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Habash: Where was 'Islam' when Sadat went to Jerusalem?

PFLP leader urges progressive forces to bury their differences over Afghanistan

ALGIERS (Reuter) — George Habash, leader of a radical Palestinian commando group, said Saturday progressive forces in the world should not allow their differences over the Soviet action in Afghanistan to be exploited by American imperialism.

Dr. Habash, who heads the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), told a press conference during a visit to Algiers that the Soviet Union was a friend of the Palestinian revolution.

No contemporary fact should be used to question this fact, he said.

"An intervention by hostile forces is an aggression, but an intervention by friendly forces is just solidarity. This is how we regard things at the PFLP," he said.

Asked about the Islamic conference called to discuss the issue in Islamabad next week, he wondered what the real aims of the meeting would be.

He asked why the organization did not meet when Egyptian President Anwar Sadat went to Jerusalem in 1977 and when he later signed the Camp David agreements with Israel.

Dr. Habash recalled that the "Steadfastness Front" — grouping the Palestine Liberation

Organization (PLO), Libya, Syria, South Yemen and Algeria — had asked earlier this week that any meeting of the Islamic conference first discuss the normalization of Egyptian-Israeli relations.

"We say 'no' to all imperialist and reactionary attempts which are currently hiding behind the banner of Islam," he added.

POLISARIO

Habash also urged all "progressive forces" in the world to back the Polisario Front fighting Morocco for the independence of the Western Sahara.

The struggle of the Western Saharan guerillas against "Morocco's expansionist regime" is a genuine Arab revolution which deserves everybody's support, he said.

"Neither King Khaled (of Saudi Arabia) nor King Hussein (of Jordan) nor the Gulf's emirs and sultans speak on behalf of Arab masses — but only on behalf of the Arab bourgeoisie," he said.

He was referring to the fact that only two Arab states — South Yemen and Algeria — have so far recognized the republic proclaimed by the Polisario four years ago.



PFLP leader, Dr. George Habash

Habash said the conflict was a unique opportunity for Moroccan "progressive forces" to get rid of their regime.



EDITORIAL

Since the last days of 1979, imperialist and reactionary circles, avidly echoed by their media, have been raising a storm over events in Afghanistan, particularly over what they label 'Soviet intervention'. Not surprisingly, they have blown these events out of all proportion and totally separated the issue of 'intervention' from the context in which the Soviet Union extended support to the progressive leadership in Afghanistan.

Why?

This question can only be answered in awareness of the international and regional situation in which the events in Afghanistan occurred.

The US attempts to impose an imperialist solution for the Middle East conflict have reached a dead-lock, stalled by our masses in the occupied homeland; their resistance has prevented any Palestinian figure from entering the 'autonomy' negotiations and made it too risky for other Arab regimes to join Camp David.

Following the Zionist attempt to whip the Palestinian Resistance into surrender through the intense bombing of South Lebanon, imperialism tried to cool the situation in order to find a way out of the dead-lock through diplomacy and political contacts. But the effect of its maneuvers were cut short as the Iranian students seized the American embassy, signalling the sharpening of the Iranian Revolution's contradiction with imperialism, and radicalizing the situation throughout the region.

Imperialism had been counting on the Iranian religious leadership wavering from the path of the mass revolution, or on its losing control, allowing bourgeois forces to step forward and repair the links to imperialism. But these hopes were dashed on the rocks of the unified Iranian position, calling for extradition of the Shah to face the people's justice.

Thus the Carter administration moved its warships into the area and began brandishing the sword of military force and economic blockade. This was done in the name of freeing the hostages, but the deeper intent was to strike the Iranian Revolution, an aim cherished by US-imperialism since February 1979. By posing as the attacked, US-imperialism tried to justify harsh measures against Iran, and cause the world to forget the real aggression: the American support to the Shah's bloody repression of the Iranian people over almost three decades, as was highlighted by the Iranian demand to try the US for its war crimes.

The depth of the crisis for the US was that it found itself a true paper tiger, unable to intimidate the Iranian masses in spite of its position as the strongest imperialist power. Moreover, its attempt to impose various measures against Iran only served to provoke the secondary contradictions within the imperialist camp, as some European governments refused to comply with American proposals that counteracted their specific interests. The effects were even felt internally as Edward Kennedy outlined an alternative to Carter's policy as part of his bid for the presidency.

Neither was the problem for imperialism limited to Iran. People in other Asian countries demonstrated their wrath against imperialism. The US maneuver to extract itself from the difficult situation by moving the Shah to Panama was rejected by the Iranians and only served to provoke persistent protests on the part of progressive forces in Panama. A row of liberation movements and the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, extended their solidarity to the Iranian people against the American threats.

The US has not solved the Iranian crisis, but suddenly the talk of 'Moslem fanatics' died down; events in Afghanistan highlighted a group of 'Moslems' which the US has been using all along, but which now serve its newest political and media crusade. Why, according to imperialism, are Moslems in Iran 'fanatics', while those in Afghanistan are to be considered as the 'true representatives of the Afghani people'? The answer is simple. Carter's sudden concern for 'Moslems' is as phoney as his 'human rights' campaign. The truth is that in the reactionary forces opposing progressive change in Afghanistan, imperialism found an ally in its historic crusade against communism; it found an element to be used in its current attempts to halt the spread of the anti-imperialism represented in the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

US-imperialism desperately needs the revival of the Cold War atmosphere, not only as part of its long-standing antagonism to the socialist countries, but especially now that it is incapable of solving the obstacles created by increasing mass struggle against its hegemony in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism by its very nature cannot concede that the popular movements are turning to socialism as the path to achieve their goals, and that the socialist countries provide a welcome support in their struggle.

Moreover, revitalized anti-communism can detract from the effects of imperialism's general crisis — the high inflation and unemployment plaguing most of the capitalist countries. The threat of 'Soviet intervention' can be used as an excuse for introducing new aggressive weapons into the NATO 'defense' system. In general, it is clear that imperialism will use this pretext as a cover to pass off its aggressive policies in our area and internationally.

Afghanistan

Obviously, our position on the events in Afghanistan and the role of the Soviet stems from a diametrically opposite point-of-view. It is based first and foremost on a clear view of the contending forces involved in the Afghani class struggle. On the one hand, we have the progressive forces who seized power through a military coup in April 1978. These forces have been striving to institute changes to fulfill the interests of the broadest section of the masses. At the same time, they were faced with difficult objective and subjective conditions.

On the other hand, we have the internal reaction, feudalists and tribalists, with interests in maintaining their privileges in the old order, and forces whose interests are tried to capitalism.

On this basis, the constellation of forces on the international level becomes clear.

The changes initiated by the government pointed towards a national democratic revolution, which would remove Afghanistan from the sphere of imperialist and reactionary dominance and prepare for the transition to socialism. Thus, the regime elicited the support of the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, and the antagonism of imperialism and local reaction. Pakistan presented itself as a base for counter-revolutionary activities, funded by Saudi Arabia and the US, and spurred on by Hua Guofeng China, whose anti-Soviet stand has become indistinguishable from anti-communism.

With this rear base, Afghani reaction launched its armed struggle aiming to hit the Afghani government directly, and to weaken it indirectly by obstructing the mobilization of the masses in building the new society. What has really enraged US-imperialism is not the overthrow of Amin or the presence of Soviet troops as such, but that the imperialist plans to undermine the developing revolution were

foiled. US-imperialism's reaction was multiplied because of the importance Afghanistan was to assume in replacing Iran as a base for spying on and attempting to contain the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, Arab reaction, propped up on its legs of black gold, leaped at the chance to declare 'Moslem solidarity' with the reactionary forces in Afghanistan. Thus, it seized the chance to reverse the trend of Islam against imperialism, embodied in the Iranian Revolution, as this pierces the religious shield which Arab reaction hides behind in justifying its suppression of the masses. The real purpose of the Islamic conference proposed by these forces is to condemn the Soviet Union, not because it 'endangers Moslems', but because it supports the people's struggle against reaction and its backer — imperialism. This is just a replay of when Sadat employed his 'Moslem scholars' to justify his capitulation to Zionism in the name of Islam. What hypocrisy! . Sadat has offered Egypt as a base for attacking Iran and for 'saving the Moslems of Afghanistan' because the Islam of the Iranian masses makes him quake in his boots.

Conditions for the Victory of the Afghani Revolution

As the Marxist-Leninist theory teaches, class struggle does not end with the seizure of state power. Rather, it continues until the very division of society into classes is abolished. In the concrete Afghani situation, destruction of the armed counter-revolutionary gangs is a necessary first step in the long struggle to end the division of the nation between peasants and feudalists, workers and capitalists, greedy masters and starving slaves. The disappearance of classes involves a reorganization of the relations of production: It is not enough to overthrow the feudalists and capitalists or to expropriate their property. Private ownership must be abolished as must the difference between the urban and the rural areas and the contradiction between intellectual and manual labour. This process requires the development of the proletariat and overcoming the resistance of the small producers.

We mention these long-range goals, because if it is to succeed, the national democratic revolution in a country such as Afghanistan must have a socialist perspective. At the initial stage, this requires a broad national front with a revolutionary leadership. It also requires the support of the socialist countries. Any way of thinking outside this framework is utopian, as transition to socialism in the countries whose development has been thwarted by imperialism, is unthinkable without alliance with the forces of the world socialist revolution.

While the April '78 Revolution aimed to shoulder the tasks of the national democratic revolution, it encountered problems in building the internal alliances necessary to create a broad popular authority to mobilize the masses in building a new society. Internal disagreement within the leadership was linked to precisely this point. While Tarakki, as the leader, suffers responsibility for the progressive forces failure to unify, there are many signs that it was Amin's faction that was agitating the divisive line. Tarakki returned from Moscow intending to unify the leadership and eliminate the counter-revolution. But his death in the Amin coup precluded the testing of his conviction. Thrusting himself into power, Amin isolated himself more and more. This situation was inevitably leading to deviations in the revolution. The assuming of power by the Karmal government, aided by the Soviet Union, was a corrective move aimed to steer the revolution back on the right path.

Effects

The events in Afghanistan have had importance effects that extend beyond the borders of the country.

For one, they serve as a warning to the Pakistani regime that the progressive government in Afghanistan and its allies will no longer tolerate its conspiracies. There can also be more far-reaching effects, for as the masses in Afghanistan begin making advances in their national democratic revolution, this will inspire the national minorities and popular forces in their struggle against the reactionary regime of Pakistan.

The events also serve to remind the Chinese leadership that its policy of supporting fake liberation movements, against forces allied with the socialist community, will no more succeed in Afghanistan than it did in Angola.

More broadly, Soviet commitment to protecting the Afghani revolution stands as a warning to imperialism and its clients that the USSR is ready to give active aid to promote the progress of popular struggles. It serves to demonstrate that the policy of peaceful co-existence need not mean overlooking the dangers of imperialism and reaction or failing to counteract them. Events in Afghanistan demonstrate the capability of progressive forces in alliance with the socialist forces to overcome the attacks of imperialism and reaction in order to work for liberation and progress of the masses.

Conversely, the stands taken by states and organization throughout the world, in the UN... through political statements, etc. provide an indication as to which forces are prepared to deepen their alliance with the Afghani Revolution and the socialist countries. Among Arab states, only Democratic Yemen registered a clear no in the UN to the attempts to decide who and how the Afghani government should ask for aid. In our area, the real allies of socialism are to be found among the left forces, those organizations and parties which have developed in the context of the masses' struggle and adopted the political and ideological positions that can fulfill the masses goals. Consequently, it is through such forces that support to the people's struggle can be most effective.

The events in Afghanistan and the developments in Iran serve to highlight the polarization that exists globally between imperialism and its allies on the one hand and the anti-imperialist forces on the other. The polarization in turn highlights the true position of those forces that habitually avoid taking a clear stand.

Imperialism's attempts to manipulate Islam, and Arab reaction's response to this call, makes it doubly imperative for the patriotic and progressive Arab forces to take a clear stand for the sake of furthering the polarization in our area. This is in the interests of the Revolution, Arab and Palestinian, as it will contribute greatly to clarifying the conditions and contents of our struggle. We see the meeting of the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation as a positive step in reaffirming that our fundamental struggle is against imperialism and Zionism and that it will not be sidetracked by the current imperialist manoeuvres. Thus, the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation has taken a clear position in the polarized situation, correctly linking the Camp David plot with imperialism's plots against the Afghani and Iranian Revolutions. However, if the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front is to fulfill its stated purpose of really confronting Camp David, its declarations must be translated into practical steps that will further the polarization in our area and promote the mobilization of all the masses, Arab and Palestinian, to confront the tripartite enemy.



JORDAN

OUR TASKS IN THE NATIONAL AND CLASS STRUGGLE

In the following interview, Abu Ali Mustafa, member of the PFLP's Politbureau, analyzes the Jordanian regime's special role in the coming phase of the imperialist 'peace' and the roots of the growth of the mass movement. On this basis, he outlines the tasks of the Revolution in Jordan.

The PFLP has a different political position than that of the PLO concerning dialogue with the Jordanian regime. What is the basis of the Front's position in rejecting this dialogue?

We in the PFLP are perfectly conscious of the overall political developments on the international, Arab and regional levels – that the political situation is in constant motion. Our awareness of this enables us to determine our political stand from a general view to a more comprehensive one. As revolutionaries, we cannot separate 'a part from the whole' or 'the specific from the general'. A comprehensive view of developments enables us to formulate the correct steps for the present and future stages. With this view and through the struggle process, revolutionary resoluteness and high morale, we are able to handle the difficulties imposed by our position.

It is necessary to understand that it is our revolutionary and legitimate right, through the struggle process, to judge which compromises are acceptable and which should be rejected at any specific time. Determining the positions of the revolution is not based on the leaders' personal whims, nor on motives of revenge resulting from a past experience. Rather it is based on evaluation of the basic conditions which play a role in the results.

First: The specific balance of forces

From what position do we compromise? Who are the forces leading the compromise? What is their ideological, political and practical nature?

Second: accurately determining the appropriate political moment (situation) and assessing the internal and external factors

In light of the final results, linked with the reality of the party that the compromise is taking place with, the correct stand is formulated.

Let us put aside the details concerning the history of the Jordanian regime since its inception... its role in oppressing and conspiring against our patriotic masses, and its deep involvement in the imperialist schemes. Let us put aside as well the bloody history of intense struggle against the regime ('70-71). If we are precise concerning the

present situation, what do we find?

Concerning the first condition, we note that the regime is reliant upon the umbrella of official Arab solidarity in order to cover its political and economic crisis. The Jordanian regime imposes its conditions on the platform of what is called the framework of joint action. This situation will not affect the essence of its policy, which is to deal blows to our side. On the contrary, Hussein is eager to participate as he is able to control this game and destroy it at the right moment.

We have not yet attained the level, politically or militarily, which would enable us to direct this trend in our favour or to set the conditions for compromising. Rather the rope has remained in the hands of the regime, to loosen or tighten according to the contents of its policies for opposing the patriotic stand, the Palestinian cause and suppressing the masses.

Concerning the second condition, what was the political moment of the compromise? Was it a moment of joint confrontation against the enemy in order to defend joint interests? Or was it a moment of tactical retreat on the part of the other party? A step shifting its position towards the patriotic camp, even if only a partial one?

We affirm the importance of the political moment because it reflects the other side of the scale, which is important in balancing the compromise. Let us take an example: In World War II, Stalin compromised with imperialism, the primary enemy of socialism, in order to form a temporary alliance to confront the Nazi attack. The answer is clear: in light of the joint factors, it was to the interest of both parties to destroy Nazism. However, we do not see the Jordanian regime preparing for a joint confrontation against the Zionist enemy, in spite of the fact that the Zionist enemy is a continual threat. On the contrary, this regime continues to aid the enemy by closing its borders to the resistance movement. This is a historical characteristic of the regime since the 1920's. If we examine the common factors between the Zionist enemy and the Jordanian regime – killing, torture and expulsion against those patriots who oppose them – we can see that the common denominator upon which they agree is opposing the Revolution and the patriotic masses.

Is there a possibility for the regime to retreat from its present policy? We do not view the policies of the regime as being different from its past policies in relation to patriotic issues of the region in general or to the Palestinian national cause in specific. In reference to the appropriate political moment for the compromise, I don't believe

FREEDOM FOR OUR FELLOW-
PRISONERS OF THE NATIONAL
MOVEMENT HELD IN THE
JORDANIAN PRISON.

SIXTH GENERAL CONGRESS OF G.U.J.S.

that there is a single idiot in the Arab nation, who can convince himself or the masses that the regime can shift to a patriotic position. Thus we can see that neither of the conditions — balance of forces or choice of the appropriate political moment — favor this compromise. Is there any foundation upon which the PLO leadership can rely? The only thing that the PLO could possibly rely on is the regime's vocal rejection of Camp David. In fact, the regime's practices are more dangerous than Camp David, because imperialism's plans for the future are masked by the Palestinian trump card, under the umbrella of official Arab solidarity.

Full consciousness of the fundamental tasks of the Revolution at this point must be based on a farsighted understanding of the objective and subjective conditions. In view of the regime's growing crisis and the masses' rising consciousness, it is our task to encourage our masses to employ all forms of class and national struggle in order to advance. This is the only course for our Revolution to gain a secure base — liberated and progressive — for confronting the enemy and liberating our masses from the oppressive bourgeois regime in Jordan.

Day by day the danger of the relation between the PLO and the Jordanian regime is becoming clearer. In the interests of continuing the march of the revolution, it is our duty to alert the PLO leadership of this danger and the increasing role of the regime in preparation for the coming stage of the capitulationist path. This entails weakening the Palestinian national role, by placing it under the regime's hegemony and by striking it in cooperation with the other enemy forces.

Our position is not due to a desire to single ourselves out, nor to a narrow sectarian view. Rather our consciousness in carrying out our national tasks alerts us to the danger of this relation. Based on this, we took a position of rejecting this dialogue and relation with the Jordanian regime. Future events will prove the correctness of our stand.

Now, after nearly one year of the relations between the Jordanian regime and the PLO, which were recently renewed, what is your evaluation of the results?

Let us start by comparing the joint working paper between the PLO and the Jordanian regime with the political program adopted in the 14th P.N.C.

Section 8 of the working paper states as a general principle: to take the necessary measures to prevent any action which would give the Zionist enemy an excuse for carrying out its plots against Jordan. Can anyone interpret this section as other than agreement on no fighting from across the Jordanian border against the Zionist enemy? After 32 years of occupation, this is the essence of the regime's answer to the national question — to prevent any action. Is there a common denominator with this regime for struggling against imperialist-Zionist plots? When this regime prevents two million Palestinians-Jordanians from participating in the struggle?

What does it mean "to take the necessary measures"? Does it mean cooperation in prohibiting actions and deterring activities against the enemy? Does it mean that we become accomplices to the regime's policies, suppressing the patriotic desires of our masses to participate in the struggle?

Now let us examine the political and media levels. Section D refers to "neutralizing the friends of Israel". Who are the friends of 'Israel' except world imperialism headed by the U.S.? Do we become King Hussein's partners in flirting with U.S.? Or does imperialism remain the primary enemy of our people, and cause, and the enemy of peace and humanity? Isn't this drawing us into a stand which we reject? Is this what is demanded after years of suffering, destruction and

slaughter by U.S. weapons? After all of this, we seek cooperation with this regime on such a basis instead of imposing our conditions on it? The criteria for the revolution's cooperation with any party must be its anti-imperialist position, but the written agreement shows that it was the regime and not the PLO that enforced the conditions.

Let us move to the sections of the political program of the last P.N.C. concerning the relation with Jordan. It is the basis for evaluating the results of this relation. The 5th section states the PLO's commitment to the decisions of the Rabat and Baghdad summits, which reaffirmed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and reaffirmed our people's right to establish an independent national state. This section stipulates that the relation with the Jordanian regime should be based on these decisions and on the regime's rejection of the Camp David agreements and its consequences; and its practice of this rejection by allowing the PLO to carry out the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

How do we reconcile between "allowing the PLO to practice the struggle against the Zionist enemy" and the clause in section 8 of the Jordanian-PLO working paper? What does this mean for the struggle against the enemy with its two aspects — military and mass mobilization. Every day news comes out of mass arrests of Palestinian militants in Jordan. The most recent campaign was the detention of 13 militants, charged with attempting to cross the border to 'Israel'. What about opposing Camp David, while suppressing student demonstrations at Amman and Yarmouk universities, condemning the March '79 agreement? Or the expulsion of students and unjust trials and imprisonment of others for as much as ten years for demonstrating against the Camp David agreements? The danger culminates when these policies are allowed to continue unchallenged, out of consideration for preserving the relation between the PLO and this regime.

In addition, the negative points outweigh the positive in the work of the joint committees, established at the Baghdad Summit to support the steadfastness of our masses in the occupied territories. Our political losses are greater than the gains achieved through distributing the funds. This exemplifies the danger of the Jordanian regime becoming a partner in the Palestinian destiny. This is not limited to the direct oppression of patriots in Jordan, but also concerns our masses in the occupied territories, where the Jordanian regime is intervening in various municipalities and institutions. Its effect on these decisions is becoming more offensive, as is its support to reactionary figures and institutions which have historic links to the regime based on mutual economic interests.

In this context, we should recall the political conflict which occurred in the 12th P.N.C. held in Cairo in 1974. At that time, the PLO leadership was relying on the ideas of a Palestinian state through Geneva and eliminating the slogan of 'No to negotiations'. This was with the pretext of closing the door for the Jordanian regime to participate in the self-determination of our people.

Where are we now in relation to the practice of the decision taken in '74 concerning Jordan? Isn't the Jordanian regime now a partner in the Palestinian political decision? Don't the joint committees give this regime a legitimate facade? Doesn't silence about the regime's political preparations for the coming stage mean the nullification of the slogan 'No to occupation, No to the return of the Jordanian regime to meddle in our internal affairs'? Doesn't this open relation negate the efforts of our masses in Jordan to take their national and class role against the regime?

We reject the basis of this relation and not only its conditions, as we believe the regime is gaining the most. This in itself is harmful to us.



You mentioned that the Jordanian regime is in a state of waiting for a settlement. What political situation will enable it to enter the settlement?

Yes, the Jordanian regime is still knocking on the door of capitulation, while following the developments on various fronts.

Most important, it is waiting for the destruction or weakening of the Palestinian Resistance in Lebanon. It is waiting for this opportunity in cooperation with U.S. imperialism, Zionism and the Lebanese fascist front. Such a defeat would enable King Hussein to promote the plans he has been keeping under his hat – Jordanian-Israeli solutions for absorbing the Palestinian national identity. It is precisely the task of absorbing the Palestinians, which the tripartite alliance has been unable to achieve due to the steadfastness of our masses in and outside of Palestine.

Second, the regime is waiting for Syria to weaken its position against Camp David. There is much documentation of the Jordanian regime's long arm inciting rightist religious forces in Syria. The aim of these actions, specifically now, is not only against the Syrian regime and its relation to the masses and their demands for democratic rights. It also aims to create maximal sectarian discord and chaos in order to disrupt Syria's measures in opposing Camp David; to corner Syria with difficult alternatives, one of which is accepting the American-Zionist conditions. To us, Syria represents a material and geographical position, which is an influential factor in the reality of the movement and its political future.

Third, King Hussein is waiting for the new steps of U.S. imperialism, based on the results of the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations. The regime is aware that the U.S. administration is not willing to limit itself to the Israeli-Egyptian alliance, which is only one step on the road.

U.S. policy is based on dividing the links (parties involved in the conflict) and reassembling them on one chain in the hands of imperialism. The timing of this is to a large degree dependent on the U.S. elections this year, and Israeli elections next year.

Carter is hoping to win the elections and that the Israeli Labour Party will defeat the Likud, because the Israeli Labour Party has demonstrated an understanding of the settlement closer to Carter's than has the Likud. Allon, one of Labour's central members, has proposed a solution which coincides with King Hussein's 1972 proposal for the "United Jordanian Kingdom". A Labour victory could reactivate the Allon-Hussein plans. Even so, it will not be easy for them to overcome the present obstacles, the most important being the Palestinian one; nor is it easy for the PLO leadership to hand over all its cards to the Jordanian regime.

In a press conference in December '79, King Hussein outlined a project, which is in reality a renewal of the "United Kingdom Plan". He said, "We have an alternative to the closed door of Camp David. The territories should be returned to us under the auspices of the U.N. for a period of five years, since we are the party concerned in U.N. Resolution 242; afterwards an international committee should supervise the elections for the right of Palestinian self-determination.

Politically, this has double implications: First, that the Jordanian regime is the party concerned vis-a-vis Palestinian territory (a return to the policy of enveloping the Palestinian national identity).

Second is the negation of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This not only contradicts, but also nullifies the resolutions adopted at the Algeria, Rabat and Baghdad summits, and the verbal commitments to these resolutions.

Is there a role for the Jordanian regime in the present settlement-Camp David?

At the present time, we do not believe so. This regime is not against Camp David, but it has not yet conceived its role. The regime also realizes that the factors that would enable it to violate the official Arab stand are not yet present. Hussein is still waiting, keeping his doors open to imperialism and even to the Israeli leadership. Secret meetings are being held with Rabin and Peres. Hussein is seriously searching through private means, which does not contradict with his waiting for achievements by imperialism on the other fronts. In this situation, the Saudi regime constitutes a political and economic support to keep Hussein running in the race to serve imperialism.



Hussein cultivating his 'private' contacts with Linowitz, special US envoy in the 'autonomy' talks.

What are the implications of the latest change in the Jordanian cabinet?

It is natural for any regime to have its policies and tactics representing interests of the ruling class. Each class has its means of protecting its authority.

The latest cabinet change which brought Abdel Hamid Sharif as Prime Minister hasn't changed the laws of the ruling class. Sharif is a legitimate son of the regime and continues to protect its heritage with new deceptive means.

Prior to being appointed to head the cabinet, he presented many of his political opinions in lectures at the Jordanian University Graduates Club in August '78. He presented the liberal opinions which he learned from the European-American school. He discussed Arab unity, Palestine and three aims (1) development projects (2) political democracy (3) government institutions—all on the basis of the interests of the bourgeoisie. Whether Sharif likes it or not, this bourgeoisie remains as a dependent and non-productive one, its interests intertwined with the feudalists and tribalists. The conditions of the socio-economic formation do not enable it to play the same role as the European bourgeoisie did. Through the Parliament, the European bourgeoisie legislated working hours, unions, women's rights and education in the service of its own interests. Today under the impact of the crisis we can see that the European bourgeoisie has become increasingly reactionary since instituting these changes.

Sharif puts forth three essential questions:

1. Why have positive efforts to change and advance the establishment of political institutions in the Arab nation been disrupted?
2. Why was true economic development and development towards a democracy and modern responsible state disrupted?
3. Why have these goals remained desires, instead of becoming achievements?

Sharif returns to his class position in his conclusion: "political progress and development will only be achieved through interaction, training and practice, by drawing up a new spiritual charter for the nation which will vitalize each patriot with the principles of awaking and superiority". Here we notice the deception of the bourgeois theoreticians speaking from their position within the state bureaucracy, for Sharif represents the material form of the disease. He proposes spiritual treatment — an all-out lie. The doctor realizes his interest, but he doesn't realize the interest of the patient. This is like treating heart disease with witchcraft.

During the feudalist era in Europe the feudalist possessed, in addition to the land and peasants, two weapons — the henchman and the priest. The henchman was for the disobedient and the priest was to give the hope of salvation in order to make the people obedient.

In order to understand the new Prime Minister, it is beneficial to follow his train of thought and its direction in reality. He spoke much about democracy and the role of the human being. Sharif now presides over the government in Jordan, where there are hundreds of political prisoners, military trials and expulsions of patriots whose only crime is believing in their cause.

The changes in the Jordanian cabinet were based on two considerations:

1. Sharif represents a more dynamic spirit for drawing up the Jordanian policy, especially on the Arab and international levels. His appointment at this particular time coincides with the regime's plans for strengthening its political mobility for 1980-81, in order to stabilize its position in the settlement schemes. Sharif has been designated as the one skilled in handling contacts with Arab reaction, the U.S. and Western Europe.

Sharif gives the impression of being more understanding towards the Palestinian cause and he is skillful in explaining the thinking of the regime. This was exemplified in his last lecture at the Royal Institute of Foreign Relations in London. Let us look at two of the phrases he used. He spoke of Israeli "insistence on rejecting the Palestinian people's right to self-rule and national existence". Notice how he slipped in self-rule in the context of safeguarding the rights of the Palestinian people and national existence, while the regime verbally joins the PLO in rejecting the self-rule plan. He also said, "In our search for peace, we must take in account the common interests and legitimate aspirations, so that the solution will be enacted on the basis of the material and moral balance of the forces of the area."

Doesn't this phrase fall into the stew of Sadat, to be served on the same platter, namely, the normalization of political, economic and cultural relations with the Zionist enemy.

2. The new cabinet was installed as a sponge to absorb the effects of the regime's growing crisis.

In addition to American aid, Arab support has poured into Jordan to bolster the regime and give Hussein a patriotic image. Yet the greedy compradors, commissioners and contractors have ravaged the country, converting the lives of the people into an economic, political and social hell.

Naturally the ruling class, headed by the regime, is suffering from the disease of the overall crisis of capitalism, due to its dependency

and market relations with this system. However, this fact does not decrease the immensity of the sums being poured into Jordan. As an example, the regime originally requested \$800 million at the Baghdad Summit, but was rewarded with \$450 million extra.

Our aim here is not to present a comprehensive economic study, but to point out that there is an increase in the crisis, in class oppression and exploitation, as well as in political repression. In October, this situation led the people of South Jordan in desperation to march towards Amman with their demands — expulsion of the corrupt government and a stop to the rising prices, aid for the families of the South in light of the fact that their life subsistence is based on agriculture and livestock. The fact that most of their demands were economic in no way detracts from their basic awareness that the roots of their problems are to be found in the ruling authority.

There were also secondary issues involved, such as the sex scandal which touched figures of the regime, but basically the new cabinet was appointed as a sponge to absorb the masses' deep-rooted hatred of the regime. The idea was to initiate moral discussions about the social crisis, while stabilizing the monopolies, contractors and commissioners; to renew the discussion of democracy, while increasing political prisoners, unjust trials and surveillance of patriots. The Palestinian cause is to be discussed, while the regime escalates its crack-down on militants, its protection of enemy security and broadens its avenues towards the settlement.

These bourgeois deceptions must not pass unexposed; the slogans of solidarity may sound good, but in reality they are devoid of content. The responsibility for exposing the regime's deception, and for mobilizing the masses vis-a-vis daily and political issues to pave the way for a national democratic authority, lies with the patriotic democratic forces.

What distinguishes Jordan from the other countries which border Palestine?

Jordan's common border with Palestine is longer than that of any other state. However, this fact alone does not account for why we consider it as a fundamental arena for our struggle, a base which must be gained by the patriotic democratic forces. Due to the particular historical development, this arena contains several factors, which we consider fundamental in the continuation of our long-term war against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy.

These factors are:

1. The composition of the population of Jordan makes it the position of the largest concentration of the Palestinian masses outside of Palestine. Statistics indicate that 60% of the population is Palestinian.

2. The second factor, which is linked with the first, is the political, economic and social integration between our two peoples — Palestinian and Jordanian — in Jordan. This has reflected itself through the history of struggle, in the form of parties and other organizations, and in the common realities imposed on all our masses in this part of the Arab World.

3. The Jordanian arena presents a unique opportunity for preparing our revolution to enter the correct channel of enriching and protecting itself with the progressive Arab scope. This has strategic, geographical and mass implications. Bordering more than one Arab country, Jordan presents a framework for the development of our popular revolution on the patriotic, national and social levels.

Our program must correspond to the facts of these three positive factors. The fundamental subjective conditions, the unified program, the unified instrument, must be created corresponding to the particular conditions of the struggle against the national enemy —



Zionism – and against the class enemy. The class and national aspects of the struggle will reinforce each other in advancing towards the establishment of a patriotic democratic regime, which would open new horizons for the masses and the revolution.

This explains, to a great degree, the regime's policy of striking any revolutionary development, including struggle against the Zionist enemy. The regime is not blind to the fact that the results of the struggle will lead to the growth of consciousness and common struggle on all fronts.

Can you describe the political, social and economic problems encountered by the masses in Jordan, which have led to the increase in popular protest?

It is fundamental that we recognize the elements of the crisis, no matter what form they assume. All its various forms have one common root, namely, the nature of the bourgeoisie, its alliance with feudalism and the increased proportion of bureaucrats in the last decade. The bourgeoisie's fangs were extended to suck up everything; this bourgeoisie established construction companies; it absorbed Arab capital and expanded its institutions and production, which in the past was non-productive, infantile and dependent. The new input was oil revenues channeled as aid, the capital of immigrants and companies of various origins. In this the bourgeoisie relied on its ownership of real estate and agricultural lands, its stocks in companies and banks and its managers in the factories.

According to the last official statistics, the population of Jordan is 2,150,000, of which the dominating sector constitutes 5%. The rest of the population lives in poverty and suffers double oppression – class oppression by the reactionary bourgeoisie and national oppression due to their being dispersed and endangered by the Zionist enemy.

35% work in agriculture, as share-croppers, small peasants or agricultural labourers. According to the Central Bank's statistics, their income is equal to 10% of the national income. There are thousands employed within the state administration and institutions, in the army and security. A minority of these employees have high positions, linking their interests to those of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, while the majority are placed in the lower ranks and live on loans. They cannot find housing at a cost which corresponds with their income. Prices are increasing daily. These things have an especially marked effect, as the responsibility of the employee or soldier does not end with his immediate family, but includes parents and younger brothers and sisters. As there is no social security, the extended family depends on the employed son.

At the forefront of the oppressed and exploited are the workers in the factories, service, construction and agriculture. Jordanian workers are being expelled by various means and replaced by South Koreans. (At present, there are 8,000 Korean workers in Jordan). The regime attempts to destroy the growing working class, by appointing its agents to head many of the unions, which organize the majority of workers. There are no laws except those which serve the bourgeoisie, no protection from the police, no social welfare.

The education system reinforces this trend; secondary schools and universities fail the majority of the students, while the children of the well-to-do receive their education at American and European universities, regardless of their merits. Tuition is raised annually; students are prohibited from forming unions to organize their initiatives and defend their rights. Anyone discovered as a member of the General Union of Jordanian Students or the Jordanian National Student Union is subject to expulsion or imprisonment.

Political detainees are tried under military law. Political parties are

forbidden. There is no freedom of the press. Democracy, as defined by the ruling class, is democracy for them alone. As an example, the advisory council was established by royal decree.

Beginning in 1978, we have seen renewed mass manifestations. When the Zionists invaded South Lebanon, there were demonstrations throughout Jordan. Simultaneously, there were spontaneous actions against the oppression and exploitation. Many expressed readiness to join the Resistance in South Lebanon.

These events had many positive results. In the first place, they shattered the wall of fear which has surrounded the masses. The Popular Convention was held with the participation of organizations, parties and unions, where a General Secretariat was elected for this assembly of the popular forces in Jordan.

While appearing to kneel before the explosive situation, the regime was in reality planning a double-cross. The call for volunteers to South Lebanon was permitted with the idea of 'transferring' these volunteers to prison. The General Secretariat was allowed to function until the situation cooled down; then its active members were arrested in order to dissolve it. As usual, the regime was true to the character of Arab reaction, which is that of a lion against the masses, but jumps like a scared rabbit at the sound of the national enemy's footsteps. History proves this. In spite of all the measures for patching the regime's ugly face, including the 1979 attempts to stir up nationalist chauvinism at the Jordan University, the facts cannot be hidden. On the contrary, there is growing awareness among the Jordanian people that the regime and the ruling class are the agents of imperialism, clinging to the coat tails of its market.

The October march to Amman was initiated by tribes from the south. Yet their demands had broad social and political implications, because the majority of the masses suffer from the same oppression. The marchers were shouting: The millionaires are growing and the castles of the royal family are increasing, while our sons are naked and starving. Our livestock is dying of thirst, while the government is drowning in the pools of scandal and turns a deaf ear to the demands of the people.

The really positive note in this is that it reflects the spread of consciousness in the ranks of the masses. The King felt the instability in its structures; his left hand presented the new government, while the right directed a campaign of mass arrests, striking patriots in the towns and the camps. Those who speak about human rights must usher the Red Cross into the Jordanian jails to see those who are detained, some since '75.

The conditions in Jordan demand greater alertness on the part of the patriotic democratic forces in politicizing the struggle of the masses and determining the correct demands and slogans for the march to achieve their goals.

What is the Jordanian regime's role in exporting counter-revolution?

From its establishment, the regime in Jordan was a gendarme in the hands of the British, to strike the Palestinian movement and protect the colonial routes and interests, as well as to suppress the masses in Jordan. The regime aided colonialism in executing the Balfour Declaration. One of its first ventures into other countries was sending army units against the revolution of Rasheed Ali Al-Kilani in Iraq in the early forties. After 1948, King Hussein concentrated on strengthening his repressive institutions, in accordance with the new task assigned to the regime, that being to crush the Palestinian national identity. He transformed his military forces to security forces along the border of the Zionist occupation.

The '67 defeat brought disgrace to the regime, as his army fled from the enemy's advance. The shaken condition of the regime

permitted a situation in which the armed Palestinian Resistance grew. But the regime re-organized its repressive forces to strike the Resistance and the masses. Starting with the battles at the end of '68 to take the pulse of the Resistance, and continuing in the fierce battles of 1970-71, the efforts of the regime were tenfold those exerted against the Zionist enemy over thirty years.

At the same time, Hussein sent its engineering corps and artillery units to Oman to bolster Qabus against the PFLO, cooperating in this task with the Shah's Iran and the British. In addition, the regime aided the Lebanese fascists against the Resistance and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement in the civil war. Hussein has exported dozens of his intelligence agents to the countries of the Gulf and to North Yemen, in cooperation with reactionary circles, for surveillance of Arab patriots. Most recently, he sent a special unit to help suppress the events in the Grand Mosque. This was done in the name of defending Islam, as if Mecca is closer for the regime's forces than Jerusalem; but in its essence it was to protect the position of reaction.

In our estimation, the regime will not miss any opportunity to support any reactionary position regardless of its cost in the blood of soldiers, at the expense of the masses. The regime is prepared to support King Hassan II of Morocco. At present, Jordan is harbouring dozens of SAVAK agents who escaped after the Iranian people's victory.

In light of what you have said, will you assess the balance of power in Jordan, the forces for change and the program required for their struggle against the ruling class?

In general, the ruling class is still capable of maintaining its deceptive position within the official Arab patriotic framework. This protects the unity of its institutions and leaves the door open for political contacts and economic refueling to alleviate its crisis. King Hussein is benefiting greatly from the vacillation of Arab patriotic policy on the one hand and from Arab reaction guarding his distinctive position on the other. To the factors strengthening the regime, we must add the openness of the PLO. This contributes to prolonging its rule. We don't claim that cutting off the PLO-Jordanian relation would end the regime, but political isolation will hasten the eruption of its crisis. This will accelerate the development of the revolutionary process and give it greater clarity.

The curtain of opposing Camp David and its agreement is temporary. It will sag in the coming period. The regime will re-emerge brandishing its sword, directly confronting the development of the Arab patriotic movement, the Palestinian Resistance, the masses, all the progressive and revolutionary forces.

In our understanding of the present balance of forces, the objective conditions that could aid our revolutionary struggle are not fully ripe. However, this does not delete our responsibility for compensating this deficiency by working to create the subjective conditions, the most important being:

1. Dropping the line which says 'the objective conditions are not ripe-let's wait and see'

This line is based on viewing the position of politically and socially backward societies, where feudal elements remain, as similar to that of Europe before the bourgeois revolution. Hence, completion of the capitalist formation is seen as necessary for development of a working class capable of leading the socialist revolution. Those adopting this tendency ignore the extent of qualitative changes involved in the transition of capitalism to its monopolistic stage, imperialism. They ignore the composition of the local bourgeoisie, its dependent link to the capitalist market and its extreme reaction internally.

2. A fundamental condition for victory will materialize with the formation of the revolutionary party

Such a party must grow up from the heart of the toiling masses to form the vanguard, leading and developing the struggle. The party for confrontation is the vanguard of the working class which designs its program on a clear strategical view and correct tactical basis, encompassing all the issues — political, economic and social — in the arena of struggle. The party must possess a clear view of primary and secondary contradictions in making its alliances. It must grasp the political moment and determine the role of the party and the masses in each stage, exposing incorrect tendencies — adventurist or reformist.

3. The united national front

The lessons of past battles highlight the necessity of avoiding the isolation of the revolutionary forces, as this can seriously endanger the march of the struggle. Therefore, we should realize that the national front, representing an alliance of the oppressed classes is the correct instrument for expanding the circle of confrontation with the national and class enemies. However great the party and its role, however correct its views, it alone cannot solve the problems of the people at the present stage, in order to carry out the tasks of the national democratic revolution. We must work for establishing a national front in Jordan depending on the following elements for its success:

a) the importance of the national front as a weapon in the hands of the revolutionaries

b) comprehending the present and historical developments of the concept and formation of the national front

c) the importance of drawing up the political and organizational program of the national front

d) taking into consideration the particularities of the country at hand, the nature of the stage and of the contending forces

e) creative implementation of the lessons of other experiences

In light of the three conditions in determining our stand and the nature of the stage, the formation of the national front is an immediate requirement in order to designate the tasks for all militants in the arena, patriotic and progressive. This must be done without plunging into overwhelming strategical slogans.

In light of the gap in the balance of power to the regime's favour on the one hand and the immaturity of the struggle on the other, the matter of designating the appropriate slogan assumes utmost importance. We must mobilize and organize all the masses in Jordan around the slogan:

We will struggle for seizing our freedom to struggle; to organize mass institutions and unions and to build the party and the front.

In the context of the slogan of political freedoms, confrontation of the national enemy also assumes priority on our agenda. The Zionist occupation not only infringes on the Palestinian national existence, but it endangers the surrounding area in general, and the masses in Jordan in particular. This demands the united struggle of all our masses in this arena.

These two slogans — political freedom and the right of armed mass struggle against the Zionist enemy — cannot be separated, or compromised. In the present situation, we consider these as the minimum slogans which can rally all the classes, afflicted by the oppression of the regime, against the Zionist enemy.

In conclusion, I would like to praise the role of our masses in Jordan and our struggling comrades, those inside and out of jail. It is their consciousness and perseverance which paves the road of our justified optimism in the masses' victory.

OCCUPIED HOMELAND



THE BATTLE AGAINST ZIONIZATION CONTINUES

Expropriation of land, expropriation of Palestinian institutions, racism, terror and arrests are continuing...

Zionization is being attempted once again in order to establish the material basis for the future Zionist schemes.

At the turn of the year, Energy Minister, Yitzhak Modai, announced plans to expropriate the East Jerusalem Electric Company. The Arab-run electric company has supplied electricity to much of the West Bank since 1928. The company, with 400 employees, distributes electricity to approximately 350,000 Palestinians in the East Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramallah and Areha (Jericho) areas. In addition, approximately 15,000 Jewish settlers in new residential centers and in the Zionist settlements receive their electric power from the company. The expropriation of the East Jerusalem Electric Company will eliminate the remaining Arab control over the distribution of electricity. This culminates the process begun in '72, when the company's current supply was subordinated to the Israeli electricity net.

We will not dwell on the action of the expropriation of the Jerusalem Electric Company itself, for this type of action has been long expected, if we understand the Zionist policy on the expropriation of lands and institutions and its colonial background. Rather we will point to the factors which have prompted the Zionist enemy to take these steps at this particular time — the political and economic plans to be achieved by the Zionist enemy.

At the same time, within these prevailing conditions, we must be conscious of the material and political abilities which our masses possess in confronting the enemy, to force it to retreat and drop the order of expropriation.

The factors which prompted the enemy to implement the expropriation of the East Jerusalem Electric Company at this particular time involve certain subjective and objective conditions.

Subjectively, the company was confronted with corruption in the administration. This, along with the objective condition of the company, being subordinate to the discriminatory Israeli laws, imposed on it additional difficulties, thus preventing it from functioning as before. Linked to this situation, the company was forced to take loans from the Regional Israeli Electric Company.

The machinery, especially the generators, were old and continually breaking down, causing costly repairs, while at the same time cutting the electric power to the customers. The result was cuts in the amount of payment made by the consumers and the accumulation of debts by the company. Because of the huge debts, the company could not afford to replace the old machinery. This and other factors placed the company in a dilemma with its employees, since it was unable to fulfill the workers' needs and demands.

It may appear as if the problems of the East Jerusalem Electric Company were restricted to administrative and financial ones and that it would be possible to solve the problems, so that the electric company could continue to function.

However, seen in relation to the prevailing political situation, it becomes clear that the factors leading to expropriation of the company were not restricted to merely financial and administrative difficulties. For the real problem of the electric company developed when it became a tool to be used politically. Who was using the electric company as a political tool? Jordan began extending its financial support which was linked to the regime's political demands; with the knowledge of the Palestinian-Jordanian joint committee. These political demands were not in the interest of the electric company, nor its future as a Palestinian national symbol, but rather at the expense of the struggle of our masses in the occupied homeland.

The aim of the Jordanian regime's so-called support was to stabilize its positions in the occupied territories, in order to pursue its efforts to take part in representing the West Bank and thus continue its task of containing the Palestinian identity. When its political demands were not met, the regime withdrew its financial support to the company.

In light of this situation, the position of the PLO leadership was moderate. This moderate position played a decisive role in the outcome, as the PLO leadership did not provide a radical solution for the future of the East Jerusalem Electric Company.

Faced with this desperate situation, the company had an alternative to sell shares in the electric company. The first shares were purchased by the Zionist enemy, as a tactical move to test the reactions. This was in

preparation for the total expropriation of the electric company. This course of development also reaffirmed that the interests of the Jordanian regime are not the protection of Palestinian interests, as it simply allowed the Zionists to control the situation.

With this background, what are the political factors which led the Zionists to expropriate the electric company?

aa. the geographical location of the company being in East Jerusalem

b. its value as a symbol of Palestinian national identity.

As such, the expropriation is an extension of the Zionization policy, in order to totally dominate East Jerusalem. This conspiracy can not be achieved without liquidating all forms of national Palestinian presence, of which the electric company is considered one of the largest and most prominent.

The present political situation demands that actions of this type be carried out, due to the fact that the Zionists, in coordination with the other parties of Camp David are using all means possible to force 'autonomy'.

The tripartite enemy is threatened by the presence of national Palestinian institutions and the role which they play in opposing the 'autonomy' plan. Their existence is an important factor, contributing to the steadfastness of our masses. Institutions, such as the electric company insure employment, providing an income and thus helping Palestinians to avoid resorting to immigration.

Zionization of the Palestinian national economy goes hand-in-hand with the 'autonomy' plan — subordinating the economy of the occupied territories to that of 'Israel' to render self-rule powerless. This expropriation enables the Regional Israeli Electric Company to control distribution of electricity and materially reinforces Zionist domination. This places other Palestinian institutions, such as the Nablus Electric Company, in jeopardy as well.

Mass Resistance

Following the path by which they forced the release of Bassam Al Shakaa, our masses in the occupied territories challenged the expropriation with a general strike, protests, and demonstrations. A conference took place in support of the electric company, despite the occupation forces prohibiting the mayors of the West Bank to attend. The conference took place in occupied Jerusalem to reaffirm that the struggle for the electric

company is part of our Palestinian people's struggle for Jerusalem, with all of its institutions, culture, and traditions. The conference declared, "we will not compromise in this cause, but we will continue to defend

our rights until achieving our goals. The same firm and persistent position taken in defending Bassam Al Shakaa will be continued."

The Palestinian and Arab masses outside of Palestine joined the protest against the Zionist enemy's expropriation of the East Jerusalem Electric Company. In Beirut, the popular committees met to mobilize and organize for a general strike planned for January 31.

The masses have demonstrated their ability to resist, and it is the role of the Palestinian National Front (PNF), as the

extension of the PLO in the occupied territories, to lead this resistance. If the struggle against Zionization is to be really effective, the PLO leadership must take a firm position to each and every case where this policy is attempted. This would support the PNF in mobilizing all the national democratic forces, and make it impossible for the Jordanian regime to play a role in Palestinian decision-making.

ADIO-ORIENT

AL HADAF
PCROX 212
BEIRUT

MANIFESTAMOS SOLIDARIDAD HUELGA GENERAL PALESTINA LIBANO CONTRA
CONFISCACION CENTRAL ELECTRICA JERUSALEN POR OCUPANTE SIONISTA
PALESTINA VECCERA
MC ESPANA MIR CHILE PRT ARGENTINA PVP URUGUAY MPLN BOLIVIA
FPL EL SALVADOR

We express our solidarity with the general strike in Palestine and Lebanon against the confiscation of the Jerusalem Electric Company by the Zionist occupiers.

Palestine will be victorious.

Communist Movement-Spain (MC), MIR - Chile, Workers Revolutionary Party - Argentina (PRT), Popular Vanguard Party - Uruguay (PVP), Popular Movement for National Liberation - Bolivia (MPLN), Popular Liberation Front - El Salvador (FPL)

ZIONIZING PUBLIC SERVICES

This is a continuation of the 1972 study concerning Zionist policy in the 1967 occupied territories.

The gain of new Arab territories meant that 'Israel' had to deal with a greatly increased number of Palestinians under occupation. Under the heading of 'co-existence between Jews and Arabs', tactical modifications were introduced into the Zionist policy. 'Co-existence' as defined by Zionism is not a question of promoting equality. The authority implementing this policy is the same that supervised wiping out the political, economic and social Palestinian identity in the 1948 occupied territories. In 'Israel', Palestinian Arabs are denied political freedom, legal protection, freedom of movement and job opportunities accorded to Jewish citizens, for no other reason than their rejection of the Zionist entity. In the Zionist plan, 'co-existence' was intended to passify Palestinian opposition to occupation to prepare for future annexation of the newly occupied territories to 'Israel'. An important aspect of this policy is seen in the field of public utilities and social services.

After the 1967 war, the Zionist authorities spent some time discussing and weighing the objectives of their future policy - whether their programs should be to improve the public utilities and social services existing in the territories or to merge them with the Israeli system. Two political views and two policy programs prevailed. Whereas Benhas Sapir, Minister of the Treasury, backed by Yigal Allon, proposed economic isolation of these areas; Moshe Dayan proposed improvement of the local public utilities and services to later be absorbed by 'Israel'.

The contradiction between the two wings continued; the authority improved some of the local utilities and services, while merging certain selected utilities with their counterparts in 'Israel'. The choice of which alternative to follow in each case was primarily dictated by economic and technical factors. For example, the electricity of Tulkarim and Kalkilia are adjoined to 'Israel', while no utility in Nablus has, as of now, been merged. Needless to say, the territories whose utilities are adjoined to 'Israel' are to be considered as excluded from future negotia-

tions.

The Zionists have hidden their true aims by claiming that their objective is the social advancement of the 1967 occupied territories. However, the following points prove the contrary:

1. The gradual preparation of sections of the 1967 occupied territories for annexation to 'Israel', Jerusalem being the prime example
2. Zionizing local public utilities by planting Israeli administrators in the utility boards, as well as appointing those to execute the plans
3. Increasing the territories' dependence on 'Israel'
4. 'Normalization' of daily life in the territories in spite of occupation
5. Advancement of certain social and economic activities to induce a qualitative change in the standard of living, as a result of improvement of the public utilities, which will be attributed to the occupation
6. Evading the negative imprints of occupation - the spread of poverty - in an attempt to absorb the people's hatred



In the field of public utilities and social services, the Zionists designed programs incorporating two objectives: Israeli expansion and creating a certain level of satisfaction among the people. The essential points of the Israeli programs are:

First: Adjoining/merging selected local utilities to 'Israel'

The Israeli authorities proceeded to either entice or force the local public utilities and services to join or merge with 'Israel'. The Tulkarim electric station was forced to merge with its Israeli counterpart, when the authorities blocked importation of necessary machinery which it had requested. Similarly, Biet Iksa (northeast of Jerusalem) was forced to deal with an Israeli electric company when the authorities rejected the Jerusalem Electric Company's proposals for the town. In Gaza, the 'stick and carrot' policy was followed, whereby the authorities lowered the cost of electricity after having forced adjoinment to 'Israel'. This consequently widened the gap in the cost of living between the West Bank and Gaza.

The Zionists were not satisfied with the adjoinment of utilities, but wanted to Zionize and merge them as well. The Jerusalem Electric Company was ruled 'Israeli' by the judicial consultant, who then appointed to its board of directors, two Zionist members of the local authorities of the section of Jerusalem occupied in 1948. This forced all its customers — Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Ramallah, El Bira, Areha (Jericho), Beit Sahur — to draw their electricity from 'Israel'. The recently built Kiryat Arba settlement draws electricity from 'Israel', which is the first step towards joining the whole of El Khalil's (Hebron) electricity. One recognizes a similarity between the growing Zionist demand for establishing new settlements on Mount Khalil and the Zionist activities in Nazareth after the 1948 occupation, when Upper Nazareth was built to supercede the Palestinian town.

By merging the utilities, the Zionist authorities are attempting to increase the 1967 occupied territories' dependence on 'Israel', while reaping the maximum economic profits. The primary objective of the dependence method is to create obstacles for the maintenance of the local utilities and integrate them. This is to create facts which will hinder separation in the future, making it costly and virtually impossible. Of course, this method is supported by those leaders who are in favor of annexing the territories.

Therefore the success of the initial mergers

provide the guideline for the complete integration of socio-economic relations in the future.

Second: Expanding and improving local public utilities

The Zionist slogan 'Improve the old and construct the new' was raised deliberately at the time when loans and aid were being offered to the local municipalities for the improvement and expansion of utilities, and when the electricity merger with 'Israel' could be felt to have distinctly intensified and extended electrical power in the area. The construction of a second dock in the Gaza port will automatically increase the port's capacity from 130,000 tons to 300,000 tons. The construction of a lighted road between Jenin and the refugee camp will serve to beautify the city and at the same time serve the Zionists' security purposes. The Ram Lake water project has a similar story; the water pipes, primarily intended to draw water for irrigation of agricultural land of the village of Bakaata in the Golan Heights, were expanded upon and used for the modernization of drinking water facilities, as well as being extended to the water project in Tulkarim.

The occupiers enticed the El Bira and Tulkarim municipalities by issuing them loans for improvement of electrical power, roads and other social services. The loans offered were 176,000 dinars and 200,000 dinars in 1972, respectively. They also loan-

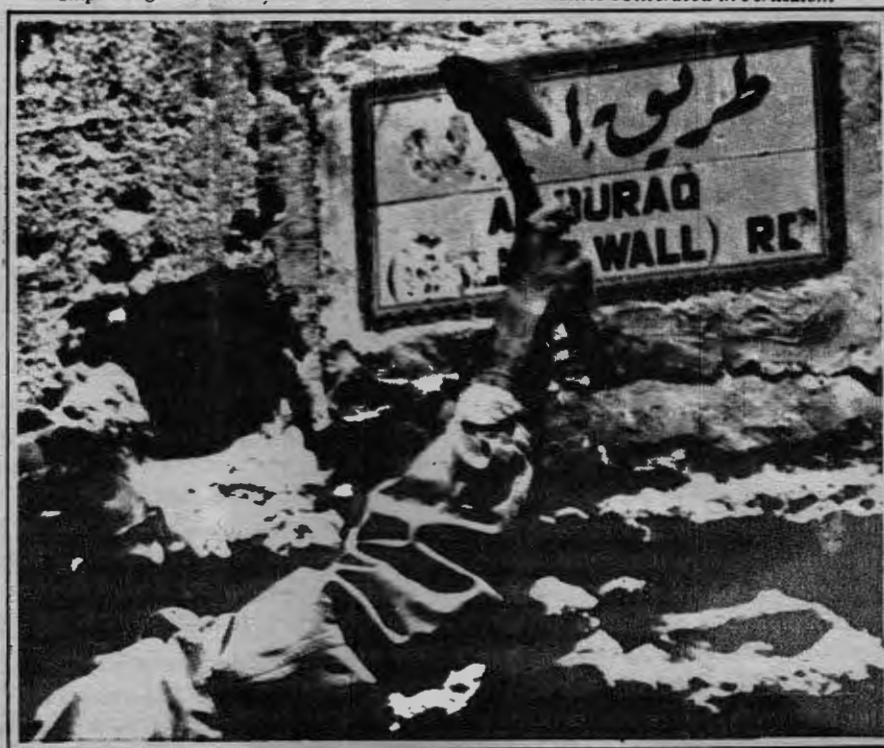
ed the Areha municipality 13,000 Israeli pounds for utility improvements and 60,000 pounds — the cost of a new fire engine. These funds are put in perspective when we see the budget proposal for housing and utility projects in Gaza, which is minimal compared with allotments for similar projects in 'Israel'. In addition, through the expansion of public utilities and services, the Zionists are at the same time creating a better infrastructure for their military and security apparatus.

While encouraging Arab labourers to work in 'Israel', and facilitating commerce between the '67 territories and 'Israel', will affect certain categories of people, public services affect the population in general. This will result in an overall qualitative change in the standard of living thus fulfilling the Zionists' tactical objective of passifying the people so that they will be inclined to accept the occupation as a reality.

Third: Encouraging relations between the local authorities and the Zionist leaders.

In order to advance 'normal relations' and win the people's trust, contacts between the military authorities and the local authorities were strongly encouraged. 'Friendly' cooperation simplified the process of Judaization and facilitated the merger of utilities, guaranteeing that the municipalities would not oppose the Zionist proposals. After establishing this atmosphere, the Zionists forced Israeli 'know-how' on the municipali-

Improving the roads means Zionization. Arab street names obliterated in Jerusalem



ties and consequently the mergers. For example, Kalkilia and Areha municipalities commissioned the Israeli Tahir Company for their water project.

It is important to remember that at the time this article was written, the majority of West Bank and Gaza municipalities were headed by traditional leaders, traitors and Jordanian agents. This situation has been radically changed with the election of patriotic mayors in a row of the municipalities in 1976.

Fourth: Encouraging dependence on Israeli 'know-how'

By isolating the '67 occupied territories from other sources, the Zionist authorities enforced dependence on Israeli 'know-how'. In public service projects, the military authorities commissioned an Israeli mercantile company, whose projects required Israeli administration. Thus, these projects served to Zionize the administrative structures of the utilities and cemented their dependence. In addition, this accustomed the people in the territories to constant adaptation to Zionist procedures, which should ultimately result in *de facto* acceptance of occupation. For example, the Nablus municipal board commissioned an Israeli company for its water pumps in Beer Wadi in Bathan area.

Fifth: Expansion of aid and housing loan programs

The military authorities expanded on the Jordanian aid and loans programs and the social service offices in existence, in an attempt to evade the socio-economic imprints of occupation. Only Zionists were employed in the social service offices, and monthly aid was personally delivered by them to people's homes. The number of beneficiaries was 200,000 in '67; by '72, this was decreased to 33,000. This was not due to an increase in the standard of living as claimed by the Zionists. Rather, the Zionist need to bribe the Palestinian population had decreased, because by this time the military authority had brought the territories under control through brute force. (This was following the major crack-down on the Resistance in Gaza.)

The program was not limited to aid, but also included housing projects and loans. In Jerusalem, one and a half million pounds were lent to the Arabs, and 21 housing projects were built for the people of Wadi Al Jauz. However, this is minimal when compared to the amounts spent on the projects to house Zionist settlers in the '67 territories.

No doubt, these aids and loans helped to ease the relationship between the people and the military authority. A popular proverb — 'feed the mouth and the eye will shy off' — is the basis of the special attention that was afforded to the families of prisoners and martyrs of the June War and the Palestinian Resistance. Through daily contact between the Zionist social services employees and the people, a 'friendly' attitude was cultivated towards the occupiers. In addition, the Arab community was introduced to the Israeli life style.

Sixth: Technical training programs

The Zionists contend that the technical programs are especially chosen for the advancement of the individual needs and to promote self-sufficiency in the territories. However, these programs are specifically planned to increase the employment of cheap Arab labour and consequently decrease strains on the Israeli economy. For example, a special construction program was organized in the Golan Heights, from which 500 Arab labourers graduated.

Needless to say, the Israeli need for cheap labour dictates programs of low technical standard, which results in the highest economic benefits for 'Israel'. That is, when the Zionists employ 50,000 Arab labourers, they are able to enlist 50,000 Zionists in the military service, without causing the least damage to the economy. The 50,000 Arabs will be the first victims of lay-offs, should the influx of Jewish immigration increase and should life ever become normal in 'Israel', at which time the 50,000 soldiers will need jobs. Consequently, Arab opposition to further immigration will grow, and due to unemployment, more Arabs will emigrate from the West Bank and Gaza, which will of course be encouraged by the Zionists.

In order to quench hatred of the occupation, special attention was given to providing programs that directly influence the attitude of the Arab labourers. In 1972, in Khalil, training sessions for hotel and restaurant employees were set up; in Tulkarim, hairdressers programs were scheduled. The instructors were, of course, all Zionists, which should create 'friendly' relationships between the master, a Zionist, and the student, an Arab.

Seventh: Efforts towards total integration

As a result of the Zionist policies, the gap increased between the Jordanian social laws governing the territories and the newly imposed socio-economic conditions. The

standard of living rose, but so did the prices, which became almost as high as in 'Israel'. This in turn necessitated a rise in the individual's income and additional social services, if Zionist policy was to have the desired effects. The military authority was alerted to the fact that more advanced studies should be prepared concerning how to cope with the social needs of the people in the '67 territories to counter the negative effects. The Israeli study outlined a program which will facilitate annexation. So far, the Israeli social security system and the Israeli national insurance have been introduced into the territories. Even though the services offered differ from those in 'Israel', this constitutes a step towards merger and total Zionization. The Histadrut went so far as to issue special regulations concerning the Arabs of the '67 occupied territories and offered them technical and social assistance inside 'Israel' to gain their membership and thus control them.

Eighth: Medical Services

The occupiers continued to offer medical service through the existing institutions, which they worked to change. At times, new ones were opened, such as the maternity and children's polio center in Eshajaiy in Gaza.

The Zionists played on the doctor-patient relationship, exploiting the respect that a patient has for the doctor. Thus, Zionist doctors and nurses were put to work with their Arab colleagues to create a 'friendly' atmosphere.

Clearly, the Zionist policy in the field of public utilities and social services is a part of the overall *fait accompli* policy, which as Moshe Dayan said, aims to 'tie the hands of the Arab opposition by the hands of reality.' The primary motives behind the Zionists' extension and improvement of public utilities and social services are:

1. to bribe the Palestinian people into accepting occupation
2. to create an infrastructure that will facilitate the military authority in repression of resistance
3. to improve the existing facilities so that they will be more advantageous for the Zionist entity after merger
4. to lay the material basis for annexation of the '67 occupied territories to 'Israel'.

□□



The PFLP is aware that there will be no liberation of Palestine except through a united national front led by a revolutionary party. As part of its responsibility as a Marxist-Leninist organization within the Palestinian Resistance, the PFLP therefore considers the building of the party to be one of its basic tasks. Thus, interrelated with our ongoing struggle on all fronts, we are striving to develop the cadres for this party. In awareness that there will be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory, the ideological education of these cadres is assuming high priority. This is the significance of the PFLP's Cadre School.

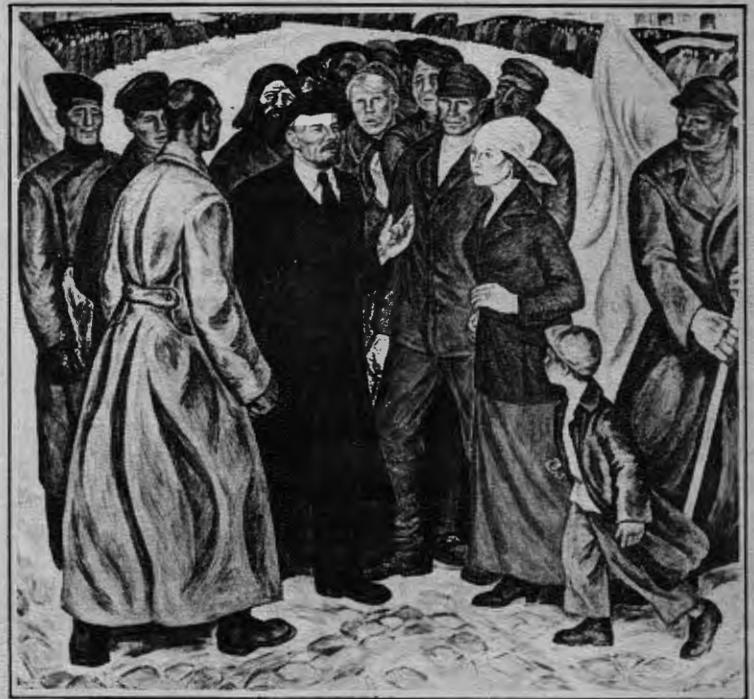
Transformation

In 1967, the PFLP proclaimed its official commitment to Marxism-Leninism. This proclamation indicated the initial transformation of a democratic revolutionary organization into a Marxist-Leninist cell. Moreover, it signified a new socio-political trend entailing objective internal and external factors.

Through the ages, the human race has repeatedly witnessed the shifting of a person from one political and class position into its opposite; it has witnessed the movement of groups or political organizations from one political position and/or form of tactics or struggle to another, etc. However, the positional and directional changes of all the groups and political organizations occurred, generally speaking, in the context of the ideological and political orientation of the specific social class involved.

In recent decades, however, the shifting trend, as all other social trends, has progressed qualitatively. Given the current conditions of world forces, it is today possible for a political group or organization to change from one political and class structure into its opposite, exceeding its political and class structural limits. In other words, the change occurs from the ideology representing one class into a radically different and totally contradictory class-representing ideology.

The issue of intended transformation is no longer subject to discussion, because it has been confirmed by the recent trials and experiences of more than one country. In Cuba, the democratic revolutionary organization which toppled Batista and assumed state power, transformed itself radically. From being a petit bourgeois democratic organization, it became a proletarian one, incorporating the communist party, and based upon the Marxist-Leninist ideology. In Democratic Yemen, the National Front



THE PFLP CADRE SCHOOL

abandoned its original petit bourgeois ideology and restructured itself on a new basis, enforcing and representing the Yemeni proletariat and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Today these are transformed organizations in power, which are able to lead a peaceful transition from the national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

Other organizations, outside state power, have undertaken transformation or are in the process. This includes a number of revolutionary Arab organizations. In this process, they are confirming the immediate and practical concurrence between the struggle for a national democratic revolution and the struggle for a genuine socialist revolution.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny that there are many of the ruling organizations, as well as organizations not in power, which profess socialism, while in reality they are ideologically, politically and socially the enemy of socialism. Often they originate new forms of 'socialism' with bourgeois connections in order to distort socialism and mislead the masses.

It is clear that the qualitative progress of the transformation trend is an integral part of the totality of the political, economic, social and ideological advance of the human race. The primary characteristics of the progress of the human race as of now are:

— The inability of the bourgeois socio-economic formation to resolve the basic problems of the workers and the masses,

which has been exposed in its structural crisis.

— The victories of the international working class movement, i.e. the Marxist-Leninist forces within it, which is incarnate in the flourishing socialist countries.

— The victories of the national liberation movements, with their rich socio-political contents, and the collapse of the colonial system, which dealt a great political, economic and ideological blow to world imperialism.

These sweeping changes over the whole of our planet mean that the international balance of forces is shifting to the benefit of the masses and their revolutionary movements and against imperialism and reaction: the international socialist system has benefited at the expense of the international capitalist system; the masses' struggle has intensified against the imperialists' oppressive and profiteering system; as a result, socialism has gained increasing popularity. Consequently, it is not surprising to see a number of individuals, parties and governments professing socialism, while in reality they are orientated towards capitalism.

There is no doubt that the demands of persistent revolutionary struggle as such help in molding the revolutionary combatants of the national and democratic left. Unquestionable commitment to the cause drives them to continuously search for the genuine theory, slogans and path of struggle which lead them closer to the attainment of their

goals — the goals of the workers, peasants and the masses at large. It is not unusual that in the course of the struggle, revolutionary combatants gradually discard that theory which is irrelevant and adopt the theory which experience proves more pertinent.

The increasing gravitation of revolutionary combatants towards scientific socialism, the masses and the proletariat is natural in societies where the process of class shifting and polarization is continuous. This applies to the arena of Palestinian Arab struggle. The situation of the Palestinian masses, under direct occupation and as refugees, has speeded the process of class shifting and polarization. The inability of the Arab regimes in the face of the Zionist aggression and the recurring attacks of Arab reaction have increasingly clarified the class aspect of the national struggle to regain Palestine. It has become more and more apparent that the national liberation struggle must be guided by scientific socialism in order to achieve its goals.

The Cadre School

Transformation is an objective process, governed by its own internal and external conditions. It is not a spontaneous process determined by circumstantial provisions and decisions. Rather, it is a continuous process to be executed and constantly evaluated through conscious human initiative on the part of the leadership, cadres and general staff of the organization involved.

Thus, the PFLP is shouldering the tasks of building the party according to an organized program, taking into account the political, organizational and ideological obstacles involved, and defining the procedures for overcoming them. We consider the establishment of our own cadre school as a very important step in this program, because it allows the ideological education to be carried out in close connection with our political, military and organizational work. Moreover, it permits a greater number of our members to participate. The concurrent participation of both the leadership and the base is essential for the theoretical, political and organizational transformation process.

The school's program is based on Marxism-Leninism as it unites and organizes the basic elements and teaching of philosophy, economics and politics in an objective, materialist science of the human race. It is therefore essential for any revolutionary party or political movement, aspiring to solve the dilemmas confronting the proletariat and toiling masses, to possess and be guided through its phases of struggle by this science.

After the PFLP's official adoption of Marxism-Leninism, a program of action was drawn up, which accented the importance of theory in the political, ideological and organizational transformation. Consequently, a cadre school was opened in Jordan and number of the PFLP's cadres graduated from it in 1970. However, the subjective and objective conditions surrounding the PFLP's presence in Jordan resulted in closure of the school before the end of the Resistance's open presence there. As a result, it was not until 1975, that opportunity was again afforded for the PFLP to organize instructional

sections, in which a number of cadres participated. These sessions were once again halted; this time due to the civil war in Lebanon. Nevertheless, in the course of 1977-78, the PFLP arranged several educational sessions for a number of its cadres in which the basics of Marxism-Leninism (political economy and philosophy) were taught.

The inauguration of the Cadre School in the fall of 1978 marked a qualitative leap in the PFLP's theoretical practice. The program was expanded to cover a broader spectrum of the Marxist-Leninist theory — political economy, philosophy, dialectical and historical materialism, as well as scientific socialism, party-building and historical studies of national revolutionary movements. There was also a qualitative leap in the procedures for the selection of cadres, whereby they were chosen in accordance with an evaluation of their class background, ideological level, commitment and history of struggle. In addition, care is taken that comrades from all areas of our work attend the school, raising the ideological level and party building efforts in the organization as a whole. The sessions became more structured and the instructors were allowed to devote their time exclusively to teaching.

The Cadre School has played a primal role in raising the consciousness of the organization's combatants and cadres and in restructuring and elevating the general and theoretical outlook of the PFLP to the proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The school is geared not only to the combatants and cadres with intellectual and petit bourgeois backgrounds, but also to workers and toilers, whose theoretical growth is given special consideration. Special consideration is also given to the military cadres, whose consciousness directs the gun.

The PFLP has also given great care to its women cadres, and as a result, a number of women are in attendance at each school session. Taking into consideration the woman's special circumstances, which result in a lower percentage of attendance, the PFLP is expanding and furthering the opportunities it offers to suit the woman's requirements.

Based on an understanding of the importance of unity and cooperation between international and Arab revolutionary organizations, the PFLP has committed the theoretical and practical facilities, which the school offers, to the use and participation of all these forces. Consequently, a number of cadres from other political organizations have benefited from the school.

Abu Sami presently attending the Cadre School is approximately 40 years old. He dropped out of school when he was young, to help support his family. He learned how to read and write in the 60's when he was in the Arab National Movement. He was one of the first to actively take part in the armed struggle and join the Front.

"I thought in the beginning that the school would be difficult. But after I started, I found that it was not so difficult. I feel that it is important for every member of the Party to go to this school.

"...the school is important because it works to build the party members in a scientific manner. It gives us a revolutionary social outlook... practicing collectivism and learning at the same time.

"We live together with comrades from the different branches of the Front. We learn from each other's experience, which gives us a better picture of how each branch works....

"Members of the polit-bureau come and share their experiences of the revolution and building of the party. In this way we also come to understand the negative and positive aspects of our party, so that we will be able to strengthen the positive and correct the negative....

"Through the program of the school, we are given the guidelines of Marxist-Leninist theory, to be put to practice in our daily work. By understanding the scientific theory, we can avoid using the method of trial and error which happens when we don't understand the meaning of our work and the party."



Ida is 26 years old. She is doing mass work in the camp. She attended the Cadre School in 1979.

"The Front gives special attention to each session so that a number of female comrades can participate. I joined the Front when I was 19 and in the party meetings we each have political and theoretical education; but in the Cadre School we are able to focus all our energies on learning the principles of Marxism-Leninism..."

"As you know our society still places many restraints on the woman — in work, education and even participation in the Revolution. The single woman in our society is usually forced to stay in the house — to cook, clean and take care of younger brothers and sisters.... The married woman is the same, but with more responsibilities. In both cases we don't have the possibility to be as free to work as the man...."

"Of course, in the Front we struggle so that there is equality between men and women... So that the women can realize their full role in the Revolution. We must be theoretically conscious in order to become practically conscious of our duties in the Revolution."

"I work in the mass organizations in the camp where I must face difficulties and problems that can not be solved in an emotional manner, but must be solved scientifically. The Cadre School has armed me with theory as a background for solving these problems."

The program

The program now offered is continuously being enriched with new subjects; it is a flexible and progressive program. At the start, only a few aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory were taught. However, with the growing concern and knowledge of the many aspects of this science, and with increased availability of specialized instructors and equipment, it now includes the most essential aspects.

The most important subjects are:

I. Marxist political economy

During the three month sessions of the school, the student studies the following topics under political economy:

A. production as the primal process in the existence and progress of the human race, modes of production and the economic basis of the social formations

B. Commodity production and the basic laws that govern its development

C. Capitalist exploitation and the theory of surplus value; the phases of capital, i.e. industrial, mercantile, credit, etc.

D. Land profit and capitalist exploitation of the peasants

E. Imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism

While studying the essentials of the capitalist economy in its two phases, 'free enterprise' and imperialism, much attention is given to its influence on political events and the connection to the current Palestinian revolutionary struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

II. The philosophy of dialectical materialism and historical materialism

The most important topics of dialectical materialism:

a. a materialist view of the world and basic philosophical questions

b. the historical and social background of Marxist philosophy

c. the basic laws of Marxist dialectics and its philosophical categories

d. the relationship of consciousness to the material and the theory of knowledge

The most important topics of historical materialism:

a. The material conditions which determine the progressive existence of the human race

b. the social formations

c. the theory of social revolution

d. the state as a class apparatus

e. the historical perception of the human race

f. the patterns of social consciousness (law, ideology, morals, philosophy, religion, science, art and literature).

Included in the program are a number of lectures on the experiences of the international working class movement:

a. the rise of the proletariat — its first independent struggle

b. scientific socialism and the communist movement

c. the historical importance of the First International and the Paris Commune

d. the labour movement in the last decades of the 19th and in the early 20th century

e. the October Revolution and the beginning of the international socialist revolution

f. the founding of the Communist International and the tactics and strategy of the working class movement, 1919-1928

g. the Comintern's struggle against fascism; the dangers of the rise of fascism, 1929-39, the historical task of the PFLP in fighting Zionism

III. Lectures on the practical experiences of the revolutionary movements in Democratic Yemen, Portugal, Afghanistan and others

The most important part of the party building and party organization is covered in 'The PFLP's Party Building and its Program' which includes:

a. a vanguard party and the most essential Leninist teachings on the building of the vanguard party — democratic centralism, collective leadership and the relations between the leadership and the base

b. the basic principles for the membership of the vanguard

c. the process of selection and teaching of the party cadres

d. the relationship between the party and the masses

e. an exclusive study of the internal organization of the PFLP

Based on the PFLP's evaluation of the practical revolutionary struggle and the role of historical experiences in the international and Arab revolutionary movement, a special program — Revolutionary Tactics and Strategy — was designed, including:

a. the philosophical basis of tactics and strategy

b. the economic basis of tactics and strategy

c. the teachings of scientific socialism on tactics and strategy

d. the revolutionary tasks of the Arab and Palestinian national movement

e. strategy and tactics — an act of political leadership

In addition, there are a number of specialized political, military and organizational lectures covering the various activities of the PFLP, delivered by the General Secretary and other members of the Politbureau

The program also includes political lectures by representatives of the revolutionary movements in Lebanon and the Arab World.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

— by Taysir Kuba, member of the PFLP Politbureau
and head of the International Relations Committee

Our alliances aim at enlarging the camp of friends and isolating the enemy camp.

The great 1917 revolution brought many changes in the map of global struggle, ushering in a new era, qualitatively different from past eras, and creating a new mode of international relations. The socialist victory was embodied in the destruction of one of the links of the imperialist chain, Czarist Russia, the seizure of power by the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia and initiation of the implementation of proletarian dictatorship. This was the beginning of a new stage of global struggle, distinguished by the victory of socialism and the oppressed peoples over colonialism, oppression and imperialist dependency.

This new stage was characterized in Lenin's development of Marx and Engels' slogan 'Workers of the World, Unite!' to 'Workers and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!' This reflected the fact that 2/3 of the world and the majority of its inhabitants were subject to colonization and imperialist hegemony at the beginning of this era. Thereafter, proletarian internationalism became the basic principle governing the relations among the countries of the socialist community, and between them and the peoples of the world struggling for freedom from colonialism and dependency and to exercise their right of self-determination.

Marxism-Leninism clarifies the nature of the world as being one dialectical unit composed of many dialectically interrelated elements. This is reflected on the unity of the whole, which affects the relationship between the issues of struggle in the world. It is therefore a must for any mode of scientific conception to constantly take into consideration the importance of waging the struggle in this framework, advancing its capability for making an impact on and being influenced by its developments and

thereby knitting relations of different degrees — fronts, alliances, relations, cooperation, etc.

This understanding is based on the conviction that all forms of popular struggle, regardless of the extent of their maturity or the level of their effectiveness and influence, eventually converge in the international front against imperialism, Zionism and reaction throughout the world. All these popular struggles will converge in this front, fighting to achieve the mutual goals of freedom, the right of self-determination, justice, equality, world peace and the establishment of socialist societies on the ruins of the imperialist system.

Same Enemy — Same Aim

There exists a dialectical interconnection between the causes of the respective peoples, because their enemy is the same and because in the final analysis, their aim is also the same. This commonality, coupled with the nature of the present era and the extent of technological advance attained by humanity, makes it very difficult, even impossible to treat the different peoples' struggles as purely national causes, isolated from regional and international subjective or objective conditions or from the regional and international balance of power.

This has been demonstrated by the experience of the peoples who have fought against their enemies. As examples, in Vietnam, Cuba and Angola, in addition to relying on revolutionizing their subjective conditions and creating their organizational fighting instrument, the revolutionary forces relied on broad and effective international solidarity, which contributed substantial material and moral support, hastening the defeat of their enemies.

Precedence for such experiences is to be found in Leninist literature. After the victory of the October Revolution, the im-

perialist states intervened militarily and evoked political and economic sanctions against the first socialist state in history, escalating the civil war ignited by the bourgeoisie and the Kulaks. At that time Lenin pointed out that the Russian revolution was in a critical historical situation; while performing vast new tasks, it was forced to endure a series of set-backs. He concluded that, viewed in an international historical perspective, the revolution could not hope to achieve victory if it remained alone or if there were not revolutionary movements in other countries.

We are on the front-line

These historical experiences and lessons obtained in the peoples' struggles should serve as an example in the programs of the Palestinian Resistance Movement which is involved in a direct confrontation with the enemy camp and waging a strategic armed struggle as the essential means of achieving its goals. The Palestinian Resistance occupies a central place on the front-line of the most critical region of the world. It therefore forms a striking tool against the schemes of world imperialism, headed by the USA. This thrusts it into a vanguard position in the conflict between imperialism and its local puppets on the one hand and the national liberation movements of the world on the other. The clearest indication of this is to be seen in the broad international relations which the Palestinian Resistance enjoys with the national liberation movements. This is because of certain particularities characterizing the Palestinian revolutionary movement which stamp it with the overall goals and direct its struggles and guns against the camp of the mutual enemies. These struggles are engraved with its internationalism, as well as by its being a national liberation movement.

The nature of the Palestinian national struggle, as a protracted battle against the Zionist colonization, complicates the issue, giving it an especially close relation with the international dimension. Zionism is the product of imperialism in the 19th and early 20th century, which has come a long way in its development to become a partner to imperialism. The mutual relations existing between the imperialist system and the Zionist entity in Palestine faces us with the broad range of the Zionist enemy's alliances on the international level.

What further complicates the struggle is the geo-political importance of this area, which renders it particularly liable to insta-



bility and means that the struggle here threatens world peace as a whole. For imperialism the strategic importance of the Middle East lies in its proximity to the socialist community, its position as a crossroads linking three continents, its economic potential as a vast market and source of labour power and its natural resources, particularly the oil, which constitutes the nerve of the imperialist industry. This thrusts many of the contradictions and conflicts of our era towards the existing conflict in the Middle East.

People's Victories – Imperialism's Crisis.

For a long period of time, world imperialism has been experiencing a sharp socio-economic crisis, which drives it to viciously cling to the basis of its dying existence in order to retain its hegemony as long as possible. Its inevitable downfall has been hastened by the victories of the peoples and their revolutionary vanguard struggles. These victories are easily recognizable witnesses to the dying of imperialism...

The imperialism defeat in Vietnam and the victory of the Kampuchean National Salvation Front over the Pol Pot regime...

The withdrawal of the reactionaries allied with imperialism in Afghanistan and the victory of the socialist revolutionary forces in the new balance of forces...

The victories of Democratic Yemen under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party on the path of consolidating the achievements of the first workers and peasants' state in the Arab world...

The victory of the Iranian masses against one of imperialism's most trusted pillars in the Middle East region...

The successive strikes in all arenas with a course clearly antagonistic to imperialism has added a radical new element to the situation, escalating the confrontation against imperialism not only in this region, but also in surrounding areas.

In Africa, the imperialist hegemony is strangled and retreating between the anvil of its unsolvable internal crisis and the hammer of the African national liberation movements. The victories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Ethiopia and Benin destroyed the imperialist and reactionary bases for oppression and plunder of the people and their resources. Events on the African continent are speeding up; the torch of armed struggle is flaming in Namibia, South Africa and especially in Zimbabwe, where imperialism was forced to shelve the

internal settlement and face the masses' true representative, the Patriotic Front, in negotiating the future of the country.

In Latin America, the Cuban victory constituted the material introduction for the spread of revolution in spite of US-imperialism's efforts to prevent it. The Nicaraguan revolution defeated Somoza's dictatorship and Salvador is flaming on the road to the inevitable victory.

The accumulation of the effects of the national liberation struggles and the world revolutionary forces has intensified imperialism's crisis and decreased its ability to exploit the masses.

After the major defeat in Iran, imperialism accelerated its steps to rearrange the region in accordance with its interests, by forming the new imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance, realized in Camp David, thereby creating its local servant in the person of Sadat's regime to implement its programs.

Our Responsibilities

Confronting the Camp David alliance, in the context of the prevailing international situation, makes many demands on the Palestinian Resistance. Among these are urgent tasks in the field of international relations.

It is of utmost importance to weave the broadest net of relations and international solidarity with the friendly forces, with our allies, even with those who support only one of the basic tasks of the Resistance. This requires perseverance in forging, advancing and consolidating these relations. It also requires ideological awareness of the nature and dimensions of international solidarity and of the goals to be realized. Hence, we can see what great tasks lie ahead for the left and the democratic revolutionary forces in the Resistance.

The leftists must necessarily shoulder the heaviest load in consolidating and developing the stands of the revolution and in plugging any loopholes impeding its progress. Since the struggle of these forces is in essence a national and class struggle, dialectically linked with the strategy of people's war, this development will remain interrelated with the continuation of armed struggle. After all, the achievements of the revolution in the past years are but the qualitative and quantitative accumulation of the fruits of the revolutionary sacrifices and steadfastness of our masses inside and outside Palestine.

If the left forces are to adhere to

Marxism-Leninism, they must scientifically determine the enemy camp and the camp of friends on the regional and international levels and determine the basis of alliance between the revolution and any force within these arenas.

The primary principles on which the revolution must establish its international alliances are...

1. the struggle against imperialism
2. the struggle against World Zionism as a colonial racist reactionary ideology and movement and against its prime material offspring – the Zionist entity and its institutions
3. confronting local reaction.

The struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction constitutes the overall alliance framework of the forces and states throughout the world, which vary in the degree of their progressive stands and of their ideological and political maturity and according to the extent of practical benefits to be gained from the alliance. Therefore, relations with these forces must be consolidated in accordance with the factors mentioned concerning their variance. Moreover, the leadership of the revolution must constantly adhere to the basic issues. It must find the suitable minimum level in cases where there is no possibility for maximum agreement, and avoid being dragged into futile details and secondary contradictions that might occur with this force or that. Our international relations must be governed by an accurate understanding of the national liberation stage, which stipulates enlargement of the framework of allies and isolation of the enemy camp...

First, because we are in desperate need of support and solidarity

Second, because of our clear perception of the broadening of the base of mutual understanding with our friends and allies on the international level

Third, because of our firm belief in the justice of our cause, which is reflected in the development of the stands of our allies

Fourth, because of our conviction that the development and maturation of subjective factors within the Resistance will have an effect in the direction of radicalizing our friends' stands and gaining new allies for the revolution.

PLO's alliances

It is important to possess a clear conception of this issue when evaluating the map of alliances which the PLO has been able to

establish on the international level, and especially what is happening now with the escalation of PLO's international contacts... the opening of the European dialogue... and running breathlessly to crown this with a dialogue with US-imperialism.

This has occurred at a time when we are in desperate need of increasing our military effectiveness, of reinforcing the steadfastness of our masses in the occupied land, of really confronting Camp David and its results, of mobilizing all forces to protect the Revolution from the liquidationist war waged by the Zionists on South Lebanon and the even more dangerous plot to liquidate our armed presence in Lebanon and convert the PLO into an organization which strives to achieve its aims through political dialogue and diplomatic activities alone.

Hence, we can see the importance of scientifically determining the nature and positions of the forces involved vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict; and of identifying the essence of the PLO's latest moderated stands, at a time when it is emphasizing the necessity of broadening the political victories that accompanied our masses' steadfastness and sacrifices in the battlefield. These activities must be categorized in accordance with a clear understanding of the nature of the forces that opened the door for these Palestinian contacts...such as the meetings with leaders of the 'Socialist International' aiming to complete the missing link in the imperialist settlement. The forces of the Revolution must be on alert concerning these attempts to drag the PLO into offering major concessions in exchange for shallow promises that will diminish our national rights in our national land, Palestine.

This understanding stems from knowledge of the nature of the 'Socialist International', which is basically composed of bourgeois parties that do not differ from the European bourgeoisie except in their tactics for achieving the aims of the bourgeoisie in general. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the Zionist parties Mapai and Mapam are members of this organization. Hence, we realize the danger of the aims of the 'Socialist International' initiative, which are:

1. to employ the influence the PLO has on Arab politics, in the context of the contradictions between the imperialist countries, in order to penetrate the Arab region, to insure the continuous supply of oil and to

benefit from investment of the oil revenue.

2. to drive a wedge between the PLO and the democratic and revolutionary forces in the European countries, to rob it of its revolutionary character and present a negative view of the PLO's international alliances.

3. to isolate the revolution from its strategic alliances — the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union; to depict the existing realities as if there are no Palestinian rights except those approved by US-imperialism; to represent itself as a substitute alliance capable of offering assistance exceeding that provided by the socialist community.



4. to deepen the contradiction within the Palestinian Revolution between those who accept and those who reject this diplomacy.

5. to dismantle the efforts and struggles of the Resistance one after the other; to keep the Resistance in a constant contradictory situation.

6. to plant the seeds of doubt and create a credibility gap between the Revolution and the masses, aiming to isolate it from its material base.

These aims reaffirm that the 'Socialist International' is part and parcel of the bourgeois organizations within the scope of neo-colonialism and as a pretext for imperialist interests. However, the matter of diplomatic activities attempting to open a dialogue with US-imperialism is more dangerous; it threatens Palestinian unity by planting illusions and shaking the Palestinian

national position, deceiving the masses and paralyzing their effectiveness and mobilization.

Why do we oppose this? Have we not said that US-imperialism concocted the Camp David agreement? that US-imperialism is at the fore of the camp of enemies? And then we should flirt with imperialism, requesting its sympathy and recognition?

The aim of the Revolution to obtain recognition will not be realized within the present balance of power, which is clearly to our disadvantage. Rather it can be obtained by developing the conditions of our struggle as the Vietnamese did. It was their struggle which forced US-imperialism and the forces in its orbit to sign the Paris agreement after the victory over the 1972 attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong.

This is what the people's experiences, their heritage rich in lessons, teaches us. We should follow their course and methods, taking into consideration the specific conditions of our battle and the current subjective and objective conditions.

Due to the discrepancy in the balance of power, it would be more beneficial if the leadership concentrated its efforts on implementing the programs of national unity and exerting its influence on alliances with the camp of friends — the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, the non-aligned movement, the national liberation movements and the democratic and revolutionary forces in the imperialist countries. This front of friends and allies would thereby provide the Revolution with genuine support, international solidarity and a broad scope of activities and influence on the international level.

The experiences of Vietnam, Angola, Cuba, etc. have brought about an era of liberation and socialism. They stand as a guiding light for our revolutionary endeavor in our international, national and patriotic alliances. Our relations with the socialist community should not be merely tactical nor temporary ones for limited aims, which evaporate with the passage of time. Rather they must be increased and elevated to the level of principled strategic alliances, as should our relations with the national liberation movements and the democratic revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries.

These decisive questions concerning international alliances are urgent ones on the agenda of the leadership of the Revolution.



JOINT MILITARY OPERATIONS

December 28, 1979 — A special unit entered Ainebel in Saad Haddad land and attacked the fascist bases. They also destroyed a number of well-known traitors' houses. The unit returned safely to base.

January 4, 1980 — The joint forces completely destroyed the house of Abed Al-Amir Khanafer after confirming that it was used by an Israeli officer as a surveillance post to spy on patriots in and outside the village of Aainata.

The joint forces distributed a leaflet to the masses concerning the acts of this traitor:

— former member of the secret military police

— appointed by 'Israel' to the committee to monitor the affairs of the village.

— during the Israeli invasion in '78, he looted the homes of patriots in Aainata and surrounding villages.

January 7, 1980 — The special units of *Simon* (martyred leader Abdu Rahman Lawand) and *Abu Amal* (martyred leader Abdul Karim Al-Khalil) planted explosives in the town of Aainata — Beint Jbail district, the center of the Zionist enemy and its agents. At 3p.m. an explosion took place, which destroyed major parts of the enemy's base.

January 23, 1980 — The joint forces carried out military operations along the border strip near the villages of Qantrah and Yater with the following aims:

- 1 — destroying fuel storage facilities of the enemy in the village of Aitaron near the border of Lebanon and occupied Palestine.
- 2 — Destroying the house of traitor Ahmad Ayoub, member of the military committee formed by the Zionists and fascists. This traitor is also responsible for distributing permits (identification cards) to the villagers issued by Saad Haddad
- 3 — To plant land mines and timed explosives throughout the area. Following the advance of enemy tanks, many of the enemy were killed or injured by the explosives. Witnesses confirmed that enemy vehicles were seen transporting the dead and wounded to 'Israel'.



SAUDI ERA SHAKEN IN MECCA

The November 20 take-over of the Mosque in Mecca exposed the fragility of the infamously stable Saudi regime. The Saudi regime has for years been a gendarme for US imperialism against the progressive forces in the Arab world. This challenge to the regime has implications that the progressive forces must contemplate.

The crisis of the Saudi regime is due to certain objective and subjective conditions, which the oil has played a major role in creating. The effects of oil are not confined to the Arabian Peninsula, but are felt throughout the Arab world — creating new realities with which the progressive forces must deal. The crisis for Saudi reaction

highlights the crisis for Arab reaction in general. It also highlights the tasks facing the progressive and patriotic movements. The maximum efforts can be exerted through unification of the patriotic and progressive forces in the Arabian Peninsula against the dominance of Saudi reaction and US imperialism. We view their struggle as an integral part of the struggle throughout the region against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The following article is an abridged translation from the '5th of March' — organ of the Popular Front in Bahrain. It is an historical overview of Saudi Arabia, tracing the developments necessary for understanding the recent uprising.

In the early hours of the start of the 15th century H.P.¹ several hundred armed opponents to the Saudi regime instigated an uprising which covered most of the Kingdom towns, manifesting the hatred of millions towards the reactionary client regime. They expressed the ambitions of millions of oppressed people for toppling Saudi reaction, imperialism's strategic ally in the Arab World.

From the first moments of the uprising, the Saudi regime cut off the country from the rest of the world in order to confine the issue to Mecca and thus draw attention away from the massacre in the Eastern region (Al-Ihsa). The authorities tried to crush the uprising in the Holy Shrine immediately, but this proved to be futile. In the end, Jordanian Special Units and American advisors assisted the Saudi regime, using barbaric means such as poison gases, to crush the uprising.

This like many previous tribal, labour and military uprisings failed, but it shattered a big myth in the Arabian Peninsula, showing that the stability of the tribal regime is a trick. Contradictions have decayed the structure of the regime which must therefore

undertake deep reform or more repression against the masses.

Many were taken by surprise by the news of the uprising. However, if one ponders the political-economic situation in Saudi Arabia there were plenty of advance indications of the uprising and other oppositional gestures.

The Basis of Saudi Internal Policy

It was impossible to unite the Emirates, Sultanates, and Sheikdoms scattered throughout the vast Arabian Peninsula without the sword. The law of the sword governed the relations among the feuding tribes until the beginning of this century. At that time, Prince Abdul-Aziz Bin Abdul Rahman Al-Saud was able to crush the tribes in Al-Kassem, Hael, Al-Hasa and Hijaz.² He forced the Hashemites to flee from Hijaz and seized power from Shammar Beni Khalid Anza³ and other tribes, which had been in power for centuries. He was able to annex Asir, Jizzan and Najram.⁴ After waging a long war with the Imamate in Sanaa, the Saudi army under Prince Feisal reached Sanaa where an agreement was made between the two dynasties.

It was possible for the newly created

unity of the Peninsula to collapse in the case of weak leadership, or unity among various tribes against Ibn Saud, or with foreign interference as was the case in 1825 with the re-emergence of Wahhabism⁵.

However this did not happen because of two factors:

1) Dependence on a foreign power continued until a more powerful one appeared, capable of eliminating opponents and funding the bribes for tribal chiefs and administrative costs.

2) In the early days of the newly-established Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a struggle took place within the ranks of the British Empire. Those involved were Philby and Lawrence. Philby supported reliance on the Saudi dynasty to accomplish Britain's plans for the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf, while Lawrence supported reliance on the Hashemite dynasty in order to rule the Arab Orient. Philby won out which was followed by the flow of military supplies and intelligence personnel to Saudi Arabia. Philby, along with other intelligence officers known as the clan, accompanied Ibn Saud in all the battles he waged.

It was impossible for Ibn Saud to realize his ambitions without the alliance with the British Empire. Following the establishment of the Saudi Kingdom in 1932, US imperialism entered through the oil concessions, thus dealing a decisive blow to British influence in the entire region. US firms were granted exclusive rights to the oil concessions in Saudi Arabia upon payment of one half million pounds. More US gains followed.

During World War II, the US supplied funds to the Saudi dynasty to compensate dwindling returns, due to the disruption of the muslim pilgrimage. These funds were originally directed through the United Kingdom. However, to undermine British influence, the US later distributed the funds directly.

In 1943, President Roosevelt proclaimed that defending the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was vital for the security of the US. A group of US military specialists was sent to train the Saudi Army. Later the US Army established an airbase at Dahrán near the oil fields, so as to be independent from British bases in Cairo and Abadan. This base has become the largest US base between Germany and Japan.

In 1945, King Ibn Saud met with President Roosevelt in Jeddah Port, where the ties between the US and Saudi Arabia were

strengthened. The US sided with Feisal in his struggle to dispose his brother Saud. The US foresaw Feisal as the leader who would be able to control the internal situation of Saudi Arabia, confront the Arab revolutionary forces represented by the Nasserite Movement and to oppose all revolutionary and communist ideology in the Arab and Islamic World.

The US sided with the Saudi regime against the Egyptian and Yemeni revolution during the Yemeni war. The US declared its readiness to protect the Saudi regime against any internal or external threat. US military aid and advisors were supplied to strengthen the military and security capabilities of the Saudi Kingdom; so as to confront the military uprising which shook the Kingdom during 1966-67 and to deter the Egyptian Army and the revolutionary movement in North Yemen. The US imposed a bilateral treaty in 1974, signed by Fahad and Kissinger, which granted the US the right to supervise the economic, financial, military and other activities in the Saudi Kingdom. This treaty forms the base of the close relation between the Saudi Kingdom and the US.

Whereas the British lost a valuable opportunity for controlling Saudi Arabia by conceding oil concessions to the US, the US gained control of Saudi Arabia through the Arab American Oil Company (ARAMCO). This company has been the main source of finance to the Saudi throne and highly alert to the emergence of opposition movements, protecting the regime and US interests. This task has been possible due to the large number of CIA agents working under the cover of ARAMCO. Their activities are not limited to undermining the democratic and revolutionary movements in Saudi Arabia alone, but also extended to the Gulf states.

While the CIA was responsible for suppressing the workers' uprising in 1955, the US marines were rushed to Saudi Arabia after the fall of the Shah's regime. The US established well-selected military posts in the oil-producing provinces of the Eastern region. These forces played a vital role in crushing the latest uprisings in the Eastern region that took place between November 22 and December 1, 1979, during Muhram, the Shiites' holy month and the armed uprising in Mecca on the eve of the 15th century H.P. The US strengthened its military presence in the Arabian Peninsula, so as to assure the ruling families in the area that the Shah's experience would not be repea-

ted, and that the US is ready to defend the ruling tribes at any cost in order to protect US imperialism's tremendous interest in the oil-rich Arabian Peninsula.

Oil Brings Silent Changes

The discovery of oil in the Eastern region introduced capitalist relations to Saudi Arabia. It destroyed old modes and relations of production, forcing the majority of bedouins and farmers to migrate to the new towns and sites of oil production, industry and services. The Bahraini is no longer tilling his small farm, tied to his tribe by strong bonds thousands of years old. Instead he has been attracted to the oil flames glaring in the sky of Dahrán and the roar of modern machinery in the traditionally silent desert. He has nothing on which to depend for his and his family's survival except his labour. The man in Hijaz is no longer dependent on the yearly pilgrimage season, because it is possible for him to become a big contractor. He can extend his activities to the most remote sections in vast area of Saudi Arabia; after the influx of oil revenues has enabled the state to build an extensive net of highways and communication systems.

The Shumari⁶ is no longer tied to Hael, because he is able to work in a foreign firm or enlist in the National Guard or the Army or become employed in the state administration.

In spite of the Saudi regime's efforts to preserve bedouin tribal conditions and to isolate them from the influence of the oil, keeping the vast desert still, this influence is silently at work. The changes that are presently taking place would not have been possible without the increasing effect that oil has played on the socio-economic and political life of the population of Saudi Arabia.

In the beginning King Abdul Aziz used the oil revenues to satisfy his whims, the Saudi family extravagance and to bribe tribal chiefs. With the increase of oil revenues, the CIA planned to settle the bedouins to preserve the tribal formation. At the same time, the regime used the revenues to establish the National Guard after abolishing the Brothers' Army (Al-Ikhwan)⁷. This was motivated by the development of the national democratic struggle spreading throughout the region. The National Guard was designed to be a tribally structured army, comprised of the main tribes.

It was necessary to set up a government administration, in spite of the futile efforts by King Abdul Aziz to control everything



himself. Thus, departments for finance, customs, interior, exterior and defense were established.

The state apparatus developed into a tool for suppressing the masses, and a capital holder for the Saudi family, where the land and inhabitants belonged to the Emir (the King in the case of Saudi Arabia) holding absolute authority.

The expansion of the state machinery has meant the development of thousands of employees, workers and administrators. The administration has to deal with private business (contractors, compradors, constructors etc.), which in turn leads to destruction of the tribal system and to the evolution of a new society where the different people are subjected to the power of the capital. However, this does not negate the preservation of tribal relations in the new structure, as the new society was born within the tribal society.

Moreover, it was necessary to establish a huge body of administration beyond the ideological control of Wahhabism in an era characterized by intense ideological struggle. Science and modern education is in contradiction to the Wahhabi metaphysical ideology. The promoters of the Wahhabi ideology tried in vain to preserve their domination over thousands of students in the schools and universities by creating idiotic courses, but the strong current of modern ideas possessed the minds of Saudi students and intellectuals inside and outside Saudi Arabia.

The oil produced a Saudi Kingdom very different in class structure and economic relations than that of the first and second Wahhabi-Saudi state. At the same time, the unified Kingdom is very different from the scattered tribal emirates. The interests of the inhabitants of the Kingdom were intermingled. Thus, it was impossible to return to a condition of divided emirates. The oil network extending from Dahrán to Yanbo⁸ spread the oil influence from the Arabian Gulf to the Red Sea. The network established also connected the most desolate sections of the Arabian Peninsula.

Saudi Terror

During the 80 years of Saudi rule, marked by the return of Abdul Aziz from Kuwait in 1901, the main characteristic has been terror, its emblem being the sword. The Saudi tribe seized absolute rule by claiming divine right to control the land and the inhabitants. It slaughtered hundreds of thousands of the

inhabitants in the Arabian Peninsula. Thus, every tribe or clan lost some of its members in the course of the Saudi struggle to dominate and conquer.

The law of Al-Sharia⁹, as interpreted by the Saudis, has been used against hundreds of thousands of defiant workers, intellectuals, military personnel and bedouins who oppose the regime or pursue their just demands. The slaughter and butchery that takes place after Friday prayer has become an established phenomenon. The infamous butcher Saud Bin Jalwai is a terrifying symbol of this aspect. The brigade responsible for encouraging good deeds and dissuading bad deeds¹⁰ practices with full authority the humiliation of citizens, whipping and imprisoning defiants without trial.

Repression and humiliation of the masses, and the disregard of human value has been the Saudis' way of dealing with opposition and pacifying the masses. The Saudis have considered the masses as a flock with the ruling family as shepherds, and any resistance to this relation is dealt with by the sword.

The most common characteristics of the Saudi rulers is their loyalty to the US, their anti-communist, anti-progressive fervor and disregard for the popular will of the masses.

The US became more involved in the internal politics of Saudi Arabia with each successive ruler. With Saudi Arabia becoming a major oil-producer and US companies having exclusive concessions, the US-Saudi relation became more intricate. Securing Saudi oil became a major factor of US foreign policy on the Arab sphere, as the US became more dependent on importing oil. In the struggle for power within the Saudi family, between King Saud and prince Feisal, the US backed Feisal who later proved to be the US's frontman in containing the Arab national and patriotic anti-imperialist movement.

Feisal's Era

King Feisal was a ruthless ruler who exercised his authority through a small closed clan of his brothers. Feisal's brother Fahad, then interior minister, launched a series of repressive campaigns against the progressive patriotic movement. In 1966, 17 patriots were beheaded by the sword in the Jamah Square in Riyadh.

Following the June '67 War, Saudi Arabia flared with demonstrations at the oil-sites. In Al-Dahrán, the masses attacked the US section and its military training school. The



Nasser Al-Saed, Chairman of the Arab Peninsula People's Union

In December, the Saudi regime added another crime to its register by kidnapping Comrade Nasser Al-Saed while he was in Lebanon. In carrying out this crime, the Saudis relied on elements within the Lebanese authorities, as well as foreign forces that collaborate with the Saudi Embassy in Beirut.

demonstrations spread to the major towns of the Kingdom. The workers shut down an oil terminal in order to cut oil supplies to the US. The Saudi regime managed to crush the workers' take-overs and the mass movement ruthlessly.

In 1969, this regime faced another challenge when the CIA foiled what it called a coup d'etat attempt by civil and military organizations led by the Revolutionary Democratic Party. More than 70 military officers were executed and hundreds of patriots of various organizations were arrested in a state of siege.

It has become clear to US-imperialism that in controlling Saudi Arabia, it is necessary to manipulate means other than repression. This signaled a policy of reform in the state administration and containment of mass activities, especially the youth. Sports clubs, societies etc. were set up, financed and closely supervised by specialized ministries. A joint US-Saudi committee has undertaken the task of modernizing the regime's repression and aborting the patriotic movement. The scope of these projects was enlarged after the oil price-hike in '74 and the murder of Feisal in '75 Prince Fahad announced a project for establishing an advi-

sory council (for the Saudi rulers) in a lecture at the University in Jeddah.

The slogan spread by the CIA in Saudi Arabia was that of 'make money instead of meddling in politics'. Huge opportunities for making money were quickly created and many fields were opened to loot public money.

In order to contain dissatisfaction among the intellectuals, several university graduates and professionals were incorporated as technocrats in the high ranks of the administration, where the Saudi clan reserved the right to make the crucial decisions and held the real power. Decision-making by the Saudi clan was reorganized such that the ranking 100 Emirs act in the name of the whole clan which is estimated to be 5000.

In a situation of severe repression, the opposition will go underground manifested by secret organizations — military organizations, the remnants of tribal groupings and religious gatherings.

The American-directed Saudi apparatus has been distorting Islamic codes and principles, within the anti-progressive pro-western context. It is logical for the opposition to adhere to its Islamic religion hostile to the US and Saudi clan; with this we can comprehend the recent uprising in the Mecca shrine as a crucial test of the religious faith of the Saudi clan. The regime did not hesitate to violate the sanctity of the holy shrine under American guidance, with tanks, poison gas and incendiary bombs, while preaching a Koranic version of its actions.

American Gains and Hegemony.

US hegemony precludes the possibility that the Saudi clan can follow a neutral or anti-American policy. A former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia reported to the *Current US Policies Research Center*, the extent of US interests in Saudi Arabia in 1976 as follows:

- US firms are currently undertaking construction contracts worth \$16 billion
- Armament contracts amounted to \$5 billion in 1976
- US military firms were granted contracts in '76 worth \$4 billion
- 1/2 million jobs are available to Americans due to contracts with Saudi Arabia, in addition to 1 1/2 million jobs due to the indirect effect of such contracts
- Saudi assets reached \$53 billion in '76, approximately half of which was invested in the US

- Profits gained from Saudi funds covered the cost of US oil imports from Saudi Arabia
- Surplus of US-Saudi trade covers the US exchange deficit¹¹

The US paid special attention to the army and the National Guard. Phenyl Corporation furnished mercenaries — ex-Vietnam veterans to train the National Guard.

Reports indicate that there are around 50,000 US citizens engaged in undertaking the second 5-year plan. The contracts awarded to US firms in this aspect exceeds more than \$24 billion¹². According to the treaty concluded between Fahad and Kissinger in June '74, US government agencies were entitled to the following:

- 1— US Army Engineering Corps is entitled to supervise all establishment of public works, contracts and military installations in Saudi Arabia. A sum of \$18 billion was allocated for these projects
- 2— Geophysical Survey Agency is entitled to do the geophysical and topographical work for all Saudi Arabia¹³

In addition to these government agencies, it is of interest to know the following:

- The Saudi Monetary Fund for Industrial and Economic Development is headed by a vice-president of the Chase Manhattan Bank
- The Saudi Airlines is run by T.W.A.
- Standard Research Institute (Standard Oil) has presented the 5 year plan
- White Talker Corporation supervises all sports projects worth \$30 million
- ARAMCO, which controls the production of all the Saudi oil, was contracted for \$20 billion to extend the Saudi gas and electrical network

Due to this ominous treaty, the administration has been flooded with American advisers, such that no crucial decision is possible without the Americans. It is incredible that the ministry of Pilgrimage is supervised by an American who suggested to the ministry of Planning in 1977 to solve the problem of crowdedness by establishing two pilgrimages.

US involvement in Saudi Arabia increased after the victory of the Iranian Revolution in February '79. The US conveyed to the regime its readiness to protect the Saudi throne. As a gesture of commitment, it sent a squadron of F-16's; the US strengthened its naval power in the Gulf and the Arabian

Sea and stationed US-marines in the Eastern region. In the latest maneuvers, the main US objective is to safeguard the Saudi regime and not the American hostages in Teheran.

The extensive US military, political and economic presence and interference in a country with a deep-rooted patriotic pride will antagonize the national spirit.

Opposition to US hegemony is the basic trend of the latest uprising in Mecca's Holy Shrine, in the Eastern region and the mass opposition in general under the slogan: 'liquidate the US military presence'.

The other important issue is the large role, negative and positive, of the oil and its intense impact on the economic and social structure of the Arabian Peninsula and consequently on the political movement.

New Results

There are two clear phases marked by the price hike of oil in '74 and the death of King Feisal. The post-Feisal period witnessed quick remedies to divisions within the Saudi tribe and took precautions concerning the mass movement. The regime allocated \$140 billion for an ambitious 5-year plan with the intention of creating an extensive industrial and social build-up which resulted in the following:

- 1— a quick rise in the economic level and standard of living for most of its citizens. This was either through salary hikes or the appropriation of land and funds to its citizens. The material capabilities of the town dwellers improved which reflected itself on the progressive movement by weakening it. The progressive movement must adjust its programs to include the new realities, the new class formations, as these classes settle and crystallize.
- 2— The influx of foreign firms and employees (Arab and other nationalities) to Saudi Arabia created a challenge to the Saudi citizen. Corruption, social diseases and new values infiltrated the traditional Saudi society.
- 3— Social changes, the increasing number of intellectuals and graduates, the increase in purchasing power and habits offensive to traditional values resulted in the degenerations of the old society and the evolution of a new one. The religious organizations such as the brigade, which was responsible for safeguarding religious codes and values, could no longer perform its tasks, especially since it was equally corrupt.



The spread of capitalist values and relations created metropolitan centers, which are offensive to the traditional tribes, the exploited masses and religious groups. These groups associated the corruption of the society and the deterioration of traditional values with the US presence. A main task of the US-Saudi Committee is to make the population conform to the American values and discourage traditional Islamic and patriotic values. The reaction is expected to be strong. The leaders of the uprising in Mecca, by rebelling against the US, looked to Khomeini as an example. They planned that on the eve of the 15th Century H.P., the Saudi era would come to an end and a true Islamic era would begin.

The valuable lesson for the progressive forces is as follows:

The Saudi regime stated that elements from different Arabian Peninsula states partici-

pated in the Mecca uprising, which means that this group has branches in different parts of the Gulf.

This indicates the deep conviction of the rebels for the unity of the Arabian Peninsula. They have surpassed the era of slogans, characteristic of the progressive movement, to the era of action. It is necessary for the progressive and patriotic forces to intensify their efforts to create a unity capable of leading the struggle against the US presence and the tribal regimes to create a unified democratic Arabian Peninsula free from US hegemony.

1. The Islamic Calendar beginning with the pilgrimage of the prophet Mohammed from Mecca to Medina in 624 A.D.

2. Different districts of the Arabian Peninsula

3. Major tribes opposed to Saudi power.

4. Yemenite regions.

5. Ideology expressed through the teachings of a militant preacher, Mohammad Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab (1703-1792), whose version of Islam, called for the purification of religion as well as the firm practice of Islamic punishments — stoning, beheadings and amputations. It was this version that the Saudis adopted.

6. Shūmar is a large tribe spread throughout the Northern desert of Saudi Arabia known as Nofoud with Hael as the capital. This tribe is also found in Jordan and in Al-Jazira provinces of Syria and Iraq.

7. Al-Ikhwan is derived from the reconciliation between the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina during the migration of the prophet Mohammed.

8. The site of the huge oil industrial complex on the Red Sea.

9. Criminal Code derived from the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed.

10. This brigade is part of the Wahhabi paramilitary structure.

11. Harkel, Hussan, Kuwaiti Daily (*Al-Watan*) May 22, 1975.

12. Kuwaiti Daily (*Al-Kabas*) October 11, 1977.

13. Arab Development Institute, US policy in the Arab Gulf 1976, pages 73 and 137.



STEADFASTNESS AND CONFRONTATION FRONT

The foreign ministers of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front held a conference in Damascus on January 16, 1980, in response to the call of the Syrian Arab Republic.

The conference discussed the international situation, developments in the Arab World and the Islamic countries, in particular the continuation of the Camp David tripartite pact in conspiring against the people of the Arab Nation and the Islamic peoples and their future, against the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and against the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands.

The conference studied the role of the forces of imperialism, led by the USA, in deteriorating international relations, obstructing the international detente policy, renewing the cold war, establishing aggressive military bases, and attempting to establish military axes and pacts, aiming to subdue the peoples of the developing countries and the national liberation movements to the imperialist will. In this, they attempt to exploit the recent events in Iran and Afghanistan in order to mask their imperialist programs and the aggressive aims they harbor.

The conference views with great concern the dangerous maneuvers of the US policy to fragment the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement and to divert it from the principles and aims reaffirmed in its different conferences, the Sixth Summit Conference in particular.

The conference reviewed the dangerous role executed by the Camp David parties to form an aggressive pact, particularly through military cooperation, and the Egyptian regime's involvement in this conspiracy and the opening of Egypt's doors to the American military presence and domination as an introduction to placing the Arab region under American hegemony, to be used in the interests of Zionism and world imperialism, to establish new bases in the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea area and the Arab World.

The conference emphasized that the military maneuvers by the Egyptian regime in cooperation with the Zionist enemy and the US are directed against the Arab Nation. The position of the Egyptian regime regarding the events in Iran and Afghanistan reaffirms the determination of this regime, since deserting the Arab Nation and betraying its aims, to cooperate with US-imperialism and Zio-

nism and facilitate their military and economic hegemony in the region. Thus, this regime placed itself and the brotherly Egyptian land as the passage for US-imperialism and Zionism to more expansion and for return to the policy of military axes and cold war, which bring only dependency, backwardness and destruction to the world, and in particular to the developing countries.

The conference was certain that the contrived maneuvers employed by world imperialism, led by the US with the collaboration of Israel and the Egyptian regime, regarding the events in Iran and Afghanistan, are aiming to divert the peoples of the Arab and Islamic Nation from their struggle line against the fundamental danger, embodied in the Zionist enemy and its occupation, to fragment the Arab and Islamic solidarity, to rescue the parties of Camp David from the predicament they are facing, and to cause conflict between the Arab Nation and its friends, in particular the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries.

In order to achieve these aims, the US is attempting to claim that it is defending Islam and Moslems at a time when it is still plotting against the Iranian revolution, and supporting the Zionist enemy with the most

sophisticated weapons in continuing its aggression, expansion and occupation, to annex Palestinian and Arab lands, particularly holy Jerusalem, and its desecration of the sanctities of Islam.

Thus, the Camp David parties have uncovered their fundamental programs in an attempt to strike the Arab and Moslems people's aims, to fragment the Arab and Moslem solidarity, to break the isolation of the Egyptian regime and to occupy the Arabs and Moslems with contrived dangers removed from the real line, which is embodied in the aggression of Zionism and its ally, US-imperialism. In the view of the Camp David parties, the right of sovereignty of the Arab and Islamic peoples, including Iran and Afghanistan, is nothing more than submission to the imperialist-Zionist will.

The Arab and Islamic peoples are aware of these plans and their aims. They know their enemies and their friends. They believe that their fundamental cause was and is still the Palestinian cause and the liberation of Palestinian and Arab lands from Israeli occupation. These peoples can only view and explain these events in light of their conception of the fundamental cause, after having learned through experience that the forces opposing inalienable national rights and siding with the occupation of the Palestinian and Arab lands cannot be true to the people's goals in their aspiration for liberation, progress and a just peace.

The conference evaluated positively the decisions of the Tenth Conference of the Islamic States' Foreign Ministers in Fez (Morocco), the decisions of the Sixth Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana and the positions of the socialist countries and the Soviet Union at the forefront.

The conference affirms:

1. The decisions of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front conferences constitute the basis for strong confrontation of the Camp David course and parties. On the basis of these decisions, the conference calls for developing and strengthening the active confrontation of US-imperialism and the Zionist expansion, and reinforcement of the Egyptian regime's isolation.

2. The conference decided to send the following telegram to the General Secretary of the Islamic Conference and to all the Islamic countries:

The Islamic Conference emerged after the burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque in holy Jerusalem. As such, it bears responsibility for defending Palestine and Holy Jerusalem and

cannot allow itself to be utilized by colonial forces and their allies for purposes other than the honorable aims which led to its inception. Therefore, the conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, held in Damascus January 16, 1980, request you to convey the following proposals to the other member countries:

1. To postpone the date for convening the Islamic Conference, as January 26th is the date for normalizing the relations between the Egyptian regime and the Zionist entity, which constitutes a dangerous step....

To convene the conference on the suggested date will lead to overshadowing this treacherous step; this would attract the general Arab, Islamic and international attention to the Conference, instead of towards confronting the real dangers resulting from this new step.

2. To hold the conference in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, as it is the headquarters of the Islamic Conference Organization.

3. To include the following points on the agenda of the Conference:

a. The normalization of the relations between the Egyptian regime and the Zionist

SOLIDARITY MESSAGE

January 8, 1980

Comrade Babrak Karmal,
President of the Democratic Republic
of Afghanistan:

Revolutionary Greetings,

In the name of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, we extend to you our comradely greetings. We reaffirm our solidarity and complete support to the people and the revolution of Afghanistan.

The vicious attack waged by world imperialism, headed by the US, and its reactionary tools in the region, is still continuing against the revolution and the people of Afghanistan, and against the Iranian Revolution and the aspirations of the heroic Iranian masses, and against the interests of all the peoples of the region and their progressive forces.

To confront this imperialist attack, we are all in one trench in alliance with the forces of world revolution, especially the socialist community and the Soviet Union at the forefront.

The policy of military pacts, anti-communism and resuming the cold war has become a hopeless one. The attempts to reincarnate this policy will not bear fruit...such an evil policy only attracts the devils of the Arab region... the murderers, Zionists and reactionaries, Begin-Sadat and their allies, who are welcoming the establishment

of US-imperialist military bases in occupied Palestine, Egypt, in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula, in order to implement the Camp David conspiracy and spread it in the Arab region, and in order to impose the fascist, racist Zionist entity on our Palestinian Arab land.

Comrades:

At a time when you are facing external and internal counter-revolutionary forces and your people and their progressive national vanguard are heroically confronting these forces, our Palestinian and Lebanese people are facing continuous concentrated attacks, expulsion and killing by the Zionists and their allies in Lebanon. In addition, there are external and internal political efforts to abort our revolution and the Lebanese progressive and patriotic movement, the leader of the heroic Lebanese masses' struggle.

We are confident that however long the conspiracies or whatever form they may take, our just causes will inevitably achieve victory, relying on the justness of our joint causes in the struggle against imperialism and its tools and adhering to proletarian internationalism and the unity of interests between the oppressed peoples.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM
LONG LIVE AFGHANI - PALESTINIAN FRIENDSHIP

George Habash
The Central Committee of the
Popular Front for the
Liberation of Palestine



entity and the consequences: violating the rights of the Palestinian Arab people to return, self-determination and establishment of their independent state on their national land; maintaining the occupation of Palestinian and Arab land; and yielding holy Jerusalem.

b. The US threats of military aggression against the peoples of the region.

c. The establishment of US military bases in some countries of the region, such as Egypt and Oman.

3. The conference condemns the US plan and the imperialist-Zionist campaigns which insult Islam and its noble values by using it as a curtain for aggressive expansionist purposes. The conference calls on all Arab and Islamic countries to be aware of these plots and to be united in their confrontation to foil them and to protect the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference Organization.

4. The conference declares its position alongside the Iranian Revolution and the Iranian Moslem people in protecting their freedom, independence, sovereignty and control over their resources, and for salvation from the imperialist hegemony which the US is attempting to reimpose upon them.

5. The conference confirms its respect for the Afghani will in defending the national security of its territory and its non-alignment.

6. The conference declares its determination to strengthen the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, to reinforce its role and develop its institutions to serve the goals of the Arab Nation.

7. The conference warns against any attempt to build foreign military bases in the Arab World, because this will push the Arab region into the heat of the international conflict, and its countries will lose their independence and non-alignment.

8. The conference emphasizes that the Arab Nation will not be drawn into fulfilling some of the aims of the conspiracy, by harming the relations of cooperation and friendship existing between the Arab Nation and the socialist community and the Soviet Union at the forefront.

9. The conference calls on the Arab masses and their patriotic forces to carry out broad activities on January 26th to express their anger and condemnation of the new treacherous step of the Sadat regime in normalizing relations with the Zionist enemy. □□

GREETINGS TO CUBA

December 28, 1979

Comrade Fidel Castro
Secretary General of the
Cuban Communist Party

Comrades, Members of the
Central Committee:

Revolutionary Greetings,

In my name, in the name of the Politbureau, all the cadres, fighters and members of the PFLP, I offer to you personally, and to all the comrades in the Central Committee, cadres and members of your Party and to your great people, the warmest congratulations and best wishes on the twenty-first anniversary of your revolution's victory on the first day of January, 1959. We also wish you, your Party and your people broader and greater achievements on the road to socialism.

The victory of your revolution, under your wise and revolutionary leadership of the Cuban masses, defeated one of the puppet strongholds for imperialism in Latin America. Your revolution dealt a piercing blow to the imperialist octopus, in particular the United States. It created a progressive state, counter to the existence of imperialism, through its socialist developments. This led to the spread of a progressive liberation trend and atmosphere of change throughout the whole continent.

This established the role of Socialist Cuba in its principled international support to the revolutionary movements of the world. It has glorified your correct internal and foreign policy, under your wise leadership of the Cuban Communist Party.

This greatly contributed to effect the international balance of power, which since the great October Revolution started to characterize a new era; as the era of retreat for colonialism and imperialism and victory for the struggling and socialist peoples.

The events occurring in our region — the Middle East — are dialectically connected with turmoil in the world. The situation we are facing increases in

importance and complexity in light of the economical, geographical and political particularities of the area and in light of the progressive growth of the Arab national and patriotic liberation movements and the changes in the structure of the class economy. Imperialism, headed by America, aimed to rearrange the situation in the area in order to assure the flow of natural resources necessary for its livelihood, in the midst of these national and democratic accomplishments. The maneuvers employed by the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy were crowned by the Camp David plot and its attachments, which aims at destroying all of the national democratic achievements, draining the PLO of its armed revolutionary character by pushing it into the capitulationist solutions, defusing the strategic alliance with the socialist countries and its vanguard the Soviet Union, and creating a political-military-economical alliance under the influence of imperialism-Zionism-reaction in the area to implement its goals.

In spite of all the efforts and capabilities which this enemy alliance has exerted, it could not accomplish its evil plot, due to the struggle and steadfastness of our Palestinian people with its broad Arab base and its strategic alliance with the world revolutionary movements and its vanguard, the socialist countries.

While I am congratulating you on the 21st anniversary of the victory of your revolution, we in the PFLP consider this day as a precious occasion for us, one of our people's national days, a day of victory to all struggling peoples and a great encouragement for us to continue with the struggle until the liberation of land and man.

**LONG LIVE PALESTINIAN-CUBAN
FRIENDSHIP.**

**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM.**

General Secretary of the PFLP
George Habash

PUERTO RICO

In recent months much activity has been taking place in Puerto Rico and the US, concerning the release of four Puerto Rican freedom fighters, held in US prisons since the early 50's. Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP) submitted this article to the Bulletin for publication, tracing the history of struggle behind these recent events and the political tendencies within the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

In the morning of November 1st, 1950, two well dressed Puerto Rican nationalists made their way to Blair House, across the street from the White House, where President Harry S. Truman, the mad-bomber of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was making his temporary home while the White House underwent repairs. Their names were Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola. Both were on a military mission on the orders of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. Their orders: to break the curtain of silence imposed by the United States press on an insurrection then taking place in Puerto Rico against U.S. colonial domination, and thereby expose to the world the vicious nature of U.S. colonial rule in Puerto Rico.

Approaching Blair House, the two patriots noticed that the entrances on the side and front were well guarded by Secret Service agents. They crossed the street and drew their weapons, a .45 caliber automatic and a German Mauser of World-War II vintage. Both opened fire on the presidential guard, killing one instantly and wounding another before Griselio Torresola fell, mortally wounded. Collazo penetrated to the very door of the house before he ran out of bullets. He calmly sat on the steps and began to reload his weapon. Within seconds, a hail of bullets cut him down also. He survived.

Collazo was to be tried and sentenced to death. But pressured by world public opinion and mass demonstrations by the Puerto Rican people, President Truman commuted the death sentence to life in prison. He spent 28 years of that life sentence before he was released.

The heroes achieved their task fully. On November 2nd, both the United States and world press not only covered the daring



Lolita Lebron liberated

attack in Washington D.C., but covered the events in Puerto Rico as well. On October 30th, 1950, the world now learned, over 300 members of the Nationalist Army of Liberation had staged nation-wide attacks on key government buildings in Puerto Rico. In the town of Jayuya, located in the very heart of the central mountain range of Puerto Rico, a company of the nationalist army had seized the police station, disarmed the colonial puppets and proclaimed the republic. In every major city, battles raged for three days as small bands of patriots defeated the police forces of the colonial government and clashed with the colonial national guard.

Yet, despite the significance of the uprising, the U.S. press chose to report that small bands of Puerto Ricans were fighting each other. By the second day, there was a total news black-out on events in Puerto Rico. The attack on Washington D.C. forced the truth out.

Following the collapse of the nationalist resistance on November 2nd, a massive campaign of repression descended on the Puerto Rican people. Over 5,000 men, women and children believed to have aided the insurrection, were rounded up and imprisoned. A "gag" law was passed (Law No. 5) prohibiting the flying of the Puerto Rican flag, the wearing of black shirts and white pants (the colors of the nationalist cadets), and the discussion of the independence question. Violators could be imprisoned without trial.

Neo-colonialism

The U.S. government also moved to alter the colonial condition. Over the next four years, the U.S. government engineered the forced migration of 500,000 Puerto Ricans from the island to the U.S. mainland, where they were segregated in ghettos and from where they supplied the cheaply paid non-union labor for the factory sweat-shops that were then producing the clothing and commodities sold in the international market. This step relieved Puerto Rico of nearly a third of its labor force, easing the strain on the colonial economy. This step was accompanied by a program to build factories in Puerto Rico, ease unemployment and intensify the efforts at assimilating the Puerto Rican people into the U.S. economy. Additionally, the colonial framework was re-designed. The U.S. Congress approved Law 600 authorizing a colonial legislature elected by the Puerto Rican people and subject to U.S. veto. In the United Nations, the all powerful United States delegation succeeded in forcing the General Assembly, then under European control, to drop Puerto Rico from the list of non-self governing territories. The leadership of the Nationalist Party and its President Don Pedro Albizu Campos were imprisoned. These actions threw the movement into disarray. The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), which espoused a pacifist electoral view, however, survived almost intact. In 1952, the same year that the new colonial relations law went into



effect, the PIP drew 125,000 votes at the polls, or 35,000 votes more than in its first elections in 1948. Although this electoral success placed them as the major rival to the colonial system, by 1956 they too had succumbed to the repressive campaign, and passed on to become an incosequential electoral opposition.

The campaign in New York City to force the U.S. government to revoke their decision to execute Oscar Collazo, saw the participation of a key organizer, Lolita Lebron. After the successful struggle to save Collazo's life, Lolita became a leading member of the Nationalist Party leadership in the U.S.

In 1954, colonial puppet Luis Munoz Marin, then governor of Puerto Rico, visited with a group of Congressmen to solicit greater economic investments in Puerto Rico. Shortly after the meeting, he told the U.S. press in Washington D.C. that nationalism and independence were no longer a factor in Puerto Rican politics. From Puerto Rico came a new order, signed by the recently released president of the Nationalist Party, Don Pedro Albizu Campos. The order came to Lolita Lebron: select a team of cadets and organize a military demonstration to prove that the independence struggle still has claws.

Long Live a Free Puerto Rico

The heroic mother of present day Puerto Rican revolutionaries promptly selected herself and three men - Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Andres Figueroa Cordero - to carry out the armed demonstration. They chose March 1st, 1954, as the date. On that day the Organization of American States was meeting, and Congress (the chosen target) was discussing a bill on controlling the crossing of the border from Mexico into the U.S. by Mexican workers seeking employment.

The four, well dressed and each carrying an automatic pistol (three Mausers and a 45), entered the gallery of visitors overlooking the House of Representatives. Lolita Lebron shouted: "Long Live a Free Puerto Rico!" And all four fired over the heads of the U.S. legislators. Bullets hit desks and walls, ricocheting and hitting five of the legislators. No one was killed. Later, upon his release, Rafael Cancel Miranda said: "We fired over their heads. Had we wanted to kill any of them, believe me, we would have killed them." The four were arrested and after a trial, sentenced to from 25 to 78

years in prison. Again the U.S. intensified the repression of advocates of Puerto Rican independence. Don Pedro Albizu Campos was re-arrested and tortured. He was finally released - paralyzed, mute and dying - in April, 1965. Eleven days later, he was dead. Despite the long years of repression, over 100,000 Puerto Ricans demonstrated their grief and anger at the funeral of the greatest leader of our people in the 20th-Century.

In 1964, the first organized movement to seek the release of the Five Nationalists in U.S. prisons was initiated, along with a campaign to gain the release of some 11 others imprisoned in colonial jails in Puerto Rico for the 1950 and 1954 armed actions.

In 1968, the 11 nationalists in Puerto Rico were released, and full attention was turned to gaining the release of the Five - Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero.

The history of the heroic Puerto Rican people's struggle against colonialism and imperialism is closely linked to that of Cuba and other Latin American countries.

Puerto Rico, like Cuba and other islands of the Caribbean, was always important for the colonialist European powers and later for the U.S. This was partly due to their geographic location as the keys to the Americas.

After 4 centuries of Spanish colonialism, on September 23, 1868, in the town of Lares, the Puerto Rican people launched their war of independence against Spain. Side by side with the people of Cuba, they defied colonial power and fought under the very difficult conditions resulting from their insularity until the year 1898.

As a result of that struggle, Spain was forced to grant Puerto Rico a relatively large degree of autonomy, whereby Spain could not constitutionally modify the status of Puerto Rico without the consent of the Puerto Ricans.

However, on July 28, 1898, the island was invaded by the armed forces of the United States, which placed the territory under military occupation.

In July 1898, Spain was defeated by the U.S. and signed the Treaty of Paris whereby Spain "ceded" to the

As the cause of Puerto Rican independence advanced in the international arena - the direct result of the decolonization process and the wars of national liberation - the case of the four began to attract more international attention. Within the Puerto Rican colony, and within the two-million strong Puerto Rican colony inside the urban centers of the United States, the call for their release grew into a roar. First, legal and parliamentary steps were taken. As these attempts fell on deaf ears, and as the internal political conditions changed, armed actions began to become manifest. By 1977, both armed actions and mass political offensives among the Puerto Rican people and within the international community forced the U.S. government to re-assess the question of the four. For example, in January of 1975; when five industrialists were killed in a retaliatory bombing of a private financiers club in Wall Street by an armed unit of the

United States the territory of Puerto Rico, thus consummating a typical act of colonial plunder in which the Puerto Rican people had absolutely no say.

From that time on, many Puerto Rican patriots have struggled against the American occupation. In October 1935, in a plea before the United States Supreme Court, Don Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, asserted: "The Treaty (of Paris) is null and void in so far as it concerns Puerto Rico. Spain could not cede Puerto Rico because Puerto Rico was not a negotiable entity. Puerto Rico became a sovereign nation by virtue of the Charter of Self-Government which Spain could not amend without the consent of Puerto Rico. And the United States could not agree to the cession of the territory because it was obligated to respect the independence of Puerto Rico... The feudal concept of international law, which permitted the conquest of one nation by another through war and retention of the victim as the property of the victor, as a possession, must have been dead in the United States too."

Puerto Rico as a colonial territory of the U.S. has no jurisdiction over its vital areas of political and economic

Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN), the U.S. press received a note stating, among other things, that "Andrés Figueroa Cordero was dying of cancer, and that his death in prison would bring about severe "consequences" to the U.S. ruling class."

After the cancer was diagnosed as "terminal" in 1977, the U.S. government released Andres Figueroa Cordero, unconditionally. When asked upon his release how he felt now about the armed action he had taken part in, Figueroa Cordero answered: "When the strong refuse to listen to the weak, their ears must be opened with bullets." To the very day of his death, nearly two years later, Andres maintained that position, as well as full support for an armed struggle which continues to intensify as broader and broader sectors of the Puerto Rican people turn to armed struggle as the only solution to the liquidation of colonial-

life. These include migration and immigration, citizenship (U.S. citizenship is forced upon the inhabitants), currency, trade with other countries, labor relations, communications, postal service, maintenance of an army and military use of land (13% of Puerto Rico's best agricultural land is occupied by U.S. military bases, including nuclear installations). U.S. corporations own 85% of the industry in Puerto Rico, an industry which not only exploits the natives but also through pollution is destroying the ecology of the island.

U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico has created a life and death crisis for the Puerto Rican nation. This is characterized by the low wages paid to the workers coupled with an extremely high inflation rate, increasing the cost of living; the high rate of unemployment which forces migration of workers to the U.S. where they face brutal racist oppression; the forcible sterilization of many Puerto Rican women; the compulsory military service in the U.S. Army; the severe political and cultural oppression as manifested in the imposed educational system, whereby the English language is enforced; the assassination of oppositional figures and the imprisonment of revolutionaries.

ism - for independence, peace and socialism in Puerto Rico.

Two Political Lines

With the release of Andres in 1977, the Puerto Rican independence movement drew two contradictory lessons about how to gain the release of the remaining four. The reformists and parliamentarists saw indications of "a humane response" by the Democratic Party administration of James Earl Carter to a possible release of the four. The revolutionary left saw the "weakening" of the U.S. colonial hold in the face of a growing revolutionary movement and the support for the Puerto Rican liberation struggle by increasingly militant and socialist countries in the Third World and among the non-aligned nations, as well as among broader sectors of the Puerto Rican people and the oppressed peoples of the United States.

While the reformists sought to mount a campaign for the release of the four based on "humane considerations," the revolutionaries mounted a campaign based on their release as freedom fighters, and based on a sharply political demand for the release of all Puerto Rican "prisoners of war."

In August, 1977, the United Nations Decolonization Committee approved a resolution calling for Puerto Rico's independence and the release of the "four Puerto Rican personalities." Meanwhile, the efforts for their release were reorganized in the U.S. under the National Committee to Free All Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. This effort included the Four Nationalists, the FALN combatant William "Guillermo" Morales, and two young independentistas who on July 4, 1978, seized the Chilean Consulate in San Juan, demanding the release of the four, suspension of the 4th of July military and annexationist parade in San Juan, and in repudiation of the Pinochet gorilla dictatorship in Chile. They, Nydia Cuevas, 27, and Pablo Marciano, 25, are in U.S. prisons. Morales escaped from a hospital prison in May, 1979, and is now free.

The National Committee to Free the Puerto Rican POW's mounted a campaign throughout 1978, aimed at broadening the mass support for the release of the POWs from the existing Puerto Rican mass base to a broad support among all oppressed peoples in the United States. The campaign was so successful, that by July 4, 1979, rallies were held in 12 cities in the U.S. in support of the release of the Puerto Rican prisoners of war. The offensive soon had people all over the

U.S. calling the Puerto Rican prisoners, "prisoners of war," and talking of an increasing number of armed actions that were taking place in Puerto Rico and within the U.S. against colonialism and for socialism in Puerto Rico.

Meanwhile, the efforts by the reformists and parliamentarists to organize support in the U.S. for their "humanitarian" line, first faltered and then ceased altogether. The U.S. government, however, seized on the opportunity presented to them in this way to enlist a Puerto Rican-born U.S. Congressman by the name of Bob Garcia to become a "mouthpiece" for the efforts to release the four nationalists. Fearing renewed bombings by the FALN and mass revolutionary pressure emerging with the mass organizing drive of the National Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, the U.S. government decided as early as April, 1979, to release the four nationalists. The only question remaining was, how?

In May, 1979, the U.S. government accepted a plea for clemency drafted by one of the attorneys for the Four in Puerto Rico - the well known reformist Emilio Soler Mari. It also accepted a promise by the Cuban government to release four C.I.A. agents then in Cuban jails if the four were released. The four, however, refused to ask for anything, themselves. They insisted on unconditional release, and this posed a problem for the U.S. State Department. With the advent of the meeting of Non-aligned Nations in Cuba in September of 1979, and the 2nd International Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence scheduled for November, 1979, the U.S. government decided to move fast. Rather than face condemnation at both conferences, and facing growing mass support for the revolutionary line within the U.S., the Carter administration announced on Monday, September 10, that the four were being released that day at 10 a.m. Over a decade of struggle had provided the Puerto Rican independence struggle with a major victory.

Before discussing the events following their release, it is worth noting the political and economic environment surrounding the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle at the time of their release.

What characterized the methods of the Nationalist Party in 1950 and in 1954 was armed confrontations involving direct and exposed assaults on government. After the events of 1954, the Nationalist Party was literally destroyed.



Revolution or reforms?

Today, the political panorama of the national liberation struggle is governed by two principal tendencies - revolutionary and reformist. The revolutionary movement employs two methods of struggle - mass agitation and armed actions by a clandestine and intensely ideological guerrilla force, whose membership is unknown even to the legal Puerto Rican independence organizations. Whereas the nationalists marched straight ahead to attack entrenched U.S. colonialist positions, the modern Puerto Rican guerrilla strikes covertly and silently against military and economic weak-spots in the enemy armor striking at will, and retreating without significant loss to regroup and strike again. Increasingly, today, armored trucks with hundreds of thousands of dollars are seized, banks are relieved of their monies, armories are raided for arms and materials, and police and national guard posts in Puerto Rico are attacked and neutralized. In the U.S., armed units of the FALN strike psychological, economic and propaganda blows against U.S. corporations, producing the bulk of the international publicity for the armed clandestine movement of the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle.

The reformists, meanwhile, go to elections where time and again they are repudiated by the Puerto Rican people and sabotaged by the U.S. government. They oppose armed struggle as a threat to their vested organizational interests. They enter into international pacts which prioritize parliamentary forms of struggle. They even reject (as Marxists) the need for a working class dictatorship to ensure the construction of socialism. This tendency is today represented by the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) which labels itself a Social Democratic Party; and by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), which labels itself a Marxist-Leninist Party.

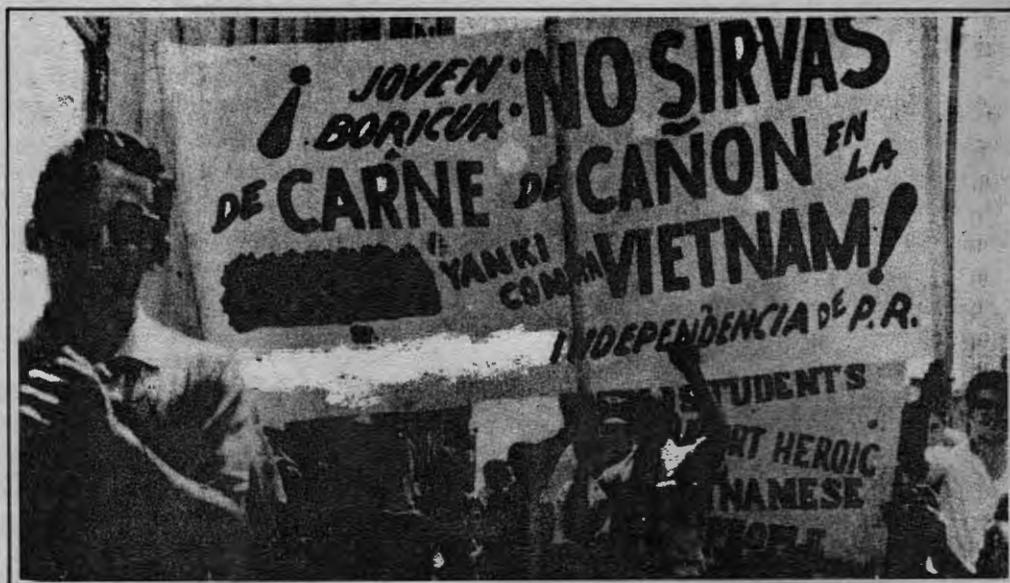
To the left of this opportunism, are several organizations which support the combination of armed and mass struggle as the only means of achieving national liberation. They are headed by the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP) in Puerto Rico, and by the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) in the U.S. - both of which have fraternal relations with each other.

The committees most responsible for the offensive leading to the release of the four are also aligned in tendencies. The National Committee to Free The Four Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners (Puerto Rico) is closely aligned with the PSP reformists; the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War (U.S.) is closely aligned with the revolutionary national liberation movement.

It was not strange, therefore, that when the four were released, a battle ensued between revolutionaries and reformists for con-

sequential work in obtaining his release. There, charged with the emotion of a revolutionary sector of the independence movement, Andres felt free to talk. And he did. "When the strong refuse to listen to the weak, their ears must be opened with bullets... I am not ashamed of what I did, I would do it again... The only way to obtain our freedom is to drive them out with bombs and bullets..."

Once out of Chicago, however, the patriot softened his tone, and although he was on occasion to repeat his statements, he



Puerto Ricans demonstrating in the US

trol of the itinerary of activities in which the four were to participate. The battle was thrust on the revolutionary sector by the experience encountered on the release of Andres Figueroa Cordero in 1977, when the reformists sought, with some success, to dampen the revolutionary talk of the Puerto Rican hero and martyr. The reformists argued that too many sectors had contributed to his release for him to take any other than an "impartial position." Therefore, he had to tone down his revolutionary talk. Furthermore, the reformists argued, if he went on ahead and spoke of the need for revolutionary action, it might jeopardize the release of the other four.

But Andres Figueroa Cordero decided that his first action after his release would be to go to Chicago and personally thank the members of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War for their con-

now sought to represent all sides and all sectors. His illness prevented him from living long enough to have unmasked the opportunists and reformists which came to surround him for most of his last year of life.

Four, however, are harder than one. And when Lolita, Rafael, Irving, and Oscar were released on September 10, they too proceeded to Chicago and to a series of activities sponsored by the National Committee to Free All Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. There, they denounced colonial elections, demanded the release of Nydia Ester Cuevas and Pablo Marcano, and called for support of the armed struggle.

The reformists, however, were already maneuvering to shut out the revolutionary sector in New York and Puerto Rico. They formed a coalition of forces in New York, enlisting everyone within reach. The coalition was composed of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Puerto Rican Independence Party, the Nationalist Party and

several front organizations. In addition, they pulled the Venceremos Brigade organizers in New York, and got the Cuban delegation to the U.N. to sponsor a press conference, to clash with one previously called and publicly announced by the New York Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. Attempts by the New York Committee to reconcile the conflicting schedules were totally ignored and arrogantly answered in the negative.

In Puerto Rico, the reformists sought to exclude the revolutionary left from the reception of the Four, inviting instead four former colonial governors to take a place of honor in the reviewing stand, an invitation which, as in past occasions, they turned down. All their plans either failed, or were only partially realized.

Nevertheless, the four were scorching with their revolutionary ardor. Lolita Lebron said upon the arrival of the four in Chicago, that their freedom was due "to political expediency and not because of a concern for human rights," as the political opportunists had said earlier. Rafael Cancel Miranda tore up his "pardon" at the airport, and said that Puerto Ricans have a right "to fight by whatever means" in achieving independence. Oscar Collazo, who spent 28 years in prison, said: "The fight for freedom is always a long fight and always a hard fight. I have nothing to be disappointed about."

Popular Support

The arrival of the four in Chicago touched off an outpouring of public support for the four and for their political position. More than 3,000 Puerto Ricans and independence supporters marched behind the four through the streets of the West Town community, being met throughout by cheering community residents who lined the streets. It resembled a ticker-tape parade which North Americans reserve for their heroes. At each point, from their arrival at O'Hara Airport, to their arrival at Rafael Cancel Miranda High School in the community, to their dinner reception and subsequent rally at the Puerto Rican First Congregational Church, the enthusiasm for the four heroes and the large crowds amazed and perplexed the colonialists.

In New York, on Tuesday, September 11, they were met by 400 persons at the airport. Hundreds more greeted them at the two press conferences. Irving and Rafael were

accompanied throughout the Lower East Side Puerto Rican community, following the press conference sponsored by the New York Committee to Free All Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, by over 1,000 community residents. Later, at a Committee sponsored dinner for 125 persons, representative of professional, civic, artistic and political associations who had contributed financially, or otherwise, to their release, Lolita expressed her joy at their release and called for the son of William "Guillermo" Morales, the FALN hero who had earlier escaped his captors. She kissed and embraced the one-year-old child to the shouts and applause of all present. Later that night, in a united rally of all independence forces, over 5,000 people cheered and shouted: "Freedom!" as Lolita called for their enlistment in the war for national liberation.

On their return to Puerto Rico on Wednesday, September 12 - the anniversary of the birth of Don Pedro Albizu Campos - 25,000 people jammed the airport to receive them. Thousands more lined the route they took by motorcade to reach the cemetery in San Juan where the great teacher and martyr is buried. Kneeling on the tomb of Albizu, Lolita promised that the four would continue the struggle for independence, together with the tens of thousands who accompanied them, until victory.

The day of their arrival was marked also by the largest expropriation ever achieved by the clandestine armed movement. That day, the Ejercito Popular Boricua (EPB) expropriated \$750,000 U.S. dollars from an armored car making a pick-up at a bank near the town of Vega Baja, Puerto Rico. A few days later, armed units of the clandestine movement penetrated the tight security of the largest national guard military installation in Puerto Rico to blow up hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of military vehicles. The tribute to the four heroes of the national liberation struggle was complete.

Now that the uproar of emotions and demonstration of affections has passed, what can be said to be the impact? The four repeatedly said in Puerto Rico that they opposed the independentist participation in colonial elections; they called for support for the release of Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcanó from U.S. prisons; and they called for mass support and participation in the armed struggle.

Certainly these are blows against the opportunism and right-deviations within the Puerto Rican independence forces. But the four went further; they also threatened to impose unity on the liberation movement over the head of the existing leadership if it was necessary. Although this is certainly a difficult, almost impossible task, it merited an overwhelming support from the masses which greeted them. For the LSP and the MLN, the call was certainly welcomed, since unity is an important point of the program of both organizations. But what about the right-deviationists and electoral opportunists? They too preach unity while practicing divisionism and sectarianism. Already the PIP leadership has said that they stand alone and will not unite. The PSP leadership, since the arrival of the four, continues to practice sectarianism and hegemonism. Perhaps, the LSP line is most clear: "The desired unity will come about, but only under the leadership of the armed clandestine movement," said LSP Secretary General Juan Antonio Corretjer.

What is most assured and certain is that the release of the four, and their return to their homeland will put the reformists and opportunists on the defensive and will encourage the growth of the armed revolutionary sector. Where the enemy expected new divisions as a result of their release, the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle will reap the reward of exemplary leadership and exemplary unity within those sectors that count decisively - the armed revolutionary and clandestine left.

Long Live the Four!
Long Live the Unity of the National
Liberation Front!
Independence or Death, we shall triumph!

□□

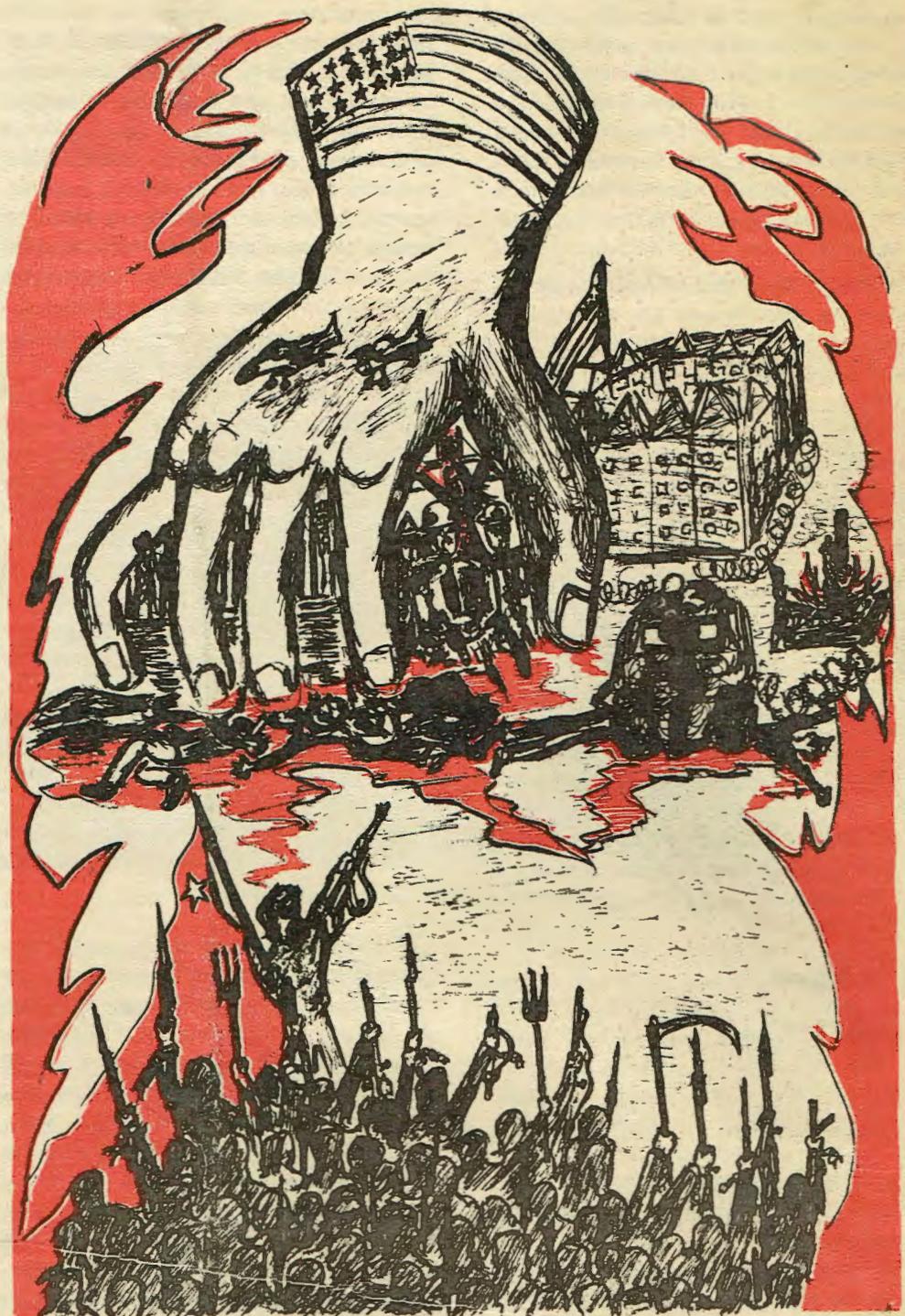
THE PFLP HAS RECEIVED
1000 DM FROM BUND
DER GRIECHISCHEN STUDENTEN
IN BOCHUM, BRD.

PUERTO RICO

They worked
They were always on
They were never late
They never spoke back
When they were insulted
They worked
They never took days off
That were not in the calendar
They never went on strike
without permission
They worked
ten days a week
and were only paid for five
They worked
They worked
They worked
and they died
They died broke
They died owing
They died never knowing
what the front entrance
of the first national city bank looks like

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
All died yesterday today
and will die again tomorrow
passing their bill collectors
on to the next of kin
All died
dreaming about america
waking them up in the middle of the night
Screaming: Mira Mira
Your name is on the winning lottery ticket
for one hundred thousand dollars
All died
hating the grocery stores
that sold them make-believe steaks
and bullet-proof rice and beans
All died waiting dreaming and hating

Dead Puerto Ricans
Who never knew they were Puerto Ricans
Who never took a coffee break
from the ten commandments
to KILL KILL KILL
the landlords of their cracked skulls
and communicate with their latino souls



This is a section of a poem written by a Latin American patriot.



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