



## KISSINGER : PUPPETS ARE EXPENDIBLE TO KING HUSSEIN

The cease-fire which halted the guns of October gave a big push to diplomatic maneuvers, through which "a lasting peace" would be achieved. Sadat and Kissinger, the puppet and the puppeteer, are laying the groundwork of "peace" i.e. the domination of the Middle East by U.S. Imperialism.

Through the Geneva Conference, Kissinger and Sadat have already secured the disengagement of the Israeli and Egyptian forces from the Suez area, but that really is quite a minor step compared to their projected goals. Already talk of a Palestinian State is on the agenda and the security of Israel based on U.N. resolutions 242 and 338 is a fait-accompli. The above indicates that for Imperialism to achieve its goal it must maintain a special equilibrium in the region so as to insure the operationalization of its "peace plans".

In the past few weeks, two events have taken place that at first sight would seem to be unrelated, yet when we probe deeply the underlying connections will crystallize.

First, unrest in the ranks of the Jordanian military was reported. Basically the reasons behind it were economic. The large gap between the officer elite and the mass of rank and file reached high proportions, in a time when the cost of living was skyrocketing. Since one-fourth of the Jordanian population survives on soldier's salaries, the military in turn is really an economic institution that affects the lives of a sizeable portion of the Jordanian population. The ensuing unrest among the rank and file of the 40th brigade was similar to a labour union strike i.e. the unionization of the military.

Such developments acquire importance when we identify Kissinger's advice and influence on Hussein, and how the above developments played a role in convincing the latter to modify his position, as regards the Palestinians.

Let us backtrack a bit. During Kissinger's visit to Jordan, he responded to Hussein's request for economic aid by sardonically suggesting that he cut down the size of the army and security forces from 100 thousand to a more moderate size of 15-20 thousand. This assures Israel of secure borders on the Jordanian front, but Kissinger was quick to point out that the King's security would also be looked after. In addition, Kissinger advised him to take a more moderate position concerning Palestinian representation at the Geneva Conference. The King initially refused to succumb to Kissinger's proposals but after the mini uprising within the ranks of the military, it became evident that Hussein's power is shaky. The dissidents of the 40th brigade were not only demanding the elimination of the socio-economic inequality in the military, but their slogans indicated that they favored Prince Hassan who supports the idea of a Palestinian state as a more effective method of getting rid of the Palestinians, in contradistinction to Hussein's proposed federation.

Very soberly, Hussein recognized that he is expendable in the eyes of Imperialism, if he were not to operationalize their plan for the area which, when simply put, is: create a Palestinian state through the present negotiations by eliminating not only the resistance but the actual idea of resistance and struggle. This would require full Palestinian participation so as to discredit the so-called "extremists" i.e. those

who have postulated people's war as the only means by which Palestine will be liberated.

Hussein, a well trained puppet, began to soften his position. First, as he delivered a speech at the Cite Sportive in Amman in which he said, that he had no objection to Palestinian representation. A few days later as he addressed parliament he proposed direct negotiations with the leadership of the P.L.O. with the aim of agreeing to a common strategy.

In short, Hussein's actions have been revised so as to remain in favor with Imperialism.

On another level, various figureheads from the West Bank and Amman have been to Beirut propagating the idea of Federation and/or State. These representatives of the Palestinian bourgeoisies, Suleiman al-Nabulsi ( a close friend of the PDF and one of four key advisors to the King ), Hikmat al-Masri, Abdel Raouf al-Fares and Rashad al-Shawwa (ex-mayor of Gaza) in the eyes of Imperialism are the projected national leaders of the future artificial settlements that they hope to impose on the Palestinian people.

It must be noted that these people have been met by certain representatives of the PLO, whose organisations have succumbed to capitulation i.e. PDF and co.



We have serious reservations as regards these closed meetings. Our reactionary "dignitaries" are carrying the message of capitulation by euphemistically claiming opposition to zionism through their proposed solution: Federation with Jordan.

It is high time that we face our people with the truth, and all the complexities and obstacles that the truth poses.

We conclude the following from the previous discussion: a) The imperialist plan for the region is to pacify the area by the total elimination of not only the Palestinian resistance movement but by the actual elimination of the idea of resistance. To assure such, the proposed Palestinian state is viewed as a terminal solution and not as some of our "friends" believe it to be-- one of the stages through which the whole of Palestine will be liberated. b) The development of a right wing alliance taking into account that some of the previously so-called petit bourgeois regimes (Egypt) have been pursuing a full course towards an organic alliance with the reactionary forces of the area i.e. Saudi Arabia. These developments have forced Egypt to become more and more one of the essential pillars of Arab reaction. c) Given the present international balance of powers, the proposed settlement would be essentially the translation of the imperialist plan for the region, and would require that we veer off the revolutionary path, a sacrifice we can neither ask of nor impose on our masses. "



### THE MASSES EXPEL THE P. D. F.

World imperialism led by the US is trying to impose artificial settlements on our people. When anyone from within our ranks falls prey to the imperialist bait, it is our masses duty and right to raise their voices and demand that the revolution not be veered off its course. Last week, in Baghdad, the PDF was kicked out of the higher Palestinian Committee because of its dubious and precarious positions concerning the proposed Palestinian state. This should be a warning to all those who are too willing to compromise, instead of displaying revolutionary perseverance.

The Popular Democratic Front (PDF) continues its conspicuous attempts at gaining support for its submissive position regarding the Geneva Conference and the creation of a Palestinian puppet state. This position is the same as that of the rightist and reactionary Arab forces serving the plans of imperialism and Zionism. The popular committees at Chatilla and Borj Berajneh camps issued statements condemning these attempts and the defeatist spirit they contained, but the PDF has ignored the masses and their words. Here are some excerpts of Chatilla's popular committee statement:

"The revolution is responsible before the masses since they carry the arms and know that it is the only way to regain their rights.

"The expression of sincerity to the Palestinian people and their just cause lies in adherence to the cause of liberation through armed struggle.

"The question of national unity is a matter of life or death to our cause, our revolution and our people. Hence, we should fight all attempts of deviating the cause of the people.

"The PDF actions are contrary to its 'call' for national unity and the recognition of the P.L.O. as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The popular committee and officials of various organizations have tried more than once to stop the PDF from undertaking such activities, but the organization is intent on violating all agreements. It refused to condemn the visit of Kissinger, who is the architect of conspiracies against the oppressed peoples of the world. We urge our people to oppose such distorted conduct and we are confident that they can put an end to actions that confuse our masses. Consequently, the popular committee and the organizational officials in Chatilla camp suspend the membership of the PDF from the popular committee and end the gathering of signatures on the PDF memorandums."

Similarly the popular committee of Borj Berajneh camp attacked the PDF on its counter-revolutionary stand:

"The PDF has carried out a series of suspicious actions .... this group has begun to write petitions that urge the 'peace-loving' nations to implement U.N. resolutions which flagrantly violate the rights of our people." The statement added that PDF members on the popular committee are being suspended because "they urged the P.L.O. to take part in the Geneva conference."

### TASKS OF THE NEW STAGE

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The map of the Arab East is being redrawn: not for the benefit of the oppressed or even that of the ruling Arab cliques in the long-run, but for the purpose of establishing neo-colonialism in the area and placing it within the orbit of American global strategy.

The cartographers are Kissinger the "superstar", Sadat the "commando for peace", Mrs. Meir "the only man in the Israeli cabinet", and Feisal "the king of all Arabs" and if Idi Amin's proposal is approved by the Islamic summit conference at Lahore, Pakistan, the title shall be: "Feisal, King of all Moslems". Those grand designers foresee a "permanent" Israel in Palestine with "secure and defensible borders" and when a final peace treaty is signed, Israel shall have access to Arab markets, capital, and society. As for the Arabs, a new status quo free of pan-Arabism, socialism and revolution shall obtain and be maintained under a Saudi-Egyptian entente based on Islam, oil, and friendship with America and Europe and undergirded by a joint Saudi-Gulf-U.S. partnership of investors whose reconquest of Egypt- shall be enshrined in the reestablishment of an expanded stock exchange in Cairo and embodied in iron-clad guarantees for would-be investors ready to stake their future on the new paradise of oil and godliness.

In brief, an attempt is being made to reverse a half century of Arab anti-colonialism and to install a new order in the mideast which requires for its implementation the abortion of the "national democratic" phase of the revolution; the sanctification of regionalism in the Arab World; the abandonment of the vision of a one Arab, socialist nation-state from the Atlantic ocean in the West, to the Arab Gulf on the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean in the east. In other words, the 20 year Nasserite struggle to rid the Arab nation of its foreign masters and obtain true independence is being overthrown by a right-wing alliance under the aegis of the U.S. whose ideology is inspired by a religious fundamentalism based on upper class populist perspectives; underpinned by an alliance of the possessing classes and their eunuchs within each state; and, externally endorsed and safeguarded by the continued presence of Israel in the Arab midst and the Sixth Fleet offshore. That is, the Nasserite world which posited Egypt as the storm center of the Arab homeland and perceived the promotion of its national interests within the ambit of the three central circles: Arab, African and Islamic; that world is being supplanted by a world-view which reverses the order of the circles and replaces the Nasserite alliance of four classes- peasants, workers, lower middle class, and the national bourgeoisie- by an alliance of military bureaucrats and restored feudalists supported by Gulf oil buccaneers and American sharks designated by the State Department and the Pentagon.

In a word, the Arab world is being made safe for joint exploitation by local and international hucksters, but this time more intensively and extensively under the aegis of neo-colonialism American style instead of traditional colonialism of the British and French varieties. It is the dawning of a new age of psychic violence, ruthless suppression of the opposition, and brutal regimentation, militarization and atomization of Arab society. The question is, can the proponents of the "new order" rearrange the Arab world in such a manner as to establish it, maintain it, and secure it for posterity? The answer is such an order is historically doomed if established; but the revolutionaries must do their utmost to smash it before its midwives give it birth. Thus the question that has to be posed at this juncture in history, what must be done to undo the counter-revolution and replace it by a truly revolutionary socialist society? Part of the answer lies in taking stock of America's historical project for the Arab world which could provide a coherent reply to our query.

In the post-war period, American policy makers sought to assert U.S. hegemony in the Mideast by helping the traditional national-regional elements to expel British and French colonialism and by infiltrating themselves to "fill the power vacuum".

Unexpectedly, Nasserism appeared on the scene and frustrated U.S. power aspirations by mobilizing the Arab masses to sustain national independence and

# NCE OF THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

by aligning itself with the non-aligned states and the Socialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union. But the Americans were not deterred by the Nasserite phenomenon and persisted in their efforts to make the Arab world safe for their domination and exploitation.

In order to realize their objectives, the Americans relied on the strengthening of three central pillars. These were: Israel as the regional superpower; the right-wing regimes as a counterpoise to Nasserism; and oil, strategy, markets and finance as a means of alliance and deterrence. As a result of the June War, the U.S. attained its main goal: the defeat of Nasserism. And since then, its main objective has been the consolidation of Israel as a regional superpower; the denasserization of the Arab world in collaboration with regionalists; the liquidation of the Palestine liberation movement and along with it the Arab nationalist forces; and, the arming and supporting of two new regional superpowers: Iran and Saudi Arabia.

From 1967 to Oct. 1973, America forged new alliances and created new friends in the region as Arab "national" regimes endeavored by diplomatic means to redress the disequibrated balance of forces. Finally, the diplomatists had to resort to war as an extension of politics in order to receive a hearing.

As regards Israel, the Americans did their utmost to help Israel maintain a firm grip on the occupied territories: the West Bank and Gaza, the Golan Heights and Sinai. The Israelis were able to weaken the resistance inside the occupied territories not only because of their barbaric policies of collective punishment, deportation, demolition of homes and preventive detentions, but also because of a policy of cajolery, economic blandishments and "open bridges" with Jordan which was aided by mistaken political strategies and policy implementations on the part of a substantial sector of the resistance.

With the stabilization of the Israeli front and the implementation of "pacification" measures inside the occupied territories, the heat was turned on fully in Jordan and resulted in the expulsion of the resistance from the Hashemite Kingdom as the resistance advocated non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab states and called for co-existence with King Hussein.

Then came phase three which entailed the collaboration of the Arab regimes—national and right-wing—with a view to reaching an accord with the U.S. whose conditions were the liquidation of the resistance in Lebanon (the only remaining sanctuary for the resistance after the July massacres in Ajloun and Jerash in 1971); the expulsion of the Soviet Union from Egypt (the demand was made at a secret press briefing to a select group of U.S. newsmen on Aug. 26, 1970, by no less than the then presidential advisor Henry Kissinger. The demand was complied with on July 8, 1972, but the expulsion order was announced on July 18); the formation of an alliance between Saudi Arabia and Egypt under U.S. sponsorship concretized by open markets to international U.S. cartels provided with capital from Gulf states and the U.S. by operating behind Arab screens.

Meanwhile, the U.S. midwived the creation of two additional regional superpowers in the area: Iran as the guardian of the "Persian Gulf" and Saudi Arabia as the watchdog of the Arabian peninsula. However, the overweening concentration of power on the part of the U.S. in Iran (the provision of over \$ 3.5 billion worth of modern weaponry with U.S. "advisors" and a greatly expanded "military mission" to Tehran) disaffected Saudi Arabia somewhat because it thought of itself as the rightful guardian and the more competent policeman because of its pre-eminence as the defender of the faith, the power on the scene, the practitioner of the Arab tongue, the wealthier in terms of black gold and the more "righteous" in terms of despotism. Consequently, regional rivalry ensued and caused tension among the "Moslem brothers" as the Shah brandished his U.S.-made weaponry and declared himself lord and master of the "Persian Gulf" and invaded Oman at the invitation of its despotic Sultan Qaboos in order to maintain absolutism on the peninsula against man, history and time.

In sum, on the eve of the October War, the U.S. had three "local" super gendarmes soldiering in its service: Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia. And the Arab "national" regimes were not only in a state of disarray as a bloc but were competing against each other to display their reasonableness and good intentions vis-a-vis the U.S. Hence concession followed concession, retreat came in the footsteps of retreat, and maneuver and counter-maneuver intermingled in a smoke-screen that deceived no one except its inventors. This policy of self-abandonment and repudiation ostensibly impelled the U.S. to offer a peace plan which was accepted by Egypt on July 23, 1970 as a means of "exposing Israeli intransigence to world public opinion". Though the Rogers proposals were no more than a refurbished version of 242, which recognized the Palestinians as mere refugees, the Arab states were the ones who were "exposed" as they silently witnessed the massacres of Amman (Sept. 1970) which were the essential precondition for a "peace settlement" between the Arab states and Israel, excluding the resistance movement. Since then it has been a downhill roughshod glide against the resistance as the "proposals" were even discarded by their American sponsors and the Arab states were left in the dark pleading for their implementation. However, the same proposals were resurrected and revamped in the aftermath of the October War and given a face-lifting operation at Kilometer 101, and Geneva in the guise of U.N. resolution 338, the cease-fire and the Separation of forces accords and the Geneva Conference of superpowers and their allies.

It is in this new context which the "realists" call "new facts", that we must perceive the current negotiations, their backgrounds and their future prospects. As to the backgrounds, America's peace has been the defacto peace for the past seven years though it was not formally acknowledged by the Arab states which went about feverishly trying to salvage something for themselves and their social classes out of the wreckage of the June War and what followed in its wake. Though numerous friendly gestures were made by Sadat (the imprisonment of allegedly pro-soviet elements such as Ali Sabry, the expulsion of Soviet advisors, the granting of oil concessions to Philips, the selection of Bechtel for the construction of the Suez pipeline instead of the European consortium etc.) and co., and the U.S. and its regional superpower Israel were totally unresponsive, heedless of Sadat's threats and contemptuous of himself and his ruling cohorts. But Sadat in his infinite patience was not alienated and he continued his policy of unilateral concessions and Moshe Dayan demanded more. However, the more concessions Sadat made, the more intransigent Israel and the U.S. became since both interpreted the concessions as those made by a weak opponent seeking a way out of a difficult dilemma and ready to pay the ultimate price without reciprocal concessions. This evaluation was further corroborated, as Israel and the U.S. jointly set out to stem the tide of "international terrorism" by assassinating resistance leaders and their friends in Lebanon and abroad and as Lebanon set out in concert with mother ally, America to smash the resistance (particularly in May 1973). Since the Arab regimes wrang their hands in stunned silence, but without batting an eye lash, the Israelis and the Americans were further encouraged by the success of their "reprisal" policies. Consequently, the U.S. vetoed (July 25, 1973) the U.N. Security Council resolution which was aimed at setting in motion the peace machinery for negotiating a "political settlement" and Israeli insolence reached such proportions that its air force hijacked an Iraqi plane on loan to Lebanon (August 10, 1973) on the grounds that Dr. Habash, the Secretary General of the P.F.L.P. was on board. Unhappily, for the Israelis that adventure was the only serious setback they had suffered since the day of Karameh

(March 21, 1968).





# UNHOLY ALLIANCE

As a result of their uninterrupted string of victories, the Israelis and the Americans became so arrogant and self-righteous that Mr. Kissinger told Arab envoys to the U.N. (Sept. 25, 1973) in blunt language that the Mideast was not on his list of top priorities in the coming months as his U.N. address clearly indicated by merely expressing a platitudinous reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the desirability of solving it amicably. In early October, the Arabs fought a war for motion with Soviet weapons, not a war for liberation, and their aim was to be placed on Mr. Kissinger's agenda and to seek an American solution to their eternal problems. Thus Sadat achieved his objective of making the real enemy-America- the judge and jury in its own court and consigned the champions of the Arab cause (the Soviet Union and socialist countries) to the role of spectators as a new era of "peace" dawned and Kissinger shreds the Arab front while receiving accolades and embracing Sadat "in a burst of exuberance that outdid even the demands of Arab etiquette" according to Newsweek (Jan. 28, 1974, p. 12.). What a contrast between Sept. 25, 1973 and Jan. 17, 1974. What a change! What a wonderful dream! But from the rebuff of Arab envoys to the embrace of Sadat, a war intervened and over 20,000 Arabs died not for that ceremonial embrace, but for the liberation of Palestine. Hence Mrs. Meir could say with deep satisfaction as she saw Henry Kissinger off to America after his successful "shuttle diplomacy" extracted a Separation of forces accord from Sadat: "Bon voyage- and thank you. You know, if I were an Arab, I would kiss you." Newsweek comments: "she isn't- and she didn't."

What is the meaning of this new Egyptian-American fellowship? In prosaic language, the two are working together to achieve a "lasting peace" in the Middle East. To attain their objective they conceive of a process of de-escalation consisting of four stages: 1) Ceasefires and separation of forces accords on all fronts, including the Syrians and Palestinians; 2) a declaration of non-belligerence on the part of all combatants; 3) withdrawal from all "occupied territories" since June 5, 1967 with "minor border rectifications"; 4) the signing of peace treaties between the Arab states and Israel after reaching some kind of "understanding" regarding "Palestinian legitimate rights".

Since we're still in stage one, we're not expected to outline in advance the detailed provisions of the remaining three, but the stages are sufficiently clear for even the blind to see in broad outlines. At any rate, it is essential for us to focus on the implications of stage one.

First of all, let's underline what Mr. Kissinger, -the middleman- guarantor of the disengagement of forces agreement told a group of fellow Jewish intellectuals before embarking on his latest mission. According to the Boston Evening Globe (Dec. 28, 1973, p. 7), he informed a high powered pack of "whiz kids" that "the Arab-Israeli war was a military defeat for Israel". But he emphasized that as long as he is Secretary of State "the basic security interests of Israel would not be placed in jeopardy". The Globe goes on to note that Kissinger "took credit for the arms resupply of Israel and he mentioned obstruction and resistance within the Pentagon". Before their departure, the intellectuals were assured that "Israel would be here in 10 years but warned about the Taiwanization of Israel, the country's long-run danger". Kissinger also reminded his audience that he too was a Jew and that "12 members of his family had died in Nazi concentration camps, and that as long as he was involved, the United States would never tamper with the basic security of Israel". The Globe states further: "Kissinger told the group, which represented a wide variety of political thinking, that the United States and Israel had only minor differences in tactics and that they could pass the word in meeting with their peers that the United States foreign policy toward Israel had not changed even if that nation's military and diplomatic stance had been altered."

Secondly, since Nixon issued a statement (Jan. 17, 1974) hailing the separation of forces accord as "the first significant step toward a permanent peace in the Mideast", it is worth recording what a Radio Cairo

broadcast (Jan. 18) reported Sadat as saying regarding the American role:

"We did not accept anything the Israelis said and they do not accept what we said, so the United States had to intervene with a proposal.

"In the past the United States called for direct negotiations but submitted no proposals, but Mr. Kissinger dared to do what no other U.S. secretary of state has dared to do. He produced a U.S. proposal: we then reached a point accepted by both sides.

"Therefore, my signature is for the United States, and Golda Meir's signature is for the United States."

Thirdly, the Israelis agreed to negotiate with Sadat via Kissinger and sign an accord after they were convinced by U.S. senior officials that Sadat has "really come around to a farsighted view". That is, Sadat had "worked up a new priority list for Egypt, that he planned to focus on his country's domestic problems, develop closer ties with the United States and back away from total confrontation with Israel", (Newsweek, Jan. 28, 1974, p. 13.).



Fourthly, Egypt demonstrated in the past and since the October War once again that it is ready to discard its Soviet alliance and isolate the Soviet Union even at the Geneva summit conference where the Soviets are supposed to be the co-sponsors with the U.S.A. John K. Cooley reported to the Christian Science Monitor (Jan. 3, 1974) the following: "Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy Dec. 22 privately informed the Americans that Egypt did not really want its Soviet allies on the working group, despite its public show of agreement with them on this."

Fifthly, the separation of forces agreement was not merely military; it was augmented by a secret "understanding" that involved the reduction of Egyptian troops on the east bank of the canal from 70,000 to 7,000 and from 700 tanks to 30; a ban on emplacing surface-to-air missiles there which will make the canal the prey of the Israeli air force; the creation of a buffer zone patrolled by U.N. troops, which will simply mean Egyptian troops are frozen in their dugouts and incapable of making any surprise moves. This situation prompted an acute American observer to comment (Arnauld de Borchgrave): "With a United Nations force between the two sides, Egypt's military threat to Israel would be rendered far less credible. And without that Egyptian credibility- and the ability to jeopardize detente and put the super-powers on a collision course- Israeli forces might never get out of the Sinai."

Sixthly, although it was patently clear for all to see that Mr. Sadat had signed a separate and partial

agreement with Israel, he nevertheless insisted on terming it "an historical turning-point in the history of the region" and contended that he was also committed to a similar accord on the Syrian front. Therefore, he set out on a Kissinger-like whirlwind tour of the Arab world—carefully bypassing Iraq and Libya—attempting to convince King Feisal, President Assad and others that the Americans had indeed changed and that the Arabs must reciprocate by lifting the oil embargo on the U.S. This attempt to counteract the impression that what Sadat had signed was a sell-out was a qualified success, since Feisal was a little unhappy that he wasn't consulted in advance and Assad had heard about it, as usual, from the press wire services. Sadat also implicated the resistance movement by having Arafat on hand at Aswan to witness the signing ceremony, and Sadat strongly intimated that what he was doing was being done in concert with Syria and the resistance and what Henry Kissinger was doing was also "the by-product of Soviet-American co-ordination". Moreover, to complete the circle, Sadat declared in Algiers (Jan. 22, 1974) that he was prepared to meet King Hussein if the latter publicly recognized the right of the Palestinians to attend the Middle East peace conference in Geneva.

In other words, Mr. Sadat's peace train was travelling a high speed as he beckoned all and sundry to jump aboard while he was trumpeting the glories of America's change of heart and selling its peace plans. He blurted out: "for every change in the American position it is necessary for the Arabs to make an identical change towards the United States" (Times, London, Jan. 23, 1974), but Feisal made it clear that he "believed much ground is to be covered on the road to a political settlement before the Arabs sheath their oil weapon".

Is it unfair to conclude that Mr. Sadat has become America's salesman in the area and his over-anxiety to renew diplomatic relations with the U.S. immediately after the war, give credibility to the idea that the war was an "operetta" staged for the purpose of acquiring a 10-year lease on life for the decrepit Arab regimes that parade themselves as "progressive"? Many questions could be posed, but it is enough to ask one: Have the U.S.-style "peace mongers" become so megalomaniac that they've forgotten that they're not the only people in the Arab world? We are of the opinion that the tables will be turned on Sadat and his American mentors, even if were to concede for the purposes of the argument, that Syria and the PLO are likely to join his peace locomotive eventually. Why? Because when the feudal Arab regimes sold Palestine down the river after the 1948 War, it took only a handful of devoted individuals to take care of the enemies of the people. Need we remind the present heads of Arab states of the fates of their predecessors? Surely, all of them remember what happened to King Abdullah, grandfather of Hussein? Solh of Lebanon? Kuwatly of Syria, Nuri of Iraq? And Anwar Sadat couldn't have forgotten what happened to Nukrashy and later to King Farouq of Egypt.

As a matter of fact, if we look back on the period of 1948 and compare it with the contemporary scene, we will find much that would give us heart: generally there is a collective Arab consciousness that did not exist in 1948; there are 18 independent Arab states whose armed forces are not composed of the scions of the feudalists and the upper bourgeoisie; there are thousands of trained and armed fighters roving the lengths of breadth of Palestine and lying in wait to pounce on the enemy whether it be American, Israeli or right-wing Arab; and, finally, since we are living in the age of imperialist disintegration and the rising of the oppressed, did it not occur to all Arab leaders, including those who head the PLO, that they too are dispensable and the Arab people could do without them?

Lest the point be missed: who can reverse the mounting tide of the east and make it white instead of red? Who can shackle the unbound and bind them again to the maelstrom of servitude? Who can subjugate the free and make slaves of the whole Arab nation? Who, dear Anwar? Who? Who can break the will of the Arab nation and stop the rising of the sun? Not America, not zionism, not even our "beloved" rulers!

# SINGAPORE OPERATION

In a joint operation the P.F.L.P. and the Japanese Red Army launched an attack on Jan. 31 against the Shell oil installations in Singapore. The operation was carried out by the unit of our fallen martyr Basel Kubaisi, who was gunned down by Israeli agents on April 6, 1973 in Paris. Our martyred comrade was a true revolutionary who gave all he had for the revolution, including his life, which is the ultimate in sacrifice.

The Kubaisi unit placed explosive and incendiary charges at various depots owned by the monopolistic Dutch Shell, which has played an important role in the Imperialist war against the people of Viet Nam and Southeast Asia in addition to the Arab people. In striking the oil depots at Singapore, the Kubaisi unit highlighted and emphasized the peoples' legitimate right of hitting the interests of imperialism, which is attempting to impose the surrender of the Arab masses. Hence to inflict losses on Imperialism anywhere in the world is to inflict a blow to Imperialism, whether it be physical, psychological or figurative.

Last December the South Viet Nam revolutionaries blew up oil depots to prevent the Saigon hirelings from continuing their battle. Instead the Saigon regime turned to oil companies in Singapore, and Shell oil supplied them with all their needs. In addition Singapore oil has been a principal source of supplies for the imperialist war machine in Southeast Asia, particularly in Laos, Cambodia, Viet Nam and Thailand.

On the Arab level, as our masses faced a fierce imperialist-Zionist offensive, the Singapore government established a close relationship with the Zionist entity, buying Israeli weapons and promoting financial and commercial exchanges. Singapore, in addition, bought 50 French-made tanks as well as gunboats equipped with the Gabriel missile from Israel. Finally, Singapore allowed the world Zionist movement to establish on its territory a center for running the operations of exploitation and pillaging, jointly with the imperialist forces of Southeast Asia.

To sum up, the PFLP and the Japanese Red Army have once again invoked the strategy of world struggle against imperialism, zionism and their interests. There is no doubt that the struggle of the revolutionary forces will be crowned with victory against imperialism. This blow aimed by the Basel Kubaisi unit against one of the vital interests of imperialism is a legitimate revolutionary method of the people's struggle... This blow is also a warning to the monopolistic oil companies which suck the blood of our oppressed masses and peoples.

Renga\*

in tribute to Amilcar Cabral

The stillness of dawn  
Crashing between the branches,  
A world of revolution.  
Paradox and expectation:  
Juxtaposed in terrifying radiance.

One half century  
They had you among them.  
Perhaps that was enough;  
Perhaps a sequence of poems,  
Once begun in renga  
Will never end.

Still, it is hard  
not to feel cheated,  
Knowing that you  
Might have been with us  
Another half century  
Linking the poems  
of generations.



\* The Japanese Renga is a sequence of poems in which unequal links of three and two lines are written by two or more poets. Any given link of the renga must form a poem with that which precedes it, and this poem must be different from the one it forms with the link following it.

Sandra Hale



# **HABASH : LIBERATION NOT NEGOTIATION**

The following interview was granted by comrade George Habash Secretary General of the PFLP, to the Italian newspaper Il Manifesto, whereupon it was published on January 29-30/1974. This segment is the first of a series.

**Q.1.** The P.F.L.P. was the organization which openly opposed participation in the Peace Conference, can you explain the political reasons behind your refusal?

**A.1.** The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, as a revolutionary organization struggles for the interest of the oppressed Palestinian masses, for liberation, repatriation and self determination. Given that we are part of the Arab liberation movement and the world revolution, the P.F.L.P. cannot adopt a position except through the recognition of the basic interests of these revolutionary forces.

In refusing participation in the so called "Peace Conference" in Geneva, it does not base its refusal on either emotive or chauvinistic reasons, rather it derives its position from clear recognition of what this conference actually represents at this point and time.

The Conference is in basic conflict with the interests of the Palestinian and Arab masses and its national progressive and revolutionary forces. In addition, it is an attempt to curb the necessary conditions for the development of their struggle. The "Peace Conference" relies on two factors: The legal factor and the political factor.

A) The legal factor: The Geneva Conference convenes based on the U.N. Security Council resolution 338 which in turn is based on resolution 242 plus the negotiations with Israel. Both of these resolutions provide for the withdrawal from the 1967 occupied territories, and at best from all the occupied territories hence. In return they implicitly impose the recognition of Israel and a guarantee of its presence and its borders.

Such a recognition, which the convening of the Geneva Conference will concretize as the basis to solve the Middle East crisis, provides a clear recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist colonisation on the greater portion of the Palestinian homeland. Simply put, the recognition of the Israeli, Zionist aggression till June 4, 1967. This clearly represents a major setback as regards the rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and their right to self-determination.

By the simple fact of any participation on the part of any representatives of the Palestinian people would mean the acceptance of the Security Council's two resolutions, hence recognition of the setbacks they contain, regardless of the geographic boundaries of the Zionist entity.

Concerning this some people are claiming the possibiliti-

es of dividing the Palestinian rights into temporary versus historic rights, in other words we are capable of acquiring part of the Palestinian land now as a step on the road of struggle to fully acquire it.

To these people we would like to clarify the major difference between partial liberation throughout struggle and the establishment of a revolutionary authority on it, and the acquiring of that part without struggle but by giving the other part of the land.

Partial liberation represents a great leap forward in the process of struggle and creates more favorable conditions for the whole Palestinian and Arab revolutionary process including the Jewish one. In addition it increases its revolutionary alliances on the world level. Whereas the second represents an abortion of the local revolutionary process and the first step in desolving the revolutionary alliance of the Palestinian resistance internationally, if it goes beyond what it required as "temporary rights". What would we then tell the world after we bow out of the agreement we had accepted.

B) As for the political factor: The Geneva Conference meets under very important and dangerous political conditions. It represents an attempt to curb a clear uprising of the Arab masses so as to crystallize the



Imperialist-Zionist and the reactionary interests threatened by the uprising.

The Geneva Conference meets in the aftermath of the October war which produced two categories of results: Basic results which form objective conditions for a progressive Arab uprising; and results that would permit for the advancement of the Imperialist-Zionist-Reactionary attack.

The first category is summarized in the following:

A) Destruction of the myth regarding the enemy's supremacy. As a result the Palestinian and Arab masses regained their confidence in their abilities and ultimately in the inevitability of victory. At the same time it shook the Zionist forces' confidence, both in and out of Israel, in addition to all of the Imperialist and reactionary forces that stand behind it, in the ability of the Zionist entity to expand and to play both the colonialist and imperialist roles it is entrusted with.

B) The October war took place in a period where Arab political divisions were quite strong, but the escalation of the contradictions with the Zionist enemy caused the renewal of unity among the Arab masses to a degree not even expected by the closest observers. While the moves for settlement- e.g. the Geneva Conference- represents the shortest road to circumscribe this unity.

(The unity among the Arab masses is not a metaphysical

or chauvinistic matter, but it is a material objective power that proves its ability when confronting imperialism and its weakness in disengagement. Its nature is progressive, revolutionary and liberating. This nature is more deeply rooted to the extent that the revolutionary progressive forces are capable of leading the struggle.)

C) The October war proved more to the world than any othertime, what the Israeli leaders have been trying to hide, that this entity is not an independent Jewish state but a presence that is organically linked to and protected by U.S. Imperialism.

The PFLP's contention that U.S. Imperialism is our main enemy was confirmed, whereas the Zionist entity and the reactionary Arab forces are nothing more than appendages to U.S. Imperialism.

The danger of the Geneva Conference regarding this point is that it weakens the Arab peoples' animosity towards U.S. Imperialism and depicts the latter as a neutral arbitrator as opposed to the main enemy, a fact recognized by our people during the last war.

Hence the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab masses would be transformed from an anti-imperialist national liberation movement, into a limited nationalistic fight for the regaining of some of the lost lands.

The October war proved very clearly the importance of the relations between the Arab national liberation movement with the socialist countries. In addition the war proved the Arab masses' willingness to fight and the Socialist countries continued material support. In fact, the Arab masses' desire to fight is the real basis upon which our struggle is founded and is what provides the material grounds for the support we receive from the Socialist countries. - In spite of the opportunistic and dangerous political stands adopted by certain Arab regimes prior to the war, regarding the sacrificing and curtailing of their relationships with the Soviet Union, in favor of a change of direction leading to a pro-U.S. position: The dependence of the reactionary oil kingdoms who have a very frank and blunt hatred for anything pertaining to communism, the Socialist countries and the Soviet Union (The massacre against the Sudanese Communist party, and the pushing out of Soviet military advisors from Egypt). In spite of all these antagonistic developments, the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries presented all sorts of material-economic aid.

This close inter-relationship between the Arab national

that our people possess will set free without limits.

The weakness which the October war uncovered in the Arab regimes provides us with the knock on the door of U.S. Imperialism with all the possible concessions they can offer in hope for a solution that will weaken the level of conflict within the regimes' structures. Simultaneously it lessens the danger of its own crisis, and postpones for as long as possible the development of the masses' revolutionary uprising that threatens their interests.

B) The direction the Arab regimes have taken poses a threat to the positive results of the October war. These regimes are dealing with these positive results in two ways:

1. It holds on to them so as to enable their rationalization which postulates "peace" i.e. capitulation.
2. In order to rationalise their capitulation stand, these regimes refuse to learn any lessons from the October war, hence forcing an unwanted case of blindness on them. These lessons if they are well taken would clearly show the Arab's ability to score victories. Instead the Egyptian regime proves its dual approach as regards its position vis-a-vis the Israeli troops on the West bank of the Canal. On one hand we are told by top Egyptian military leaders that in no time they can drive off the enemy's forces, while they simultaneously engage in peace talks at the 101 kilometer, and at Geneva, and accomplish certain results at such closed sessions in hopes of driving out the Israeli forces. Claiming their incapability of refusing the proposed settlement the regimes try to rationalize their capitulation.

This trend puts the regimes in a position where they must make further concessions in favor of Israel and U.S. Imperialism and Arab reaction. Contrary to what the positive results of the October war indicated, we notice that a fast process of relations is taking place in the interests of U.S. Imperialism and Arab reaction, where as a new campaign causing doubts regarding the relations with the Socialist countries reemerged once again as was prior to the war. From all that has been preceded it is clear that the Geneva Conference both its legal and political factors represents the elimination of the greatest portion of the Palestinian people's national rights, and an elimination of the positive Arab conditions, the October war, and the embryonic advances of the Arab masses progressive uprising.

The present Arab political direction towards Geneva is

## GENEVA + PALESTINIAN STATE = SURRENDER

liberation movement and the Socialist countries is actually based on a common struggle against Imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. Such intimate relations provides the liberation forces an essential weapon by which to wage their struggle.

The last war in a practical and definite way also proved the importance of relations between the Arab national liberation movement and the Socialist countries. A relationship which is an essential source of strength for the Arab liberation struggle.

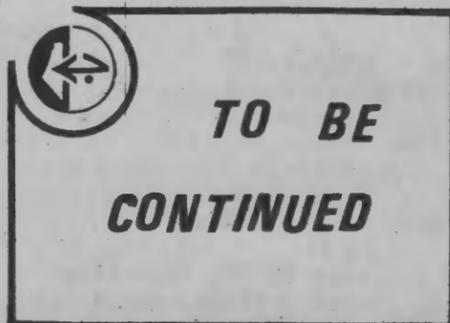
The second category can be illustrated through the following:

A) Exposing the conflict between the interests of the present Arab regimes in achieving victory over Israel and their interests in preventing the provisions that can secure victory. Generally speaking the Arab nationalist regimes are opposed to Israel and Imperialism, but that is fundamentally different from securing the conditions for victory. The October war uncovered that the main reason for the Arab side's inability to achieve a strategic victory does not lie in the quality of the Arab fighter nor in the quality of the available arms, and neither in the preparedness of the Arab masses to give and sacrifice. Simply put, it lies in the class and political structure of these regimes whose interests are in conflict with what is needed of democratic revolutionary preparedness that guarantees the development of the war into a total national war, through which all the national resources

above all an expression as to their opposition to the people's struggle i.e. people's war, and the giving in to U.S. Imperialism by relying on Arab reaction.

Under the present circumstances of anti-progressive, anti-neutral policies, any "Palestinian entity" that is proposed in Geneva must be rejected because not only would it be a partial Palestinian entity, i.e. 22.2% of all Palestinian land, but in addition it is organically linked to the anti-progressive principles, and in fact would be established to serve and further the interests of this anti-progressive and anti-national policy.

Hence we do not only reject the attendance of representatives of the Palestinian people, but we reject as well the political contents implicit in the direction that the Arab regimes have taken. " "





## ISRAELI ELECTIONS: ASCENT OF THE RIGHT

With the military and economic blow received by the colonialist regime overruling Palestine in the October War, the nature of the Zionist ideology as well as imperialism's aims were brought out in their most blatant form. The extent to which the enemy fought to preserve conquests beyond Occupied Palestine proper (conquests which imperialism needs for purposes of barter) has become obvious to all concerned. The subsequent elections have answered the question whether such a preservation of conquests and such openness to imperialist objectives represent the will of the entire Zionist elite or merely that of a ruling coalition alone. All indications point with clarity now to the first alternative.

It is true that with the publication of the Zionist election results on January 8 of 1974 we find no substantial change in the so-called balance of power within the Israeli regime. However, certain results show key developments, developments which began to materialize six years before the 1967 invasions, but which were magnified significantly by the October blow. The presently ruling 'Labor Party' (Maarakh) lost five of its 56 seats, including one of the Arab seats associated with it; the National Religious Party lost two of its 12 seats; while the Orthodox Religious Front (Agoudat Israel and Poali Agoudat Israel), the Haolam Haze (led by 'liberal' Zionist Uri Avneri) and the Black Panthers (led by Shalom Cahen), each lost its single seat. On the other hand, the right-wing Likud bloc, led by ex-leader of the Irgun terrorist gang, Menachem Begin, won eight more seats (reaching a total of 39), with no change in the single-seat status of the Israeli Communist Party (Maki).

On the other hand, the eight seats gained by the Likud - though insufficient to form a government based on 'emergency' status or 'national unity' - given an alliance with the National Religious Party, they are sufficient for a 'right of veto' on decisions that disagree with these two parties' joint positions. Moreover, if six or seven Labor Alignment members withdraw from a specific issue, the National Religious Party achieves the right to establish an 'emergency' government (with the inevitable inclusion of the Likud).

Thus, the latest Israeli election have not only strengthened the positions of the extreme right, but that of right-wing elements in the Labor Party itself (e.g. Meir, Dayan and Galilee) despite their minority status. Such a result, following a costly effort at preserving Israeli conquests by the dominant Coalition, has proven that the majority of Class A Israeli citizens are no less 'hawkish' than their overlords. The result is verified further by the defeat of all those small lists that advocated withdrawal from occupied Arab territories (with the exception of Maki).

On the socio-economic level, the Zionist right-wing (made up of the Likud, the Independent Liberals, 'progressive' and other types of Zionists, and various factions and splinter groups originating in the 'Labor Party'), has long been an appendage of a growing bourgeois-capitalist class in 'socialist' Israel. As the table below indicates, its political power has been growing steadily since 1949. That this right-wing should receive more power during the latest elections shows that 1. the Zionist social structure has become further immersed in expansionist Zionist ideology, 2. Israeli 'socialism' is pure bankruptcy, with the Kibbutzim itself appearing as a burden on the economy (since it contributes only a fraction of the colonial economy) rather than an attempt at genuine socialization, and 3. an open-door policy to imperialist objectives (a forced status quo, economic subjugation and the institution of right-wing fascist regimes) is being given the final touches in the region.

Bloc or Party	No of Seats	
	7 <sup>th</sup> Knesset	8 <sup>th</sup> Knesset
Labor Alignment (Labor party & Mapam)	56	51
Citizens' Rights List	--	3
Independent Liberals	4	4
Likud	--	39
Gahal (Herut & Liberals)	26	--
Free Center	2	--
The Official List	4	--
National Religious Party	12	10
Orthodox Religious Front	--	5
Agoudat Israel	4	--
Poali Agoudat Israel	2	--
Mokid	--	1
Maki	1	--
Rakah	3	4
Haolam Haze	2	--
Arab Lists	4	3

The table above shows the number of seats held by each bloc in the eight elections of the Knesset as well as those held by the 'Coalition Government'. After the seventh election session, the Coalition Government held 76 seats (if we include the four seats kept by the two Arab lists associated with it). The coming Coalition, if we include the same lists, will contain the following distribution:

Labor Alignment (Labor Party + Mapam)...	51
Independent Liberals .....	4
Citizens' Rights List.....	3
National Religious Party.....	10
Arab lists.....	3
Coalition Government Total.....	71

(This number may or may not increase to 76, depending on the inclusion or exclusion of the Orthodox Religious Front).

Bloc or Party	Balance of Power (percentage of votes)								
	1949	51	55	59	61	65	69	Av.	1973
Labor Camp	50.4	49.8	47.7	51.4	48.4	51.2	49.3	49.7	39.65
Rightist Camp	20.8	26.0	27.2	24.3	27.4	25.1	26.1	25.2	36.06
Religious Parties	13.9	12.5	14.1	14.6	15.4	14.0	14.7	14.1	12.15
Communists	3.5	4.0	4.5	2.8	4.2	3.4	3.9	3.7	4.82
Others	11.4	7.7	6.5	6.9	4.2	6.3	5.8	6.9	

Bloc or Party	Balance of Power (percentage of seats)								
	1949	51	55	59	61	65	69	Av.	1973
Labor Camp	65	60	59	63	59	63	60	61.2	51
Rightist Camp	26	32	33	31	34	31	32	31.2	46
Religious Parties	16	15	17	18	18	17	18	17	17
Communists	4	5	6	3	5	4	4	4.4	5
Others	9	8	5	5	4	5	5	6	3

On the other hand, radical groups representative of oppressed Jews (such as the Black Panthers) lost their seats, while Rakah, the new Communist bloc (whose Arab majority sheds light on the labor status of Arabs under Zionist rule, which in turn verifies the farcical nature of Israeli 'socialism'), received 43,000 of the total Arab votes presented (a near 50% increase over 1969), thus gaining a seat in the Knesset. Moreover, this development in the Arab sector coincided with a decline in the popularity of 'traditional Arab leaders' allied to the Labor Party. According to the 4.1.74 issue of the Davar, the bedouin list of the coalition led by Sheikh Hamad Abu Rabeiha failed to attract more than 6,000 voters out of a potential 11,000, and even then received only 4,000 votes. Similarly, Seif El-Din El-Zaby of Nazareth received no more than 3,000 votes.

The growing list of Arab supporters for the Rakah and their corresponding loss of confidence in the Labor Party, the growing strength of the right-wing (and hence imperialist commitment) at the expense of popular and socialist forces and its corresponding preparation for the subordination of the region to imperialist desires, and the submerging of the settler-state's masses in the ideology of Zionism, though evident since the birth of the colonialist state in Arab Palestine, were nevertheless brought into sharp focus by the electoral aftermath of the October War.

Thus, the recent Israeli elections merely confirm a well-known fact: that the Zionist nature of the Israeli state is inseparable from its racist and expansionist aims, as well as those of its imperial benefactors, and that there can be no 'solution' to the liberation of Palestine save through the militant eradication of its Zionist groundwork and the establishment of a genuine revolutionary socialist state that leaves no one unrecognized.

## SOLIDARITY FROM WEST EUROPE

We, participants of the international conference of anti-imperialist organisations of Western Europe held in Copenhagen, agree with the necessity of strengthening the cooperation among the anti-imperialist movements in Western Europe on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

We especially greet the heroic Vietnamese people, who through their successful fighting have obtained a brilliant victory in the signing of the Paris agreements. This was a hard blow to US imperialism and the Saigon puppet regime. On January 27th, we will celebrate the first anniversary of the signing of the Paris agreements. We will acclaim this great historical victory of the Vietnamese people. We support the policy of the PRG of forcing the US imperialists and the Thieu clique to respect the Paris agreements. For the last year these agreements have been violated day by day by the US aggressors and their stooges.

We support the struggle of the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for complete and total victory.

We will unite our forces to support the just struggle of the Arab people for liberation and social justice against Arab reaction; especially we support the Palestinian people in their struggle against imperialism, zionism and Arab reaction for establishing a democratic Palestinian state.

We also support their struggle against imperialist "peace" solutions and the proposal of a Palestinian puppet state under the condominium of Jordan and Israel

We condemn the imperialist, Iranian and Saudi aggression against the revolutionary forces of the Arab peninsula and against the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

We unconditionally support the struggle of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf to liberate the oppressed people of the Arab peninsula and the Persian Gulf.

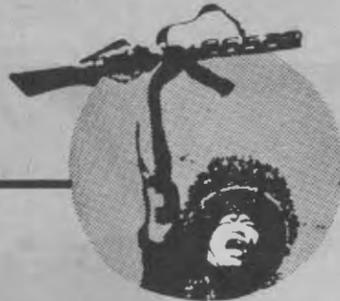
We agree that today the main tendency in the world is the revolutionary tendency, which in the long run will smash oppression and exploitation of all people.

Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

With this resolution the following organisations send their militant greetings to the PRG, the DRV, the FUNK, the GRUNC, the NEO LAO HAKSAT, PLO, PFLOAG, the PDRY, and all revolutionary friends and allies.

Indokinakomiteerne  
 Palestina komiteen  
 Liga gegen den Imperialismus  
 Nationales Vietnam Komitee  
 Anti-imperialistische Bond  
 Folkfrontens Arbetsgrupper  
 Vietnam Hilfe-Allés fur den Sieg  
 Golf Komiteen

Copenhagen  
 Copenhagen  
 Koln  
 Bonn  
 Leuven  
 Stockholm  
 Dortmund  
 Copenhagen



## VOICES OF REVOLUTION AFRICA

On January 20, 1973 Amilcar Cabral Secretary-General of the PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau) was assassinated, and today more than a year later Cabral's dreams are being implemented by the fire of the gun- the gun of liberation. On all fronts, the revolutionary movement in Africa is developing, deepening its roots among the masses and crystallizing its understanding as to the nature of the struggle ahead.

Like the Palestinian resistance movement, the African liberation movement has been tempted to opt for a settlement of their contradiction with racialism and Imperialism through negotiations. But after a sober evaluation of the existing balance of power and the existing objective conditions, our comrades-in-arms in Zimbabwe have categorically rejected negotiation as the strategy of liberation. Undoubtedly they will use the method of negotiation on a tactical basis on the condition that it will not conflict with their strategy for liberation.

In the Zimbabwe Review, official organ of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) Rhodesia, in an editorial titled "Negotiation or Revolution", ZAPU outlined its position as the method of the liberation of the African masses from the racist white minority rule in the following: "The liberation of Zimbabwe can and will come about only through a concerted armed revolution waged by the people of Zimbabwe themselves within the country." Such a position is based on an understanding of the strategic aims of British Imperialism and its cohort the Ian Smith regime.

The revolutionaries of Zimbabwe point that ever since Queen Victoria granted a charter to Rhodes' envoys in 1889, the aim was clear: clear-cut exploitation. In fact, Rhodes "was granted the right to promote commerce, business, civilisation and government in Rhodesia". Does the above indicate the British intention of turning the country to its original inhabitants?

So as not to "disappoint" us the British initially sent 1,000 soldiers of the Imperial forces to quell the first signs of revolt against the white settlers by the freedom-fighters of Zimbabwe in 1896-97.

In 1923 the British government granted the white minority the right to self-rule in Rhodesia without entertaining a thought to giving or granting the same right to the African majority.

Ever since, the British government has been an adamant supporter of the white minority regime in spite of the liberal condemnations heard periodically from some members of the British opposition. Consequently, since the dismantling of the Federation (Rhodesia and Nyasaland) after the elections of 1962, Rhodesia has remained in the fascist grip of the minority regime. Smith's UDI came to power in 1965 and the British government refused to remove him from power.

"It is about nine years since UDI. Can we wisely hope to talk to Smith and get a semblance of freedom that way? Let us not create false hopes by pursuing naked illusions at this hour. Let us face realities and embark upon an armed revolutionary course to liberate our country. It is noble to fight for freedom, ignoble to succumb to oppression."

ZAPU has postulated People's war as the only method by which the rights of the African majority



can be won by the destruction of the material basis upon which the white minority regime is founded. However, in determining the nature of the enemy ZAPU has not identified racialism as the enemy but rather views it in the proper context as the tool which safeguards "the interests of the Western metropolis. What therefore appears as racialism is that small part of the iceberg; deep down it is imperialism- that vicious stage of capitalism... ZAPU is committed to the destruction of the causes of this ailment and not its symptoms. What is to be overthrown is capitalism: the system that breeds colonialism and racialism as its tools in the process of exploitation and domination of the majority Africans in southern Africa."

As all of us reach new crossroads in the development of our struggles let it be clear that armed struggle carried by the people is the ultimate answer. In the context of this struggle, our armed revolutionary can also be a diplomat, but a revolutionary diplomat whose gun will safeguard against the illusions of diplomacy. Hence just as racialism in Africa can only be destroyed through armed struggle, in the Palestinian context we too have postulated ~~people's war as the only method of defeating~~ Imperialism - Zionism and Arab reaction.

As of late, the Zimbabwe African People's Revolutionary Forces (ZPRA) have intensified their armed struggle to unprecedented levels. The ZPRA has struck the so-called security forces of Rhodesia, and the headquarters of their operations, inflicting heavy losses. In addition, numerous strategic roads have been planted with mines and many enemy helicopters have been downed.

Furthermore, the enemy's plan to stop the revolutionary activity has been undermined. The enemy's forces were composed of South Africans sent from Salisbury, Holland, West Germany, Japan and U.S. soldiers, Viet Nam veterans.

The latter's goal was to cut off the supply routes and to drive a wedge between the different frontiers in an attempt to isolate ZPRA forces. Needless to say they failed, so they reverted to their fascist tactics of mass arrests of civilians, and carrying out "collective punishment" (reminiscent of Israeli methods in the occupied territories).

However the communique released by the ZPRA said: "In spite of all the enemy attempts, our people have joined our ranks by the hundreds. Men and women, teachers and students, workers and all those who left their peaceful lives, their work, their studies so as to join our war of liberation."

Interestingly enough the London Times of Saturday February 9, 1974 reported that new powers have been given to the "protective authorities" (police) of the northeast of Rhodesia - which is full of revolutionary activity. Indeed when colonial administrators get frustrated they must revert to their fascist tactics. Hence the above mentioned authorities have been granted by Salisbury the right to detain people for questioning up to 60 days instead of the previous

30 day limit. In addition the Minister of Justice can under these new measures set up magistrates' courts at any place without prior notification in the Government Gazette.

The new regulations also specify that African residents "living in the guerilla-affected areas of the Northeast may be compelled to do paid forced labour". The work includes building bridges, roads, fences on dams or any projects "necessary in the interests of public security".

Needless to say, these measures imply that the racist regime is becoming desperate for they are unable to halt the tide of revolution in Zimbabwe.

Recently the Portuguese government has appointed Francisco Costa Gomez, a high ranking general to command the Portuguese forces in their colonial war against the people of Mozambique. This change however is not routine, for the revolutionaries of Frelimo who had previously mostly operated in the northern regime have as of late opened a wide offensive in various regions including the south, southwestern areas of Manica, Vila Pery and the important port of Beira, which is vital for Rhodesian shipping.

This sudden shift in leadership was necessitated because the Frelimo revolutionaries have penetrated the population centers of the white communities, the Portuguese etc. who number an approximate 250,000. Frelimo struck one of the largest Portuguese owned plantations which lies between Manica and Vila Pery, an area close to the Rhodesian borders. There were several casualties. These casualties will act as reminders to the colonial communities, that so long as Portuguese aggression denies the African majority self-rule that there can be no peace.

So whereas, in the past, the fighting front was limited to the northern region, now all fronts have been activated. This called for a re-evaluation of the security measures previously taken by the Portuguese colonialists. As part of this re-evaluation, General Gomez, former commander of Portuguese forces in Angola, has been brought in to put a new plan in action for the "defense" of the colonialists.

Unfortunately for the Portuguese aggressors, before Frelimo opens a new front they carry out political education among the masses hence insuring open roads for the needed supplies of the fighters. In addition, before the actual initiative of a military operation at a new front, Frelimo plants its cadres in the surrounding areas as far as 50-100 mile radii. In other words the roots of the revolution are deepening and spreading which means that the day of the extinction of Portuguese colonialism is approaching.

The next few months should be quite important for the struggle of the people of Mozambique, for they should begin to reap the fruits of their political and military labour.

**PFLP**  
Bulletin

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: Europe - \$ 5; US & Canada - \$ 6; Elsewhere - \$ 8 or equivalent.  
PAYMENTS should be directed to Al-Hadaf, P O Box 212, BEIRUT, L E B A N O N.  
CORRESPONDENCE should be directed to Foreign Relations Committee of PFLP, c/o AL-HADAF.

