and Arab struggle. In this, they draw strength from the steadfastness of the revolution in Lebanon, and their belief in the inevitability of victory.

In view of this, it is required of our mass organizations in the occupied territories to consolidate the struggle against the enemy and its liquidationist plans. Also, it is the responsibility of the leadership of the revolution to provide our masses with unconditional support, to enable them to foil the 'autonomy' conspiracy.

The experience of the struggle in Palestine indicates the necessity of intertwining all forms of struggle in facing the enemy, and linking armed struggle with other forms: leaflets and manifestos; demonstrations, marches and rallies; sit-ins, protests and civil disobedience; blocking roads, throwing stones and hitting the Zionist forces. These forms of struggle created a state of popular rejection which the enemy, as well as Arab and international public opinion, were forced to acknowledge. This

surge of popular rejection silenced capitulationist voices in Palestine; it pushed hesitant forces to oppose the conspiracy, and firmed up the position of the revolution.

The rôle played by the National Guidance Committee, by student councils, societies, clubs, trade unions, land defense committees and municipalities is a living testimony to the ability of our masses to improvise fresh means of organizing and mobilizing. It also shows the importance of these associations.

3. Working to develop the National Front in Palestine, increasing its militant effectiveness, regarding it as responsible for leading the mass movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, directing other forces to rally behind it and providing all possible support.

The Palestinian National Front was formed in the occupied homeland in 1973, grouping the major progressive and nationalist forces and some leading, independent national personalities. Since its inception, this front has encountered a set of problems pertaining to its political line and national program. Because of subsequent political disputes, the front continued to face difficulties in the course of its struggle. For instance, at the height of the national struggle against the racist, Zionist occupation policies and the 'autonomy' conspiracy, the Palestinian right wing attempted to impose ill-reputed elements on the front's leadership. The rightists aimed to dominate the front's policies and relations. When the front turned down these ill-reputed elements, the Palestinian right started to question its legitimacy. Following the 14th session of the Palestinian National Council, the leadership of the front in Palestine sent a political memorandum to the PLO Executive Committee, expressing their view on a number of issues, based on abiding by the PNC's organizational and political program. The memo angered the right wing which regarded it as running counter to the PLO's organizational and political program. Ultimately, the Executive Committee, dominated by the Palestinian right, decided to withdraw recognition of the National Front as one of the PLO's main arms in Palestine. Although the front has continued to lead the mass movement in the occupied homeland against the conspiracy of 'autonomy' and the Zionist policies generally, it suffered from the PLO's decision. Had the PLO acted in a sound and unifying way, the front could have played a more influential, positive and growing role.

The continuation and escalation of our people's struggle in Palestine requires the crystallization of an organizational formula that facilitates united stances and mobilization of resources, and prevents the traditional forces from using the masses as a means to achieve their own ends. This formula should halt the advance of those who are working for the Jordanian regime's scheme, taking advantage of the regime's ostensible rejection of Camp David and its present relations with the PLO.

The revolutionary, progressive and nationalist forces rejected Camp David as the settlement formula which the enemy alliance was trying to impose. This provided common political ground for establishing a national front that includes all these forces. The front has to be based on a common political program and function according to the principles for front work. It is thus imperative to honor the decision of the 14th PNC in 1979, and to struggle on this basis. The decision specified that establishing a united national front in Palestine is a must. The leadership of the revolution in exile should lend support to the Palestinian National Front, try to develop it, and adopt the front as the leading framework for the struggle of our masses in the homeland, so long as the front abides by the revolution's stances and programs, and is organizationally linked with it.

4. Working to support our masses' struggle in the homeland with the widest possible network of militant Arab and international solidarity, to provide sorely needed moral, informational, economic and military support.

The heroism of our masses' struggle in the homeland is a concrete fact on which the leadership of the revolution can rely to make all progressive and nationalist forces, Arab or international, feel responsible for the future of the struggle. The universal acknowledgement that Zionism is a reactionary and fascist movement lays the ground for exposing the practices of the Zionist leadership against our people. It also means that the forces of socialism, progress and liberation are required to render more effective support to our masses. This would enable us to consolidate our struggle for discrediting Zionist policy and exposing its fascist nature before international public opinion.

Third: Liquidating the Palestinian Cause through the Jordanian-Palestinian State Project.

'Autonomy' is not the only Zionist formula for liquidating the Palesti-

nian cause. There is also the Zionist Labor Party's formula. The essence of this formula is the liquidation of the Palestinian cause. Consequently, it is our task to expose this formula and prepare for foiling it, through mapping out a program to counter it.

It is now known that the Labor Party was not originally enthusiastic about the Palestinian section of the Camp David accords. During the Knesset session held to vote on the accords, Labor tried to separate the section involving the settlement with Egypt, from the section pertaining to the 'autonomy' project, because it agrees with the first, but opposes the second. The Labor Party opposes the 'autonomy' project on the grounds that it does not best serve Zionist interests in the long run. The party fears that 'autonomy' would be the nucleus for a future Palestinian state. On the other hand, it fears the consequences of retaining the West Bank and Gaza Strip, for massive Palestinian presence in the Zionist state would threaten its demographic structure. The Palestinians would constitute a high percentage of the total population, and could become the majority in the near future. This would distort the Zionist character of the enemy's state. In addition, it is believed that retaining all of the Gaza Strip and West Bank would touch off official opposition from Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. This would impede a comprehensive settlement on all the fronts and, consequently, affect the US-Zionist relations, whereas the Labor Party believes that it is in Zionism's interests that this relation be at the optimal level of harmony and coordination.

For all these reasons, the Zionist Labor Party puts forward a formula for confining 'autonomy' to the Gaza Strip. This formula also entails Israeli withdrawal from 70-80% of the West Bank, which would be turned over to Jordan. Then a Palestinian entity could be established within the framework of the Jordanian Kingdom, thereby 'solving' the Palestinian cause. The Labor Party thinks this formula would entice the Jordanian regime to enter into the settlement fold, with relative support from some Arab reactionary regimes who would justify their support under the cover of retrieving Arab land. This formula would also mitigate contradictions between the US and the Zionist entity. It would keep the settlement momentum going. Economic benefits would continue to accrue to 'Israel' in the form of markets and manpower, through normalizing relations with Jordan. In addition, the formula would divide the official Arab rejection of the Camp David accords, and save 'Israel' from a set of problems that might emerge in the future.

Today the Labor Party finds support for its view from the events which

followed the signing of the Camp David accords: the Palestinian and Arab refusal, and the faltering of the negotiations. Labor uses the events to promote its program for territorial compromise. In the light of Labor's possible return to power in the 1981 elections, confronting the Zionist scheme put forward by this party is a revolutionary task alongside protecting the revolution in Lebanon and foiling the project. This is particularly so, because the Labor Party's project receives tacit support from the reactionary Jordanian regime. Actually, this project is generally compatible with the United Arab Kingdom plan put forward by King Hussein in 1972, with some amendments in the latter to meet the Israeli territorial demands.

The Confrontation Program

1. Adopting a firm political line against the formula for liquidating the Palestinian cause (through the Palestinian-Jordanian state project) in whatever form or interpretation. Although the formula is now the most prominent, this other formula has been put forward. It is feasible that it will be activated in the near future. This requires taking a firm, decisive stand against it now, by mobilizing all the militant potentials for foiling it.

2. Confronting all the stances and moves of the Jordanian agents in occupied Palestine, who are working to promote this formula. Foiling the 'autonomy' conspiracy requires the concentration of efforts, seizing on every voice of opposition. However, the objection of the Jordanian agents to 'autonomy' must not serve as a cover for their promoting the «Jordanian-Palestinian Kingdom».

3. Confronting all the moves and positions of the Jordanian regime to gradually lay the ground for enacting this liquidationist project. Although the Jordanian regime, under the circumstances, is not publicly expressing its real stands, there are many clues that point to its real intentions vis-a-vis the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Among these clues are the regime's summoning the West Bank mayors, putting 3,000 passports at Gaza Mayor Rashad Shawwa's disposal, and scores of other moves. We are required to expose all the regime's activities and discredit its goals.

4. Through relations with the PLO, the Jordanian regime achieved a set of gains which are compatible with the Labor Party's project, despite existing discrepancies. Through these ties, the Jordanian regime took charge of the Palestinians in Jordan as Jordanian citizens. It acquired the right to deal with the affairs of the Palestinians in the occupied homeland and their self-determination. Through coordination with the PLO leadership, the regime strengthened its Arab and international position. Thus,

the Jordanian regime is trying to intimate that its moves, stances and projects enjoy the tacit support of the PLO leadership. It is therefore crucial to struggle to halt this relationship and retrieve the revolution's rights in the Jordanian arena.

5. The central point in confronting the Jordanian-Palestinian confederation conspiracy is improving the state of the Jordanian national movement and the Palestinian revolution in Jordan, through political, organizational and military programs. These programs must insure the mobilization and crystallization of the masses' militant potentials, so that they can prevent the regime from enacting the conspiracy.

In the political sphere, we see the importance of defining the tactical slogans and interim programs, on the national and class level, for national democratic work in Jordan. The strategic goal of the nationalist and revolutionary-democratic forces in Jordan is crystal clear. It is the establishment of a national democratic regime on which the Palestinian revolution could rely in starting the process of actually liberating Palestinian land. However, defining the strategic goal, theoretically and practically, is not sufficient. This must be coupled with defining the tactical slogans and local programs which would in time produce a change in the balance of forces, with the aim of realizing the strategic goal.

Advocating revolutionary change in Jordan, as a sound strategical slogan, is a safeguard against rightist and reformist deviation. Yet the process of revolutionary change will collide with the balance of forces which exists between the regime and the revolutionary forces. This balance of forces is not conducive to immediate realization of the strategic goal. Thus, the immediate function of tactical slogans is mobilizing broad sections of the masses and recruiting their potentials, hence destabilizing the pillars of the regime and dissolving its forces, as a prelude to the process of radical change. Failing to define the correct tactical slogans at the right time would lead the revolutionary work into a stalemate, by uttering a strategic slogan without having the capabilities to realize it. There is a big gap between the existing balance of forces and that needed for inducing change. In order to narrow this gap, the masses must wage a set of battles to pave the way for the decisive battle for revolutionary change in Jordan. Defining these battles and involving the masses is the sole route for creating the revolutionary conditions conducive to the process of change.

Along this line of reasoning, the national work program in the Jordanian arena is centered around the struggle for imposing the right of the Palestinian revolution to be present in Jordan, to mobilize the masses in

accordance with the revolution's program and to fight the Zionist enemy across the Jordanian-Palestinian border. Such a program seems to be sound and acceptable to our masses in Jordan, and to some Arab regimes. As a result, it enjoys wide support from numerous forces. This program is in line with the existing balance of forces in the Jordanian arena and constitutes a prelude to mobilizing the masses for more advanced revolutionary tasks.

The second part of the program focuses on political freedoms: freedom of the press, forming political parties, union work, no regime interference in union affairs, freedom to demonstrate and defend human rights, release of political detainees, demanding that women's rights be equal to men's, and free popular elections to elect municipal and assembly councils without pressure or interference, etc. The program also involves the struggle for economic demands related to wages, prices, taxes, work laws, social security for laborers and civil servants, educational programs, cooperatives, rents, the demands of poor peasants and agricultural laborers, and health services, among other issues that affect the welfare of the toiling masses. These issues touch upon the life of many sectors of the population. The masses should be mobilized to defend their rights and interests.

Struggling for militant economic demands is an indispensable means whereby the masses can be encouraged to wage a political struggle. Through these militant battles, the masses will discover the inability of the regime to meet their needs and interests. The masses, through experience, will reach the conclusion that it is necessary to change the regime. Marxism-Leninism substantiates the idea of economic struggle as a channel alongside the ideological and political struggle.

Aside from political freedoms and militant economic demands, there is another focus: the struggle against the overall policies of the regime in the Arab and international arena. The Jordanian regime has historically been involved in plotting against the Arab national liberation movement and implementing imperialist schemes in the area. The Jordanian national movement should come forward to discredit such policies, demand their cessation, and express the will of the masses to fight their enemies and forge better relations with friendly forces.

If conditions in Jordan were ripe for change, these slogans would be reformist and rightist. However, in the light of the existing circumstances and concrete practice, these slogans are sound tactical ones for mobilizing the masses in order to improve the state of the national movement so

that it will become capable of inducing change. Needless to say, we do not raise these slogans in anticipation that the existing regime will be ready to accept or realize them. These slogans are designed as a means for revolutionizing the conditions on the mass level, as a step towards creating the subjective and objective conditions for the process of change.

The experience of the Palestinian revolution in Jordan from 1967 to 1971, exposed the fallacy of depending on a strictly Palestinian formula for the national work, without a formula for the Jordanian national movement. By the same token, our experience in the years before 1967, and the three years after 1972, showed the fallacy of working in accordance with a Jordanian formula, without a Palestinian formula. The particularity of the Jordanian arena dictates a formula for a united organization and program, so that the militant national process is undertaken by a united national front with a joint program. Such a program would be instrumental in mobilizing the Jordanian masses to bring about the interrelated national and class goals of the program. The revolutionary forces that potentially constitute the core for such a front in the Jordanian arena, should provide the united leadership committees for the revolutionary work. This is so in the light of the interrelated tasks in this arena, the size of the Palestinian community in Jordan and its integration in the Jordanian society. As a result, the particular role of the Palestinian community in the process of change in Jordan is a step toward the unity of Palestinian-Jordanian revolutionary work.

The danger of the 'Palestinian-Jordanian state', as a formula for liquidating the Palestinian cause and revolution, does not stem from its having been put forward by the Zionist Labor Party. It is natural that the enemy has projects and schemes for liquidating our revolution and cause. The danger stems from the readiness of the Jordanian regime to deal with this formula, particularly following the deterioration of the official Arab state of affairs as a result of Sadat's treachery. Moreover, the Jordanian regime rejected 'autonomy', since this project did not offer it any special advantages. Thus there is the danger of the Jordanian regime's using its rejection as a cover and defending the 'Palestinian-Jordanian state' formula as better than the 'autonomy' formula. Hence, it was natural to confront such a formula by confronting the Jordanian regime, exposing the essence of its policies and schemes, and promoting the conditions of the national struggle to a level whereby the scheme can be foiled.

Fourth: The European Role in the Schemes to Liquidate the Palestinian Cause

Besides the scheme of liquidating the Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon, and its connection with 'autonomy' and the other Zionist formula for a Palestinian-Jordanian state, the capitalist states of Europe are putting forth a formula in line with the same framework and goals. All these formulas share the goal of aborting the Palestinian revolution, liquidating our cause and imposing the hegemony of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, through the most suitable formula for stabilizing their interests in the Arab homeland. It is necessary to grasp the motives of the ongoing political activity of the West European countries vis-a-vis the Middle East and Palestinian problem, and adopt a position on this.

Following the signing of the Camp David accords, the 'autonomy' formula was the most visible one for liquidating the Palestinian cause. Obviously, the revolution concentrated its efforts on thwarting this formula, through protecting its presence in Lebanon and our masses' struggle against the 'autonomy' conspiracy, and all the activities and struggles connected with this task. The great concern about this task was manifest in the political program of the PNC's 14th session (January 1979). However, things do not remain static. Besides the attempts to impose the 'autonomy' project, new efforts and formulas are clearly emerging today, and cannot be ignored by the revolution. Thus, in addition to the task of foiling the 'autonomy' conspiracy, we must confront all the other projects at hand. We should not ignore these projects, or try to bypass them. It is important to assess the chances of success of each project at each phase.

The features of the European role, as crystallized in the Venice Declaration of June 1980, constitute another version of the liquidation formula. This version does not differ in essence from the Camp David formula or Peres' project, except that it recognizes the PLO as a party in negotiations. The capitalist states of Europe did not initially object to the Camp David accords. Thus it is necessary to link their motives with the situation generated on the Palestinian and Arab level as a result of these accords. The following factors prompted the European role: The obvious predicament of the 'autonomy' project, because of the unwillingness of any Palestinian party to participate; the exclusion of the PLO from the settlement and its relatively firm position; the rejection of the Camp David accords by all Arab states, and the embarrassment of Arab reaction when

Camp David failed to provide them with a minimum of cover for their position; the strengthening of relations with the socialist countries.

In this context, the European formula aimed to salvage the Camp David accords, making amendments in the formula to enable the Arab reactionaries to cover their role, so that they could move into line with the imperialist and Zionist conditions. The initiative which might result from the European efforts will not be an alternative to Camp David, as the leaders of the capitalist countries have declared, but a supplement to it.

Obviously, any such initiative would be motivated by Western Europe's imperialist interests. These countries want to strengthen relations with the reactionary Arab regimes and insure their own imperialist interests. They aim to insure that the reactionary Arab states remain in the imperialist orbit, by pretending that some imperialist parties support the 'Arab cause' - in the reactionary sense of course. Western Europe wishes to achieve these goals by alleging that it offers a better formula for a settlement. To this end, there is indeed ongoing flirtation between European imperialism and the reactionary Arab governments including some bourgeois regimes. The flurry of Western European political and diplomatic activities was initiated in order to hinder the process of polarization which ensued after the signing of the Camp David accords. The essence of the Western European role was conveyed in a statement by the French foreign minister during a visit to the US. He said that the Middle East is today heading towards extremism, and that the European initiative is designed to curb such extremism which serves neither European nor US interests.

Of course, we can see that there are contradictions between the European capitalist states and the parties to Camp David: The Egyptian regime, for instance, welcomed the initiative with some reservations, while US imperialism currently opposes it. The Likud government is bitterly resisting the initiative, endeavoring to halt it. However, long experience with the contradictions that arise among parties of the same camp, shows that these parties iron out their differences in the face of the revolution, the masses, and the alliance with the socialist countries.

The European line of thinking, whether articulated by the Common Market countries or by Kreisky and Brandt of the 'Socialist International', is not currently applicable due to the Likud's objection and US support to the Zionist position. The Zionist entity is the major base on which the US now relies, rather than the reactionary Arab regimes. As a result, the US wants to satisfy 'Israel' and maintain it at a high level of strength. Yet the

European initiative's lack of applicability does not mean we should overlook the dangers of this trend in the short or long run.

In the short run, Western Europe is reviving the illusion of settlement in the Palestinian arena. This would have negative effects on Palestinian unity, deepening contradictions in the revolution's ranks and spreading confusion among the masses. On the Arab level, the European initiative could deepen contradictions in the ranks of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, weaken the Palestinian-Syrian alliance, and constitute a bridge linking Arab reaction as a whole with Sadat's course; this would abort the minimal position taken at the Baghdad Summit. On the international level, the initiative could negatively affect the alliance between the Palestinian revolution and the socialist community, first and foremost the Soviet Union.

Some of these adverse consequences are already emerging. They will deepen over time unless the PLO leadership takes a decisive position against such misleading settlement formulas. Capitalist Europe's motive in causing such confusion is to facilitate the liquidation of the Palestinian cause and revolution, regardless of the formula whereby this finally occurs.

In the long run, the European formula will be advanced for actual application in case of the failure of the 'autonomy' and 'Palestinian-Jordanian state' formulas. When the time comes to activate the European formula, the Palestinian revolution will no doubt face a more complicated and dangerous situation. The possibility of capitalist Europe's formula being presented for actual application is not hypothetical. Today the 'autonomy' formula faces a veritable impasse, as broad sections of the Zionists admit. The 'United Arab Kingdom' confederation formula is more dangerous and more likely to materialize than the 'autonomy' formula. Yet the Palestinian revolution's achievements on the international level provide the conditions for defeating it.

Furthermore, the Palestinian sector involved in the 'autonomy' formula will remain relatively limited in size and unable to present itself as representative of the Palestinian majority. Hence, the success of the Palestinian revolution in foiling 'autonomy' and later the confederation formula, would quickly bring the European formula to the fore as more than just a maneuver. It is important to bear in mind that the official US position is not based on categorical refusal to recognize the PLO; rather US recognition of the PLO is hinged on the latter recognizing the Zionist entity. Thus the battle we assume is not hypothetical. Rather we define all the settlement formulas which our revolution will face in the next few years.

Handwritten note: ... the PLO leadership takes a decisive position

The great disparity in the balance of forces, resulting from Sadat's treachery, encouraged the Zionist entity and US imperialism to adhere to direct, all-out formulas for liquidating the Palestinian cause. Imperialism and the Zionist entity will keep trying to impose these formulas, yet things will not remain static. If the balance of forces shifts in favor of the Palestinian revolution and the national liberation movement, US imperialism will find the European formula appropriate and preferable for aborting Palestinian and Arab steadfastness. In this case, we will face a more dangerous and complicated situation, for the Palestinian bourgeoisie still holds an influential position in the PLO leadership. Scientific analysis and the experience of the revolution show that such a bourgeois leadership will be ready to strike a deal with Arab reaction and imperialism whenever it finds the opportunity to insure its interests.

Numerous international examples show that imperialism will try at the outset to hit any national liberation movement and liquidate it once and for all. In the case imperialism fails, it resorts to bargaining with the bourgeois forces within the national liberation movement, in order to strike a deal that insures the interests of imperialism and the (local) bourgeoisie, at the expense of the masses.

Obviously, this law also applies to the Palestinian revolution if the democratic and revolutionary forces are not in a position to foil such deals. Certainly, the Palestinian bourgeoisie differs from the bourgeoisie which holds power in some Arab countries. Due to the nature of the settler colonialism which took control of Palestine and intends to make its control permanent, the Palestinian national bourgeoisie will find it very difficult to bargain and reach a settlement. Furthermore, the fact that the Palestinian bourgeoisie does not hold state power in this phase makes it less susceptible to deviating from the national struggle than the ruling bourgeoisie. More important, the armed Palestinian masses compound the difficulties of the bargaining process, as do the democratic and revolutionary forces that can act to influence the overall course of the struggle. All these factors make bargaining and entering a settlement, at the expense of the national cause, a very complicated and difficult affair for the Palestinian bourgeoisie. This does not preclude the above-mentioned law, but makes its application on the Palestinian cause more complicated and difficult than has been the case with some other national liberation movements.

The Rejection Front waged a battle against the settlement trend and the settlement line which was pursued by the PLO leadership after the October War, and supported by some revolutionary democratic forces. A

similar battle was waged by the Rejection Front and other Palestinian organizations against the PLO leadership's policies following Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. To us, these battles were not fabricated or imaginary. They were designed to prevent the Palestinian bourgeoisie from striking a deal with imperialism and reaction, at the expense of the just, strategic goals of the Palestinian revolution. Undoubtedly, the Western European activities present a fresh temptation for the Palestinian bourgeoisie, since they offer some gains to insure bourgeois interests.

Obviously, the Palestinian bourgeoisie rejects Camp David because it does not offer any gains. It is more likely that this bourgeoisie will deal with the 'Jordanian-Palestinian Kingdom', since it offers the bourgeoisie a share of the power and market. This would converge with the European initiative which tempts the bourgeoisie to strike a deal with imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This makes the battle very difficult and complicated. Our battle against 'autonomy' was against a handful of agents whose interests are linked to the continuation of the occupation. Our battle against the 'United Kingdom' will be against a broad section of the Palestinian bourgeoisie who will find in this formula an offer on which they can rely in accepting such a deal.

Of course, we do not expect the Palestinian bourgeoisie to acknowledge the real motives and interests that encourage it to strike such a deal. The bourgeoisie will mask its bargaining with slogans such as: struggle in stages, the importance of diplomatic flexibility, winning the broadest possible support for the Palestinian cause, the need to stop verbal rejection, the negative effects of always saying 'no' in the history of the Palestinian national struggle, etc.

Our position on confronting this formula

- 1) Firmly and clearly rejecting the European initiatives. Exposing their essence, ulterior motives, goals and negative effects. Mobilizing the masses to reject and challenge these attempts. Generating mass pressure on the Palestinian right, in order to hinder it from pursuing this line.
- 2) Engaging in highly effective activity with Arab nationalist, progressive and democratic forces in order to articulate our position on the European initiative, and warn them from giving space for the return of the settlement illusion to the Palestinian arena. Asking these forces to take a clear position on these attempts.
- 3) Engaging in activities with our international allies along the same lines.
- 4) The central link in foiling the European formula for a settlement is

strengthening the position of the democratic and revolutionary forces in the revolution and the PLO, so that the bourgeoisie will be in no position to deal with this formula.

The danger of this formula does not stem from the fact that it was advanced by imperialist European states that intend to play a role in imposing imperialist, Zionist and reactionary hegemony. The real danger is if the PLO or any Palestinian party deals with such a formula. Here lies the importance of the democratic and revolutionary forces, confronting this formula by struggling for implementation of the program of the 14th PNC. Such confrontation will be a decisive factor in foiling this formula. The political program of this PNC was put forward at the time when all illusions of a settlement had evaporated and its danger had become clear. This enabled the revolutionary forces to put an end to the attempts to tamper with the interim goal. The Palestinian bourgeoisie wanted to take advantage of this goal to strike a deal at the expense of the Palestinian masses. In contrast, the democratic forces regard the interim goal as a basis for not negotiating, recognizing or reconciling (with the Zionist enemy). This constituted the basis for establishing national unity, since settling the Palestinian cause (through such negotiations, recognition and reconciliation) would lead to the repartition of our people and national soil, and squander the national cause.

The organizational program of the 14th PNC established principles for collective decision-making, ensuring the participation of all the organizations of the Palestinian revolution. This will allow the democratic forces, in their struggle, to observe the articles of the program and put them into action to the full. As a result, the PLO leadership will have to reject and challenge the European role.

In general, the political and organizational program of the 14th PNC constituted a clear gain for the democratic forces in the Palestinian arena. This is particularly so, because this session was held at a time when those who were betting on a settlement were in desperate shape, while there was a relative growth in the weight of the democratic forces within the PLO. This situation insured the mobilization of the Palestinian revolution's forces for meeting the requirements of the political situation which followed the signing of the Camp David accords. The struggle for observing and implementing the political and organizational program of the 14th PNC will not only insure the revolution's ability to foil the European role. It will also insure the revolution's ability to achieve the current political tasks. It is natural for us to struggle for developing the political program of the

PNC, to articulate a decisive position against the 'Jordanian-Palestinian Kingdom' and any formula prepared by the Western European countries. However, if we fail to have the PLO leadership take an explicit position on these two formulas, we will face the task of enforcing the principles and parameters of the political program related to interim goals. These goals have to be tied to the goal of liberating all of Palestine, and establishing a popular democratic state.

Following are the clauses of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary scheme for liquidating the Palestinian cause after Sadat's treachery created helpful conditions for achieving this:

- (1) liquidating Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon;
- (2) imposing the 'autonomy' project;
- (3) liquidating the Palestinian national cause through the 'Jordanian-Palestinian Kingdom';
- (4) capitalist Europe's projects for liquidating the Palestinian cause.

Though the European activities do not yet include an explicit formula, this does not nullify the general title of the stage that ensued the signing of the Camp David accords, as that of liquidating the Palestinian cause and revolution.

Our tasks in confronting this scheme are defined as follows: (1) protecting the revolution in Lebanon and defending all its accomplishments at all costs; (2) struggling to foil the 'autonomy' conspiracy; (3) striving to foil the 'Jordanian-Palestinian Kingdom' project; (4) striving to foil the European imperialists' projects for liquidating the Palestinian cause and revolution; (5) struggling for implementation of the political and organizational program of the 14th session of the PNC, in order to create a framework for Palestinian national unity. This framework has to be suitable for the nature of the stage of struggle, unifying all the revolution's forces to accomplish the current political tasks.

Obviously, our ability to achieve these tasks hinges on the extent to which we succeed in living up to our ideological, organizational, mass organizational and military programs. This will enable us to elevate our own subjective forces to such a level that we can effectively and successfully achieve our political tasks. The revolution's steadfastness in Lebanon, in spite of six years of constant, complicated intrigues to wipe it out, and the impasse which the 'autonomy' conspiracy encountered as a result of our people's struggle, tangibly prove that we possess the quality of steadfastness. This makes us even more responsible for maintaining the state of steadfastness.

Relying on this steadfastness, we will be able to work on a fresh set of tasks that will provide the objective and subjective conditions for liberating our land. Then, we will rely on the liberated territory to continue the process of purging Palestine of Zionism and its aggressive entity. The final goal will be the establishment of a popular democratic Palestinian state in the whole of Palestine.

**In 1962, government statistics indicated that 4% of the population received one-third of the national income.*

Chapter 2

Issues and Tasks Crystallized by the Course of the Revolution

First: The necessity of creating supportive operational bases for the Palestinian revolution

More than sixteen years have elapsed since the launching of the armed Palestinian revolution against the Zionist entity, for liberating Palestine. During this period, our Palestinian masses have offered tremendous sacrifices. Certainly, during this period, the revolution made a set of fundamental accomplishments. Today, the Palestinian cause is among the vanguard national liberation movements internationally. Thanks to the revolution, the uprooted and dispersed Palestinian people, living on ration cards, have changed into a revolutionary people. They have asserted their national identity, just cause and right to life and independence before the international community and public opinion that had almost forgotten their existence as a result of Zionist propaganda, the Jordanian regime's annexation and absorption, and the official Arab policy of surrender.

Today, the Palestinian cause constitutes the core of the conflict in the area. Almost all acknowledge this fact. The Palestinian question causes the Zionist enemy worry and confusion, and inflicts a certain level of casualties. The Palestinian revolution constitutes a real stumbling block for the imperialist plans for the area. The presence of the Palestinian revolution on territory adjoining Palestine exposes the treachery and impotence of Arab reaction, and revolutionizes the mass movement in these countries and throughout the Arab region. Palestinian armed struggle, sacrifices and martyrdom are a primary cause of all these accomplishments.

Yet until now, the revolution did not liberate any Palestinian land. This impels us to take a retrospective look, carefully and incisively studying the course of the revolution in order to find out how to improve its conditions. This aims at enabling the revolution to move into a broader, all-out military confrontation with the Zionist entity, and start the actual process of liberating Palestinian land.

Currently, the Palestinian revolution combats the Zionist enemy along two fundamental lines. First is the political and military struggle of our people inside Palestine. Second is the military action against the Zionist entity carried out by the forces of the Palestinian revolution across the Arab frontiers. The latter is currently limited to fighting across the Lebanese frontier.

This is the current picture of the nature and level of the military confrontation between the Palestinian revolution and the Zionist enemy. It is common sense that scoring any political victory is connected with the military conflict and its outcome. With the current level of military confrontation, is it possible to liberate a portion of Palestinian land and force the enemy to pull out unconditionally, so that we can trigger the process of liberating all of Palestine? It is now clear that the past few years' military confrontation has not reached a level whereby Palestinian land can be liberated. This does not diminish the positive results obtained from this confrontation. Nonetheless, it is incumbent on the revolution's leadership to map out a new strategy, to break the cycle in which the revolution has remained in the past few years.

How can we get out of this cycle? How can we resolve this problem that is clearly seen by our masses? How can we open new horizons for the revolution? How can we raise the level of military confrontation in order to begin the process of actually liberating Palestinian land? Is that feasible solely through qualitatively improving the conditions of the Palestinian revolution, i.e., by initiating a serious, perseverant struggle that focuses on the Palestinian subjective factor?

Doubtlessly, there are tremendous opportunities and much to be done to substantially improve the revolution's subjective conditions. Also, it is incumbent on the revolution to map out and practice a set of ideological, organizational, mass and political programs to consolidate the structure of the revolution's organizations, and the cooperation and unity among them. This would be conducive to enhancing the mobilization of the Palestinian people's potentials. There is also no doubt that enhancing the revolution's conditions on all these levels will increase our military

effectiveness against the Zionist enemy inside Palestine and across the Arab frontiers. These are necessary duties to be implemented resolutely, but still the question remains: Assuming that the objective conditions remain the same on the Arab level, can the Palestinian revolution engage in broader, more effective military confrontation, solely through enhancing its subjective conditions, as a prerequisite for embarking on the process of liberating Palestinian land?

Having enhanced the subjective conditions of the Palestinian revolution outside Palestine, to induce more comprehensive mobilization and increase our combative efficacy across the Arab borders, we will encounter a set of difficulties. We will encounter the enemy's complicated and extensive preventive measures to protect its border. We will run into the Arab regimes' measures to prevent the revolution from practicing its right to fight across their borders, on the pretext of not giving the enemy any excuse to attack their countries. The revolution collides with the Arab regimes who aim at completely wiping out the revolution. This occurred in Jordan and is currently underway in Lebanon. As the Palestinian revolution fights the Zionist enemy, it gets stabbed from the rear and is forced to wage a battle to defend its very existence; this reduces its capacity for confronting the Zionist enemy. It is known that the Palestinian revolution has offered more martyrs and sacrifices defending itself against the Arab regimes than on the land of Palestine. Is this a secondary factor in assessing the course of the revolution and its accomplishments, in understanding the current level of military confrontation and mapping out a strategy for escalating the confrontation to a degree that enables the process of liberating Palestinian land?

As for fighting the Zionist enemy and escalating the military confrontation inside Palestine, there is doubtlessly plenty of room for enhancing the revolution's subjective conditions, taking advantage of the lessons gleaned from our rich experience in the security, organizational, political and military fields. Learning from all these lessons, in addition to waging an ideological, organizational and political struggle for enhancing the Palestinian revolution's subjective conditions inside Palestine, will certainly have important positive implications. Among other things, this will lead to reinforcing the revolution's accomplishments and further crystallizing the Palestinian people's national identity in the international arena; it will confuse and inflict losses on the enemy, and foil its liquidationist projects. Yet, can we in this way force the Zionist enemy to withdraw from portions of Palestinian land, liberating them in the real sense of the word?

With the conditions prevailing on the Arab level, can we set the goal of liberating a portion of Palestinian land through the struggle inside Palestine? In attempting to achieve this goal today, we will encounter the advanced state of the Zionist settler-colonial process: The number of Zionist settlers surpasses three million; the Zionists have full control of all Palestine; they possess a military machine designed as imperialism's primary military base for entrenching its hegemony not only in Palestine, but in the whole of the Arab region.

The Palestinian revolution's predicament, as substantiated by sixteen years of concrete experience, is objectively connected to the status quo on the Arab level and the Arab regimes surrounding Palestine in particular. In other words, the Palestinian revolution is connected with the Arab national liberation movement and its status in the countries surrounding Palestine in particular. It is here that we must begin looking for a solution to the cycle the Palestinian revolution has been caught in for the past few years. We must enhance the revolution's accomplishments, from enforcing the Palestinian national identity and cause on the international level, to rallying the Palestinian masses around their just cause and restoring their sense of their own existence, dignity and right to a homeland and sovereignty. Yet we must still move to the point of being able to begin the liberation of Palestinian land. In the light of the scope and nature of Zionist colonial policy, the Palestinian revolution needs supportive operational bases surrounding Palestine. These bases would provide the revolution with the geographic and demographic depth needed in a protracted people's war against the enemy.

The Palestinian revolution should be aware of its particular role in liberating Palestinian land. To the same extent, it has to combine all its resources with the Arab masses' potentials, especially in the countries surrounding Palestine. By so doing, we will eliminate a colony and imperialist base built up to secure the enemy's control in the whole region.

We do not make these assertions solely on the basis of theoretical analysis. Rather the Palestinian revolution's experience, over the past sixteen years, has shown the wretchedness of the slogan of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries; it has shown the limitations of the Palestinian national struggle in isolation of a pan-Arab framework.

While the experience of the Palestinian national struggle, especially in the post-1948 period, showed the fallacy of completely merging into the pan-Arab framework, the experience of the armed Palestinian revolution

over the past few years has demonstrated the fallacy of isolation from the Arab nationalist struggle. The accumulation of militant experience has further clarified the interrelation between our national struggle and the pan-Arab struggle, and the nature of the organizational and political formulas which match this interrelation.

After 1948, the majority of the Palestinian people were relegated to the Jordanian entity; the Arab regimes were held responsible for the loss of Palestine. At that time, the Palestinian people generally devoted their efforts to fighting the Jordanian regime and the prevailing conditions in the Arab arena, in order to induce change that would pave the way for liberating Palestine. Some groups worked to resist attempts at resettlement and dissolving the Palestinian national identity, but the struggle of the majority of the Palestinian people was devoted to raising slogans for Arab unity and waging a general pan-Arab struggle in order to pave the way for liberation. Nasserism was on the rise; high hopes were attached to pan-Arab causes, especially the Palestinian cause; our people were oriented toward totally merging the Palestinian national movement with the Arab national movement.

This state of affairs continued until 1961. Then, under the impact of Syria's withdrawal from the United Arab Republic, and the triumph of the Algerian revolution based on the Algerian people's armed struggle, Palestinian vanguards began to reassert their particular role in resisting the Zionist occupation of Palestine. This was the precursor of a new Palestinian national orientation, though it remained closely connected with the strategy of the United Arab Republic (Egypt) and its readiness to wage the liberation battle. Following the 1967 defeat and the dashing of the hopes and illusions attached to Nasserism's role in liberating Palestine, the Palestinian struggle was strongly reoriented towards Palestinian nationalism and generally confined itself to this framework. Consequently, the predicament of the Palestinian national struggle began to emerge, namely, its impotence to launch the liberation process alone. This fact has been substantiated by the revolution's experience ever since 1967.

The course of the Palestinian struggle, as we have briefly reviewed in the light of our experience, points to a set of basic principles governing the relationship between the Palestinian national struggle and the pan-Arab struggle:

1) Entrenching the Palestinian national identity is an inevitable necessity. We must preserve the Palestinian national movement as a contingent in

its own right within the Arab national liberation movement. Under no circumstances should it be absent or absorbed into the general pan-Arab work.

2) The central role of the Palestinian national liberation movement is fighting the Zionist enemy and its settler entity. In this sphere, the Palestinian liberation movement plays a special vanguard role.

3) At the same time, the task of liberating Palestine is a pan-Arab task which falls to all Arab revolutionary contingents.

4) It is necessary to forge militant organizational relations between the Palestinian revolution and the Arab liberation movement's contingents, particularly in the countries surrounding Palestine.

5) This organizational relation will provide the framework through which the Palestinian revolution can participate in reviving the Arab national liberation movement and create the objective conditions needed on the Arab level as a prelude to liberating Palestine. By the same token, the Arab national liberation movement will have the chance to contribute to the battle of liberating Palestine. The organizational framework and resulting militant tasks will reflect the pan-Arab aspect of the liberation battle as well as the special vanguard role of the Palestinian revolution.

6) What was written in the Arab section of this report, on the thesis of united Arab revolutionary work and a progressive Arab nationalist front, will determine this relationship and its horizons in the light of the conditions of the revolutionary, progressive and nationalist forces at each phase of their struggle.

It is essential to define the relationship between the Palestinian revolution and the Arab national liberation movement, since supportive operational bases are direly needed and cannot be postponed indefinitely. The Palestinian revolution cannot adopt a wait-and-see attitude. It must bring about such bases itself.

If the Palestinian revolution is to be capable of finding such supportive operational bases, it should not become a substitute for the national liberation movement in Egypt or Lebanon, for instance. It is incumbent on the Palestinian revolution to contribute to the revolutionary process which would make all the countries surrounding Palestine become supportive operational bases. This is the only way to begin the liberation process. The revolution can contribute to this by virtue of its political positions, by building relations with the Arab revolutionary contingents, developing common militant programs with them and being serious in practicing cooperation and solidarity.

The revolution's ability to remain steadfast, and to move to the level of starting the liberation process, is contingent upon having such supportive operational bases. They will provide the Palestinian revolution and Arab national liberation movement with geographic and demographic depth, conducive to escalating the military confrontation against the Zionist entity to a qualitatively new level, from guerrilla warfare to a popular liberation war.

The particularity of the PFLP's viewpoint is that liberating any portion of Palestinian land, as a step towards liberating all of Palestine, presupposes the availability of supportive operational bases to enable the revolution to seize portions of Palestinian land from the clutches of the Zionist military establishment. This will be the starting point for the liberation of all Palestinian land.

The transformation of any Arab state surrounding Palestine into a supportive operational base for the liberation of Palestine, requires radical change in the nature of the regime. When reactionary or bourgeois forces hold the reins of power, they will be hostile to the revolution and put restrictions on it, due to their alliance with the enemy or their impotence to confront it. Such a bourgeois-dominated government will restrain the revolution's growth. Often, this sort of government paralyzes the revolution's ability to fight the Zionist enemy, and works to liquidate the revolution. In order to reverse this situation, the revolutionary classes (the workers and their allies in the middle and petit bourgeoisie) should induce a change in the regime. In other words, in order to turn the surrounding countries into supportive operational bases for the Palestinian revolution, popular, democratic regimes should be established, oriented toward bringing about the tasks of the national democratic revolution.

Toppling the reactionary and bourgeois regimes is the task of the masses of the country involved in the process of change. Clearly, the role of the Palestinian revolution should be supplementary. This general principle applies unequivocally to a country such as Egypt where there are only some thousands of Palestinians among 40 million Egyptians. It applies, with minor modifications, to the rest of the countries adjacent to Palestine, except Jordan which has its own special features.

Second: The particular importance of Jordan as a supportive operational base for the Palestinian revolution

Transforming Jordan into a supportive operational base for liberating Palestine requires that the masses of Jordan initiate the process of

revolutionary change. Who are the masses of Jordan? The answer to this question determines the particularity of the Jordanian arena for the Palestinian revolution, the particularity of the revolution's role in the process of change, and the particularity of such a base in providing the prerequisites for the Palestinians' vanguard role in liberating Palestine, within the pan-Arab framework of the battle.

The masses of Jordan should primarily be active in carrying out their national tasks by fighting against the Zionist enemy. Consequently, the Jordanian regime's aggressive measures should not paralyze them. On the contrary, this should serve as an incentive for stepping up activities in order to take the advanced position in the conflict with the enemy.

Jordan stands out from other Arab countries. The Palestinian community has considerable weight in Jordan. Palestinians are well integrated, politically and economically, in the mainstream of society; certain sections of the right-wing bourgeoisie are Palestinian. There are also the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals. Nevertheless, the main particularity of the Jordanian arena is that the Palestinians have lived side by side with the Jordanian people throughout the past thirty years; there is thus a unity of social relations. As long as the Jordanian regime is preserved, it will continue to function as an imperialist servant in dissipating the national identity of the Palestinian people and threatening the class and national interests of the masses. Therefore, all workers, peasants, toilers, the national petit and middle bourgeoisie, bear responsibility for waging a common militant struggle to create a front and common program for the sake of inducing national democratic change.

Hence, inducing such a change is incumbent on the masses, Palestinian and Jordanian, with real interests in the revolution. The next question is who is responsible for organizing and mobilizing all the Palestinians, including those in Jordan. Is this not a Palestinian undertaking? The Jordanian regime acts on the basis of its claim that the Palestinians residing in Jordan became Jordanian citizens; that the Palestinian revolution is in charge of the other Palestinian communities, not the one in Jordan. Is the Palestinian revolution to accept the Jordanian regime's line of reasoning? The Palestinians in Jordan constitute the bulk of the Palestinian people. Is the Palestinian revolution willing to let such a big portion of our people be isolated from participating in our national cause?

The Palestinian revolution is in charge of organizing and mobilizing all the Palestinian masses, regardless of their whereabouts. It is crucial to mobilize the Palestinian masses in Jordan, due to their position in the

social and economic system. The Palestinian and Jordanian masses are responsible for the process of change. Establishing a national democratic regime is a joint militant task for the Palestinian revolution and the Jordanian national movement, on the basis of a united national front and an advanced organizational and militant formula.

This is the particularity of Jordan for the Palestinian revolution, as compared to all other arenas, including the other Arab states surrounding Palestine. The Palestinian revolution has a supplementary role in inducing the process of revolutionary change in these countries, but in Jordan it has to be a major partner.

Revolutionary change in Jordan, through the Palestinian revolution's alliance with the Jordanian national movement, means realizing a set of major goals, placing the Palestinian revolution at the threshold of a new era in its struggle against the Zionist enemy. A reactionary regime will have been eliminated, the regime which played a major role in aborting the Palestinian struggle in 1936, 1948-9, 1970-1, and up to the present. On the other hand, revolutionary change in Jordan will lead to mobilizing the potentials of a broad section of our people in Jordan for the national struggle. It will also provide the Palestinian revolution with a supportive operational base on which it can rely to consolidate its steadfastness, as a prerequisite for embarking on the liberation of Palestinian land. The importance of such a base is not only seen in the long border between Jordan and Palestine, enabling extensive contact with our masses in Palestine. Such a base will also provide the revolution with material pan-Arab depth, whereby the revolution can assume its vanguard role in liberating Palestine.

Stressing the importance of the Jordanian arena does not stem from the fact that it has the best geographical and demographical conditions. Obviously, Egypt and Syria have an edge over Jordan in this respect; Egypt has the potential for playing an important role, should a popular democratic regime be established, and liberating Palestine become top priority in its Arab nationalist program. Nor does our emphasis mean that Jordan is the most vulnerable link, where the Arab revolutionary forces can take power first. It is not possible to accurately predict the sequence of the revolutionary process in the Arab countries surrounding Palestine; nor can we predict the magnitude of the role which future popular democratic regimes would play in the liberation war, or how roles would be assigned to each country within the framework of the pan-Arab war.

Our emphasis on the Jordanian link stems from the Palestinian

revolution's direct involvement in establishing a popular democratic regime there. This would have a direct impact on the liberation process, provided that the new regime does not take a position of waiting for the other Arab countries to achieve liberation. The newly established popular regime should not limit itself to the local struggle, since this would not open up new horizons for liberation, due to the complication of the battle and the size of the enemy camp.

The inability of the Palestinian revolution to liberate any portion of Palestinian land after sixteen years of armed struggle, and the inordinate sacrifices made, obligates the revolution to study this predicament, analyze it and recommend remedies. Otherwise, the revolution will continue in a vicious cycle which fuels capitulation and despair, seeking any kind of settlement and falling prey to illusions, traps and political maneuvers.

The solution proposed by the PFLP calls for steadfastness in confronting the liquidationist schemes, and transforming Jordan into a supportive operational base. This base will in turn serve to consolidate steadfastness and create objective conditions in the Arab arena for escalating the military confrontation against the Zionist enemy, moving from defensive, guerrilla warfare to a popular liberation war, as the starting point in the liberation process.

Third: The thesis of liberating Palestine in stages; the interim goal of the Palestinian struggle

In this report, we are conducting a general review of the course of the armed Palestinian revolution, in order to draw lessons and accurately pinpoint the current tasks. These tasks are closely connected with the short-term goals of the struggle, along the path of liberating all of Palestine. During this course, various theses have evolved: the thesis of liberating Palestine in stages, and the interim goal of the Palestinian revolution; the necessity of creating new objective conditions in the countries surrounding Palestine, and the particularity of Jordan as a supportive operational base.

Serious confusion accompanied the thesis of interim stages in the struggle. There were clear, tangible signs that the Arab and Palestinian bourgeoisie might exploit such a thesis as a cover-up for finding a formula for permanent peaceful coexistence with the Zionist entity. Thus, the bourgeoisie would absolve itself of responsibility for liberating all of Palestine and instead arrange its alliance with international capitalism. Hence,

it was essential for us to take a clear position on this thesis in order to prevent the Arab and Palestinian bourgeoisie from veering towards capitulation under the cover of interim goals. At the same time, we have to scientifically define the thesis of interim stages and goals for ourselves and the masses, so that this concept guides us in leading the struggle. This concept will help us to understand the various stages of the conflict, the prerequisites for each stage and how each should complement, not abort, the one to follow.

Before the defeat of the Palestinian resistance in Jordan, the thesis of the interim goal was not advocated by any of the Palestinian revolution's contingents. In the 11th session of the PNC, the thesis of the «Palestinian state», on which some enemy circles were betting, was termed an imperialist conspiracy to be fought and defeated. After the October War, some Arab and Palestinian parties concretely asserted this formula in the Palestinian arena. Why, then, did the PFLP object to this proposition and what was the nature of our objection? Did we object to the principle of interim stages and goals in the struggle? What is our conception of interim stages and goals? What is our interim slogan? What are the prerequisites for achieving this slogan? What are the conditions on which the revolutionary forces can rely for making this slogan further the liberation process rather than being used as a cover-up for the capitulationist bourgeois forces to abort the strategic goal?

The PFLP rejected the political program of the 12th session of the PNC. It was the first official Palestinian document that dropped the phrase of «no negotiations» with the Zionist enemy. What were the reasons for our position?

1. The timing of the program: The political program was put forward when there was a serious, ongoing attempt to settle the Arab-Zionist conflict on the basis of Security Council resolution 242, entrenching the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. It was evident that Arab reaction and a section of the Palestinian bourgeoisie were ready to settle the conflict on this basis. It was also clear that the «peace» referred to was a serious one with a good chance of being implemented, unlike the periods preceding the October War. At the same time, it was evident that the balance of forces was highly conducive to an imperialist-Zionist-reactionary settlement. This settlement posed a threat to the Arab nation. The «nationalist interim settlement», which some parties talked about, is no more than an illusion and wishful bourgeois thinking.

2. We refused the ten-point program about which the Palestinian

bourgeoisie got so enthusiastic in the 12th session of the PNC. In the talks that preceded the convening of the 12th PNC, the PFLP supported the idea of an interim political program for the national cause. Thus, we would avoid being internationally isolated and defeated at the hands of the Arab bourgeoisie and reaction. However, following these preliminary talks, the discussions during the PNC session and the program adopted at the end showed that the Palestinian bourgeoisie was ready to make strategic concessions. These concessions were intended to be a foothold whereby the Palestinian bourgeoisie might negotiate with the Zionist enemy and gradually recognize its existence in return for establishing a Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The Palestinian bourgeoisie, along with some leftist elements, dropped the phrase of «no negotiations with the enemy from their program, intending to leave the door open for negotiations. They insisted that the reason for rejecting resolution 242 is that it treats the Palestinian cause as one of refugees. They showed readiness to accept the resolution if it was amended or replaced by a resolution recognizing the Palestinian cause as the cause of a people with the right to self-determination. Such amendment, however, would preserve the essence of the resolution which confirms the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. The main reason for the PFLP's rejection of the ten-point program was that it contained such concessions.

3. It became evident, soon after the PNC ended its session, that the Palestinian right and some leftist elements intended to employ the program as an approach for entering the settlement. They were deluding themselves that they could get their share in the settlement, and gain mass acceptance for the program. The statements made, and the flurry of political activities following the PNC session, were clear indications of the goal of the program and the reason behind the enthusiasm of its advocates.

It was clear from the start that the PFLP's rejection of the ten-point program was not a rejection of the idea of interim stages and goals in liberating all of Palestine. Nor was it a rejection of the Leninist principles of tactics and compromise in which working class parties should be versed in order to attain their final revolutionary ends. The PFLP rejected a program of clearly articulated clauses, which was accompanied by well-defined activities. The Palestinian right tried to take advantage of the program's loopholes in order to legitimize its own activities. The PFLP's particular conception of interim stages and goals, tactics and compromise following the October War and during 1974-5, can be confirmed by

reviewing our positions, declarations, internal documents, the subjects of our central organ, and the statements made by our leaders and their speeches in PNC sessions.

Events have substantiated the validity and soundness of our conception as opposed to the conception of those who intended to employ «interim goals», «tactics» and «compromises» as a cover-up for striking a deal with imperialism, reaction and Zionism, based on recognizing the Zionist entity in return for a Palestinian state on a portion of the Palestinian land.

The unifying clauses of the Tripoli Document are unequivocal evidence, decisively refuting any debate in the Palestinian arena and among the revolution's contingents, about the real position of the PFLP on the theses of that period. The document showed the true nature of the former dispute concerning the subject of stages and interim goals. The Tripoli Document provided a fresh opportunity for the unification of the resistance contingents after their political division into two opposing fronts, which lasted from 1973 to 1977.

The clauses of the unifying Tripoli Document were crystal clear. They provided remedies for the disputes which had prevailed at the 12th and 13th sessions of the PNC. This led to unification of the Palestinian position after four years of bitter disputes and the existence of two opposing lines. In light of the importance of the Tripoli Document, we repeat its main points:

1) We struggle for establishing a progressive Arab front which is antagonistic to all the capitulationist solutions of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, including its Arab agents.

2) We reaffirm our rejection of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

3) We stress our rejection of all international conferences which are based on the two aforementioned UN Security Council resolutions.

4) We reaffirm our right to struggle for attaining the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people: their right to return and exercise self-determination in their homeland, including the establishment of their own Palestinian state on any portion of Palestinian land liberated in this phase. The document categorically rejected the idea of recognition, reconciliation or negotiations with the Zionist enemy.

The unifying Tripoli Document was accepted by all the Palestinian revolution's contingents during the first conference of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. This was regarded as a victory for the position

that rejected an imperialist settlement in general and the PFLP's position in particular. This is the general evaluation of the document shared by the rank and file of the PFLP and other contingents that rejected the imperialist settlement, and by Arab nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces as well. What political position did the document stand for? The document stood for rejection of any settlement line. Within this framework, the Palestinian revolution reserved the right to establish a Palestinian state on any liberated portion of Palestine, without engaging in negotiations, reconciliation or recognition (of the Zionist entity).

What is the significance of the Tripoli Document and what is to be deduced from it? The document clearly signifies that the PFLP struggles for compatibility between any interim program and the line of rejecting settlement, providing the parameters that prevent the transformation of interim goals into a substitute for liberating all of Palestine. The PFLP does not reject *per se* the idea of interim goals or tactics in the revolutionary work. The PFLP accepted having interim goals only when the document provided guarantees and parameters for the unity of the Palestinian position. This does not mean that the PFLP backed down from its original position as some Palestinian circles claimed.

The magnitude of the conflict which went on in the Palestinian arena after the 12th session of the PNC and before the unifying Tripoli Document, obviously prevents the Palestinian right and some leftist elements from simply acknowledging the dangers that then beset the future of the Palestinian struggle. These dangers were related to the possibility of slipping into the illusion of political settlement and including basic concessions in the political program. Though the Tripoli Document resolved the dispute in the Palestinian arena, there is no doubt that basic points of difference were at the core of this dispute. It is worth mentioning that in the light of the ongoing developments, the Palestinian right felt it was dangerous for the split in the Palestinian arena to continue. The position taken by the Palestinian contingents that rejected the line of settlement and, consequently, the PLO program, not only had an impact in the international and Arab arenas. It also affected the internal affairs of all the resistance organizations; various political trends started to emerge and gained influence within these organizations and in the Palestinian institutions generally. In spite of the tremendous support which the PLO received, it could not ignore the influence and echoes of the positions taken by some organizations against political settlement and the programs which were put forward.

Of course, the thesis put forward by some leftist circles about the possibility of achieving a nationalist political settlement, served the ends of the Palestinian right in instating the ten-point program at the 12th session of the PNC and the fifteen-point program at the 13th session. This thesis provided a theoretical cover for the programs, positions and political moves of the Palestinian right on the Palestinian, Arab and international level. It was mistakenly believed that the October War had created a new balance of forces that would enable the Palestinian revolution to conclude a nationalist settlement, depending on the international balance of forces and the great efforts of the Soviet Union to achieve a political settlement. Some leftists mistakenly thought that they could constitute the PLO's chief of staff, able to control political decisions. Events concretely demonstrated that the Palestinian right succeeded in capitalizing on some leftist positions, policies and moves, to the advantage of its own programs and orientation. Thus, these leftists seemed to be subordinated to the political position of the Palestinian right, with no serious influence on the core of the right's positions, policies, orientation and plans.

This is the truth about the positions and facts which existed prior to the signing of the Tripoli Document. Thus, it is obvious that not all the Palestinian contingents acknowledged the triumph scored by the rejectionist position at the Steadfastness Conference in Tripoli. Nevertheless, it is our prerogative to consider the Tripoli Document as a frame of reference for judging the different viewpoints then prevailing in the Palestinian arena, and the basis on which these differences were ironed out. After the document was signed, it became the basis for the program of the 14th session of the PNC in 1979.

It is by now clear that a political conflict of great magnitude went on between the Palestinian bourgeoisie and some of the Palestinian left on the one hand, and the PFLP on the other, about the issue of interim goals. It is vital that our political report clarify this issue, since the revolution needs a more precise conception of the liberation process, i.e., the stages which the revolution will go through, the conditions needed for each stage, and the parameters that govern any interim goal, so that achieving any interim goal will lay the ground for achieving the next one. At the outset, it is indispensable to confirm two points that determine our understanding of the interim goal.

1. The national democratic revolution, including the national liberation stage, is in general a single stage, followed by the stage of socialist revolution. Therefore, any interim goal set by the Palestinian revolution

falls within the framework of this single stage. Though the national democratic revolution as a whole constitutes a single stage, it goes through phases; interim goals can be set in line with the nature of the stage as a whole.

2. Liberating any portion of Palestinian land requires objective conditions in the Arab arena, which do not presently exist. The ability of the Palestinian revolution to begin the actual liberation of Palestinian land depends on achieving revolutionary change in Jordan, in which the Palestinian revolution would play a vital role. Then, Jordan and the new popular democratic government would provide the Palestinian revolution with a supportive operational base on which to rely in the overall military confrontation with the Zionist enemy, for liberating Palestinian land.

Thus, charting the phases which the revolution will go through does not mean that we are at the point of undertaking the first interim goal. The goal of the present phase is protecting the revolution from being liquidated. Our program for countering such attempts is called the steadfastness program, with the fundamental tasks we defined in the previous chapter. We will be concentrating our efforts on these tasks for some time to come.

Our contemplation of the goals of the next phase, as discussed in the first chapter of the Palestinian section, did not absolve us from contemplating the process of change in Jordan as a goal and task. In the same way, our contemplation of the goals and tasks of the current stage, and the needed objective conditions for the liberation process, does not absolve us from defining our conception of the subsequent stages which the Palestinian revolution will go through. The fight for liberating Palestine will be long, difficult and complicated, both politically and militarily. It is not in the interest of the revolution to ignore or belittle this fact. The vanguard revolutionary organization which wants to embark on liberation has to absorb this fact in all its dimensions and be prepared accordingly, so that the people will not be plagued by frustration and despair.

The battle to liberate all the Palestinian land and destroy the Zionist entity is militarily complicated since the colonization process has come a long way. (Three million settlers today constitute the majority in Palestine.) In addition, the Zionist entity has been fully mobilized to play the role of imperialism's foremost base in the area. At the same time, the struggle is complicated politically, because the Zionist entity has acquired political recognition in the UN. As a result, there is not international support for the Palestinian revolution to achieve its full goals. These facts have to be

taken into consideration in pinpointing the course and phases leading to the achievement of the revolution's strategic goals. When defining a feasible interim goal, the variables of the balance of power should be pinpointed.

A change in the balance of power will, of course, be gradual. It will come about through military confrontation with the Zionist enemy, whereby portions of Palestinian land will be liberated. As stated in our basic documents, our war with the Zionist enemy will be a protracted people's war, not a lightning war. Protracted does not mean a few days or weeks; it means years. In this case, it is natural that the actual liberation of portions of Palestine will be followed by liberating other portions, after the lapse of a few years. The strategy of lightning war is not compatible with the thesis of stages in liberating Palestine. The fight for liberated areas on which the revolution can rely in pursuing the war is part of the overall picture of protracted people's war and a fundamental phase in the liberation process.

What are liberated areas? They are the areas controlled by the revolution. When the revolution takes control of such an area, it will, of course, establish its authority there. Thus, from a military viewpoint and according to the strategy of popular liberation war, the Palestinian revolution will pass through the phase of establishing the revolution's state in the liberated Palestinian land. From this follows the interim slogan of an independent Palestinian state to be established, without conditions, on any liberated portion of Palestinian land. This slogan specifies a definite interim goal that guides the revolution's struggle; it constitutes a link between the current phase of steadfastness, the phase of creating a supportive operational base and the phase of full liberation and establishing a popular democratic state in all of Palestine.

We are, of course, aware that this interim slogan does not present a final, magical solution to the existing discrepancy between the strategic goal of the revolution and the international legitimacy gained by the Zionist entity. We realize also that some international forces will support us in achieving this interim goal, but not based on our own frame of reference. We also realize that while achieving any interim goal, the revolution will come under considerable pressure to recognize the Zionist enemy and coexist with it. Yet the slogan will receive the support of the forces of socialism and liberation, and broad sections of international public opinion, for a long time to come.

During this period, our potentials and resources will grow; develop-

ments will occur in the Arab reality and the Arab national liberation movement; and the true nature of Zionism and the Zionist entity will be further evident. Also, a tremendous change in the balance of forces will occur on the local, Arab and international level. This situation will enable us to pursue the liberation process for removing a racist, fascist and imperialist base that rejects the democratic solution put forward by the Palestinian revolution for all inhabitants of Palestine, regardless of their beliefs.

Our fully legitimate right to return will always be acceptable and supported by the international community. This will provide us with an opportunity to continue the struggle against the Zionist enemy, provided that the slogan of establishing an independent Palestinian state on any liberated portion of Palestinian land is connected with the slogan of liberating all of Palestine and establishing a popular, democratic Palestinian state.

This clarifies the PFLP's conception of the thesis of the interim goal, which can be summarized in the following points:

1. Currently, the balance of forces is not conducive to achieving this goal. Achieving this goal requires achieving the tasks of the current stage as defined in the first chapter of this section; it requires supportive operational bases for the Palestinian revolution, especially in Jordan. In addition, achieving the interim goal will primarily depend on expanding the military confrontation and beginning the liberation of Palestinian land, supported by progressive forces around the world. Accordingly, this slogan is not presented for application in the present political situation. It has been recorded as part of the general vision and conception of the liberation process, to give practical answers to the questions raised in the Palestinian arena, and to rally the progressive forces of the world around the Palestinian cause.

2. Presenting this goal must always be coupled with the parameters and conditions that make it a step towards full liberation, not a substitute for this.

3. The existing political situation, on the Palestinian and Arab level, requires the continuation of the ideological and propaganda struggle against the line of settlement. The proponents of this line arm themselves with «stages and interim goals» as a cover for the course of settlement. We will be able to confront such a course by putting forward the revolutionary concept of stages and interim goals, thus preventing the capitulationists from using such slogans for deceiving others. This is what the PFLP has been saying since 1973.

These three points clearly distinguish the PFLP's position on this

issue from that of the Palestinian bourgeoisie and some Palestinian leftist forces.

Fourth: The settlement trend, the dangers of its spreading, and the necessity of struggle for eradicating its influence on the masses

On the Arab level, the settlement trend means solving the major discrepancies between imperialism and Zionism on the one hand, and the Arab reactionary and bourgeois forces on the other, for the purpose of tightening the grip of a capitalist class alliance on the toiling masses throughout the Arab homeland. On the Palestinian level, the settlement line aims at dissipating the Palestinian people's cause, resolving it in accordance with the principle of preserving the Zionist entity and its legitimacy.

Such a course did not exist before the emergence of the Palestinian revolution. Today, the situation is very different. This necessitates taking a very serious look at the line of settlement, the threats it poses, and the struggle for eliminating it, in order to protect the masses from its adverse impact.

Today, the course of settlement has been actively promoted on the Palestinian and Arab level. The proclamations of the Saudi, Jordanian, Moroccan and other Arab rulers, are clear indications that the official Arab position vis-a-vis 'Israel' has significantly changed. These proclamations, made without embarrassment, indicate that these rulers recognize 'Israel'; they think that the key to the solution lies in Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, and resolving the Palestinian cause on the basis of yielding to the existence of the Zionist entity.

Today, the Zionists officially report that they have held secret negotiations with King Hussein. This news causes no embarrassment for the king; he no longer feels that there is any need to deny these reports. The Arab regimes that maintain cooperative relations with the Jordanian regime do not even verbally object to these contacts. Thus, Arab reaction and some capitulationist bourgeois regimes expose their true position in the camp of imperialism and Zionism. The economic and class developments induced by the petrodollar wealth constitute the objective base for this political position. Moreover, under the cover of tactics and interim goals, the Palestinian bourgeoisie took a position expressing the beginning of its movement toward the capitalist camp to which it belongs. This paved the way for the Arab regimes to officially declare their position and

resolve their contradictions with imperialism, which arose from the masses' decisive refusal to recognize the Zionist entity. Obviously, Arab reaction and the capitulationist bourgeoisie were encouraged by the positions and proclamations of the PLO representatives in Bonn, London, Rome and Paris.

The danger posed by the settlement line is not limited to resolving the discrepancies among Arab reaction, imperialism and Zionism, thus consolidating the Zionist entity and creating the prerequisite for an imperialist-Zionist-Arab reactionary alliance throughout the region. The settlement line also creates disarray and division in the ranks of the Palestinian masses. It creates division among Arab nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces, as was the case from after the October War until Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. The same thing is happening today, though on a smaller scale. In the light of this, combatting the settlement course has become a permanent ideological task on our work agenda throughout the liberation struggle, on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels.

What is our strategy for confronting the settlement course

1) Waging a constant, serious struggle among the masses, the rank and file, and the leadership of the revolution, for rectifying the deviating line pursued after the October War

This deviation was partially rectified after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, but its vestiges still linger. This calls for struggling to eradicate it. The line of settlement had concrete negative consequences, constituting a cover-up for official Arab capitulation and causing a set of shortcomings. This fact helps us to influence the masses and take action in their ranks, in order to set right the revolution's political line and uproot the settlement trend.

2) Waging a serious struggle for increasing the role of the democratic and revolutionary forces in the revolution's leadership, political decision-making and militant practice

This is the sole guarantee for rectifying the political line and protecting the revolution from being aborted through the settlement course. In the ideological and propaganda domain, we must constantly combat all illusions about the real position and role of the Palestinian bourgeoisie and the policies which it will ultimately pursue, if it is the sole force leading the struggle of our people.

There is no doubt that Zionist colonialism, and its aggressive, racist and fascist program, places a broad section of the Palestinian bourgeoisie in a nationalist position. Ignoring this fact would greatly damage the Palestinian cause, since the unity of the Palestinian people in the face of Zionist usurpation is a scientific, feasible thesis. However, when the Palestinian bourgeoisie has the upper hand in leading the revolution, it will always be susceptible to striking a deal with the enemy. This is so because of the impotency of the bourgeoisie's program, and the interests it might have in such a deal. This would threaten the unity of the Palestinian people. The ability of the Palestinian people to preserve their unity, in the face of usurpation, depends on the influence of the democratic and revolutionary forces in the revolution's leadership.

We should always bear in mind the analysis of the previous stage of the struggle as we contribute to the present and future stages. The inability of our masses to score a victory against the Zionist invasion before 1948, was not because the Palestinian people said *no* to all proposals as the proponents of the settlement theorize. The leaders of the pre-1948 struggle said more than *yes* in accordance with the advice of Arab reaction and the British colonialists. The explanation for the fate of the Palestinian struggle, in its previous stages, is to be sought in the class nature of the leadership which dominated the masses' struggle. The masses for their part waged a protracted and bitter struggle. The lessons of the previous stages of struggle should always be borne in mind, since our masses have paid dearly, giving their blood and lives for these lessons.

3) Exposing and discrediting the real goals which the Arab reactionary and capitulationist bourgeois regimes have with the settlement

It is now known that these regimes conceal their national treachery in the cloak of the settlement trend. Hence, it is necessary to mobilize the masses on the basis that yielding to the Zionist entity's existence is treachery, even if initiated in the name of defending the Palestinian people's rights. The masses' categorical rejection of the Zionist entity has precluded Arab reaction from easily instating its natural alliance with Zionism and imperialism. The settlement trend loosened up the masses' solid convictions about Zionism. The cracks thus opened should be repaired through extensive propaganda work about the nature and magnitude of the crime and treachery committed by yielding to the existence of the Zionist entity.

4) *The propaganda and ideological struggle for unifying the positions of all progressive Palestinian and Arab forces for the fight against the settlement trend*

The progressive and communist forces are divided in their positions on the idea of a settlement which secures the right of the Palestinian people on the basis of recognizing the existence of the Zionist entity. This constitutes a weak point for these forces in the struggle against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary settlement which the enemy camp strives to impose on the region. We have already clearly felt the disadvantages of such division. This provides the Palestinian bourgeoisie in particular with an opportunity to conceal its real positions with progressive window dressing. The common point between the reactionary, capitulationist position and the position of some progressive and communist forces has provided the reactionary and bourgeois forces with an opportunity for deception and downplaying (the imperialist nature of the settlement).

Some communist forces reject certain brands of settlement, and «struggle» for a non-imperialist, non-reactionary settlement based on essentially the same position toward 'Israel'. These forces believe in the right of the Jews in Palestine to self-determination in their own state, and the feasibility of establishing a 'non-Zionist Israel' through class struggle in the Zionist entity. Hence, it will be difficult to unify the positions of the progressive and communist forces on combatting all settlement trends at all times in the course of the Arab liberation movement. The probability of achieving this task in the short run is low. Nevertheless, the overall developments of the past few years have undoubtedly created suitable ground for initiating a serious ideological dialogue on this issue, aimed at reaching united theoretical and political positions, radically antagonistic to the overall settlement line.

Over the past few years, it became tangibly clear that the reactionary and bourgeois Arab forces have picked up the idea of settlement primarily to hide their national treachery from the masses. Simultaneously, it became clear that imperialism was on the move to entrench the settlement idea in principle, in order to surmount the obstacles which have arisen in resolving the contradictions between its allies in the region: Zionism, and the Arab bourgeoisie and reaction. Most important is disclosing the nature of the Zionist entity, the extent of its aggressiveness and interests in the area, and the role assigned to it by imperialism. Entering any settlement with such an entity, before inflicting a political and milit-

ary defeat on it, means full submission to the imperialist and Zionist schemes in the region.

The 1967 war highlighted the Zionist entity's role and goals. In addition, Israeli policies over the past few years have generated a set of fresh positions vis-a-vis the Zionist entity. This enhanced the conditions for rejecting the settlement line by revealing its dangerous, negative repercussions. We can rely on these developments in unifying the position of the communist and progressive forces against the overall settlement trend.

The following factors placed the rejectionist position at the threshold of a new era: international condemnation of Zionism as a racist, aggressive movement; exposure of the Zionist movement's subversive role in the socialist countries; the orientation of scientific circles in these countries to study the Zionist movement; the intimate connection of this movement with the most reactionary circles of international capitalism; and the radical change in the position of the Arab communist parties in general.

This new rejectionist trend will align the positions of the progressive and communist forces on a common platform opposed to the alignment of the reactionary, capitulationist forces around the settlement course. This task is not an easy one but, due to its vitality and repercussions, we must persistently tackle it. We are confident that scientific fact will ultimately speak for itself.

We must put forth our viewpoint, relying on facts, figures and studies that determine the scientific nature of our position, in order to distinguish our national, class and scientific position from a chauvinist position. Otherwise, our position of rejection will be distorted and unacceptable in progressive circles. We must give priority to this task, so that our political position is based on a class and economic analysis that explains the development of the Zionist movement and the aggressiveness of the Zionist entity.

The antagonistic contradiction between Zionism and the Arab and Palestinian liberation movement cannot be resolved without the decisive victory of one party over the other. It is not in essence a conflict between two nations. The conflict is due to the rise and the goals of the Zionist movement as fostered by the Jewish bourgeoisie and imperialism. The movement's goal was creating a settler society to confront the unity and struggle of the masses for sovereignty and liberation, in an area where international capitalism has vital interests in terms of strategy and natural resources.

The aggressive nature of the Zionist enemy is due to: (a) the services it renders to imperialism; and (b) the interests of the settler society in exploiting Arab labor and land. The settler colonial nature of the Zionist state thwarts the effects of the laws of class struggle. The class struggle is virtually cancelled in the settler population, because all benefit from usurpation and occupation despite the existing inequality. The real struggle is between the settlers and the original owners whose land has been usurped and whose labor power is exploited.

Our ability to unify the positions of all the progressive and communist forces against the settlement trend and to wage the struggle until the final eradication of the Zionist entity, depends on our ability to carry out this ideological task. This ideological struggle should accompany our protracted popular war for liberating all of Palestine.

5) The particularity of the role of the Palestinian Arabs in the 1948 occupied territories; the unity of the Palestinian identity and struggle

After the start of the armed Palestinian revolution and the 1967 Israeli aggression whereby all Palestine was occupied, the Palestinians of the 1948 occupied territories were able to interact with the Palestinian community in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Before, our people in 1948 occupied Palestine were a small minority, isolated from the main Palestinian community. They were subjected to oppressive, liquidationist, exploitative Zionist plans for dissipating their national identity. These schemes were also designed to consecrate their identity as members of a particular religious sect, so that they would appear as religious minorities within the enemy state.

Following the Ariha (Jericho) conference*, the Jordanian regime embarked on a drive of annexation and subordination, in order to obliterate the Palestinian identity. Due to the small percentage of Palestinians remaining in the 1948 occupied territories, they were not able to effectively defend their national identity and right to sovereignty. Then the ascent of Nasserism affected the masses in the 1948 occupied areas; a pan-Arab movement emerged in the Galilee, called *Al Ard (The Land)*. Conditions were against the survival of this trend, and it therefore dissolved. Today this section of our masses have begun to join in the militant process as a result of the ongoing Palestinian armed revolution which crystallized the Palestinian identity, and made gains in the international arena, being recognized as one of the vanguard contingents of the

worldwide liberation movement. Their participation in the militant process is seen in the rising level of struggle in the 1948 occupied Palestine. From time to time, the enemy hints at the future threat which this poses to the Zionist entity. Developing the struggle of this section of our people is one of the revolution's central tasks.

The uprising of this section of our people on March 30, 1976, demonstrated their potential for threatening the enemy. It showed their attachment to the Palestinian national identity and land, their militant potential and their possibilities for contributing to the revolution's achieving its short-term, tactical goals and long-term, strategic goal.

The well-known Zionist document, the Koenig report, discloses the enemy's view of the dangers of the role of our masses in the 1948 occupied territories. The Koenig report expounds the Zionists' fear of the Arab population's natural procreation rate in the 1948 territories, which reached 5% versus 1.5% for the Jewish population. There are 600,000 Palestinians in the Zionist entity, constituting 15% of the total population, according to Zionist statistics. The majority of them reside in the Galilee where they constitute more than 50% of the population. Obviously, this concentration in a single region greatly increases their militant capability.

The rise of the Palestinian revolution, its steadfastness in the face of liquidation plans, the blows it deals to the enemy and the resulting political and military disarray in the Zionists' ranks, led to an upsurge of nationalist feelings among this section of our masses, as expressed by their militant activities. Their growing sense of national identity and belonging is expressed in the raising of liberation slogans, the increase in demonstrations, festivals and strikes on national occasions, and the refusal of university students to do guard duty. It is also expressed in the demands of Palestinian Druze to be exempt from army service. The setting up of land defense committees, the Sons of the Village and student organizations express the growing sense of national identity among this section of our people.

The Zionist policy of racist discrimination against our people in the 1948 occupied area, affects all aspects of their life (economic, social, education, housing). This policy is an integral part of the plan to eradicate our people's national identity, yet it has led to deepening their readiness to wage a bitter struggle against the enemy.

The masses in the Galilee and the other areas usurped in 1948, can assume a particular role, since they occupy a prominent position in the Zionist entity's agricultural and industrial labor force. In certain sectors

and stages of production, the Palestinian Arab labor force plays a fundamental and particular role. As a result, our masses have the potential to cause confusion in the enemy's economy. The Koenig report states that the concentration and predominance of Arab workers in certain economic sectors can cause tremendous political and economic damage, should they decide to go on strike, since they carry significant weight in the functioning of the economy.

The Palestinian working class in the territory usurped in 1948, could assume an even more significant role, should the Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip show solidarity with them. The struggle of the Palestinian working class in the Zionist entity is the core of any radical class struggle in this state.

The struggle of our masses in the 1948 occupied area should, of course, be directed against all forms of national and class exploitation practiced by the racist Zionist enemy. Such struggle should be implemented within the framework of the unified Palestinian national struggle, converging with the Palestinian revolution's overall course and political program.

The emergence of the armed Palestinian revolution, and its steadfastness throughout this period, has entrenched the Palestinian national identity and the unity of representation of all our people. The revolution must keep emphasizing Palestinian national unity and the unity of representation of all our people wherever they may be. We must work toward merging all their struggles in the common struggle waged by the revolution. Though the presence of our people in more than one country imposes on each community particular tasks of struggle as determined by local conditions, all these tasks should be based on the revolution's program and linked with its major tasks.

6) *Our position on progressive Jewish forces in the Zionist entity*

Our people's struggle against the Zionist enemy is not a chauvinist or religious struggle. It is not directed against Judaism as a religious belief. The strategic slogan of the Palestinian revolution is the establishment of a popular democratic Palestinian state where all citizens would enjoy equal rights and duties, regardless of religion, sex and color. The obvious corollary to this slogan is Arab-Jewish struggle against the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary alliance and its aggressive goals.

This is in principle. While leading the difficult and complicated battle,

the Palestinian revolution needs to mobilize all the forces it can to achieve this goal. It needs sound programs and political tactics which secure a broad framework of alliances on all levels, robbing the enemy of some of the weapons it uses against our revolution and people. Thus, it is a top priority for the revolution to mobilize all Jewish forces who oppose the Zionist project, or might do so in the future. The revolution should ally or cooperate with all forces opposing the Zionist project and its fascist, aggressive policy which uses the Jewish masses as cannon fodder for preserving the interests of the imperialists and big Zionist capitalists.

The revolution has to accurately assess and document the reality of the Zionist entity in the light of the historical background which determined the inception and development of the Zionist movement, and the nature of the entity created by imperialism and Zionism on Palestinian land. The revolution has to understand the peculiar nature of the contradictions within the Zionist entity, and the course it has pursued, particularly from 1967 and onward.

The Zionist project was founded on the basis of the Jewish bourgeoisie's drive for profit, and to insure imperialist plunder of the region. Theodor Herzl, the founder of political Zionism and author of *The Jewish State*, greatly admired Cecil Rhodes, the pioneer of white settlement in Africa. From the start, Herzl displayed the class features of the Zionist project. Herzl clearly saw Jewish immigration to Palestine as a class evolution. According to him, the Jews would not lose their assets, but would convert them into cash. Only those who were sure that they would improve their status were expected to immigrate. In fact, things went along this path.

Aaron David Gordon, one of the fathers of Hebrew labor, admits that the Zionist claim of «making the desert bloom» was accomplished through the labor of «Ahmed» and «Mustafa». Along the same lines, Ha'am, a Zionist philosopher, says: «Our rural settlements in Palestine, even if expanded over time to reach their full potential, will always remain settlements belonging to a highly developed civilized minority that derives its strength from its brains and wealth. The impoverished masses will not belong to us. Actually, this is what has happened, for every settler provides for (i.e. exploits) three Arab families.»

These are the features of the Zionist project since its inception. Its exploitative capitalist nature crystallized as agricultural settlement developed into industrial settlement, as the organic link between the Zionist project and the imperialist project evolved, and as imperialism

began to confer financial aid in return for the Israeli role in protecting imperialism's interests in the area. Finally, the 1967 aggressive expansion, and the ensuing economic exploitation, left no doubt as to the true nature of Zionism's class features.

The standard of living in the Zionist society is higher than that in Italy, Holland or Austria. This is due to the economic assistance given to 'Israel' by imperialism in payment for its military role. (The Zionist society produces only 7% of what it consumes.) The high standard of living is also due to the Israeli exploitation of Arab markets and labor. The use of Palestinian Arab labor enables the Jewish laborer to work in advanced industries and specialized work, as opposed to the Palestinians' employment as unskilled, manual workers. In other words, the exploitation of Arab labor enables the Jewish labor force to climb the professional ladder, moving to better positions as technicians, engineers, etc. Thus, the Jewish working class benefits from the exploitation, usurpation and occupation imposed on the Palestinian population.

This fact has to be taken into account when speaking about the progressive Jewish forces opposing the Zionist project, for it explains the growth of right wing positions within the Zionist entity, and the total Zionization of Mapam. Conversely, it explains the limited growth of the Jewish organization, Matzpen, which developed a scientific, progressive concept of the Arab-Zionist conflict. Matzpen's membership is limited to a number of intellectuals who express their individual views, more than a class reality. The same fact explains why Palestinian Arabs constitute 90% of RAKAH's rank and file.

This does not negate the existence of a Jewish working class in the Zionist entity. Nor does it negate struggle between workers and capitalists, or social oppression in the Zionist entity. As stated by an Oriental Jewish Knesset deputy, Oriental Jews constitute 4% of university students, but 98% of Israeli jail inmates.

The escalation of the Zionist entity's fascist and aggressive policies evokes a counter reaction. The Palestinian revolution must capitalize on these realities by stressing its democratic character and the progressive solution it offers for the Jewish question in Palestine. It must expose the aims of imperialism and Zionism in inciting chauvinist conflict between Arabs and Jews. In order to counter the enemy's policies, the revolution should translate its political line into a line of action; by showing readiness to cooperate with all the elements and organizations opposing and challenging the Zionist project. The Palestinian revolution should support the

organizations hostile to Zionism and the Zionist entity. Our position vis-a-vis these organizations is one of political alliance that marks the beginning of practicing the slogan for a Palestinian popular democratic state.

As for RAKAH, the Israeli Communist Party, despite our radical political difference with its position vis-a-vis 'Israel', its hostile position against Zionism and imperialism constitutes common ground that could be developed into practical cooperation against the racist policies of the Zionist entity. Failure to distinguish between Zionist and anti-Zionist forces (even when the latter believe that Zionism can be separated from 'Israel') hurts the revolution. It also means ignoring the tangible reality of the existing conflict between RAKAH and Zionism. It is the revolution's duty to know how to take advantage of this conflict.

Owing to our complicated and difficult battle, it is of utmost importance to firmly adhere to the strategic course and goal. At the same time, it is equally crucial to be flexible in tactics so that the revolution gains a level of strength whereby its strategic goals can be achieved. Such attitudes could become the nucleus for the revolution's future ability to deal with all contingencies which might emerge in the course of its struggle in the Zionist entity, through steadfastness, growth and the crystallization of its democratic and progressive nature.

The Zionist society's particular ideology enables it to draw together all its own forces, social classes and trends against the masses of the region, based on supposed racial superiority. By the same token, the Zionist entity's particular economic and class structure, as a settler society, means that all its forces and classes benefit from the process of usurpation, occupation and oppression. This greatly limits the possibility of inducing change from within. This does not mean that the Zionist entity is a conflict-free society; nor does it mean that it is exempt from the laws of class struggle. It is the task of the revolution to determine the existing contradictions at each phase and how to deal with them in a way that serves the basic struggle against imperialism and Zionism as incarnated in the Zionist state.

Entering into alliances with Jewish forces opposed to the Zionist enemy should constitute one of the revolution's major tasks. These alliances should be practiced in accordance with the state of these forces at each stage.

7) *The unity of the revolutionary democratic forces is the cornerstone for enhancing Palestinian national unity.*

Palestinian national unity is the unity of all classes and strata of the Palestinian people that are hurt by the Zionist usurpation: workers, peasants, the toiling masses and broad sectors of the bourgeoisie. The political and organizational formula for achieving such unity is a broad political front that includes all the forces, parties, trends and public figures who rise to the challenge of Zionist usurpation. In this sense, the PLO constitutes such a front.

The predicament of Palestinian national unity does not lie in the lack of a framework for alliance and mobilization, but in the nature of this framework and the degree of its effectiveness in bringing about mobilization and unification. The sole scientific explanation for the weaknesses in the PLO's unity and mobilization over the past sixteen years, lies in the nature of the leadership. Other explanations might shed light on certain aspects or forms of the predicament, but they fail to explain the enduring phenomenon.

The bourgeoisie, by virtue of its ideological and class nature, cannot let the mobilization and unity process take its natural course. Serious mobilization of the masses' resources is a threat to its political line. The bourgeois leadership wants to leave the line open to bargaining and compromise. Full mobilization would threaten its monopoly on power.

This political leadership played an influential role in the question of national unity. Here we are not undertaking a full review of the revolution's course and all the political issues which have been subjects of controversy, leaving a negative impact on national unity. Political disputes do arise among the various class forces of the revolution. This is a natural and common matter. However, when these disputes touch upon matters pertaining to the revolution's destiny, i.e., essential matters, national unity will obviously be in jeopardy. This was the case at certain political moments during the Palestinian resistance's battles with the reactionary Jordanian regime, and after the October War, when the PLO leadership was seeking a place within the settlement project presented at that time. To us, this was an attempt to abort the revolution.

The course of the Palestinian struggle, and the lessons that evolved from it, definitively place Arab reaction in the enemy camp. Nevertheless, the PLO's program still speaks of imperialist «agents» or «tools» without clearly identifying their class nature, or the position of the Arab reactionary forces and regimes in the conflict. Of course, this is not inconsequential.

The bourgeoisie's refusal to determine the position of the reactionaries means, in practice, leaving the door open for cooperating with them. This had a negative impact on the struggle process as we have experienced throughout the revolution's march.

The organizational question also had an impact on national unity. Again, it is not our intention here to fully review the revolution's march and the controversial organizational matters which negatively affected national unity. It is sufficient to mention the bourgeoisie's insistence on imposing its own hegemony, its individualism and monopoly on decision-making powers. Also, the bourgeoisie feared the repercussions of the growth of the revolutionary democratic forces within the PLO's organization. This fear and individualism were the reasons behind the failure to fulfill genuine national unity; this also led to tension in the Palestinian arena and resorting to violence instead of democratic dialogue. The bourgeoisie shied away from dialogue since this strengthens the positions of democratic forces in the ranks of the revolution and the masses.

The bourgeoisie is based on the principle of private ownership of the means of production. This material base has various behavioral expressions, including individualism in political decision-making. Is there any other scientific explanation for the predicament of Palestinian national unity throughout the foregoing period? The problem does not lie in the traits of this leader or that. Doubtlessly, there are a set of secondary factors involved, but the main one is the class nature of the domineering leadership which wants to monopolize decision-making and keep the decisions in line with its own orientation.

Only the working class does not fear the consequences of the mobilization and unification process, since such a process consolidates the working class's political decision-making powers. Initiating a unification process on a democratic basis will ensure the legitimate role of the working class in contributing to the decision-making process. This role will grow in step with the militant role of the working class. Thus, any qualitative change in the reality of the Palestinian national movement and the PLO depends on the growth and unity of the revolutionary democratic forces and their influence within the framework of national unity. Therefore, achieving a qualitative leap in Palestinian national unity constitutes a strategic mission. It requires a protracted militant process whereby the vanguard of the working class demonstrates its eligibility and prerogative to lead.

The leading role of the bourgeoisie in the Palestinian revolution is due to a set of intertwined objective and subjective factors. Among them is the fact that the bourgeoisie took the initiative in launching the Palestinian revolution. Another factor is the state of the revolutionary democratic forces and the Palestinian communist movement. Along with these subjective factors, there was the official Arab reality which supported the Palestinian bourgeoisie. Arab officialdom feared, encircled and incited against the democratic forces. The support of the Arab reactionaries and bourgeoisie to the Palestinian bourgeoisie doubtlessly constitutes one of the main factors in preserving the latter's hegemony in the revolution's leadership. Their support provides the Palestinian bourgeoisie with financial and armament capacities that enable it to move among the masses and influence them.

On the other hand, the factors which favor the democratic forces are gradually growing into a major force. This will enable the democratic forces to increase their action and leading influence in the revolution, especially after it becomes clear that the bourgeoisie's political position has negative effects on the revolution's march. More than once, the PFLP succeeded in providing leadership for the masses, which set a concrete example of how a progressive political position can serve to advance the role of the progressive forces (during the battles against the Jordanian regime and the settlement trend). Today, the political situation permits progressive Arab and international forces to gradually increase their support and solidarity with the Palestinian democratic forces. By the same token, the mounting role of the revolutionary democratic forces in the main arenas of struggle (the occupied homeland and Jordan) attests to their steadfastness under very complex circumstances. All this shows the gradual change in the balances of forces in the Palestinian arena, in favor of the revolutionary democratic forces.

Increasing the level of coordination, cooperation and solidarity among the revolutionary democratic forces will enhance their role, effectiveness and positive impact on the Palestinian arena. It will enable them to prevent deviation on the part of the Palestinian bourgeoisie and to enhance national unity, which would mean the mobilization and unification of Palestinian resources. Therefore, the task of enhancing Palestinian national unity is linked with the task of crystallizing and unifying the revolutionary democratic trend in the Palestinian arena and increasing its impact and influence within the PLO.

Two clearly defined organizational and political lines have emerged

in the Palestinian arena in the course of the revolution: the line of the bourgeoisie, and the line of the toiling masses and the working class, i.e., the revolutionary democratic line. This phenomenon has occurred in all national liberation movements.

On the political level, the revolutionary democratic line stands for a firm policy against the enemy, not only against Zionism, but also against imperialism and reaction. This line links the Palestinian struggle with the ongoing struggle in the Arab and international arenas. The democratic line views the Palestinian revolution as the vanguard for a protracted confrontation against all the bases of imperialism and reaction. The Palestinian masses will wage this struggle, with the democratic forces as the vanguard, as a part of the united Arab revolution heading towards socialist revolution.

On the organizational level, the revolutionary democratic line stands for collective leadership, laying the ground for democratic relations among the contingents of the revolution, and observing the principle of proportional representation according to the advance of each contingent's role in the revolutionary process. The revolutionary democratic line is represented by certain of the revolution's contingents, but it also exists as a trend among the rank and file of the bourgeois contingents.

The most dangerous situation that the Palestinian revolution could face is a split in its ranks, should the bourgeoisie deviate and become party to a settlement formula promoted by the Arab reactionary and bourgeois regimes. This danger stems from the Arab bourgeoisie's attempt to use the PLO as a cover for such deviation, since the PLO represents Palestinian legitimacy and is universally regarded as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Consequently, preventing such deviation and its devastating effects on the Palestinian revolution depends upon the revolutionary democratic forces' ability to become an effective force in official Palestinian decision-making, the PLO and the daily struggle.

In their political and organizational struggle, the revolutionary democratic forces will proceed from the program of the 14th session of the PNC. This is the minimum program around which the Palestinian contingents gather within the framework of the PLO. Under the current conditions, this program constitutes a sound basis for maintaining the struggle to enhance Palestinian national unity.

Proceeding from the minimum program and perceiving the current political developments, the PFLP will intensify its efforts to achieve steady

progress towards effective and genuine national unity, by building the most solid relations with the Palestinian resistance's contingents.

We are firmly convinced that the PFLP constitutes the fundamental leftist pole in the dialogue now underway on the Palestinian national work in the occupied homeland and abroad. Thus, we will continue to stress the importance of our role and its development. We will further crystallize the PFLP's leftist identity by escalating our political, organizational, mass and military activities, and by being aware of all the attempts to dissipate this identity which we have gained through-out struggle over the past few years.

Adhering to this role is coupled with equal commitment to the task of crystallizing a revolutionary democratic trend. This constitutes one of our fundamental tasks in building Palestinian national unity under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard party. The task of unifying the Palestinian communist movement will be more complicated than unifying the communist movement in any other Arab country. The division of the Palestinian communist movement over the position to be taken vis-a-vis 'Israel' constitutes an obstacle to the unification process. This obstacle stands in the way of envisioning the process whereby Palestinian communists will be united.

Nonetheless, the unification of the revolutionary democratic forces, within the framework of the Palestinian revolution would constitute a fundamental and tangible step along this path in the foreseeable future. Bringing about this unification process will doubtlessly help to clarify and define the subsequent steps for building the united Palestinian communist party. Practical steps must be mapped out to pursue this task.

This is our path for strengthening national unity; we will thereby hold the Palestinian bourgeoisie to the nationalist position within the framework of an alliance of all social classes and forces, in order to achieve the national tasks.

*Conference where a group of pro-Jordanian Palestinians approved the annexation of the West Bank to Jordan.

Chapter 3

General Assessment of Our Political Positions on the Palestinian Level

Generally, in the period from 1972 to 1980, the PFLP represented the major Palestinian force opposing the settlement trend. It was also a major force within the revolutionary democratic trend, radically hostile to Zionism, imperialism and reaction. The revolutionary democratic trend has been struggling for regulating relations among the contingents of the resistance on sound democratic principles, within the framework of the PLO. Hence, we positively assess our political line in general, which enabled us to increase our political and mass activities, and to expand and consolidate our progressive alliances on the Arab and international levels.

The battle against the settlement has been the major battle facing the Palestinian revolution during this period. The PFLP took what became known as a rejectionist position, based on principles that pertain to the core of our position against Zionism and the Zionist entity. Our position was also based on political analysis of the balance of forces on the Arab and Palestinian arena, i.e., that the prevailing balance of forces did not allow for an interim nationalist settlement. Among other political premises upon which our position was based, was the fact that the proposed settlement formula was an imperialist, Zionist and reactionary one. Added to this was the fallacious view of those who called for joining in and contributing to the settlement process, in order to extract a «nationalist settlement» on which the revolution could rely to pursue the struggle for achieving its strategic goals. The PFLP explained the illogic of this viewpoint and the danger that it would provide a cover-up for some regimes to justify their capitulation and recognition of the Zionist entity.

Today, in the light of events, we can confidently record the validity and soundness of our position. It is our prerogative to regard the participa-

tion of the Rejection Front in the first Steadfastness Conference in Tripoli; and the unifying Palestinian document adopted there, as concrete evidence of the validity of our assessment and the triumph of the rejectionist position. The PFLP's position on the settlement constituted the most prominent of our battles in this period of the Palestinian revolution, in addition to our role in founding the Palestinian Rejection Front and striving to form an Arab rejection front. These two accomplishments will remain some of the PFLP's major accomplishments.

The PFLP's sound position vis-a-vis the settlement battle was accompanied by a sound position on Palestinian national unity. Then, minute positions had to be determined. It was not easy to take positions in this very dangerous and complicated period. Committing any blunder would have had immense negative repercussions on the revolution in general and on the Front in particular.

The nature of the political conditions required taking a position vis-a-vis the PLO that would deny the PLO's claim to represent all the revolution's contingents, while at the same time avoiding a definitive division in the Palestinian arena. Such division would mean disregarding a set of factors, such as the complications that would accompany the settlement, and their possible consequences; the manner of confronting such complicated conditions, including the conditions prevailing among the Palestinian masses; and the creation of the prerequisites for waging the battles imposed on the revolution, especially in Lebanon.

In such immensely complicated circumstances, the PFLP took a position on national unity that insured waging an effective struggle against the settlement course and keeping it from appearing to represent the Palestinian revolution as a whole. At the same time, the Front kept open the option of returning to the PLO Executive Committee, in case political developments closed the door of settlement in the face of the PLO leadership, or made it discover the true nature of the proposed settlement. When the PFLP pulled out of the PLO Executive Committee and formed the Rejection Front, it remained keen to stay in the Palestinian institutions in the framework of the PLO and to attend PNC sessions. Without going into details, we can say that events also substantiated our minute positions and the extent of the damage we would have caused by committing any mistake on this respect. Our position allowed us to effectively tackle the settlement course. At the same time, it allowed us to quickly and successfully adapt to the developments that followed Sadat's visit to the Zionist entity.

The battle in Lebanon was the second biggest battle that faced the Palestinian revolution during that period. Here events came to prove the validity of the PFLP's general analysis and political positions.

The PFLP identified the fundamental character of the battle in Lebanon as a civil war, despite its connection with the overall regional conflict. In the light of this analysis, the PFLP stressed that it was an inter-Lebanese conflict and demanded that the Lebanese National Movement take the lead in confronting the plan against Lebanon. The PFLP always stressed the antagonistic character of the conflict, and that any lulls were spurious and temporary ones, used by the hostile forces to mislead others and consolidate their own positions. The PFLP always underlined that the phenomenon of dual power in Lebanon would only be solved by the triumph of one of the opposing sides. Therefore the PFLP called for defining positions and mapping out programs that would insure resolving the dual power situation decisively in favor of the masses, i.e., by establishing a national democratic authority throughout Lebanon.

The settlement battle and the Lebanese battle were the major ones waged by the Palestinian revolution during the period under review. In the light of this evaluation, the political course of the PFLP was a sound one, generally representing the progressive revolutionary line in the arena of Palestinian struggle.

In the Jordanian arena, the PFLP stood for a fundamental political line opposing the regime and struggling for the right of the revolution to be present among its masses in Jordan and mobilize them in the battle against the Zionist enemy. The PFLP warned against the dangers of the PLO's forging special relations with the Jordanian regime, since the regime will employ such relations to mislead others, hiding its conspiratorial role in liquidating the Palestinian cause and revolution.

In Palestine, the PFLP stood for a fundamental political line opposing occupation and usurpation. This line reflected the PFLP's central political program and positions. This is our overall evaluation but, of course, we committed some blunders. It is our duty to study these and extract lessons, in the hope of benefitting from our mistakes in the forthcoming stages of our struggle. These mistakes are the following:

First: Our general analysis of the goals and means for achieving the settlement conspiracy was confirmed by events, as recorded in the Arab section of this report. However, we made a specific mistake about the way of overcoming the Palestinian obstacle which blocked a comprehensive settlement on all fronts. The PFLP argued that US imperialism would be

ready to accept a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in exchange for recognition of the Zionist entity, consolidating its legitimacy, containing the Palestinian revolution and facilitating the inclusion of all the US's Arab allies in the proposed settlement project.

This analysis was not contained in *The Tasks of the New Stage*. Furthermore, this document actually ruled out the possibility that the US would go this far. It ascertained that the US would try to overcome the Palestinian obstacle through a Palestinian entity in confederation with the Jordanian regime. Nevertheless, following the October War, the PFLP entertained such a conception of the US position vis-a-vis the Palestinian problem.

Then, in June 1974, we took the following position: «Pertaining to the US position vis-a-vis Palestinian representation in the Geneva conference, the PFLP believes that the US wants the PLO itself to represent the Palestinian cause. In this way, the revolution will be contained and absorbed; the historical existence of 'Israel' will be insured. In addition, the US will satisfy its Arab allies, primarily represented by Sadat and Faisal. It will appear to the Soviets as if the US is making a basic concession, entitling it to extract a price in return in the negotiation process.»

The PFLP put forward this conception at a specific political period, but successive events proved its fallacy. Though the quoted paragraph does not explicitly name a Palestinian state to be established on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, we all remember that we thought that the imperialist solution for the Palestinian cause was based on this principle. While noting that such an approach might be used in the future, we hereby criticize this particular political position which we took in that particular political period. The course of events has proved that the obstacles and discrepancies facing the imperialist settlement process are more complicated than we imagined. Surmounting these obstacles requires more time and efforts than we had expected. This is a lesson that can benefit us in our future work.

Second: During the battle in Lebanon, a reformist political line governed the positions and practices of the Lebanese National Movement, especially during 1975 and 1976. As a consequence, the PFLP committed a political blunder by betting on a certain number of Lebanese organizations and parties that, at the time, adopted a fundamental political line vis-a-vis the battle. In terms of its Lebanese alliances, the PFLP acted as if these organizations and parties would constitute the fundamental axis around which the Lebanese mass movement would eventually rally. The

result of this conception was that the Front focused on its alliance with these forces at the expense of consolidating its alliance with the Lebanese National Movement and its major, active parties.

Events proved the fallacy of this position. The civil war played a role in gradually consolidating the positions of the National Movement. Events also proved that certain radical positions can be merely verbal, lacking practical application and incapable of being translated into tactical programs. It is this tactical aspect of the program that determines whether or not any fundamental position can be imposed. The axis, which the Front had for some time counted on, vanished due to its having ignored the importance of tactical moves, and due to the dichotomy between its theory and practice.

Though until now, we have not been completely certain about the consolidation of the Lebanese National Movement's position, the nature of the conflict constitutes an objective factor pushing in that direction. Presumably, this factor will be accompanied by a process of alliance, solidarity and dialogue with the advanced forces of the Lebanese National Movement.

Third: On the Jordanian level, in the first years after our 3rd congress (1972-1974), we committed a mistake by concentrating only on Jordanian nationalist work, through the People's Party. Throughout that period, we neglected the branch of the PFLP in the Jordanian arena. We ignored the necessity of rebuilding it and charting the programs that would lead to its renewed growth following the 1970-1971 defeat, helping it to mobilize the Palestinian masses around the Palestinian revolution in Jordan.

The Palestinian resistance made a mistake from 1967 to 1971, in Jordan, by disregarding the Jordanian national movement. The resistance mistakenly acted as if it were a substitute for this movement. This mistake led us to commit the opposite mistake, by confining our concern to the Jordanian national struggle at the expense of the Palestinian struggle in the Jordanian arena. We continued in this mistake until 1974. At that time, a new atmosphere spread among the Palestinian masses in Jordan, prompting them to rally anew around the national cause. Only then did the PFLP consider reviving its organization in Jordan and charting organizational, political, mass and military programs as guidelines for the work of its branch.

Fourth: Also in the Jordanian arena, our work on both the Jordanian and Palestinian levels was for some time solely geared to the strategic goal of toppling the Jordanian regime through revolutionary violence. We

were slow to absorb the big upset in the balance of forces in the Jordanian arena following the 1971 defeat. This defeat should have prompted the definition of new tasks and tactical slogans in line with the new balance of forces and the prevailing mass atmosphere. By concentrating only on the strategic slogan, we were not in a position to induce a gradually escalating process of mass mobilization capable of generating revolutionary change.

This state of affairs lasted until the beginning of 1975. Then, we defined a set of tactical slogans for Palestinian work in the Jordanian arena. These slogans were in line with the balance of forces and the mass climate. They focused on enforcing the right of the Palestinian resistance to mobilize the Palestinian masses in Jordan, and to fight the Zionist enemy from across the Jordanian frontier. The PFLP also defined its viewpoints regarding the Jordanian struggle and how crucial it is to focus on political freedoms and the struggle for immediate social demands. The Front identified the national policy which Jordan ought to pursue in national, pan-Arab and international affairs. As a result of rectifying its previous mistakes, the PFLP again became relatively active in the Jordanian arena.

Fifth: In Palestine, the PFLP opposed the 1976 elections for mayors in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, calling on the masses to boycott them. Events proved the fallacy of the PFLP's position, since the boycott was ineffective, and the newly elected mayors played a role in fighting the occupation and the Camp David conspiracy.

The principle rationale behind our position was not recognizing the legitimacy of occupation, and not letting the enemy cloak its aggressive policies in a semblance of democracy, by dealing with the institutions it makes accessible to regulate the daily affairs of the masses. Our position on these elections was also based on a political rationale related to the settlement trend prevailing in that period. We feared that the enemy would use these mayors in the plan to liquidate the Palestinian cause, capitalizing on the fact that they had been elected by the Palestinian masses.

Our first rationale was sound and principled. However, events demonstrated that the revolutionary value of this rationale depends upon ability to impose not dealing with the occupation, even concerning daily affairs, as was the case in the Gaza Strip in the early part of the seventies. If the masses fail to reject the institutions provided by the occupation and do not create their own social institutions, the nationalist forces can benefit from the social institutions provided by the occupation in the fight

against the enemy. The nationalist forces can link everyday life struggle with the national cause, as a prelude to imposing their own institutions and regulating social affairs on their own. It is worth mentioning in this connection that the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, condemned all dealings with the Czarist Duma when there was a revolutionary upsurge in 1905. Later on, when the revolutionary tide was receding, Lenin condemned those who continued to call for boycotting the Duma. This analogy is, of course, not very precise, since there is a difference between social institutions and the masses' relations to them under occupation, and a political assembly such as the Duma, which was not imposed by a foreign occupier. Nevertheless, the example shows the necessity of revolutionary parties' adjusting their positions in line with changes in the balance of forces and the state of the masses.

As for the political rationale behind our position, events proved that resolving the Palestinian obstacle, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement for the conflict in the area, takes a long time, since serious problems have to be surmounted. The concrete course of events eventually shows the soundness or fallacy of any political position.

Sixth: In the PNC's 12th session, the PFLP had reservations on certain issues in the program. Yet we did not categorically reject the entire program. This gave the PLO leadership the opportunity to claim, for some time, that the program represented the position of all the resistance contingents. The program adopted by the 12th session marked the beginning of the PLO leadership's readiness to deal with the settlement trend, regardless of any analysis as to whether or not imperialism and Zionism would agree to PLO participation in the framework of a settlement. Nonetheless, the PLO leadership has made certain concrete moves and taken positions and orientations showing readiness to join the settlement process if given the opportunity to do so. Events have also proved that the PLO's pursuing such a course has had negative repercussions, including negative positions and alliances.

In the history of the Palestinian revolution, the program of the 12th session was the precursor of the settlement trend. It was the PFLP's burning duty to assume the role of forcefully tackling this problem from the outset. A clear-cut line had to be drawn between the two basically different political lines in the Palestinian arena vis-a-vis the thesis of a settlement. Merely registering reservations on the program of the 12th PNC session meant that the PFLP did not present a clear-cut position to the masses. This caused confusion on the Arab and Palestinian levels. The PFLP's

position allowed the settlement trend to appear as the only one in the Palestinian arena for some time.

However our ability to pinpoint and admit our mistakes enabled us to alleviate these repercussions within a very short period of time. Then the PFLP regained its leading revolutionary position in rejecting the settlement trend. We have already commended ourselves for this position in this evaluation, regarding it as one of the major revolutionary positions taken by the PFLP in the course of the revolution.

These are the mistakes we committed over the course of the past eight years which were full of events, developments and contingencies. These mistakes were committed in the context of an overall course whereby the PFLP was the main Palestinian pole, after the October War, to put forward an analysis and program whose soundness and validity were substantiated by events. It is our duty to pinpoint our mistakes. This attitude is a measure of our ability to practice self-criticism with a real revolutionary spirit, far removed from bourgeois selfishness and arrogance.

The PFLP demands that the rank and file perform their duty of daringly reviewing our course and being sure that this political report has recorded all our previous mistakes. This is the only way to learn from experience. This is the path of steady progress.

Chapter 4

The Political Tasks of the PFLP

The previous sections of this report defined all the current political tasks which the PFLP has to undertake on the international, Arab and Palestinian levels. The report substantiated these tasks through political analysis of the conditions on the international, Arab and Palestinian levels at the time of the congress. The report attempted to explain the current political tasks necessitated by the present political circumstances of the Camp David offensive to liquidate the revolution. The task of tackling the Camp David accords should be linked with the task of creating the prerequisites for liberating Palestinian land. This task, in turn, has to be linked with the task of liberating all of Palestine and establishing a popular democratic Palestinian state as part of an Arab national democratic revolution oriented towards building a united socialist state throughout the Arab homeland. Achieving these tasks is part of the global struggle to defeat the imperialist system and create socialism and peace on earth.

In the light of this, this chapter will formulate the titles of the tasks designated in the previous sections and chapters. Our rank and file, branch leadership, committees and central leadership bodies should bear in mind the main tasks defined. These constitute the cornerstone of our mass agitation, and our informational, military and political activity. They constitute the basis for formulating our central and branch programs, in addition to joint programs with our Palestinian, Arab and international allies. The tasks we set for ourselves are indeed the tasks of the Palestinian revolution and its progressive and revolutionary forces. These tasks, for the process of liberating Palestine, are interrelated with the tasks of progressive and revolutionary forces on the Arab and international levels. For revolutionaries, the value of theoretical work lies in its being a guide

for action and struggle. Therefore, it is natural that our political report concludes by reviewing all the tasks we will struggle to achieve.

Our Tasks

Current Tasks in the Palestinian Arena

1. Struggling to defeat the Camp David accords and the 'autonomy' conspiracy.
2. Escalating the military struggle against the Zionist entity.
3. Escalating political and mass struggle against the Zionist entity.
4. Struggling to consolidate the Palestinian National Front inside Palestine on the basis of the political and organizational program of the PNC's 14th session; increasing its militant efficiency in leading the masses inside Palestine.
5. Struggling against the conspiracy of the Palestinian-Jordanian state.
6. Struggling against all forms of settlement proposed by imperialism, including the West European states and the Socialist International.
7. Struggling to apply the organizational program of the PLO, adopted by the PNC in its 14th session.
8. Building and consolidating relations among all Palestinian revolutionary and democratic forces to enhance national unity, as a step towards building progressive, democratic Palestinian national unity.
9. Escalating the economic, political and military struggle in the 1948 occupied territories and forging relations with the active and new progressive forces there.
10. Consolidating our alliance and cooperation with all progressive Jewish forces opposing Zionism and the Zionist entity.
11. Waging a firm propaganda battle against the settlement trend.
12. Struggling to preserve the gains of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Current Tasks on the Palestinian-Lebanese Level

1. Courageously defending Palestinian armed presence and all the revolution's gains in Lebanon.
2. Mobilizing, training and arming the Palestinian masses in Lebanon to defend the revolution.
3. Improving military coordination between the revolution's contingents in Lebanon on the basis of a united leadership and plan.
4. Dealing firmly with mistakes, transgressions and wrong behavior that

harm relations between the revolution and the Palestinian masses, and especially between the revolution and the Lebanese masses.

5. Enhancing our military capabilities to the maximum in terms of armament, training and personnel.
6. Escalating the fight against Saad Haddad's troops.
7. Escalating the fight against the Zionist enemy over the Lebanese border.
8. Consolidating relations with the Lebanese National Movement by all means so as to strengthen its capabilities for foiling the imperialist-Zionist-fascist scheme for Lebanon.
9. Concentrating the revolution's relations on the Lebanese National Movement and supporting the Lebanese masses through this movement. The revolution has no right to transcend the Lebanese National Movement's authority. On the contrary, we must support the LNM's authority so that it can execute its responsibilities and achieve its tasks as the leadership of the Lebanese nationalist struggle.
10. Deepening and consolidating the Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian alliance as being directly concerned and linked with the outcome of the conflict in Lebanon.
11. Working to enlist nationalist and progressive Arab and international forces to support the steadfastness of the Lebanese National Movement and the masses of the South. This support is a measure of solidarity with the Palestinian revolution and contributes to defending its existence.
12. Working to deepen cooperation between the progressive Lebanese and Palestinian forces in order to consolidate their role in leading the joint Lebanese-Palestinian struggle against Camp David schemes in Lebanon.

The Tasks on the Palestinian-Jordanian Level

1. Struggling to abrogate the existing special political relationship between the PLO and the Jordanian regime.
2. Confronting the activities of the Jordanian regime and its agents in Palestine.
3. Confronting the positions, activities and moves initiated by the Jordanian regime to create conditions whereby it can eventually join the settlement process.
4. Struggling to impose the Palestinian resistance's right to political and military presence among our masses in Jordan.
5. Fighting the Zionist enemy across the Jordanian-Palestinian border.

6. Supporting the Jordanian national movement in its national democratic struggle for political liberties, defending the oppressed classes and confronting the reactionary policy of the regime on the Arab and international levels.

7. Working for the establishment of a united national front to include all nationalist, progressive and revolutionary forces in the Jordanian arena.

Our Tasks on the Arab Level in the Context of the Arab National Liberation Movement

1. Struggling to isolate Sadat's regime diplomatically, politically and economically. Supporting the Egyptian national movement's struggle to topple the regime.

2. Confronting US imperialism and all its policies, projects and interests in the region.

3. Sustaining the demand for using Arab oil as a weapon against US imperialism.

4. Calling upon the nationalist regimes and all nationalist, progressive and revolutionary Arab forces to provide the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese nationalist forces with all means of support.

5. Struggling to develop the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front.

6. Struggling to develop the Arab People's Conference and increase its activities.

7. Struggling to gain democratic liberties for the Arab masses.

8. Working for solidarity and mutual support among the forces of the Arab liberation movement on the Arab nationalist level.

9. Working to deepen the alliance among the democratic and revolutionary forces within the Arab national liberation movement in particular.

10. Struggling for the right of the revolution to mobilize the Palestinian masses in all Arab countries without exception. Struggling for the right of the Palestinian resistance to fight the Zionist enemy from all Arab fronts. Struggling for the Palestinians' right to independent national decision-making.

The Tasks on the International Level

1. Consolidating relations of friendship and cooperation between the Palestinian revolution and the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, in the interests of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the policy of capitulation, and for our people's victory.

2. Contributing actively, side by side with the forces of liberation, progress, peace and socialism, to the international struggle against imperialism, fascism and reaction.

3. Cultivating and consolidating relations with the national liberation movements in the 'third world' in order to score a complete victory over colonialism and backwardness.

4. Consolidating the Palestinian revolution's cooperation with the progressive and democratic forces, and the working class parties in the capitalist countries.

5. Working to broaden international solidarity with the Arab national liberation movement, particularly with the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian revolution under the leadership of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

6. Bolstering the Palestinian revolution's position and the Palestinian struggle by the largest possible solidarity campaign in all the international forums opposing imperialism and Zionism. This solidarity campaign is designed to serve our people's struggle and to liberate their land.

7. Consolidating the relations and solidarity between the Palestinian revolution and the national liberation regimes, particularly in the countries adjacent to the Arab region.

Achieving these current tasks for consolidating the revolution's positions and policies, would gradually lead to the following tasks:

1. Uprooting Zionism and the Zionist entity from the Arab homeland, liberating all of Palestine and establishing a popular democratic Palestinian state.

2. Struggling to achieve Arab unity under the leadership of the working class forces and a progressive national front.

3. Struggling to achieve all the tasks of the national democratic revolution oriented towards socialist revolution.

4. Building the deepest relations of international solidarity with the socialist community.

In the introduction to the international section of the political report, we stated the following: The forces of liberation, progress, peace and socialism are steadily scoring successes and victories in the world-wide struggle against imperialism and reaction. This confirms that the course of history in this epoch is that of transition from capitalism to socialism.

In the light of our determination, this report is intended, among other things, to consolidate the truth of this fact among ourselves. These tasks - revolutionary dreams - will be achieved on the ground of reality. By virtue of our determination, struggle and sacrifices, the PFLP will be a contributing force in a glorious and historical revolutionary process aimed at liberating the land, the human being and the society from injustice, oppression and exploitation. Let the banner of liberation, democracy, socialism and unity be raised high.

Political Resolutions of the 4th National Congress

On the International Level

1. The congress reaffirms that the Palestinian revolution is part of the international revolutionary front hostile to imperialism. It calls for consolidating the relations of solidarity and joint struggle among all forces in this front against international imperialism and its allies. This front is made up of the socialist community, first and foremost the Soviet Union, the national liberation movements, and the working class and democratic forces in the capitalist countries.

2. We convey our greetings and thanks to the Soviet Union and its great communist party, and to the rest of the socialist community, for their fraternal support to all the struggling people in the world, based on the principle of proletarian internationalism. We thank them in particular for the support rendered to the Palestinian revolution in all forms and on all levels. The congress reaffirms its high estimation of the economic, political, social, and military accomplishments of the socialist community, which serve to further consolidate the international socialist system and to confront imperialism, the international capitalist economic system and its aggressive policies. The congress registers utmost satisfaction at the development of the relations between the PFLP and the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. It reasserts its sincere desire to further develop these relations, governed by a firm conviction in the strategic alliance between the Palestinian revolution and the socialist countries under the leadership of the true friend of the struggling people, the Soviet Union.

3. The congress salutes the struggles and achievements of the national liberation movements. Their victories constitute a fundamental

part of the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The congress notes the development in the class structure and social content of the national liberation movements, and the legitimacy of their goals. It reaffirms that interlinking their struggle with the rest of the forces of the international revolutionary process, the Soviet Union in particular, is the second fundamental factor in their ability to be victorious.

4. The congress salutes the working class and the democratic forces in the capitalist countries in their struggle against capitalist exploitation and monopolies. It salutes their solidarity with the national liberation movements, particularly the struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable national rights.

5. The congress conveys a militant salute to the nations which have triumphed over the forces of reaction and backwardness, and embraced the national democratic line of development - the line of opposing imperialism and its allies. Such a line has been pursued in Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Grenada and Afghanistan. The congress expresses appreciation of the internationalist support rendered by the Soviet Union to the Afghani people, to help them to confront the interference of imperialist, reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces.

6. The congress sends a special salute of militant solidarity to all national liberation movements in the world, particularly to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador, the African National Congress in South Africa, and SWAPO in Namibia.

7. The congress conveys a glorious and appreciative salute to the steadfastness of socialist Cuba for its advanced position confronting US imperialism, and for its internationalist support to the struggling people. We salute Cuba's achievements toward constructing a socialist society and propagating the revolutionary ideals which enriched its revolutionary experience and enabled the foundation of a communist party during the liberation battle. Among the factors which were conducive to this development were the prevailing spirit of militancy in the struggle against imperialism, and the presence of a creative revolutionary leadership.

8. The congress warmly salutes the victory of the great Vietnamese people, and the unification of the two parts of the country. The congress expresses full solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle to reconstruct and develop their country, and against the encroachments of the renegade Chinese leadership.

9. The congress roundly condemns the policy of military build-up and destroying the international political climate, which is being pursued by

international imperialism led by the US. This policy threatens to return the world to the cold war atmosphere. The policy of military build-up clearly manifests itself in imperialism's procrastination about nuclear disarmament and the US's failure to ratify the Salt II treaty. The imperialist policy of military build-up is also manifested in the deployment of nuclear missiles in a number of West European countries, the deployment of imperialism's aggressive fleets in the Indian Ocean, the Arab Sea, the Gulf, the Mediterranean Sea and the Caribbean, and the installment of military bases in Diego Garcia, Egypt, Kenya, Somalia, Oman and Saudi Arabia. International imperialism, under the leadership of the US, bears full responsibility for menacing international peace and the security of the peoples.

On the Arab level

1. The 4th National Congress of the PFLP, held in Lebanon under the auspices of the patriotic masses, sincerely records its feelings of love and gratitude to the great Lebanese masses and their national movement. The congress reaffirms the militant bond between the Lebanese masses, led by their national movement, and the Palestinian masses, led by their armed revolution, in confronting the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracy which aims to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement in order to impose the Zionist-fascist project in Lebanon. The congress stresses the leading role of the Lebanese National Movement in confronting this project in order to defeat it, and preserve Lebanon's unity, Arab identity and democratic development. The conference takes pride in the militant bond between the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian revolution, which sets a concrete example for Arab solidarity. By Arab solidarity, we mean the Arab masses' solidarity in the battlefield against the enemy, as opposed to Arab reaction's solidarity aimed at halting the mass movement.

2. The congress stresses the necessity of consolidating the Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist alliance in confronting the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracy which aims at striking Syria's steadfastness, liquidating the Palestinian revolution and imposing the Zionist-fascist project on Lebanon.

3. The congress salutes Syria for confronting the Camp David conspiracy. We confirm our solidarity with Syria's confrontation of the moves of internal and external forces to weaken its steadfastness.

4. The congress hails the Arab masses in Egypt under the leadership

of the national and progressive forces. We stress our solidarity and total support to their struggle against the treacherous policies of Sadat, in order to defeat the Camp David conspiracy, preserve Egypt's sovereignty and restore it to its natural position as the vanguard of the Arab struggle against the Zionist enemy.

5. The congress sends a warm greeting to the masses in our beloved Jordan, stressing the militant bond between the Jordanian and Palestinian masses struggling for a national democratic regime in Jordan. Such a government would free the masses from exploitation and backwardness, opening before them the path of democratic and social development, and permitting their mobilization in the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

6. The congress sends comradely salutes to the toiling masses and their vanguard party in Democratic Yemen, for their confrontation of the reactionary conspiracies aimed at liquidating the progressive rule of the Yemeni Socialist Party. We hail this party in its victorious struggle to preserve and consolidate its national democratic and social achievements.

7. The congress sends greetings to the struggling masses and their nationalist and progressive leadership in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf. We assert our solidarity and support to them in their struggle against the reactionary regimes in the region. We confirm our absolute condemnation of the establishment of imperialist military bases and the escalation of imperialist military presence there. We call on all Arab democratic and progressive forces to struggle firmly to liquidate these bases and all forms of imperialist military presence in the area. The congress welcomed the proposal of Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammed and the initiative of Comrade Brezhnev, calling for peace and security in the region, insuring the people's freedom and sovereignty, removed from military intervention and threats. On the occasion of the congress, the PFLP sends militant greetings to our comrades in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, the National Democratic Front in North Yemen, the Popular Front and the National Liberation Front in Bahrain, and to all the forces in the Arab Peninsula, struggling against the Saudi regime.

8. We send our greetings to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. We confirm our solidarity with its confrontation of the conspiracies of reactionary forces, and the attempts of the Egyptian regime to invade Libya. The PFLP salutes the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's principled fraternal assistance to the people of Chad in their just struggle against the reactionary and colonial forces. This struggle has contributed to dealing a blow to the forces of Camp David in the area.

9. We send our greetings to the fraternal Arab people in Algeria and ~~their party and government~~. We appreciate their adherence to the national line against Camp David, and their anti-imperialist activities in the North African Arab states.

10. We convey our greetings to the POLISARIO Front and its militants. We support their struggle against the Moroccan regime for liberating the people of the Sahara from Moroccan domination and exploitation, and for their right to self-determination.

11. We stress the PFLP's position within the Arab national liberation movement, following and participating in its struggle to achieve the goals of the Arab nation: liberation, democracy, socialism and unity.

12. The congress hails the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and calls for the development of its program and organizational structure. We also call for practical implementation of this front's decisions in the battlefield.

13. We stress the importance of the role assumed by the Arab People's Conference, and the cruciality of working to develop its experience and content in order to consolidate its role.

14. We condemn the war waged by Iraq against the revolution of the Iranian masses. This war falls in the pattern of the Iraqi regime's retreat (from the nationalist policy), especially since the Iranian masses toppled the Shah's regime and moved Iran to an anti-imperialist position supportive to the struggle of the Palestinian people.

15. We salute the struggle waged by the Iraqi masses against the Iraqi regime's policies of retreat. We welcome the foundation of the National and Patriotic Front in Iraq; we support its program and appreciate its role. We also support all other progressive and democratic forces struggling for a national democratic Iraq.

16. The congress condemns the reactionary Arab regimes' oil policy which totally serves the imperialist plans, and the greed and exploitation of the monopolies. The congress also condemns the Arab reactionary regimes' investment policy which returns the oil revenues to the coffers of imperialism and its monopolies in the form of investments, accounts and deals. Ultimately, this policy helps the international capitalist system, serving imperialism and its goals, and shores up the Zionist enemy's aggressive military capacity. In the Arab countries, such policies lead to the flourishing of brokers and the comprador class whose interests are intimately connected with international imperialism, and who therefore constitute an obedient tool for carrying out imperialism's schemes.

On the Palestinian level

1. The congress sends a glorious, exalted greeting to our people in occupied Palestine and to those detained in the prisons of the Zionist occupation authority. The congress highly appreciates their heroic steadfastness and renews our pledge that the PFLP will continue to be faithful to their struggle, sacrifices, goals, loyalty and national aspirations. The PFLP will always adhere to the armed struggle until the fulfillment of all the national aims of the Palestinian people.

2. We send an exalted and appreciative greeting to the fighters of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement who are steadfast in South Lebanon. They are defending the Lebanese masses, the Palestinian revolution, and the honor and dignity of the Arab nation.

3. The congress stresses that the PLO is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people everywhere, and that all its accomplishments must be preserved. We will struggle against all attempts to undermine the PLO's sole representation of the Palestinian people. We call for consolidating Palestinian unity within the framework of the PLO, on the basis of the political and organizational program of the 14th PNC.

4. We stress the necessity of exerting efforts, along with the other Palestinian national forces, to revitalize the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories, increase its effectiveness and develop its experience and relations. Such efforts proceed from the principle that the PNF is the PLO's fundamental operative arm in the occupied homeland.

5. Efforts should be doubled to crystallize the role of the Palestinian revolutionary democratic forces, for the sake of founding a united Palestinian communist party.

6. We greet the Jewish progressive and democratic forces who are hostile to the ideology and practices of the Zionist state, and supportive of the Palestinian people's national goals and struggle under the PLO's leadership. In contrast, the congress vehemently condemns the contacts with Zionist forces and elements. It also condemns any attempt to conceal these contacts. We call for exposing and discrediting these contacts, and holding accountable those responsible for them.

7. We stress the importance of the PFLP's continued confrontation, by all means, of the capitulationist course in all its forms, whether the European 'initiative', the Jordanian 'option', etc.

8. We consider the Arab homeland and its borders with Palestine as legitimate territory from which to wage our struggle against the Zionist-

imperialist enemy. We reject any interference, restraints or terror against our people wherever they may be. We have the right to struggle for preserving our people's militant identity from being dissipated. We consider the continuation of our people's struggle as part of the struggle of the Arab masses and their revolutionary movement.

*Long Live the Revolution
We will be Victorious*

Part Four

*Consolidating the Role
of Our Military Forces
and Developing Our
Combat Efficiency*

Through protracted historical struggle, the Palestinian people have accumulated a monumental heritage which constitutes a fundamental foothold for our current struggle. Due to a number of factors, Palestine was the scene of successive invasions. These aimed at taking control of this historically strategic location. Palestine has always been very rich in cultural and educational heritage. By virtue of persistent adherence to their homeland, our people succeeded in defeating the invaders and restoring the sovereignty of their homeland, relying on their own resources and the support of their brothers, neighbors and allies. In ancient and medieval history, our people succeeded in driving out the Hebrews, Romans, Crusaders, Mongols and Turks, though the domination and colonization of some of these invaders lasted for centuries.

In modern history, the Palestinian people forcefully and bravely confronted British colonialism and the Zionist settlers' invasion. The Palestinian struggle escalated, and played a major role in ending the British colonial presence. Still, the withdrawal of the British colonialists did not result in the restoration of our people's national sovereignty in their homeland. Instead it led to the emergence of the Zionist entity as one of the cruelest forms of colonialism.

This accumulation of militant heritage constitutes an inexhaustible source of strength for our people and contemporary revolution. Throughout the past historical periods, the general character of the Palestinian struggle has been that of confronting oppression and aggression, and defeating the exploiters, giving this militant heritage added historical and contemporary value.

In particular, the Palestinian people's struggle was directed against the alliance of British colonialism and the Zionist invasion. The Zionist movement, by virtue of its organic link with international capitalism, received all kinds of support from the British Mandate authorities. Thus, the Palestinian people confronted both the British colonial troops and the successive waves of Zionist immigration which aimed to seize the land and expel the rightful owners. Moreover, the patriotic strata of our people suffered from the alliance of the reactionary and feudal strata whose economic interests were linked with colonialism. The reactionary-feudal alliance was the accomplice of the colonial power in striking our people's aspirations and weakening their capacity to confront.

Despite the might of this tripartite alliance, our people succeeded in mobilizing their fundamental forces to confront the onslaught for over a quarter of a century. This mobilization was possible due to our people's

readiness to place all their fighting resources and organizational capacities at the service of the cause. It was also due to the justice of our people's cause, their awareness and adherence to their rights to their land. The forms of our people's confrontation ranged from political opposition to taking up arms and total insurrection. The most prominent example was the six-month general strike, the first of its kind in Palestine. The entire country was in chaos for a full six months. This indicated our people's readiness to sacrifice and the degree of their militancy. This was accompanied by an advanced level of armed struggle in all areas of Palestine, against the British Mandate and the Zionist settlers. The heroic martyrdom of Sheikh Ez Al Din Al Qassam, while leading armed cells, stands as a shining example of the development of the struggle. Yet our people's struggle and sacrifices did not lead to victory. Rather the outcome was defeat and the establishment of the Zionist entity on the biggest part of Palestine. This outcome was due to:

- The weakness of the political leadership and its inclination to compromise with the enemy, due to its class nature. The political leadership was composed of feudal elements and some comprador strata whose interests were linked with those of British colonialism.
- The weakness of the organizational structure of the fighting groups due to the absence of a progressive leadership with clear aims. The fighting groups often worked without coordination or common goals.
- The shortage of qualified military cadres, lack of combat experience and inadequate military capacity.
- The deterioration that plagued the Arab situation, and the feudal leadership's links to colonialism and its plans.

This last factor played a fundamental role in striking the revolution following the establishment of the Zionist entity and the annexation of the remaining portions of Palestine to Jordan and Egypt. The Palestinian mass movement entered a period of relative stagnation. It joined the Arab political movement in order to change the Arab situation first, since the Palestinian leaders - the new ones in particular - believed that creating a new Arab reality was the only way to liberate Palestine. With few exceptions, such as the commandos basically initiated by Egypt, there was no Palestinian political-military effort directed against the Zionist enemy until the first half of the sixties. Then, vanguard military contingents began to direct blows against the Zionist enemy. The pioneers in this were the Youth of Revenge and the Heroes of Return, born out of the Arab Nationalist Movement, and Al Asifa-Fatah, with Fatah's declaration of the beginning of its operations early in 1965.

These operations marked the beginning of a new era in Palestinian armed struggle which is daily being consolidated, politically and militarily. The course of struggle had been charted, adopting the theory of popular warfare to exhaust the enemy through a long-term war waged in the economic, military and political spheres. All the masses will take part in this war. They will be mobilized in a people's liberation army under the political leadership of a united national front, aiming to gradually change the balance of forces between the revolution and the enemy until reaching the stage of strategic superiority conducive to scoring victory.

The process of change depends primarily on drawing all the masses into the battle. This will compensate for the shortage of advanced arms, and the organizational and administrative capacities possessed by the enemy. The experience of all previous revolutions adhered to that principle, while taking into consideration the particular conditions of their battle, i.e., the nature, capacity and alliances of the enemy on the one hand, and the abilities, alliances and characteristics of the popular revolutionary forces (their history of struggle, the terrain, etc.) on the other.

The revolution will have to make unnecessary sacrifices if it lacks clear knowledge of the enemy and the revolutionary forces. With such knowledge, the revolution will be more able to move, enabling it to direct successful blows against the enemy with minimal losses to its own forces. Utilizing forces efficiently is vital for the revolution, particularly in the early stages, and in stages of reorganization and setbacks, when it may not be able to rally the majority of the masses and therefore cannot recover quickly from losses.

The Particularities of the Palestinian Liberation War

The fundamental characteristics of any war stem from the nature of the opposing forces, their respective alliances and the nature of the territory where the war takes place. Our war is a just one carried out by our people whose land was occupied by the Zionist movement with the total support of international imperialism. This is the essence of our just war.

The particularity of the enemy

We face a settler-colonial enemy that was able in the last decades to transport a human force to Palestine, composed of nearly three million settlers armed with a theory of historical right to the land, based on their

religion. These settlers are organized, militarily and economically, on the basis of living in a hostile environment where they might be attacked at any moment. They brought with them a heritage of oppression from the countries where they previously lived, especially Nazi Germany. For this reason, they consider the defence of their presence in Palestine as a matter of life and death.

This lessens the possibility of penetrating their society from within in the foreseeable future, despite the appearance of division and internal conflict in this society. These divisions and conflicts are a result of the society's being a gathering of immigrants from different ethnic and national origins, with different customs, traditions and cultures. This gathering lives in fear of the external enemy which is greater in numbers and is struggling to restore stolen rights. In addition, there is the culture emanating from Zionism, which is continually being reinforced in the minds and culture of the settler society. This intensifies the racist, fascist tendencies in the Zionist entity.

With unlimited help from the world Zionist movement and international imperialism, the Zionist entity was able to build a superior, professional army, as seen in its organization, mobilization and armament; this army can constantly acquire the most developed western military technology. Moreover, it can continuously mobilize the Israeli society against the external danger. There has been steady development of the infrastructure and industry, and particularly the military industry, all of which improves military capacity.

This financial, military and organizational capacity is utilized by the expansionist leadership and settler society. There is continuous planning to increase the area under occupation and to bring more immigrants. The expansionist aims of the enemy causes it to attack and destroy any Arab military power in order to be able to expand when the time is right, without serious obstacles. This course followed by the Zionist enemy is completely in line with imperialism's aims to continue exploiting the resources of the region and to strike any force that acts to disrupt this plunder.

Particularities of the Palestinian land

The land of Palestine is not geographically suited to guerrilla warfare. Palestine has no high, inaccessible mountains or big rivers to delay large troop movements. There are no thick jungles to help hide military groups and their secret movement. At the same time, Palestine is small in area, no more than 27,000 square kilometers. This requires a mode of military

activity and a form of organization suitable for these geographical conditions. These conditions do not allow for assembling large forces and concealing them with the aim of carrying out big attacks against the enemy in the early stages of our war. Urban guerrilla warfare is a better form for our work against the Zionist enemy. Urban guerrilla groups would strike the enemy forces, while continuing their daily life among the people. Our masses are our jungles and mountain refuges.

These characteristics of the Palestinian land make it easy for the enemy to control it, especially since the Israeli army is highly developed, technically speaking. Moreover, there are three million settlers spread throughout Palestine in a military system, where the settlements play an efficient role in hindering the revolutionary forces from effectively attacking. The settlements serve as early warning posts and forward positions for confronting the revolutionary forces.

Particularities of the revolutionary forces

The first characteristic of the Palestinian people and revolutionary forces is their number. There are nearly four million Palestinians. Nearly half of them live in Palestine. The other half are dispersed in different places. Even if we were to mobilize our people's full potentials, their number is not enough, according to the laws of people's war, to effect a strategic change in the balance of forces. This is due to the enemy's ability to mobilize three million, in addition to its technical, organizational and military superiority. Thus, we must inject a new factor in order to reverse the balance of forces. This factor is the capacity of the Arab masses. Without utilizing their abilities in the battle against the enemy, it is hard to imagine the destruction of the Zionist entity and the establishment of a democratic Palestine. Our war plays a fundamental role in creating the conditions for increased Arab mass involvement.

The second characteristic is that not all our people are in Palestine. Nearly half are dispersed in different parts of the world. This weakens the possibility of involving them in the direct confrontation of the enemy.

The third characteristic is that the fundamental force of the revolution - its armed forces and leadership - are outside Palestine and mainly in unfriendly territory. This forces the revolution to engage in big battles and offer great sacrifices to defend its existence. The revolution has given many times more sacrifices in its fight against reactionaries, allied with imperialism and Zionism, than it has in direct battles with the Zionist enemy. A major part of its forces, institutions and leadership are preoc-

cupied with thinking and working to defend the revolution's existence. This is a legitimate task. It is a heavy burden on the revolution that cannot be avoided; it keeps us from mobilizing all our forces directly against the Zionist enemy and improving our confrontation abilities. This burden is a result of the fact that the revolution's major forces operate from non-liberated territory which is ruled by regimes that are allied to imperialism or incapable of confronting the Arab nation's enemy. It is chiefly this particularity of the position of the revolution and masses, that imposes relying on mobilization of the Arab masses through alliance with their progressive forces. This alliance has two basic aims:

1. Jointly carrying out the task of liberating Palestine, by political and military mobilization of the masses. Liberating Palestine is the task of all Arab nationalists and progressives, not the duty of the Palestinians alone.
2. Jointly confronting the plots of the reactionary forces in order to establish national progressive, supportive bases, at least in the Arab land surrounding Palestine. This will enable the Palestinian revolution to function on friendly grounds and to rely on these positions to effectively and directly engage in the liberation process.

The Main Military Battles of the Resistance

The Palestinian resistance has been involved in a long chain of battles over the past seventeen years. In that relatively short period, it went through important experiences. It is hard to deal in detail with all the lessons gleaned, but it is important to focus on the basic points:

In Palestine

The resistance has used two basic methods for confronting the Zionist enemy in Palestine:

1. *Explosive charges*: This was the most prominent method used by the resistance in the previous period. It relies on secret groups operating inside Palestine. Such groups are able to carry out their tasks successfully, inflicting heavy human and material losses on the enemy, while avoiding heavy losses themselves. In the light of the unequal balance of forces, this will remain a basic method in the resistance activities for a long period. Continuing this method with great effectiveness requires a set of conditions, the most important of which are:

a. Continuous improvement of the organization and activities of the secret groups, to help them avoid being hit by the enemy. In the past, the

enemy was able to observe the organization and methods of these groups, by making arrests and attacking them. The enemy allocated great resources for this work.

b. Improving the combat and technical capabilities of these groups. Experience shows that they suffered losses due to weak combat and technical capacities.

c. The continuous supply of combat and technical capabilities for these groups, so that they can fulfill their duties more efficiently. These groups should increase their self-reliance in obtaining their needs from the enemy or local manufacture, in the light of the obstacles to continuously supplying combat materials from outside Palestine.

2. *Small combat groups*: The activities of the resistance have been based on the functions of small combat groups, using the methods of guerrilla warfare to carry out their duties by specific strikes on enemy patrols and centers. The sphere of activity for these groups concentrated on areas in Palestine the enemy could not easily reach. This method was effective in the past. Its highpoint was the revolutionary experience in the Gaza Strip, led by PFLP comrades. This was an advanced situation that prevented the enemy forces from being actively present at night. They were only present in the daytime, in main centers. Our leading comrade, Mohammed Mahmoud Al Aswad (Guevara Gaza) played a prominent role in organizing and leading these secret groups. In the West Bank, there were groups that remained in the mountains of Al Khalil (Hebron), attacking cities and vital centers. This was a development of the methods used.

The resistance has used another method, that of groups entering Palestine and attacking, then returning to bases outside. The sphere of this method was first Jordan and then Lebanon. Several difficulties have limited the effectiveness of this method. One of these is the obstacles placed by the reactionary regimes and their armies that strike against these groups. Another obstacle is the development of the Zionists' methods for confronting these groups. In addition to the two basic methods, several other methods were used, such as assassinations and mass initiatives to attack the enemy's economic institutions and vital facilities, etc.

In the light of the objective conditions, our work will continue to rely on mobilizing the masses to carry out activities against the occupation by all means. Relying on explosive charges and urban cells, in addition to small mobile units, are the most appropriate methods, considering the conditions of the resistance and its capacities.

The resistance outside Palestine

The struggle of the resistance outside Palestine has two basic roles:

1. Defending the open presence of the resistance from Zionist attacks. This was seen in the battle of Al Karameh in March 1968 in Jordan, the September 1970 battle in Lebanon, the March 1978 invasion of Lebanon, and the daily confrontation of land, sea and air strikes. In more than one battle, the resistance was able to accomplish a fundamental military victory over the enemy in the sense of foiling the aims of the attack and inflicting heavy losses in the enemy ranks.

The battle of Karameh took place after the Israeli army defeated several Arab armies in 1967. This battle will remain a source of pride, for the resistance registered a great victory despite the limited number of fighters and their youthfulness.

In March 1978, the resistance was able to confront the enemy for eight consecutive days. We prevented the enemy from accomplishing the victory it had wanted. The fighters of the PFLP played a prominent role in the battle, especially with their steadfastness in Tyre, that prevented enemy occupation of the city.

2. Defending the resistance's presence from being liquidated by reactionary forces. The resistance gave big sacrifices to preserve its physical presence. In the final analysis, the resistance was able to enhance its military and political position in spite of these plots. It engaged in battles for the defense of its presence in Jordan in November 1968, February 1970, June 1970, September 1970 and July 1971. In spite of the final results of the battle, which caused the expulsion of the resistance from Jordan, the real reason for the defeat was not a military one. The defeat was basically the result of the wrong political compromises made by the leadership of the resistance, and its inability to fulfill its responsibility as a nationalist force present in a country controlled by a reactionary enemy power. The resistance should have resolved the situation in Jordan in its favor, but the leadership's political behavior and management of the battle after it began, caused the painful result of leaving Jordan. Thus, the resistance lost a main arena, one that is indispensable for continuing the struggle and achieving victory. The PFLP had a different political and military view about resolving the situation in Jordan, but lacked the capacity to enforce its programs.

Before and after the resistance moved its headquarters to Lebanon, it faced liquidation attempts by the reactionary Lebanese regime, and the rightist and fascist forces in particular. The resistance and its masses,

along with the Lebanese nationalist masses and movement, had to confront the reactionaries militarily in 1969 and 1973. The resistance was able to accomplish clear military and political gains after these battles. The most important gain was the recognition of the legitimacy of its presence and its right to organize and administer Palestinian affairs in Lebanon. It also gained the right of acting against the Zionist enemy from Lebanon.

The situation in Lebanon developed. The economic, social and political crisis intensified, as did Lebanon's linkage to the imperialist plans in the area, aiming to strike the nationalist forces and impose the Zionist presence. This led the fascist forces to ignite the civil war against the Lebanese progressive and national forces and masses, and the Palestinian resistance. The war started in early 1975 and is still going on. Important battles took place in the mountains, Damour, the commercial district of Beirut, Tel Al Zaatar, Shiyah, etc. The resistance was able to achieve important military victories in spite of the shift in the balance of power after the Syrian involvement in 1976. The PFLP fighters played a prominent role in all these battles and particularly in the heroic defense of Tel Al Zaatar.

The resistance gained military experience from the battles in which it was involved. This added to its self-confidence, because many of these battles were crowned with victory.

Guidelines for the Revolution's Military Work

Based on accurate analysis of the reality of the combatant forces, it is the duty of the Palestinian revolution and its allies to pursue their military work according to the following guidelines:

- 1) Developing and organizing the work of the underground groups inside Palestine, and consolidating their military potentials, since they shoulder the direct confrontation of the enemy on a long-term basis.
- 2) Developing the capabilities of the military forces outside Palestine, and improving their efficiency through sound mobilization policies, since it is their main task to protect the revolution from the reactionaries' conspiracies.
- 3) Continuing to deal blows to the Zionist enemy with highly efficient military groups that are capable of crossing the borders into Palestine from any point.

- 4) Improving military leadership in the battlefield, by achieving unified military leadership and planning in the field, and by drawing lessons from past experience in order to make wise decisions.
- 5) Continuing to deal blows to basic military and economic centers of the enemy, to inflict the greatest damage possible and demoralize the enemy.
- 6) Continuing to deal special blows to the enemy outside, to its leadership and military cadres.

The distinguished role of the PFLP's military forces, within the forces of the Palestinian revolution and the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces, is the best evidence of the validity of our policy of long-term people's warfare. The Joint Forces were at the forefront of the battle for defending the revolution and the integrity of the Arab nation. This confrontation, and the blood of the martyrs in Tyre, Nabatiyeh, Tel Al Zaatar and Shiyah, unites with the blood of our martyrs in the Galilee, Gaza Strip, the Hebron mountains and Nablus, and with the blood of our martyrs in the Jordan Valley and Wihdat camp. This attests to the unity of the cause and motivates us to prepare for the long battle to come. We are confident of our ultimate victory.

Part Five

The Urgent Tasks for Continuing the Transformation Process and the Development of Our Organization

It is obvious that the objective international conditions are ready for the revolutionary democratic forces to fully commit themselves to scientific socialism, in theory and practice, in order to achieve victory. International capitalism has developed into its most advanced stage - monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism has imposed itself on the 'third world', hindering the bourgeoisie in these countries from achieving a democratic national revolution as the European bourgeoisie did. The bourgeoisie in the 'third world' has become a part of imperialism's mechanism of exploitation, assigned the role of imperialism's agent for facilitating the exploitation of their own people →

This state of the bourgeoisie requires the revolutionary movements in the 'third world' countries to carry out a new task. Besides achieving the socialist revolution, they must also achieve the national democratic revolution. This development sets new tasks for the communist forces and the revolutionary democratic forces. The national democratic forces, and especially the radical factions, were left with one choice, i.e., to transform to scientific socialism and commit themselves to Marxist-Leninist theory, if they wish to consummate the process of liberating the land and achieving the national democratic revolution. The nationalist, revolutionary and radical forces have to make this choice. Otherwise, they will retreat, give in to imperialism and participate in exploiting the people.

Internationally, we are today witnessing the transformation of many revolutionary democratic contingents to Marxist-Leninist positions. These increasing transformations were determined by the international revolutionary process and the increasing influence of Marxism-Leninism. The only forces that were able to achieve the national democratic revolution were those who committed themselves to Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice. They were able to surmount all the difficulties posed by the existing economic structure and the focal bourgeoisie's conspiring with imperialism to strike the revolutionary achievements.

Living examples of these national democratic forces that built their revolutionary instrument based on Marxism-Leninism are Cuba, Mozambique, Angola and Democratic Yemen. The revolutionary forces in these countries were able to achieve the national democratic revolution and advance towards building socialism. The essence of the subjective conditions for these revolutionary democratic forces was their conviction in the necessity of total commitment to Marxism-Leninism. The objective conditions, without this conviction, cannot alone enforce the transformation process.

Two main factors contributed to the transformation of the revolutionary democratic forces to Marxism-Leninism. First is the achievements of the socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union, and the many victories achieved by the national liberation movements because of their commitment to Marxist-Leninist theory. Second is the determination of the revolutionary democratic forces, and the awareness of their leadership and cadres, to achieve victory for their revolution and free their people from subordination to imperialism.

In general, the class nature of the revolutionary and democratic forces in these countries inclines them towards scientific socialism, rather than towards any other ideology. Under these conditions, the subjective factor remains the most important one. The process of transformation is impossible without waging an internal party struggle. This may take the form of a battle between the forces strongly committed to transformation, and the old thoughts and habits on which the organization was built, as well as against elements that do not believe in transformation, i.e., right opportunists and infantile leftists. Through the process of internal struggle, the concepts of scientific socialism will be more firmly implanted, and those elements who try to impede the transformation process will be eliminated. Experience has taught us that the completion of transformation will be faced by many threats if we do not undergo this internal struggle to rid ourselves of bourgeois concepts and habits in theory and practice.

In the past, the PFLP was faced with right opportunists who accepted transformation verbally, but obstructed it in practice. We were also faced with left opportunists who wanted to leap through the process, which in practice also obstructs transformation.

We can now confidently say that the elements that strongly believe in the transformation process represent the majority of our organization, now that we have engaged in organizational and ideological struggle. Thus we acquired a new status, as seen in the 4th National Congress, that of being close to a communist party.

The internal rules and regulations, with its main principles, first and foremost democratic centralism, have become the backbone of our party's internal life. We will no longer accept any ideas such as that the internal rules and regulations are made for a communist party and are thus difficult to implement in our internal party life, since we are in the process of transformation. In spite of some mistakes, due to ideological weakness, the concept of total commitment to the internal rules and regulations has been completely absorbed. We were also able to firmly com-

bat right and left opportunism through abiding by the internal rules and regulations.

Today we are confident that we have achieved organizational and ideological unity. We have established the basis for resolving differences in a comradely manner, whereby the minority abides by the majority's decision, the lower bodies submit to the higher ones, and criticism and self-criticism is practiced. The main feature of our party life right before the convening of the 4th congress was unity in organization and thinking and collective work. The unanimous votes at the congress served to emphasize this unity. The congress emphasized the importance of combatting selfishness, individualism and anarchy within the party, lest we deviate from the basis for a communist party. The congress also emphasized the importance of abiding by the programs of the different party organizations, and of judging them by their correspondence to our reality and their harmony with the general development of the party, through accurate scientific analysis. Then we were called on to carry out these programs. This was the process of our work in the past few years. To avoid individual evaluations of things, we will continue to work the same way in the future.

In the past, we had two faults. The first was inaccuracy in mapping out the details of each party organization's program in accordance with the main program. The second was that the process of following up implementation of these programs was not properly carried out by the leadership bodies. Therefore, it is the main concern of all leadership bodies to rid their party organizations of these faults.

It is important that the party organizations put detailed programs for the various aspects of their work, to be able to combat useless concepts that could harm the party. This process will also help to combat the trend within the party which looks down on union work and daily struggle for social and economic demands. Now all PFLP party members have become members in one or more union. This is to consolidate their conviction in the importance of our organizational work. Each comrade is accountable organizationally if they do not enroll in a mass organization. At the same time, there are daily educational programs for the comrades to emphasize the importance of being involved in the general mass struggle through mass organizations, associations, clubs, etc. Such involvement enables our comrades to raise the level of the masses and mobilize their potentials for achieving their political and economic demands.

The resolutions of the 4th National Congress stress the necessity of

not falling victim to withdrawing from reality and working as an isolated party organization. It behooves us to function as a mass party that mobilizes all resources and puts them to use in the various battles, eliminating all manifestations of isolation in the militant and party work. It is vital that the party organization and comrades join forces with the broad ranks of the masses. This is the way to achieve the masses' goals. The masses play a fundamental role in the process of transformation to the positions of Marxism-Leninism, pursued by the PFLP over the past several years.

The regular work of the PFLP's leading bodies has to be stabilized on the central and party organization levels. These bodies are collectively responsible for extracting lessons, drawing conclusions and determining the methods suitable to the charted tasks. The party organizations have advanced by stabilizing their work in accordance with the internal rules and regulations, and the internal organizational charters for each body. This is the result of persistently developing the struggle methods and organization that corresponds to the nature of the work of each party organization.

The nature of our party organization in the occupied homeland differs from that of our party organizations outside, in terms of mode of struggle and organization. This compels the leadership bodies concerned to constantly scrutinize the methods used by each party organization for attaining their goals in their respective fields. It is vital to eliminate any method or form that hampers the development of the party organizations and their work. Regulating the work of leadership bodies and the implementation of their tasks will always advance the flow of party work and permit the early detection and rectification of any shortcomings or mistakes. By the same token, it will provide the leadership with collective thinking, capable of anticipating the future turn of events and charting the course to be taken.

Our daily struggle faces us with diversified tasks. This requires that leadership bodies act with utmost vitality and consistency. The struggle by our party assumes various forms, and particularly the most important form: armed struggle. Our party organizations are located in various places. Some of them exist under savage repression as in the occupied homeland, Jordan and elsewhere. Other party organizations enjoy freedom of movement. We function in close proximity with various organizations and forces on the Palestinian and Arab level. Daily, the PFLP has many strong political and militant fronts. In addition, we are not an organiza-

tion of small caliber whose organizational bodies can easily be controlled. The PFLP is an organization of a fair size and it is constantly growing. Its responsibilities are numerous. Thus, it is crucial to constantly regulate the work of its leading bodies and increase their efficiency, so that they can live up to their tasks and lead the organization in its various battles. In this way, the PFLP will be able to achieve the aspirations of the masses.

The fundamental task shouldered by the PFLP is transforming into a Marxist-Leninist party and building a mass vanguard party. This requires that top priority be assigned to the PFLP leadership and cadres' mastering Marxist-Leninist theory. We have come a long way in this endeavor. Fourteen years have elapsed since the PFLP decisively adopted Marxism-Leninism as its ideology. Since then, internal education has been carried out along the lines of Marxist theory and its fundamental principles. Review of the documents published by the PFLP, as well as the political platform and internal charter, leaves no doubt that these have been formulated relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, and taking into consideration the reality in which we function.

Along the same lines, we witness a high level of enthusiasm in the ranks of the party organization to get a firm grasp on the fundamentals of Marxist theory. This is coupled with serious interest on the part of the leadership committees in prompting the advanced cadres in particular to enroll in theoretical courses and workshops in socialist countries and the PFLP's Special Cadre School. Developing qualified cadres, who have mastered the basic concepts of theory, has become an urgent and fundamental task in advancing the transformation process and increasing our cadres' ability to resolve the problems they encounter in the struggle. In addition to the courses offered abroad and at the PFLP's Cadre School, the internal education program, based on careful study of the party's fundamental documents, program and internal charter, is important in having our cadres master theoretical fundamentals. A similar role is played by the party's internal bulletin.

We can proudly say that we have accomplished much towards mastering theory and educating the majority of our rank and file. Nevertheless, we still need to deepen our leadership's theoretical understanding. More efforts have to be made to instill the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism among the various ranks of our cadres. Marxism is not a static theory. It is an ever-developing one that can be enriched through daily life. Such enrichment can be achieved by grasping the fundamentals of Marxism and applying them to the special features of the given reality. It is incum-

bent upon us to constantly and systematically raise the theoretical level of the leading cadres, instilling in them Marxism's basic concepts.

The task of completing the transformation process calls for paying great attention to the intermediary ranks and cadres, and the cadres at the base of the party structure, improving their theoretical and political education, and developing their organizational, militant and leadership abilities. We have to assist the cadres to carry out their daily tasks with utmost efficiency and adopt sound party standards. This can be done by selecting cadres in accordance with their class background, the genuineness of their revolutionary commitment to the party, their sense of initiative, their attachment to the masses and their ability to organize and lead the masses. Rhetoric, bourgeois lecturing and arrogance are not the qualities of real revolutionary cadres. Those who possess these traits must be subjected to the process of criticism, education and new party upbringing. To advance in the party's ranks, they have to rid themselves of these abhorrent, detrimental traits.

The 4th party congress recognizes that the PFLP is a vanguard contingent of the Palestinian and Arab working class. This means that we have to recruit the vanguard elements of the working class. Through them, we can lead the working class, and mobilize the progressive elements of the revolutionary democratic forces. This orientation presupposes constant improvement of the class structure of the organization, and an increase in the percentage of workers and progressive elements committed to the party and its platform. The fundamental line for our organizational expansion is constant concentration on recruiting vanguard elements of the working class and toilers. This will provide our party organizations with the staunchest militant elements for the working class and national cause. This reduces the chances of organizational diseases such as paralysis, factionalism and opportunism that are brought into working class parties by bourgeois elements. On this level, our party organizations have not yet truly attained the standard of a Marxist-Leninist party. Despite the systematic progress made over the past few years, the proportion of the membership who descend from the working class still falls short of the desired level. Branch party organizations in particular increased the percentage of worker members. More efforts and programs must be devoted to constantly increasing this ratio. As of now, the PFLP has to gear itself toward taking additional steps to increase the percentage of workers in the leading bodies of the party, parallel to the increase of workers which has already occurred in the rank and file of the party.

Considerable progress has been made in this respect as a result of the decisions adopted at the 4th National Congress. As a result, a number of young and working class elements were injected into the leadership bodies, but we have still not reached the level to which we aspire. Requiring the base and party branch organizations to annually increase the percentage of workers in their membership is one of the methods for improving the class structure of the party. This aims to prevent any upset in the internal balance of the party, flooding it with bourgeois elements. Though these elements may show willingness to be organized, they are unwilling to be committed. The PFLP stresses that party organizations which fail to live up to this policy will be held accountable.

The policy of recruiting more workers, in order to improve the class composition of the party, does not inhibit the acceptance of elements from the other strata of which the revolution is composed. It simply means directing optimal attention to the workers who possess revolutionary qualities, principled endurance and inordinate readiness to sacrifice.

Another task, which goes hand in hand with the improvement of the class structure of the organization, is increasing the percentage of women in the party's ranks. It is no secret that women in our society suffer from dual oppression, class and national, as well as from social oppression at home and work. At the same time, women constitute half of the society. This injustice behooves us, as a party for the vanguard of the exploited and oppressed, to responsibly and enthusiastically devote attention to this fundamental force in the society. Our efforts should be oriented toward recruiting women, so that they will be in a position to defend their rights and mobilize their potentials. The prevailing social norms and attitudes impede women from joining the revolution on a large scale. Through accurate understanding of the reality in which women live, we can constantly increase their participation in party work; our experience attests to the validity of this fact. Moreover, suitable forms of organization can be found for organizing and educating women, and for recruiting the vanguard cadres - women and men - to carry out these fundamental tasks. Through this organization, women vanguards can be recruited to assume the role of combatting the erroneous ideas and practices concerning women and their role. The role of women in the leadership bodies of the revolution and our party must be advanced so that they occupy their natural position, in accordance with their number and role.

Our 4th National Congress was convened under the following slogan: «The 4th National Congress is an important step towards completing

the PFLP's transformation into a Marxist-Leninist party; establishing a united Palestinian national front; stepping up the armed struggle; defending the revolution and reinforcing its militant positions; aborting capitulationist settlement efforts; and strengthening militant inter-Arab and international relations.»

«This sums up the overall tasks incumbent on the party in the forthcoming period, until the next congress which we plan to hold after four years. Then, the fundamental task, embodied in the slogan, will be completion of the party's transformation into a Marxist-Leninist party, a vanguard and leadership for the masses.

The Urgent Tasks to Develop Our Organization

- 1) Deepening the theoretical background of the party, particularly of the leaders and advanced cadres, through careful study of Marxism-Leninism. This theory must be studied and applied as a science, by acquiring the scientific concepts in party workshops, and studying and applying party literature.
- 2) Improving the class composition of the party by admitting more workers and toilers. We must constantly increase working class membership so that we attain a party composition whereby the vanguard elements constitute the backbone and decisive force in the party.
- 3) Improving the party's status among the masses through attachment to them, expressing their aspirations and being constantly involved in the fields of mass-affairs. In this way, the PFLP will achieve the goal to which we aspire and become a vanguard party of the masses, that takes roots and broadens its base and influence, and enjoys respectability among other political parties.
- 4) Paying serious attention to women in various domains, acknowledging that they are fundamental and indispensable in contributing to and strengthening the impetus of the struggle in all fields. We must focus in particular on those women who work in productive facilities, in order to organize and mobilize them, and orient them towards agitating among the inactive sections of women.
- 5) Improving the efficiency and militancy of party members and organizations, monitoring their enforcement of the general and detailed programs, directing their activities, and reinforcing the energetic and creative ones.
- 6) In order to be able to carry out these tasks creatively, it is essential to

constantly improve and regulate the methods of the leadership bodies. The magnitude of the upcoming developments and our tasks in the political, organizational, military and mass fields, presupposes continued improvement of the methods of the various leadership bodies, particularly the central leadership.

Thanks to your persistent struggle with our people, wherever they may be, our revolution is making headway. We are all confident of the inevitability of the victory of our revolution. This is so because our revolution occupies the advanced trench in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the forces of reaction, backwardness and hegemony. Our people are fully resolved to be victorious in their just cause through their sacrifices and the support of all forces of progress and liberation. We appreciate the heavy sacrifices of our people, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole, legitimate representative.

- Let us advance to complete the transformation process and the building of our organization.
- Let us solidify our victories and the support to our people in occupied Palestine.
- Let us maintain the struggle for establishing a united Palestinian national front.
- Let us upgrade our struggle for foiling the course of reconciliation and capitulation.
- Let us gear our struggle to escalate the armed struggle and develop our fighting efficiency.
- Let us protect the revolution and consolidate its position.
- Let us support the struggle of the Arab liberation movement and unify its efforts.
- Let us deepen our militant international relations.
- Glory and immortality to our martyrs!
- The revolution will be victorious!