

# THE PHALANGHIST CRIMINAL ATTACK

Following are textual excerpts from a statement issued by the « Palestinian Rejection Front » (- the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, - the Arab Liberation Front; the PFLP-General Command; the Popular Struggle Front) regarding the cold blood assassination of 26 Palestinians and Lebanese of its members and supporters by the Phalangists :

« ... Following this criminal aggression mounted by the Phalangist gangs, we can no longer place our bets on good will, and for exercising self-control. The Phalangist gangs proved today that they are the last to care about Lebanon's destiny, security and unity, and they are nothing but a hireling tool of imperialism and Zionism that is being used for aggression against the revolution and the Lebanese national forces... Now that this fact has been proved by scores of pre-planned aggressions by the fascist Phalangist gangs... we declare to our Palestinian, Lebanese and Arab masses frankly and clearly that we have totally renounced the policy of self-control in face of these aggressions... »

« The Phalangist gangs should know that when we resorted to self-control in the past, we did not do so for fear of fighting, but to safeguard Arab Lebanon, whose soil is as dear to us as the soil of Palestine... the Phalangist gangs should know that our ability to reach their nests is certainly not less than the ability of our revolutionaries to reach the heart of Tel Aviv itself... We declare clearly and frankly that we are giving up the policy of self-control since the aggressions of the Phalangist gangs have reached this criminal, treacherous and foolish degree... these gangs should be held responsible for all ensuing developments... »

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On Sunday April 13, 1975, armed elements of the Lebanese fascist right-wing Phalangist party assassinated 27 Lebanese and Palestinian persons. The event took place when the Phalangist gangs ambushed a bus of non-armed men, women and children, members and supporters of the Palestinian Rejection Front (PFLP, ALF, PFLP-General Command, PSF). 22 of those who were martyred belonged to or were supporters of the Arab Liberation Front (ALF). The event took place at Ain Al-Rummaneh district, a suburb of Beirut. The bus was returning to the Tal Al Zaatar camp area after attending a rally and a parade of the Rejection Front marking the 1st anniversary of the Kyriat Shmoneh operation in which three comrades of the PFLP-General Command were martyred. One thousand fighters and

thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese fighters from various camps and areas in and around Beirut took part in the rally and the parade.

The Phalangist cold-blood murder was their last and biggest of a series (see analysis) of attacks carried out against the Palestinian people and the resistance. Immediately after the attack, the leadership of the Rejection Front decided to respond and teach the Phalangists a lesson (see communiqué). All other organizations of the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese national and progressive movement supported and participated in the action against the fascist Phalangists. The fighting continued for three days and three nights, during which three supposedly strongholds of the Phalangists (Ain Al-Rummaneh, Dikwanah and Harit H'raik) were cleaned out completely of the fascist-reactionary elements and many of their business interest all around Beirut destroyed partially or totally. At the end of the three days fighting, there were more than two hundred dead and

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The last clashes between the Palestinian resistance movement and the right-wing reactionary Phalangist Party raises several questions and issues regarding the nature of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon and its relationship with the Lebanese government. The importance of this problem lies in the fact that it relates to the overall Palestinian cause and the long march of the Palestinian people's struggle for total liberation. To many observers, the events in Lebanon are similar to those which occurred in Jordan, particularly in September 1970 and July 1971, which resulted in ending the declared presence of the resistance movement there. Although the general remark is true and the aims of the forces attacking the resistance are the same, the situation and the historical period differ. Hence, we need to take a brief look at the nature of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

Different from Jordan, the Palestinian presence in Lebanon is a minority one, and the majority of the Palestinian masses in Lebanon - although here since 1948 - have not been integrated in the Lebanese society. Not that they did not wish such an integration, but it has always been the policy of all Lebanese regimes to isolate and alienate the Palestinians of Lebanon, who not by choice but by circumstances were forced to come to Lebanon. Jordan, on the other hand; demographically, geographically, and throughout its history has been part of the Palestinian cause; and the resistance movement there repre-

sents the majority of the inhabitants. As such, the Jordanian regime realized from the beginning that any conflict between it and the resistance can not but touch directly on the overall structure of the regime and its different institutions. This is why after a long struggle between the left-wing of the resistance movement and its right-wing, a clause in the P.L.O. political program was included regarding the struggle to bring down the hireling regime in Jordan and to establish a national-democratic one in its place through alliance with the Jordanian national movement. Such a task is not foreseen nor dreamed of in Lebanon by the resistance. This remains and continues to be the aim of the Lebanese national and progressive movement. After mentioning this basic and important difference, we should point out the facts of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

First : the Palestinian cause is an essential cause of the Lebanese masses - a fact shown by the historical development of Lebanese-Palestinian relations and through the last clashes.

Second : the presence of part of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon is not by choice, but is due to the objective conditions which force the Palestinian masses to wage part of their armed and political struggle from areas outside their national soil. How did the Lebanese authorities and Lebanese reactionary forces deal with this fact ?

From the beginning they tried through armed oppression to stop the presence of the Palestinian armed movement in Lebanon. It did so by attempting to stop any relationship between the masses of the Palestinians in the camps with the Palestinian resistance movement, and to stop the development of the Palestinian cause as a revolutionary one among the masses. Third, it tried to stop a Lebanese national alliance with the Palestinian resistance. But all of these attempts failed as the Palestinian resistance developed and made its presence a matter of fact. From then, more than before, the resistance movement did not choose its enemies in Lebanon neither did it choose to clash with these forces and have a battle with them. The resistance movement and the Palestinian people were always on the defensive side from attacks by the reactionary forces and the Lebanese army. The most prominent events were :

1) In March, 1970, the Phalangist « gangs » assassinated 17 members of the resistance, while a resistance funeral was passing through the village of Kahhalah on the main Beirut-Damascus road.

- 2) The clashes of May, 1973 when the Lebanese army aided by right-wing forces surrounded the Palestinian camps.
- 3) In July, 1974 Phalangists attacked Palestinian resistance members in the Beirut suburb of Dikwanah.

During and after all these events, the official leadership of the PLO tried to establish amicable relations with the Phalangists through dialogues and joint committees. But as time passed by, it became clearer that the Phalangists' only aim was to liquidate the resistance movement's presence in Lebanon. This lately became most obvious when the Phalangists continued to raise the issue of the resistance presence after the events of Sidon (which was purely a Lebanese conflict). Pierre Gemayel, leader of the Phalangists with little knowledge of the Arabic language since he was educated and raised in French schools, repeatedly complained about what he called the territories in Lebanon which are outside the Lebanese sovereignty and control, an allusion to areas of the Palestinians' camps.

We have to realize that any clash of two forces is an extension to a state of conflict between these two or more forces. As such, the history of clashes between the resistance and its enemies is one between the forces allied with imperialism and the revolutionary forces in the area, the Palestinian resistance in particular as a vanguard of revolution in the region. The question that poses itself about the last clash is : why was it the Phalangists and not other official or non-official right-wing forces ?

Other than the fact that the Phalangists are the biggest, best organized, and best armed right-wing reactionary force, there are certain political factors that make such a task more fit for the Phalangists.

1) Most Arab reactionary forces - including the ones in Lebanon - are pushing for the proposed imperialist political settlement, that in their opinion would resolve the contradiction in the area including the Palestinian one. Hence they prefer to wait for the outcome of such a « peaceful » liquidation before pushing for a purely military one.

2) The Lebanese authorities have finally recognized the Palestinian resistance as a representative of the Palestinian people (Rabat Summit Conference); even more, it has participated in pushing the Palestinian cause forward when President S. Franjeh represented all Arab heads of state and spoke in their name in the last United Nations General Assembly. Such an involvement makes it more difficult

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# LESSONS FROM



# THE PEOPLES' VICTORY OF VIETNAM

The Cambodian and the Vietnamese people have defeated Imperialism and the local puppet regimes of Lon Nol and Thieu. At 11:30 (a.m.) on April 30, 1975, the flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) was raised in South Viet Nam, and only two weeks before, the Khmer Rouge forces gallantly marched into Phnom Penh.

From Ho Chi Minh city (previously Saigon) a PRG radio dispatch announced : « We representatives of the liberation forces of Saigon formally proclaim that Saigon has been totally liberated. We accept the unconditional surrender of Gen. Duong Van Minh, president of the former government. » At last, after a long, brave and gallant struggle, Viet Nam and Cambodia are free and U.S. Imperialism has been soundly defeated.

In the meantime, Kissinger in Washington D.C. expressed his surprise : « I thought they might negotiate a surrender, rather than just... declare it. » He continued, « I didn't think the surrender would come that quickly. » In addition, U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin fled Viet Nam from the rooftop of the U.S. Embassy, indeed quite an appropriate ending of U.S. presence in Viet Nam.

Over a period of 14 years of U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, from 1961 to the fall of the Saigon government, the U.S. spent more than \$ 141 billion in South Viet Nam alone. More bombs were dropped on Viet Nam and Indo-China in general than all bombs dropped by the allied powers during World War II. The Vietnamese people sustained many human losses as well as material. Over a million people were martyred in the defense of their fatherland. Yet, in spite of all these hardships, the people of Indo-China have soundly defeated

U.S. Imperialism and in turn have taught liberation forces the world over many valuable lessons.

Many of us have lived to see the largest war machinery in the world brought to its knees by the people of Viet Nam and Indo-China. We do not wish nor feel capable of presenting detailed accounts of what took place, but as an organization that is confronting a powerful enemy : Imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction, we would like to enumerate some of the lessons we have humbly learned from the peoples of Indo-China.

Puppet and reactionary regimes the world over are blaming the U.S. for the downfall of Saigon. For example, Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon hopes that the « collapse of the American system in Indo-China will help Americans reach the conclusion that they must be a little firmer in helping their friends all over the world. »

## NORODOM SIHANOUK:

On behalf of our cadres, fighters, and masses, we extend our militant greetings and salute the great victory of the Cambodian People.

Your people's courage, perseverance and determination are truly admirable. Their long struggle is not only a victory to the people of Cambodia, but a victory to all militant anti-imperialist forces.

We assure you that we will continue our struggle against Zionism, Imperialism, and Arab reaction, until our people score a similar victory.

We express our solidarity with the people of Cambodia and all of the people of Indo-China, in their just struggle. Your victory is indeed a victory to us all.

George Habash,  
Secretary-General of  
The Popular Front for the  
Liberation of Palestine.

What Allon and his likes are incapable of understanding is that no matter how awesome Imperialist aggression is, the people's will organized through protracted struggle-People's war, will ultimately bring victory to the forces of liberation.

The Palestinian resistance movement is presently undergoing and confronting difficult conditions, yet in spite of all this, Imperialism's numerous attempts at the liquidation of our struggle have failed. We still however, have a long road ahead of us, which requires that we identify the major factors we need to develop in order to forge our people's victory. The struggle of the people of Indo-China and in particular the Vietnamese is rich in lessons ; we would however like to illustrate only four major ones. These include : a) The role of the party ; b) The National Front ; c) The leadership ; and d) The mobilization and organization of the masses.

The development of these four points could in fact be viewed as pre-requisites to victory. Furthermore, these factors are dialectically inter-connected. Ultimately, the victory of the Vietnamese was the result of the correct identification of the nature of the struggle, the forces of the enemy, and the forces of its negation, i.e., the forces of the revolution. From there, a strategy of what was to be done was postulated, namely the liberation of Viet Nam through the development of a people's struggle led by the party (Marxist-Leninist), through the framework of a National Front that could unify all sectors of the population with the exception of agents and classes totally dependent on Imperialism. Such a process required a leadership with foresight that could both mobilize and organize the masses for a struggle that

promised to be difficult. As such, a clear political strategy was required, that entertained no illusions.

The party was the major vehicle through which the struggle was led. It provided and trained the cadres who in turn were assigned the task of mobilizing and organizing the masses. It was assigned the task of presenting a clear political, ideological analysis of the conditions to prepare the people for the revolutionary war which they had to conduct. The revolutionary party as in Viet Nam, provides a proper view of the battle and determines its strategy and tactics, in the light of its objective study of the forces involved in the battle and their respective points of weaknesses and strengths. To do so the party must be armed with revolutionary theory translated into revolutionizing practice.

However, such revolutionizing practice requires a leadership that represents the interests of the working class, and the oppressed masses, without whom the revolutionary party could not justify its existence. As such, the Vietnamese combined both national and class struggle as the backbone of the mobilization of the masses. For example, the NLF in the province of My Tho involved the people in the government of their communities, built schools and developed modern medical programs. Based on this, they sought to bring about equality among villagers by viewing class struggle as an integral component of the national one, hence they introduced a land reform that seized the holdings of the absentee landowners and put heavy pressure on rich peasants to get them to relinquish some of their lands which were in turn redistributed to the poor peasants. At the same time the rents were forced down and minimum wages were

established for agricultural labourers. Such reforms plus other fundamental changes gained support for the NLF which enabled it to mobilize the energies of the people into the military effort once the U.S. escalated the war in 1965. However, such a success was the result of a deeply ingrained political practice. One party cadre best summed up this practice in the following : « I wasn't told anything about my rights, or about the benefits or the power I would enjoy as a Party member. I was told that a Party member always had to sacrifice for his own class, and that he always had to set the good example for others — he had to be the first one to do everything, and that benefits would come to him only much later. »

To remain in the Party under such difficult conditions, a cadre had to perform almost superhuman achievements by working for goals that seemed impossible. To do so, they had to constantly struggle to improve and develop their skills as they continued to call for mass meetings among the villagers, collect taxes and help the masses in their work, conduct recruitment drives, and supervise the police apparatus of the local communities. Such a process was to lead to the establishment of popular mass associations i.e. farmers', women's and youth associations. It must be noted that the officials of these associations were most often if not always natives of the hamlets in which they worked.

The cadre had to boost the morale of the masses by always emphasizing the oneness of the whole struggle in Viet Nam, Indo-China, the liberation movements the world over and the anti-Imperialist forces in the Imperialist countries such as the anti-war movement in the U.S. and Europe. In this context, the masses became active rather than passive participants in the revolution. They were organized in study sessions, they discussed policy in village meetings, in fact, these were the beginnings of self-government. To maintain this newly won right, the masses in turn provided the Party and the National Front with the needed material support (food, clothes, shelter). In « Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership » Mao Tse-Tung writes : « However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless it is combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level. »

The party as the organizer and initiator, in turn through its practice and interaction with the masses created within them the spirit of initiative, the spirit of struggle that could overcome all obstacles. Moreover, the party that could accomplish such a task by necessity had to be a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. Just as the revolutionary party is central to the development and building of the revolution, the formation of the patriotic i.e. national front is a basic and necessary tool for the

cess. Victory depends on the correct resolution of the internal contradictions. Of course, such a correct resolution is based on the utilization of revolutionary violence against the enemy forces.

As regards the nature and quality of the leadership, the Vietnamese have a lot to teach us. An essential task of leading the revolution was embodied in the fact that the leadership did not believe in the existence of insurmountable obstacles. This meant that the people were prepared to confront all obstacles no matter how difficult they seemed to be. As such, the seeming impossible, with time became the revolutionary possible. Once need only recall the Vietnamese response to the U.S. military escalation after the breakdown of the Paris Peace accords. The U.S. wanted to break down the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese, so it conducted an intensified aerial attack on cities, towns, etc. General Giap's response was not compromise. He boldly told Nixon that if the result of U.S. bombing was the total destruction and ruin of all cities and towns (Haiphong, Hanoi, etc.) whereby no stone would be left on top of another, that such would not result in the destruction of the revolutionary spirit and practice of the Vietnamese people. Gen Giap and the remaining Vietnamese leadership knew no compromise and proceeded to bring U.S. Imperialism to its knees by shooting down the B-52s like birds. (What would happen if the Arab world had such a leadership?).

Simply put, there is no way of building the national movement for

fulfillment of the tasks of the national democratic revolution. (See article in this issue on « The Palestinian Revolution and the National Democratic Struggle »).

The NLF, and its political organ the PRG best explain the importance of the National Front. Through such a framework, the Vietnamese organized the widest segments of the people (Socialists, Communists, Buddhists, Catholics, etc.) in the liberation struggle. The party however was always conscious of the dialectical interconnection between national liberation and socialist revolution. The NLF through a wide front, always forwarded the correct line that upheld the interests of the workers and peasants par excellence.

Furthermore, the leadership of the party and the front had no bourgeois aspirations. The word compromise did not exist in their vocabulary. It is sufficient to note that the leadership was not satisfied with merely some victories, they led the struggle to the end — they defeated Imperialism and its puppet regime.

All this was not accomplished after a world war where the local bourgeoisie had been weakened such as during the Bolshevik revolution, but took place in an age of « peaceful coexistence ». « Detente » and the so-called peaceful coexistence has not prevented the Vietnamese and the Cambodians from wresting their victory from the enemy. In other words, revolutions are not exportable commodities, and the external factor has a secondary impact, be it favourable or unfavourable, on the revolutionary pro-

### PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT VIETNAM

On behalf of our masses, fighters, cadres and leadership we extend to you the warmest revolutionary salute on the occasion of the great victory of liberating your country.

Your revolution stands out as the greatest example of peoples' determination to fight for their independence and liberty. The fact that you have defeated U.S. imperialism and its lackeys assure us more of the definite and clear road for our struggle. By your glorious victory you have set a new stage in the continuous struggle of peoples around the world. Your victory is that of all the oppressed peoples and will always be a torch for us in our fight against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

Again we assure you of our solidarity as you continue your struggle for the unification and the building of a free Vietnam.

George Habash, Secretary General  
THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

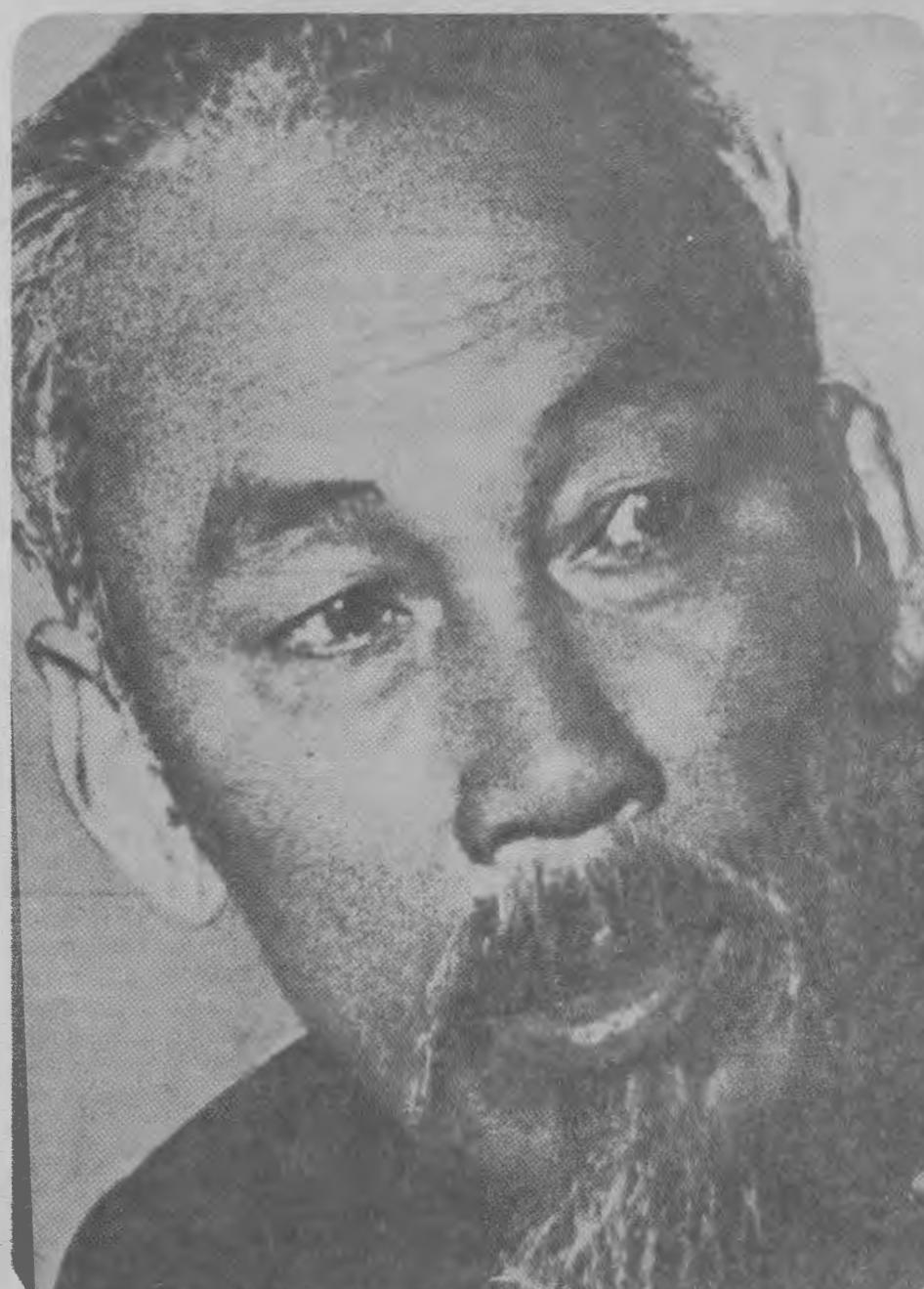
and of the masses unless they are aware that their revolutionizing practice and the demand for organization, mobilization and political activity aims at escalating the fighting. This is their only road to victory, a road which requires a lot of sacrifice on the part of all people, be they young or old, men or women. The revolution must be viewed as an integral part of the people's lives. They must feel that they were born in it, hence they live and grow through it. They become nourished by it, hence it becomes their life, the summation of their experience. Such is the road to liberation.

In short, the revolutionary party working through the framework of the National Front at whose helm was a leadership that knew no compromise, mobilized and organized the masses until they were victorious.

The victories of the people of Indo-China is living proof that a small people can defeat a seemingly much stronger enemy.

To terminate this article, it seems only appropriate to quote from General Giap's Peoples' War, Peoples' Army : DECIDEDLY

« The balance of forces decidedly showed up our weaknesses against the enemy's power. The Vietnamese people's war of liberation had, therefore, to be a hard and long-lasting war in order to succeed in creating conditions for victory. All the conceptions born of impatience and aimed at obtaining speedy victory could only be gross errors. It was necessary to firmly grasp the strategy of a long-term resistance, and to exalt the will to be self-supporting in order to maintain and gradually augment our forces, while nibbling at and progressively destroying those of the enemy ; it was necessary to accumulate thousands of small victories to turn them into great success, thus gradually altering the balance of forces, in transforming our weaknesses into power and carrying off final victory. »





# ISRAELI COLONIAL POLICY: THE PALESTINIAN RESPONSE

Israeli colonial objectives are to create conditions «facts», whereby the colonized Palestinian population would accept their minority status hence view Israel as a fait-accompli. We can summarize these colonial efforts into the following four categories: 1) mass arrests; 2) deportation; 3) establishment of «local authority»; and 4) relocation of the people.

Ironically, as the Phalangist attack was being conducted in Beirut, the Israeli authorities were simultaneously pursuing their vicious attacks against the Palestinian people under occupation. For example, the military court in the city of Gaza passed prison sentences against eleven Palestinians of terms ranging from 1-15 years. The victims were accused of having been trained on weapons, having thrown hand grenades on military vehicles of the enemy, and lastly, of being members of the Palestinian resistance movement. In addition to this kangaroo court spectacle, Israeli authorities have been conducting mass arrests in Jerusalem and Nablus against our people.

Not satisfied with the imprisoning of our people, the Israelis have increasingly been deporting several of our militants. Only recently on April 18, 1975, five Palestinian militants were deported from the occupied territories after a period of incarceration and torture. The five who were deported are: Othman Abou Assi — Gaza; Khalil Hijazi — member of the council of trade unions of the West Bank; Husni Elias Haddad — secretary of the engineers union in Nablus; Hussein Kamel Abou Gharbiya — a militant from the tailor's union; and Abed Odeh Al-Zirai — Gaza.

Another dimension of the Israeli colonization plan is the establishment of settlements in the «occupied territories» so as to give the impression of permanence. For

example, Israel plans to build 12 Nahal bases (agricultural frontier towns) in the West Bank, Golan Heights and Gaza over the next three years. Already there are plans to build three settlements in the Kateef and Rafah areas.

More recently, Israeli colonial schemes have become more ambitious. In a desperate attempt of negating the successes of the resistance, Israel is trying to prop up a «new» Palestinian leadership. As reported in «Davar» on November 13, 1974, Foreign Minister Allon indicated that he would seek to bring about «regional autonomy» in some of the towns and villages of the West Bank as an integral part of the Jewification i.e., Jewish settlement of the West Bank.

The «regional autonomy» proposed by Allon would require the activation of segments of the Palestinian community into the political sphere. We must keep in mind however, that Israel has continually opposed and prevented all attempts of political organization in the «occupied territories». In fact, it has repressed social, cultural and educational activities as well.

The above mentioned «regional autonomy» was later elaborated upon by Defense Minister Peres. According to «Haaretz» March 6, 1975, the object of the plan is to appoint Arab employees to administration posts in the existing Israeli administration, which was previously filled by Jews only. This would lead to the formation of regional central councils whose authority would be more powerful than the local municipalities. Through such efforts, the military administration wishes to prop a new Arab leadership that is an extension of the Israeli administration. This is to be done so as to prevent the intensification of anti-military administration feelings on

the part of the Palestinians of the West Bank.

In short, they view this plan as part of an assimilation program. As such, the problems of the Palestinian people under occupation are viewed as basically «technical» in nature and not national i.e., the right of the people to self-determination. The Israeli's claim that they have already appointed some Palestinian regional directors in government offices of the occupied territories. It is also alleged that some Palestinians have accepted such appointments and accordingly the first phase of the plan will take place in Gaza. However, according to «Yedhot Ahronot» of March 17, 1975, none of the names of those who accepted such posts have been made public, which is quite peculiar when compared to Israeli eagerness in the past of flaunting and displaying the Palestinians who chose to serve them as traitors. This allows us to conclude that any successes that Israel might achieve will be with the people who are overtly pro-King Hussein, but they could not be very eager in being publicly displayed.

Another phase of Israeli colonial aspirations is the attempt to relocate our people so as to decrease the concentration of the population in certain areas so as to facilitate their task of military administration i.e., to make difficult the movement of the resistance movement. It has become evident that the dwellers of the refugee camps have been and remain to be the most adamant supporters of the resistance movement. To undermine the resistance, the Israeli authorities as of 1971 tried to break the will of the people by widening the roads in the camps and in fact dividing the camps into four quadrants to facilitate the tasks of the military patrols of the occupiers. In ad-

dition, thousands of homes were destroyed in various camps of Gaza. The plan was to relocate the homeless into the West Bank, similar to the program pursued in South Viet Nam in the mid-sixties.

Recently Israeli authorities have reverted to the relocation scheme once more. It is reported that the Israeli military administration is spending 50 million liras for housing intended to facilitate the plans of mass relocation and resettlement of the people of Gaza in particular. The plan is to accommodate 175,000 Palestinians in 19 small local districts (relocation centers, more appropriately). Already 1,500 families have been moved to the Shaikh Radwan district in Rafah which has been incorporated into the Gaza municipality.

It must be reiterated that such a localized settlement is taking place after the policy of transporting large segments of the people of Gaza to the West Bank failed.

What should be crystal clear to all is: a) the presence of the Palestinian resistance is deeply rooted among the people of Gaza, which in turn leads them to resist Israeli colonization; b) the resettlement and relocation plans are being forcefully put into effect against the wishes of the people. In view of this it should be obvious that Israel is trying to forge its presence in the occupied areas so as to create the conditions whereby they would become fully incorporated politically and economically with Israel. The conclusion that military administration draws is: «Who needs a Peace Plan?» Our people indeed do not need their «peace».

In response to this continuous colonization, the Palestinian resistance is adamantly pursuing the development of our people's armed struggle under occupation. In the past two weeks, a good number of the military operations carried out

were the placing of explosive charges in various areas and directed against numerous targets. This means that these operations were primarily conducted by fidaeens from within the occupied territories which discredits the Israeli claim that such work is conducted by outside infiltrators. Moreover, the explosive charges were locally made which is a sign of increasing self-reliance on the part of our revolutionaries.

In addition, the operations took place in numerous areas such as: Jerusalem, Askalon, Tel-Aviv, Asdoud, Jineen, Nablus, and Gaza. This means that our revolutionaries are increasing their mobility.

Furthermore, the Israeli authorities did not succeed in arresting any of the fidaeens who carried out the operations. It must also be noted that resistance movement operations from the Jordanian borders have been increasing. These operations include direct clashes with enemy troops in the Ghor area of Jordan and Jericho.

In short, we are witnessing a steady and constant increase of our military work which of course continues to have its negative impact on Israel's «security».

Israel continues to confront crisis after crisis due to its artificial nature which requires that it be wholly dependent on Imperialism and Jewish immigration. Since the October war, and with the increasing military work of the resistance, a feeling of non-permanence and insecurity has developed among the Israelis. This has reflected itself on Jews the world over in that they have begun to question the viability of the Zionist entity, whose ramifications are reflected in the decreasing immigration to Israel.

Shlomo Rosen, Israel minister in charge of absorbing incoming immigrants declared to «Haaretz» on April 10, 1975 that: «The average of arriving immigrants since the outset of this year ranges between 1,200-1,500 as compared to four to five thousand only two years ago. Such a decline is unprecedented.» In «Maariv» of April 3, 1975, it was reported that the number of immigrants arriving in March was 1,200 as contrasted to the 1,600 arrived in February of this year. Moreover, the number of Soviet immigrants who chose not to go to Israel in the same period amounted to 405 people or 42% of the total. In addition, in the immigration centers (absorption), there were 6,700 open places at the end of March.

Shlomo Schameer in «Haaretz» of March 28, 1975 indicated that the Zionist recruiters going to the U.S. to encourage immigration to Israel are facing severe obstacles. He said: «It seems that the immigration recruiters are like hunters of rare animals... The number of Jewish immigrants from the U.S. and Canada in 1974 was 3,791 as compared to the 1973 figure of 5,336. The prospects for 1975 also look dim.»

The basic reasons for such a decline are Israel's uncertain future, its political economic crisis and the development of the activities of the resistance movement. This should make many stop and wonder as to the ability of Zionism in resolving the Jewish question.

## IMPERIALIST SET-BACK, RIGHT WING CONSOLIDATION

Kissinger the magician has temporarily run out of tricks, his step-by-step method has been side-stepped, in short he was sent back to Washington to try to concoct more tricks. Kissinger's failure is not final since already Israeli Foreign minister Allon has indicated the possibility of reconvening the former's shuttle diplomacy.

The major obstacle Kissinger confronted was Israeli intransigence. He sought to achieve a partial settlement between Israel and Egypt in order to facilitate the ensuing negotiations at Geneva. Instead, Israeli stubbornness insisted on forwarding demands i.e., a political price that the Egyptian leadership could not pay. This caused the termination of Kissinger's trip to the Middle East and sent him back to the U.S. with a deflated ego accompanied by crocodile tears. In short, at this historical juncture, not even the right wing Arab leadership could afford to declare a state of permanent peace whereby an explicit recognition of the «Israeli fait-accompli» would be recognized and accepted.

One should not forget however the gains that Imperialism has made through the step-by-step method in the past. Namely, the termination of the oil embargo, the various cease-fire agreements, and in particular, the increasing betterment of U.S.-Egyptian relations. (Sadat's «open door» policy is a good reminder.)

Furthermore, we should not rule out the utilization of the step-by-step method in the future though it has been struck a serious blow. In the period after Kissinger's setback, an intensified diplomatic activity has taken place to try and place the Geneva Conference on center stage. Fahmi of Egypt and the Syrian foreign minister Khaddam visited Moscow where they insisted on the immediate convening of the Geneva Conference. In addition, Vinogradov, Soviet Ambassador at large visited various Arab capitals and



was later followed by Ceausescu of Rumania. At the end of their respective trips, both called for the immediate convening of the Geneva Conference in which the PLO should be a participant.

More importantly, during Khadamm's visit to Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Andre Gromyko outlined Soviet policy as regards Geneva in the following steps: The program for Geneva should include: a) Agreement on the must of the liberation of all Arab lands presently under foreign control; b) Agreement on the guarantee to the Palestinian people of their legal rights including the right to establish their own state; c) Agreement on securing the right of all nations in the Middle East the right to exist, including Israel and its right to develop its future.

The major aims of the above cited diplomatic offensive is the calling of the Geneva Conference to be held as soon as possible. As regards the Arab level, however, two important incidents must be mentioned. First the governmental changes recently announced by Sadat, and secondly, the Riyad

summit attended by Presidents Assad, Sadat and King Khaled.

It must be mentioned that King Hussein rendered Saudi Arabia a visit prior to the Riyad summit which indicates that Arab reaction wants to unify its ranks. Afterwards, King Khaled called for the convening of a short summit where all the three parties - Egypt - Saudi Arabia - Syria, after lengthy discussions, agreed to coordinate their diplomatic offensives. The convening of such a summit indicates that King Khaled wants both Sadat and Assad to be assured that no change has occurred in Saudi policy after Faisal's death. In addition, Assad and Sadat met privately, which allows us to speculate that they discussed military affairs though we are aware that they prefer a «peaceful» solution to their conflict with Israel.

As regards the recently announced governmental changes revealed by Sadat, it is important to take into account that Egypt is suffering from a deep economic crisis which has caused various mass demonstrations which denounced the government's «open door» policy. Ironically, the new arrangements are in fact an elaboration of this policy and are consistent with the wishes of Egypt's capitalists who are increasing their control over Egypt. In addition, Sadat's May Day speech emphasized his adherence to the «open door» policy. This policy can be expressed in the following formula: Arab capital western technology Egyptian labour and the Egyptian market= The development of Egyptian capitalism under the guise of «open door» policy. No matter how many innovations are introduced, they still cannot resolve the problems of the Egyptian people which promises to increase social tension hence class struggle. In view of this increasingly and intensifying internal conflict, the state must consolidate its power base. The allegiance of the military becomes a must, in particular when certain dissension already exists within the army. In fact, even some top ranking officers were a bit skeptical about some of Sadat's decisions. To silence them, Sadat appointed a new vice-president, Husni Mubarak, formerly head of the Egyptian Air Force. This step should assure Sadat the military's allegiance at least for the near future, hence the military should be prepared to translate Sadat's political decisions on the military front.

As to Sadat's foreign policy, it seems that not only is he interested in consolidating and closing the ranks of the Arab right wing but he wants to remain on good terms with Iran, one of the regional powers of the area. As such, he became the first Egyptian president to visit Iran; a fact which should indicate that Iran's political influence in the area is constantly rising.

### MAY DAY

On the occasion of May Day, several members of the P.F.L.P. leadership spoke at mass meetings in various Palestinian camps throughout Lebanon. Our leadership emphasized that without the vanguard proletarian party, our struggle could not reach its designated goals.

The P.F.L.P. wishes to express its international solidarity with the working class movement. We would also like to say that the victories of the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples are the greatest gift the international working class movement could have received this year.

Long Live Working Class Solidarity

### UNITED FRONT SONG

And while a man is flesh and blood  
He will ask, if you please, for bread and meat  
And windy words won't be enough  
For words aren't good to eat.  
Then left, two, three ! Then left, two, three !  
Comrade, here's the place for you.  
So fall in with the workers' united front  
For you are a worker, too.  
And while a man is flesh and blood  
He won't be driven till he drops.  
He will want no slaves beneath his feet  
And no masters up on top.

Then left, two, three ! Then left, two, three !  
Comrade, here's the place for you.  
So fall in with the workers' united front  
For you are a worker, too.  
As long as there are two classes  
Proletarians must agree  
It's the task of none but the working class  
To set the worker free.  
Then left, two, three ! Then left, two, three !  
Comrade, here's the place for you.  
So fall in with the workers' united front  
For you are a worker, too.

Bertolt Brecht.

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

The young intellectuals, sons of the rich rural families played a prominent role in inciting people to revolt, they had returned from their universities to a society in which they rejected the formula of the old relationships which had become outdated and in which they were rejected by the new formulas which had started to take shape within the framework of the Zionist-colonialist alliance.

Thus the class struggle became mixed, with extraordinary thoroughness, with the national interest and religious feelings, and this mixture broke out within the framework of the objective and subjective crisis which Arab society in Palestine was experiencing. Due to the above, Arab Society remained a prisoner of the feudal-clerical leaderships. In view of the social and economic oppression which was the lot of the poor Arabs in the towns and villages, it was inevitable that the nationalist movement should assume advanced forms of struggle, adopt class slogans and follow a course of action based on class concepts. Similarly, faced with the firm and daily expressed alliance between the invading society built by the Jews in Palestine and British colonialism, it was impossible to forget the primarily national character of that struggle. And in view of the terrible religious fervor on which the Zionist invasion of Palestine was based, and which was inseparable from all its manifestations, it was impossible that the underdeveloped Palestinian countryside should not practice religious fanaticism as a manifestation of hostility to the Zionist colonialist incursion.\*

The feudal-clerical leaderships proceeded to impose themselves as the head of the movement of the masses. To do this they took advantage of the meagreness of the Arab urban bourgeoisie, and of the conflict which was, to a certain extent, boiling up between them and British colonialism, which had established its influence through its alliance with the Zionist movement, of their religious attributes, of the small size of the Arab proletariat and the meagreness of its communist party. This was not only under the control of Jewish leaders but its Arab elements had been subjected to oppression and inti-

This is the fourth part of comrade Kanafani's study on the 1936-39 revolt in Palestine. The study was originally published in Arabic in *Sho'un Falistinia* (Palestine Affairs) of the PLO Research Center.



midation by the feudal leaderships ever since the early twenties. It was against this complicated background, in which the interlocked and extremely complicated conflicts were flaring up that the 1936 revolt came to the fore front in the history of Palestine.

## THE REVOLT

Historians are at odds with each other as regards the different incidents that took place in various places as the reason for the outbreak of the 1936 revolt.

According to Yehuda Bauer «the incident that is commonly regarded as the start of the 1936 disturbances» occurred on 19 April 1936, when Arab crowds in Jaffa attacked Jewish passersby.<sup>59</sup>

In the view of Isa al-Sifri<sup>60</sup> Salih Mas'ud Buwaysir<sup>61</sup> and Subhi Yasin<sup>62</sup> the first spark was lit when an unknown group of Arabs (Subhi Yasin describes it as a Qassamist group including Farhan al-Sa'udi and Mahmud Dairawi) ambushed cars on the road from Anabta and the Nur Shams prison, to the number of 15, robbed their Jewish and Arab passengers alike of their money, while one of the three members of the group made a short speech to the Arabs, who formed the majority of the passengers, in which, according to al-Sifri ha said: «We are taking your money so that we can fight the enemy and defend you».<sup>63</sup>

Dr. Abd al-Wahhab al-Kayyali thinks that the first spark was lit before that — in February 1936, when an armed bond of Arabs surrounded a school which Jewish contractors were building in Haifa, employing Jewish labour only.<sup>64</sup>

But, all sources rightly believe that the Qassamist rising, sparked off by Shaikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam, was the real start of the 1936 revolt.

However, the report of the Royal Commission (Lord Peel) which Yehuda Bauer regards as one of the more authoritative sources written about the Palestine problem, sidesteps (ignores) these immediate causes for the outbreak of the revolt, and attributes the outbreak to two main causes: the Arabs' desire to win national independence and their aversion to

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and fear of the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is not difficult to see that these two causes are really only one, and the words in which they are couched are inflated and convey no precise meaning.

However, Lord Peel mentions what he calls «secondary factors» which contributed to the outbreak of the «disturbances». These are:

1 — The spread of the Arab nationalist spirit outside Palestine.

2 — Increasing Jewish immigration since 1933.

3 — The fact that the Jews were able to influence public opinion in Britain.

4 — The lack of Arab confidence in the good intentions of the British government.

5 — The Arabs' fear of continued land purchases by Jews.

6 — The fact that the ultimate objectives of the Mandatory government were not clear.

The way the then leadership of the Palestinian national movement understood the causes of the revolt can be deduced from the three slogans with which it adorned all its demands. These were:

1 — An immediate stop to Jewish immigration.

2 — Prohibition of the transfer of the ownership of Arab lands to Jews.

3 — The establishment of a democratic government in which Arabs would have the largest share in conformity with their numerical superiority.<sup>65</sup>

But these slogans, in the bombastic versions in which they were repeated, were quite incapable of expressing the real situation, and in fact to a great extent all they did was to perpetuate the control of the feudal leadership over the nationalist movement.

In fact the real cause of the revolt was the fact that the acute conflict involved in the transformation of Palestinian society from an Arab agricultural-feudal-clerical one into a Jewish (Western) industrial bourgeois one, had reached their climax, as we have already seen.

The process of establishing the roots of colonialism and transforming it from a British mandate into Zionist settler colonialism, as we have seen, reached its climax in

the mid-thirties, and in fact the leadership of the Palestinian nationalist movement was obliged to adopt a certain form of armed struggle because it was no longer capable to exercise its leadership at a time when the conflict had reached decisive proportions.

A variety of conflicting factors played their role in inducing the then Palestinian leadership to adopt the form of armed struggle:

Firstly: the Izz al-Din-al-Qassam movement;

Secondly: the series of failures sustained by this leadership at a time when they were at the helm of the mass movement, even as regards the minor and partial demands that the colonialists usually did not hesitate to yield to in the hope of absorbing resentment. (The British took a long time to see the value of this maneuver, however, their interests were safeguarded through the existence of competent Zionist agents.);

Thirdly: Jewish violence (the armed bands, the slogan of Jewish labour only, etc.) in addition to colonialist violence (the manner in which the 1929 rising had been suppressed).

In any discussion of the 1936-1939 revolt a special place must be reserved for Shaikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam. In spite of all that has been written about him, it is not too much to say that this unique personality is still really unknown, and will probably remain so. Most of what has been written about him has dealt with him from the outside only, and because of this superficiality in the study of personality several Jewish historians have not hesitated to regard him as a «fanatical dervish», while many Western historians have ignored him altogether. In fact it is clear that it is the failure to grasp the dialectical connection between religion and nationalist tendencies that is responsible for the belittling of the importance of the Qassamist movement.

However, whatever view is held of Al-Qassam, there is no doubt that his movement (12/11/1935 — 19/11/1935) was a turning point that played an important role in an advanced form of struggle being decided on, as it confronted the traditional leadership of the Palestinian nationalist movement, which had become divided and splintered, with the inevitable upcoming test.

Probably the personality of al-Qassam in itself constituted the symbolic point of encounter of that great mass of interconnected factors which, for purposes of simplification has come to be known as the «Palestine problem». The fact that he was «Syrian» (born in Jabala on the periphery Latakia) exemplified the Arab nationalist factor in the struggle. The fact that he was an Azharist (he studied at Al-Azhar) exemplifies the religious-nationalist factor represented by Al-Azhar at the beginning of the century. The fact that he had a

\* Commenting on the emergence of the Black Panther movement in Israel, the leftist Hebrew-language magazine *Matspen* (No. 5, April 1971) says: «Class conflicts in Israel sometimes tend to take the form of confessional conflicts. Class demands, even when translated into the language of confessionalism, have from the start laid at the very heart of Zionism». Of course this statement applies to an even greater extent to the role played by religion against the Zionist incursion, as being a form of both national and class persecution. For example: «One of the results of Zionism was that celebrations of the Prophet's Birthday were turned into nationalist rallies under the direction of the Mufti of Haifa and the poet Wadi' al-Bustani, and were attended by all the Christian leaders and notables, not a single Jew being invited. In this way saints' days, both Muslim and Christian, became popular festivals with a nationalist tinge in the towns of Palestine».

record of engaging in nationalist struggle (took part in the Syrian revolt against the French at Jabal Sahyun in 1919-1920, and was condemned to death) exemplified the unity of Arab struggle.

Al-Qassam came to Haifa in 1921 with the Egyptian Shaikh Muhammad al-Hanafi and Shaikh Ali al-Hajj Abid and immediately started to form secret groups. What is remarkable in Al-Qassam's activities is his advanced organisational intelligence and, his steel-strong patience. In 1929 he refused to be rushed into announcing that he was under arms and, in spite of the fact that this refusal led to a split in his organisation, it did succeed in holding together and remaining secret.

According to a well known Qassamist,<sup>67</sup> al-Qassam programmed his revolt in three stages: psychological preparation and the dissemination of a revolutionary spirit, the formation of secret groups, the formation of committees to collect contributions and others to purchase arms, committees for training, for security, espionage, propaganda and information and for political contacts — and then armed revolt.

Most of those who knew Al-Qassam say that when he went out to the Ya'bad hills with 25 of his men in the night 12/11/1935 his object was not to declare the armed revolt, but to spread the call for the revolt, but that an accidental encounter led to his presence there being disclosed and, in spite of the heroic resistance of Al-Qassam and his men a British force easily destroyed them. It appears that when he realised that he could no longer expand the revolt with his comrades, Shaikh Al-Qassam adopted his famous slogan: «Die as Martyrs».

It is due to al-Qassam that we should understand this slogan in a «Guevarist» sense, if we may use the expression, but at the ordinary nationalist level, the little evidence we possess of Al-Qassam's conduct shows that he was aware of the importance of his role as the initiator of an advanced revolutionary focus.

This slogan was to bear fruit immediately. The masses followed their martyr's body 10 kilometres on foot to the village of Yajur. But the most important thing that happened was the exposing of the traditional leaders in the face of the challenge constituted by Shaikh Al-Qassam.

These leaders were as conscious of the challenge as was the British Mandate.

According to one Qassamist, a few months before Al-Qassam went into the hills, he sent to Hajj Amin al-Husaini, through Shaikh Musa al-Azrawi, to ask him to coordinate declarations of revolt throughout the country. Husaini refused, however, on the ground that conditions were not yet ripe.<sup>68</sup> When Al-Qassam was killed his funeral was attended only by poor people, and the leaders adopted an indifferent attitude, which they soon realised was a mistake. For the killing of Al-Qassam was an occurrence of outstanding significance which they could not afford to ignore. Proof of this is to be found in the fact that representatives of the five Palestinian parties visited

the British High Commissioner only six days after the killing of al-Qassam, and submitted to him an extraordinarily impudent memorandum in which they admitted that «if they did not receive an answer to this memorandum which could be regarded as generally satisfactory, they would lose all their influence over their followers, when extremist and irresponsible views would prevail and the situation would deteriorate».<sup>69</sup> They obviously wanted to exploit the phenomenon of Al-Qassam to enable them to take a step backwards.

However, by his choice of the form of struggle Al-Qassam had made it impossible for them to retreat, and this in fact is what explains the difference between the attitude of the Palestinian leaders to the killing of Shaikh al-Qassam immediately after it happened and the attitude they adopted at the ceremony held on the fortieth day after his death. During these forty days they discovered that if they did not try to mount the great wave that had been set in motion by Al-Qassam, it would engulf them. They therefore cast off the indifference they had displayed at his funeral and took part in the rallies and speeches at the fortieth day ceremony.

Clearly Hajj Amin al-Husaini was to remain aware of this loophole in later times. Even more than twenty years later the magazine «Filastine», the mouthpiece of the Arab Higher Committee, tried to give the impression that the Qassamist movement was nothing but a part of the movement led by the Mufti, and that the latter and Al-Qassam had been «personal friends».<sup>70</sup>

As for the British, they told the story of Al-Qassam in the report on the incidents of 1935 that they submitted to Geneva as follows:

«There were widespread rumours that a terrorist gang had been formed at the inspiration of political and religious factors, and on November 7, 1935 a police sergeant and a constable were following up a theft in the hills of the Nazareth District, when two unknown persons fired on them, killing the sergeant... This incident soon led to the discovery of a gang operating in the neighbourhood under the leadership of Izz al-Din al-Qassam, a political refugee from Syria who enjoyed considerable prestige as a religious leader. He had been the object of strong suspicion some years before, and he was said to have had a hand in terrorist activities.»

«Shaikh Al-Qassam's funeral in Haifa was attended by very large crowds, and in spite of the efforts made by influential Muslims to keep order, there were demonstrations and stones were thrown. The death of Al-Qassam aroused a wave of powerful feelings in political and other circles in the country, and the Arabic newspapers agreed in calling him a martyr in the articles they wrote about him.»<sup>71</sup>

The British, too, were aware of the challenge represented by the killing of Al-Qassam, and they too tried to put the clock back, as is shown by the view expressed by the High Commissioner in a letter he wrote to the Minister for the Colonies. In this letter he said that if the demands of the Arab leaders were not granted, «they would lose all their influence and all possibility

of pacification by the moderate means he proposed would vanish».<sup>72</sup>

But it was impossible to put the clock back, for the Qassamist movement was, in fact, an expression of the natural pattern that was capable of coping with the escalation of the conflict and settling it. It was not long before this was reflected in a number of committees and groupings, so that the traditional leadership was obliged to choose between confronting this escalating will to fight among the masses or to quell their will and to put them under their control.

Although the British took rapid action, and proposed the idea of a legislative assembly and mooted the idea of stopping land sales, it was too late. The Zionist movement, whose will began to crystallise very firmly at that time, played its part in diminishing the effectiveness of the British offer. All the same, the leadership of the Palestinian nationalist movement had not yet decided its attitude, but was extraordinarily vacillating, and up to April 2, 1936 the representatives of the Palestinian parties were prepared to form a delegation to go to London to tell the British government their point of view.

However, things blew up before the leadership of the nationalist movement intended, and when the first flames were ignited in Jaffa in February 1936 the leaders of the Palestinian nationalist movement believed that they could still obtain partial concessions from Britain through negotiations.

But they were surprised by the following events: All who were closely associated with the events of April 1936 admit that the outbreak of violence and civil disobedience was spontaneous and that, with the exception of the acts instigated by the surviving Qassamists, everything that happened was a spontaneous expression of the critical level that the conflict had reached.

Even when the general strike was declared on 19 April 1936 the leadership of the nationalist movement lagged behind. However, they soon got on the band-wagon before it left them behind, and succeeded, for the reasons already mentioned in our analysis of the social-political situation in Palestine, in dominating the nationalist movement.

From the organisational point of view the Palestinian nationalist movement was represented by a number of parties, most of which were the vestiges of the anti-Ottoman movements that had arisen at the beginning of the century. This meant both that they had not engaged in a struggle for independence (as was the case in Egypt, for example) and that they were no more than general frameworks, without definite principles, controlled by groups of notables and dependent on loyalties rooted in and derived from the influence they enjoyed as religious or feudal leaders or prominent members of society; they were not parties with organised bases.

Apart from Al-Qassam himself

(and the communist, naturally) not one of the leaders of the Palestinian nationalist movement at this time possessed any organising ability; even Hajj Amin al-Husaini, who had unusual administrative abilities, had no conception of organisation as applied to struggle.

Organisational responsibilities were most often based on individual talents in the subcommittees and among the middle cadre, however, they were usually incapable of transforming their abilities into the laws.

On the eve of the revolt the situation of the representatives of the nationalist movement in Palestine was as follows: with the dissolution of the Arab Executive Committee in August 1934 six groups emerged:

1 — The Arab Palestine Party, in May 1935, headed by Jamal al-Husaini; it more or less embodied the policy of the Mufti and represented the feudalists and big city merchants.

2 — The National Defense Party, headed by Raghib al-Nashashibi; founded in December 1934 it represented the new urban bourgeoisie and the senior officials.

3 — The Independence Party, which had been founded in 1932, with Auni Abd al-Hadi at its head. It included the intellectuals, the middle bourgeoisie and some sectors of the petit bourgeoisie; this contributed to its left wing playing a special role.

4 — The Reform Party which, founded by Dr. Husain al-Khalidi in August 1935, represented a number of intellectuals.

5 — The National Bloc Party, headed by Abd al-Latif Salah.

6 — The Palestine Youth Party, headed by Ya'qub al-Ghusain.

This multiplicity was purely superficial; it was not a clear and definite expression of the class configuration in the country. The overwhelming majority of the masses were not represented, (According to Nevill Barbour 90 per cent of the revolutionaries were peasants who regarded themselves as volunteers).

A glance at the class distribution in Palestine in 1931 shows that 59 percent of the Arabs were peasants (19.1 percent of the Jews) 12.9 percent of the Arabs worked in construction industry and mining (30.6 percent of the Jews) 6 percent of the Arabs worked in communications, 8.4 percent in commerce, 1.3 percent in the administration, etc.<sup>73</sup>

59. Yehuda Boyer, *Op.cit.*, p. 49.

60. Sifri, Issa. *Arab Palestine Under the Mandate & Zionism, the New Palestine Bookshop, Jaffa, 1937*, Vol. II, p. 10.

61. *Palestinian Struggle over half a century*, by Saleh Bouyssir, al-Fatah House, Beirut, p. 180.

62. *The Great Arab Revolution in Palestine*, al-Hana House, Damascus, Subhir Yasine, p. 30.

63. Bouyssir, *Op.cit.*, p. 181.

64. Kayyali, *Op.cit.*, p. 302.

65. Collection, p. 96.

66. Hadawi, *Op.cit.*, p. 38.

67. Yasin, Subhi, *Op.cit.*, pp. 22-23.

68. Ibid., p. 22.

69. Kayyali, *Op.cit.*, p. 296.

70. Palestine, No. 94, Jan. 1, 1969, No. 95, February 1, 1969, Arab Higher Committee, Beirut.

71. Ibid., No. 94, p. 19.

72. Kayyali, *Op.cit.*, p. 296.

73. *Palestine's Economic Future*, Percy, Lund H., London, 1946, p. 61.

To Be Continued Next Issue

# THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE



When Marx postulated that class struggle is the motive force of history, his analysis was made to be contingent on the need for historical specificity. In the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte he writes: «Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please: they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past.» Hence the nature of a movement in struggle and the identification of the forces in the struggle is a historically conditioned matter.

In Arab society where classes with antagonistic relations do already exist, class struggle as the basis of, or as the motive force of history acquires greater importance. However, as we add the national dimension of our struggle to the picture, we notice that due to the mix of both class and national factors, that the latter occupies a more dominant role in the present stage of our struggle. This should not be interpreted to mean that class struggle is at a stand still, but rather should lead us to the recognition that class struggle would be latent in certain periods either due to the absence of a revolutionizing force that can organize the energies of the masses or simply due to the fact that the primary contradiction that confronts us is essentially national in character. However, as is clear, class struggle exists at least in latent forms due to the unresolved contradiction between capital and labour, between the structures of the productive forces and the structures of the production relations.

Moreover, to correspond our analyses with the specificity of our conditions of struggle, both nationalism and underdevelopment must be accentuated to enable us to pin-point the motive force of our historical process in the present phase of national liberation.

In 1970, our martyred comrade, Ghassan Kanafani, in an interview with Fred Hallyday captured the essence of our struggle as he capsuled it in the following: «We are struggling against underdevelopment...»

In this context, it is imperative that we identify the main features i.e., the essence of Palestinian struggle. To do so we must identify and illustrate the multi-dimensional enemy we face, as we wage our war of national liberation.

In the anti-Zionist struggle prior to 1948, the Palestinian people were struggling from within their homeland against a movement supported by Imperialism. With the establishment of the Zionist state of Israel which caused the dispersal of the Palestinian people the nature of our struggle was complicated. First, the Palestinian people were dispersed in various parts of the Arab world; second, a number of our people remain under direct colonial rule i.e. under Israeli occupation. It became evident that the liberation of Palestine by virtue of the historical conditions imposed on the Palestinian masses would not be an exclusively Palestinian affair.

After the defeat of the June 1967 war, a larger segment of our people were brought under Zionist colonial rule (administration), and an even larger number of people were convinced of the need of

liberation through people's war rather than reliance on classical warfare waged by the petit Bourgeois Arab military regimes. However, from the outset of the exile of the Palestinians, the people at large lived first and foremost in an Arab context par excellence.

As such, politics and political developments among the Palestinian people were essentially microcosms of the larger Arab picture. Even before the colonization of Palestine by Zionism, there already existed a common denominator among the Arab masses. The Arab masses as a dominated and colonized force represented an ensemble vis-a-vis the oppressor, the colonizer. From the turn of the century when the Arab national movement awakened to take its historic right of liberation from the colonizer, there existed the unifying factor of the Arab masses.

Anti-colonialism which was at the root of the modern Arab renaissance (Al-Nahda) formed the basis of the emergence of Arab nationalism. Due to the fact that the colonization of Palestine was simultaneously conducted with the emergence and development of the new Arab renaissance, the Palestine question occupied center stage and continues to do so to the present. Palestine and Arab liberation became synonymous.

Yet as mentioned previously, the Palestinian people lived in Arab conditions, they influenced and were in turn influenced by the general and various developments that took place in the Arab national movement. Moreover, Palestinian struggle under Israeli occupation though existent did not form a

movement capable of stemming Zionist rule. Instead, Palestinian efforts were mostly put at the service of enhancing the Arab national movement. The existence of the Palestinians in all parts of the Arab world indicated that without a proper dialectical linkage between the particularity of the Palestinian movement and the Arab movement on a more general level, that the true proportions of liberation could neither be identified or realized.

Hence, as the struggle for Arab liberation continued and as the social (class) struggle against Arab reaction also developed, it became evident that:

- a) The Palestinian National Liberation movement is Arab in nature.
- b) The National movement is organically linked to a general social (class) struggle.

In the Tasks of the New Stage, we defined the particularities and difficulties of this stage of struggle in the following:

«Firstly, ours is a difficult, complex and ruthless struggle. In addition to those general aspects of liberation struggle (wherever imperialism mobilizes all its military, economic and material forces, trying with all its alliances and experiences to keep and forcibly expand its interest), there is the specificity of our own struggle, where Zionist settler-imperialism defends its existence in a life or death battle. Besides this, the nature of imperialism's interests (mainly oil) determine its outlook on the area, i.e., it has resolved to use all of its resources to keep those interests. There is also the fragmentation of the Arab nation and problem of political entities (states) which have been maintaining their independent existence for decades, forming a real barrier to the revolutionary mobilization of the whole Arab nation's potentialities for its battle of destiny.»

Before we identify the changing class composition of the Palestinian people both under occupation and in the neighbouring Arab countries, we must keep in mind that in the national liberation phase of the struggle, the people as a whole form an ensemble, vis-a-vis the oppressor, i.e., the Zionist state of Israel and Imperialism. As such it could be stated that the whole people is struggling against the ruling class of Imperialism. This view incorporates the national struggle in a class context or put differently, places the local national struggle in the international class struggle, hence provides us with the rudimentary class basis of our national liberation struggle.

From here we must proceed to further uncover the organic link between the national and social (class) dimensions of our struggle. However, we must keep in mind that the unifying factor i.e., the national is an answer as to: what are the masses mostly deprived of under colonial and neo-colonial conditions?

From our standpoint, we can identify two factors:

- A) Our masses national identity is continuously negated by Zionism and Imperialism.
- B) In addition and flowing from the above, culturally, Zionism and settler colonialism deprives our masses of their free cultural expression.

These two factors taken to their logical conclusion indicate that our masses are denied the right of self-determination. The working class is not permitted its own free development for its development is peripheral to its Israeli counterpart. Moreover the Palestinian bourgeoisie whose capital compared to its Israeli counter part is quite diminutive, hence again enjoys only peripheral development.

From the above picture, we can deduce what Cabral arrived at after a careful study of Guinea-Bissau's conditions. He wrote: «In the colonial period, it is the colonial state which commands history.»

Objectively speaking, though Palestinian society has very clear class divisions and distinctions, on a purely theoretical abstract level, the totality of Palestinians are in contradiction with the imperialist backed Zionist entity of Israel.

But as history moves forward and our struggle develops, Imperialism and Zionism joined with Arab reaction recognized that to prolong their lifetime they must increase the class divisions within the ranks of our people. Here again Cabral's comments in his «Weapon of Theory» are of important theoretical consideration:

«The objective of the imperialist countries was to prevent the enlargement of the socialist camp, to liberate the reactionary forces in our countries which were being stifled by colonialism and to enable these forces to ally themselves with the international bourgeoisie. The fundamental objective was to create a bourgeoisie where one did not exist, in order specifically to strengthen the imperialist and the capitalist camp.»

In general, we find a bourgeoisie whose national being is denied by virtue of its peripheral relationship to Zionist development hence in theory and out of its specific class interests might desire its own national entity where it would be the sole expropriator of the surplus value created by the proletariat and other non bourgeois classes. On the other hand, this same bourgeoisie would fear a direct alliance with a revolutionary national liberation movement because if victorious, its class interests would be jeopardized.

The above makes it necessary that we establish certain criteria to help us in analyzing the social structure of a given society. Before doing so, we must keep in mind that an organic link between national liberation and social structure is essential. In analyzing Palestinian society, it is important to keep the following in mind :

important to keep the following in mind :

- 1) The position of each group and class must be defined — to what extent and in what way does each group or class depend on the colonial regime ?
- 2) What position do they adopt towards the national liberation struggle?
- 3) Study their nationalist capacity.
- 4) In envisaging the future, what is our anticipation of their revolutionary capacity?

With this framework in mind, we suggest the following propositions:

A) The primary contradiction in the national phase of the struggle is between the organized

interests of the international bourgeoisie and their local allies on the one hand, and the majority of the population living in colonial conditions on the other.

B) Hence the «anti-imperialist» nationalist struggle is a mode of expression of the class interest.

As we look at the above, we notice the merging of the national and class dimensions of our struggle when posited in its international context. In addition, it is also obvious that there exists a contradiction between the unity of the «national» and «social» (class) i.e., unity of opposites.

Again let us qualify on a theoretical plane the implications of national liberation and its impact on social structure i.e. class composition.

Firstly, there can be no national liberation unless our productive forces are completely freed from all forms of foreign domination. In addition, it is the productive forces that constitute the motive force of history, hence freedom of the process of their development is an essential requirement or pre-requisite for their proper functioning and development. As national liberation proceeds on its own course of development it demands profound qualitative changes in the process of development of the productive forces. The changes in this process create new conditions for struggle, and the class composition of the masses changes in correspondence to the changes of the process itself.

Under Zionist occupation, our people though initially dispersed, and also by virtue of the new structural and historic forces imposed on them were ushered out of certain underdeveloped capitalist and pre-capitalist social relations and jolted into the rising advanced capitalist relations that were and are an essential part of the foundations and dynamics of Israeli society.

The Palestinian worker and peasant under occupation having been deprived of his old ways and methods of subsistence has begun a process of social transformation that we could roughly equate to proletarianization. This change in the individual Palestinian worker's relationship to the means of production is accompanied by a slower yet inevitable change in his consciousness. Here we must keep in mind Marx's formulations as to the laws of change which he capsuled in the «Third Thesis on Feuerbach»:

«The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances... The coincidences of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as a revolutionizing practice.»

It is from here that we must emphasize the method of «revolutionizing practice» whose goal under zionist colonization is twofold:

- A. It must explain and in turn unite our masses under occupation in an anti-imperialist framework to resist Zionist colonization.
- B. In addition, it must explain the social (class) basis of the chang-

ing patterns of the productive forces that are affecting the individual's social relations vis-a-vis the means of production.

The basis of the mobilization is the national dimension, yet with the increasing importance of the social (class) dimension, the national dimension itself acquires a class basis.

The end result of the above should be the development of revolutionary consciousness which is the direct result of the interaction of the colonial factor with the social conditions hence social structure.

Within such a delicate predicament, the forces or the new agents of history are in the making. They struggle as we do under occupation to terminate the Zionist occupation, but a closer look will require in addition, a sober class analysis of Jews in the Zionist state Israel so as to, determine which social classes at this stage of the struggle could in fact reject Zionist colonialism, (this will prove to be more difficult than it seems for reasons we are unable to enumerate presently).

Moreover, due to the organic and dialectical link between Palestinian national liberation and on a more general level Arab Liberation, again the unifying factor or the basis of unity is essentially national in character. The national factor is predicated on «anti-Imperialism», hence we must identify which social elements in Arab society constitute the basis of a wide anti-Imperialist front. Due to the general nature or the minimum basis upon which the anti-Imperialist front must come into being, there necessarily exists various levels of interaction. At this stage of our struggle, the most intimate level is the one between the various social movements in the Arab world who are actually engaged in «revolutionizing practice» through revolutionary armed struggle in the Arab Gulf as conducted by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman. Secondly, due to the organic and dialectical interconnection between the movements conducting armed struggle and the other mass movements that address themselves to the needs of the Arab masses at large, here a second and equally important level of relations acquires importance.

Whereas the major aim of Palestinian resistance is the liberation of Palestine, which in itself is an essential part of the basis of Arab unity, the daily struggles of the Arab masses is another basis which is equally important. However, since these struggles go beyond the national dimension of Arab liberation they usher in the social (class) dimension into unity with the national. For example the lebanese masses of southern Lebanon suffer from Zionist bombardment in addition to the class oppression resulting from existing feudal conditions. The Egyptian workers support the liberation of Palestine but struggle against their immediate enemy on a daily basis i.e., against their oppressive class conditions. The Jordanian masses are in a similar predicament, etc. Hence as the Palestinian struggle is posited in an anti-Imperialist framework and in its proper Arab context, it is then that we could identify the proper merger or unity or the national and social (class) dimensions of Liberation.

However, the relationships do not terminate there, for there also exist some Arab regimes we identify as national petit-bourgeois whose anti-Imperialism is unquestionable, hence they too are an essential component of the anti-Imperialist front. The unity is based on the national dimension, an alliance correct in nature but the laws governing such an alliance differ from those which govern the relations between the various movements engaged in revolutionary armed struggle.

These historic frontal alliances, as our particular case indicates must be predicated on a commonly accepted political program identifying both the goal that is sought and the method to be employed to attain such a goal. This forms the basic political minimum. Furthermore as is clear by now, the commonly accepted minimum emanates from an elaboration of the national dimension of our struggle, as to the social (class) that factor will be resolved after a long and arduous ideological struggle that could very well continue even after the negation of Zionism is achieved.

In short, under colonial conditions, all sectors of society (with some exceptions like spies, agents, mercenaries, and a sector of the bourgeoisie whose interests are fully dependent on Imperialism and Israel) form a common unit to face the enemy. Hence, though class struggle exists, the primary focus is the national contradiction i.e. the negation of zionist colonialism. As we approach nearer to this goal the class contradiction will take different forms. Internal class conflict will rise to the surface and will take the form of the contradiction between capital and labor.

The extent to which the internal class contradictions will prevail, of course depends on the degree of success the revolutionary forces obtain in introducing and operationalizing new structures, new socio-economic units capable of replacing the exploitative Zionist-colonialist structures. Moreover will the political leadership pursue the petit bourgeoisie approach to revolution which in the name of nationalism also nationalizes political participation on the part of the masses? Or will the petit bourgeoisie leadership in fact commit class suicide, negate the capitalist road of development and postulate socialist revolution? As such as Cabral writes: «This means that in order to truly fulfill the role of the national liberation struggle, the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the aspiration of the people to which they belong».

It is clear that only through the correct identification of the dialectical unity of the national and social (class) dimensions of our struggle can we comprehend the class basis of national liberation capable of also attaining socialist revolution.



Between March 25-31, 1975 a conference of the European Palestine, Oman, and Middle East committees was held in Copenhagen, Denmark. The official title of the conference was «Inter-European Anti-Imperialist Conference For the Solidarity Organizations In Support Of The Arab Peoples' Struggle Against Imperialism, Zionism, Arab Reaction and Iranian Aggression».

The conference was organized and hosted by the Palestine Committee and the Gulf Committee of Denmark. The aim of the conference as it was explained by the hosts was «to create a foundation for co-operation between European anti-imperialist solidarity organizations — who support the Arab Peoples' struggle against imperialism». The conference was attended by 14 solidarity organizations from seven different European countries. Although not all Europeans were represented and although there were some major organizations absent from this event, the conference as the first of its kind to be held of these committees represented a serious attempt to establish dialogue between them and is the first step on a long road to coordinate the activities of these organizations. The benefit of the conference was to all those organizations who participated, to European anti-imperialist work and to the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East.

Special thanks should be mentioned to the Palestine-Gulf Committees-Denmark for their efforts, determination and hospitality that made such a conference possible.

The following is the political platform of the conference. This is a non-official one since the final one has not reached the PFLP-Bulletin by the time it went to press.

We must also note that both the Belgium and Norway Palestine committees abstained from voting. In addition, the Holland committee was only an observer and not a voting member of the conference.

#### IMPERIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

1. The very development of imperialism has created the forces which are of necessity impelled forward to crush its power; as an undemocratic and reactionary force imperialism shows its brutal and aggressive face more and more as the struggle against it develops. The detailed translation of imperialist strategy relies on strong regional sub-centers in addition to a variety of puppet regimes. The historical and political interconnections of the Arab masses' struggles on various planes are the basis upon which the anti-imperialist struggles in the whole region are built and developed.
2. Palestine and Oman are the two most advanced sections of the anti-imperialist movement in the whole Middle East. They correspond, respectively, to the contradiction between the imperialist-Zionist entity and the Palestinian masses, and the contradiction between the Qabus puppet regime and the Omani masses led by the Peoples Front for the

# EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

Liberation of Oman. The fundamental conflict however, is that which derives from the contradiction between the Arab revolutionary masses fighting for national liberation on one side and imperialism on the other. Zionism and the reactionary forces in the region — in particular, Iran, Jordan and Saudi Arabia — are the chief local pillars of imperialism.

3. Historically the Palestinian question has been of the greatest importance for the development of the Arab national movement. Since its formation the Zionist state has been a threat to all the Arab masses because of its ceaseless expansionist aims and activities. The Arab masses have long recognized this threat, and the resistance of the Palestinian people has, increasingly, become a focal point — and a catalyst — of the Arab peoples struggle against imperialism.
4. The struggle in Oman is of exceptional importance having in mind the very extensive economic and strategic interests of imperialism in the Gulf. In particular, the region possesses some 2/3 of the known world oil reserves; and Oman, by virtue of its situation in the Straits of Hormuz, is essential to securing transportation of that oil. It is for this reason that imperialism and local reaction is making a determined bid to crush the Omani masses struggle.
5. The Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen has since the victory of the Yemeni revolution been a threat to the imperialist powers, acting as it does as both a source of material provision and an inspiration for democratic movements elsewhere in the Gulf. The current attempt to liquidate the revolution in Oman is, thus, only one strand in a strategy that also requires the destruction of the peoples democratic regime in P.D.R. Yemen, if the imperialist powers are to keep the revolutionary process as well as the oil wealth in the area firmly under their control.
6. The general plan of imperialism for the Middle East is, therefore, the liquidation of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the region, and in particular the P.D.R.Y. and the Palestinian and Omani revolutions.
7. Peoples war is the only way of

defeating imperialism, in the Middle East as elsewhere. Furthermore, the victory of the Arab peoples war is particularly important owing to the very great economic and strategic importance of the Middle East to imperialism. Such a victory, and the revolutionary process leading up to it, would both bring about the disintegration and final defeat of reactionary forces in the area and also greatly aggravate the contradictions of the whole world imperialist system.

8. We emphasize, lastly, that the Palestinian and Omani national liberation struggles are a part of the world anti-imperialist movement. Hence, a strong support to the national movements by the progressive national liberation forces in the countries oppressed by imperialism, by the progressive, democratic and socialist forces in the capitalist countries and by the socialist countries is in the interest of the revolutionary movements as set out in the national programs of these movements.

#### FIGHT IMPERIALISM STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

**The Zionist State And The Conditions For Establishing A Democratic Palestine.**

1. Zionism  
Imperialism is the prerequisite for Zionism. The establishment of the colonial settler-state Israel would not have been possible without European-American capitalism and its development into imperialism. The political world Zionist-movement could not have been established without this political and economical basis and the same goes for the setting up of the settler-state. Like other colonial movements, zionism is racist, but with a specific type of racism; the inhabitants of the area should not be used as cheap labour-power. Instead the Zionist colonization means driving out the Palestinian people.
2. The Zionist colonial state has been the weapon of imperialism against the national progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the Arab area all throughout its existence.
3. The 1967-June-aggression was

directed against the national-democratic forces of the Arab area.

4. The popular war of the Palestinian people creates the pre-conditions for the liberation of those elements and forces within the Israeli society, who have the potential interest in a democratic Palestine.

#### FIGHT ZIONISM NO TO RECOGNITION OF ZIONIST COLONIZATION TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE

#### THE LOCAL REACTIONARY FORCES

The local reactionary forces are an important pillar of the enemy camp, in particular Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and various puppet regimes in the Gulf, such as the Qabous regime in Oman.

Since the aggression in 1967, the imperialist strategy has developed in a two-fold manner. The increasing revolutionary mobilization of the Palestinian masses in the national struggle against the Zionist presence, and the mobilizing effect this has had on the Arab masses as a whole, have necessitated an increasingly more direct imperialist presence and domination of the Arab masses.

The strategy of imperialist powers since 1970 is summed up in the word Vietnamization. This means that the imperialist powers now fight their battles for the control of the world's resources indirectly, through local agents and collaborators rather than by direct intervention; in the Gulf chiefly through Iran, Saudi Arabia and Jordan.

The attempt to disarm and demobilize the Arab National Anti-Imperialist movement has taken the character of an «Arabization» of the confrontation between the masses and imperialism implemented by strengthening the local pro-imperialist and reactionary forces in the ARAB AREA AND THEIR POLITICAL: economic and military potentials.

The responsibility for crushing the Palestinian and Omani revolutions in particular and the Arab

National and Democratic Movement, as a whole, is now divided between the Zionist state and the local reactionary forces — as an example, the part played by the Hashemite puppet regime in the counter-revolutionary massacre of 1970, as well as the presence of Jordanian troops in Oman.

**FIGHT THE ARAB  
REACTIONARY FORCES AND  
THEIR ATTEMPTS TO  
LIQUIDATE THE  
REVOLUTIONARY FORCES  
NO TO FRAUDELENT ARAB  
UNITY UNDER REACTIONARY  
LEADERSHIP  
FOR UNITY IN THE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST IMPERIALISM  
FIGHT IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM,  
AND ARAB  
REACTIONARY FORCES**

**THE STRATEGY FOR THE  
PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION.**

1. The armed struggle, which includes the political mobilization of the masses, is the essential road to liberate Palestine.
2. The political and diplomatic struggle serves the liberation cause as long as this struggle is employed for the continuity and acceleration of the armed struggle. But if it becomes a substitute for the armed struggle, or at the cost of it, then it will harm the revolution and BETRAY THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.
3. The liberation of the Palestinian homeland and the establishment of a revolutionary state power on Palestinian soil is closely interconnected with the national and democratic struggles of the Arab masses for liberation from imperialist and Arab reactionary domination and oppression, particularly in the Arab countries adjacent to Palestine.
4. We believe, therefore, that while the liberation of Palestine is first and foremost the task of the Palestinian masses, led by the united national front, the accomplishment of this task cannot be secured except through the full mobilization of the Arab masses, and in particular the foundation of an Arab front of all national, progressive and democratic forces that agree with the strategic aim of the liberation of Palestine.
5. Therefore, the establishment of a Jordanian Palestinian national front with the aim of establishing a democratic national regime in Jordan, is a primary task of the Palestinian and Jordanian masses' struggle.
6. The liberation of Palestine is not only a question of a piece of land, but is a question of a total transformation of the political, economic, and social structure of the area, in the way that secure its independence from the imperialist system.
7. The conditions for the possibility of the establishment of liberated areas through armed struggle as bases for the continuation of this struggle are de-

termined by the balance of forces in the given situation.

8. A Palestine «state» which comes out of the suggested settlement, which is represented by the Geneva conference, UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, 339 and under the current balance of power, will be at the cost of the Palestinian people and their struggle to liberate their country and at the cost of the whole national progressive struggle of the Arab masses.
9. The Geneva Conference based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and under the present balance of power, can not result except in the recognition of the Zionist state which means capitulation to Imperialism, as such it should be condemned.

**YES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
THE JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN  
NATIONAL FRONT AND TO  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A  
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC RULE  
IN JORDAN**

**SUPPORT THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE  
OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE  
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SELF  
DETERMINATION**

**NO TO A PALESTINIAN  
«STATE» CREATED BY  
IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM AND  
REACTIONARY FORCES**

**SUPPORT THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB  
MASSES. — FOR THE TOTAL  
LIBERATION OF THE ARAB  
AREA**

**NO SUBSTITUTE FOR POPULAR  
WAR**

**THE OMANI  
REVOLUTION**

1. We affirm our solidarity with the people of Oman who, under the leadership of the Peoples Front for the Liberation of Oman, are waging a heroic struggle to defend the gains of their revolution and to defeat completely the imperialist and reactionary interests exploiting and oppressing their country.
2. The Omani masses took up arms in 1965 in the cause of national independence and democracy. Despite some setbacks, they have managed steadily to expand the liberated zones, strengthen the unity of the people, lay the basis of a sound national economy and improve living standards. Above all, the whole people have learned to fight. The recent intensification of imperialist intervention and counter-revolutionary offensive is, in part, a tribute to the very strength and the victories won by the Omani masses.
3. The Omani people are valiantly resisting a war of annihilation being waged against them by imperialism and its local agents and allies, using in particular the superior military resources of Iran and Jordan. Recently, U.S. imperialism has greatly increased its direct military involvement in Oman and the Gulf, e.g., the stepping up of supplies of mi-

litary equipment to the Qabus puppet regime, the proposed establishment of a U.S. naval base on the Masirah island, and, of course, the continually expanding U.S. support for the Iranian, Jordanian and Saudi Arabian military forces. At the same time, British imperialism is providing RAF bombers to drive the Omani guerrillas into the open, and army officers to direct the local Arab mercenary forces. The direct and many-sided involvement of the Iranian regime in the Middle East and the southwest regions is constantly growing, in depth as well as in scale, in close and active collaboration with U.S. imperialism. In this connection the present use of Jordanian troops in Oman, and the possibility of the future use of «friendly» Arab troops on the side of the Qabus regime, must be borne in mind in view of growing Arab popular resentment of the use of Iranian troops. In the face of this new situation the silence and the passive attitude of most Arab regimes are in marked contrast with the vehement opposition of the Arab popular masses.

4. Under these circumstances the struggle of the Omani people imposes on us the task of greatly developing and intensifying solidarity work in support of the Omani revolution under the leadership of P.F.L.O.

**VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES  
WAR IN OMAN**

**BRITISH, IRANIAN AND JORDANIAN TROOPS OUT OF  
OMAN**

**SUPPORT P.D.R.Y. AND ITS  
SOLIDARITY WITH THE OMANI  
REVOLUTION**

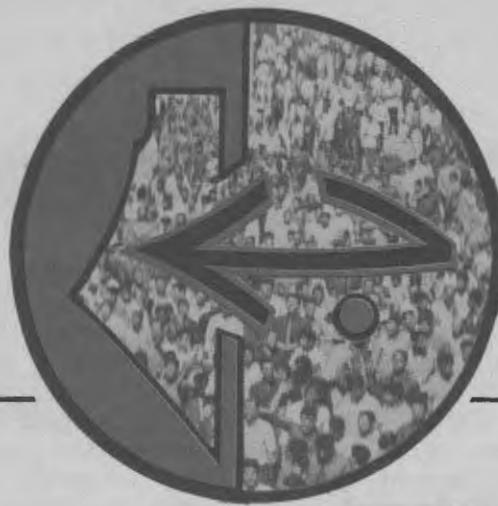
**VICTORY TO THE POPULAR RESISTANCE FORCES IN IRAN.**

**SOME CONSEQUENCES  
OF THE OCTOBER WAR**

1. In the situation after the October War 1973, the colonial-state Israel has a chance for recognition by certain Arab regimes and a consolidation of her territories in exchange for the relinquishing of a part of the territories occupied.
2. The fundamental interests of the Palestinians are not served by those forces which are attempting to promote a «peaceful» solution to the Palestinian question, (through the proposed Geneva Conference) for such a settlement would involve a recognition of the Zionist state and a denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people. The success of the forces in paving the way for the «peace conference» in Geneva has worsened the conditions for Zionist expansionism in its traditional form, which is based upon the concept of territorial expansion and a denial of the Palestinian peoples existence. Opposition to the relinquishing of the occupied territories and the conflict it can provoke within the
3. Israel's current economic difficulties and dependence upon American aid, make it difficult for the Zionistic forces to oppose the United States' demands for a «peace settlement» which can establish a form for stability in the Middle East which is advantageous to the imperialistic interests.
4. The Arab armies ability to inflict heavy losses in the supposedly invincible Israeli army has shattered the image of the undefeatable Israeli state and its role assigned by imperialism as watchdog in the area.
5. The war, which was initiated by the Arab regimes for limited and specific purposes, created its own dynamics whereby the Arab masses were awakened from a situation of non-participation.
6. The oppressed Palestinian masses in occupied Palestine reacted in open opposition to the Zionist presence. Palestinian workers in Israeli industries all went on strike to weaken the capability of the Zionist State. There were street demonstrations, and open opposition to the Zionist presence was expressed in the Palestinian news media in the occupied land.
7. On the international scene, solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle and official recognition of the Palestinian national rights and the increasing recognition of the P.L.O. as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people were expressed on an escalating scale. On the other hand, this development has resulted in the increasing isolation of Israel.
8. Security problems emerged at the fore of the post war problems of the Israelis. The failures of the Israeli armed forces in securing the safety of the Jewish population, the increasing military actions of the Palestinian Resistance, often carried out in the center of Israel, and the loss of life involving a great number of families — all contributed to inducing a state of insecurity, which had psychological ideological and political effects.
9. Immigration in 1974 dropped drastically and an increasing number of Israeli Jews left the country or expressed a desire to leave. Although a large number of Soviet Jews are immigrating to Israel, thus strengthening the Zionist state, there is on the other hand an increasing emigration of those Jews from Israel.
10. The prospects for war in the current situation lie in the possibility that the specific contradictions within the ruling classes in Israel cannot be solved in any other way. This contradiction is between the interests of territorial expansion and consolidation of the colonial existence in the Westbank and Golan and the interests of opening

Zionist society, is vividly demonstrated in the recent attempt of the right wing Zionist groups to settle in the West bank and the Israeli state's intervention against these settlers.

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the Arab and other markets for the economical expansion of Israeli capital. The line that stresses territorial expansionism is led by right wing Likud, while the one stressing economic expansionism is headed by the government coalition. It seems that the territorial expansionist line is not the rule, hence the placing of the economic expansionist line into the forefront.

11. However, under the present circumstances, Israel is more interested in a Settlement i.e. an imperialist peace:

- a. Because of the October War which caused a military setback of the Israel forces due to the increasing crises.
- b. Because of the Palestinian Liberation Movement which has obtained success through armed struggle, although the warfare still remains in a guerilla phase.
- c. Because the armed struggle unifies the arab masses and strengthens Arab unity and unifies the Palestinian Resistance with the Arab masses.
- d. Because a new confrontation will result in increasing crises on all levels of Israeli society.

## NO TO AN IMPERIALIST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

## FIGHT AGAINST SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

## FIGHT FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THE PLO AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

## CONTINUATION OF THE POPULAR WAR UNTIL THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

### THE OIL WEAPON

We support the stronger demands and pressures from the masses to use the oil weapon directly against US imperialism.

### BULLETIN READERS

We publish the bulletin with the aim of providing you our view of the major developments taking place in our struggle. Our publication is always delayed due to a rather nasty practical problem: we con-

front financial burdens. We therefore request from our readers to send subscriptions, to enable us to regularize our publication. We humbly thank you in advance.

PFLP Bulletin

## THE PHALANGIST ATTACK

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

tional movement should deduce from it.

First: The Phalangists are moving and acting according to a plan that aims at striking the progressive and national forces in Lebanon (Palestinian and Lebanese). This calls for a condemnation of the previous line adopted by the Lebanese Communist Party, the pro-Syria Ba'ath faction and the leadership of the P.L.O. of establishing dialogue and holding meetings with such a reactionary force.

Second: The Lebanese national movement should be the first responsible force that responds to the fascist actions of the Phalangists. As such certain organizations within the Lebanese national movement should give up their policies of compromising with the reactionary fascist organizations and should take their natural role in fighting and struggling for the protection of the progressive achievements and the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon.

Third. It is clear that the Phalangists started the last attack and that it only stopped because of the immediate and strong response by the resistance movement. There is no doubt that the Phalangists will have another attempt when it feels it has become stronger. The Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese national movement should be ready to face reactionary violence by revolutionary violence and should teach the Phalangists a lesson that would make them think a hundred times before starting other attacks.

Fourth: The battle against the Phalangists is continuous in the same sense that the battle against class enemies never ends; as such, the cease-fire should not mean an end to any efforts to weaken the Phalangists and finally lead to the destruction of their organizations.

Fifth: There should be no peace whatsoever with the Phalangists. The Lebanese national movement demanded during the last clashes the dissolution of the Phalangist Party. Such a demand should be carried out until the end so as not to mislead the Lebanese masses who fought against the Phalangists and so as to achieve the slogans a movement raises at a certain time; otherwise, it will lose its credibility.

We have in these last points emphasized the role that should be carried out by the Lebanese national movement, because we as Palestinian resistance, due to the nature of our presence, can only play a defensive role in our battles against the attacks of the Lebanese reactionaries.

for the regime to attempt the liquidation of the resistance without the approval of other Arab regimes, who are bargaining on the imperialist peace at this stage and would only object to physical liquidation because other means are possible. This does not say that there are not elements and forces within the regime that are pushing for the Lebanese army to enter into a battle with the Palestinian resistance.

3) U.S. imperialism through its threats not to guarantee the sovereignty of Lebanon if the Palestinian resistance presence continues, have due to the delicate situation of Lebanon, chosen the Phalangists to be the primary advocate of such clashes. All through the past period, the Phalangists received arms and material support shipped to it from U.S. bases in Europe. The Phalangists who have assigned themselves as the protectors of big businessmen in Lebanon, accept this role willingly since it is the Phalangist high echelon who will benefit most from the more promised American investments in Lebanon should the Palestinian resistance be liquidated. This explains the meeting of the U.S. ambassador to Lebanon with prominent members of the American community three days before the last clash. The ambassador gave a lengthy analysis of the balance of power between the resistance on the one hand, and the Phalangists on the other, keeping the possibility of an interference by the Lebanese army.

4) The Phalangists whose areas have been invaded during the last three years by the progressive and national Lebanese parties hope to strike at these parties after liquidating the resistance or forcing it to retreat to a weak defensive position. This is basically due to the strong alliance and cooperation between the Palestinian resistance and the Front of National and Progressive Forces.

5) Last but not least is the nature of the reactionary fascist Phalangist Party which historically has only been a puppet of imperialism and Zionism. We need to elaborate no more than to quote the Prime Minister of Israel when he declared after one of the heroic operations of the resistance inside the occupied territories: « Israel will leave the matter of liquidating the Palestinian fedayeen in Lebanon to the forces there ».

After this experience with the Phalangists, what are the lessons that the Palestinian resistance movement and the Lebanese na-

