



Our every action is a battle cry against imperialism, and a battle hymn for the people's unity against the great enemy of mankind: the United States of America.

CHE

Message to the Tricontinental

THE COLLUSION OF IMPERIALISM AND ARAB REACTION

Most people look at events in isolation, we look at them as integral parts of the developing or unfolding whole.

Developments of the past month clearly illustrate the above position. The Sadat government proposed the formation of a Palestinian government in exile, and the reactionary forces spearheaded by North Yemen, and in harmony with imperialism, invaded the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

These latest developments are part of the continuing process of surrender taking place in the Arab world. The plan of surrender unfolded this since 1967:

- At the Arab Summit Conference held in Khartoum in August-September 1967, the political crisis that the "national" Arab regimes were facing as a result of the defeat in the war, forced them to turn further to the right, hence, diminishing the contradictions between them and the reactionary Arab regimes. Of course, this step was taken in the name of Arab unity, when in actuality the right-wing in the Arab world was consolidating its power (through the State) in order to avert the development of a strong opposition to its policies.
- After their acceptance of the U.N. Resolution 242, (Nov. 22, 1967) the Arab regimes inflated the strength of the rising resistance movement and concealed their real intentions behind declaratory statements of support.
- The acceptance of the "Roger's Peace Plan", (1970), by Egypt and Jordan was a signal that the plan to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement had begun.
- Other steps on liquidation road included partial settlements such as the ceasefire. The implementation of the Roger's Plan entailed a planned and calculated attack on the progressive Arab forces, i.e. repression of the workers' movement in Egypt (Steel Workers in Helwan) and the student strikes that took place in 1968, '70 and 71-72. In addition, the Sudanese Communist Party and the democratic forces in general were to face heavy repression that resulted in a bloodbath in 1971; and the attacks against the liberation forces in the Gulf became more apparent.
- Many other attempts of liquidating the Palestinian movement occurred, accompanied by several attacks against the P.D.R.Y. the Arab States that rejected the Roger's Plan, and those who had voiced a strong opposition to the Jeddah Conference, where

certain leaders of the resistance had met with the envoys of Sadat and King Hussein, and their host being none other than King Feisal.

- More recently the Israeli attacks on Lebanon and Syria were designed to:

 - Intimidate these regimes into repressing the Palestinian resistance and the Arab progressive forces;
 - Attack the Palestinian resistance head on.

Sadat's proposal was made public on the second anniversary of Nasser's death. In the meantime, Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon precipitated a crisis with the Lebanese authorities. The resistance succeeded in avoiding a direct clash, but took a step back. Sadat argued that the establishment of a "government in exile" would provide the resistance movement with an organ that can serve as a legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He, of course, forgot that the PLO, given the level of the resistance movement's development today, fulfills that role quite adequately.

Our rejection of the government in exile plan is based on our understanding of balance of forces between the revolution and its opponents. First of all, it must be clear that we are presently facing a liquidation attempt from Zionism imperialism and the forces of reaction in the Arab world. As a result, we are trying to pursue our work in an underground, clandestine manner and converting our open organizational framework into an underground apparatus, in order to protect the gains of the revolution and to secure an upward development in our struggle.

These obstacles are compounded by the fact that the Arab regimes and governments have given up the lands Israel conquered in 1948. Moreover, while we are in the midst of an armed struggle, these regimes have in general accepted the "peace solutions" proposed by the imperialist powers. Meanwhile, it must be realized that at the present time the Palestinian resistance movement has not reached a level of development that would enable it to control liberated zones, upon which a provisional revolutionary government would be founded.

In comparison, if we were to look at other revolutionary experiences where provisional revolutionary governments were instituted, whether it be in Viet Nam, Cambodia or Algeria, it will be clear that such a development took place only after the revolutionary forces' strength or influence either equalled or outweighed its opponents'. Besides, we don't have a sanctuary to resort to like the nationalists do in Viet Nam, or as

the Algerians did when they were fighting their war of independence.

Objectively, the need for Sadat's plan does not arise from the particular conditions of our struggle. In wanting to adopt such a proposal, Sadat and other Arab leaders were consciously trying to undermine the revolutionary content of a people's movement by attempting to further the division between the leadership and the rank and file. Indeed, it is believed that some "leaders" have found the plan seductive.

Although Sadat's proposal was an indirect attack on the revolutionary forces of the Arab world, the attack on the P.D.R.Y. was a direct confrontation with the progressive forces of the Gulf. Needless to say, North Yemen's attempted invasion would have been impossible without Libyan and Saudi Arabian assistance, which was offered in great abundance.

Imperialism and the forces of reaction launched periodic attacks against the D.P.R.Y. and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and Arab Gulf (P.F.O.A.G.), because the example these revolutionary forces are setting can only serve to undermine their interests. It is in this historical context that the attacks on the P.D.R.Y. should be analyzed.

Imperialism and Arab reaction were well aware of the fact that the P.D.R.Y. was the only Arab state that has consistently provided support for the revolution in Dhofar. On the other hand, the progressive leadership of the country was bringing about revolutionary achievements in terms of education and agrarian reforms, programs that the vast majority of the masses of Yemen were benefitting from.

The attack on the P.D.R.Y. won't be the last, because as the progressive forces of the Gulf increase their power and widen their mass base, the more will imperialism feel the need to protect its interests, whether it be oil or access to the Red Sea. As the people of the Gulf pursue their struggle for liberation, they will in fact, enhance the development of the Arab revolution.

The latest developments were calculated manoeuvres designed to attack the Arab national liberation movement, and to confuse the real desire of the Arab masses. The principal actor behind the scenes is imperialism, which manifests itself through the reactionary regimes of the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Jordan etc), and through the rising bourgeoisies of the Arab world.

We can deduce that with every gain registered by the people's forces, it can only mean that the time for the extinction of these reactionary forces is nearing,

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS
OCTOBER REVOLUTION

On the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the October Revolution, Dr. George Habash, Secretary General of the P.F.L.P. sent the following cable to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
MOSCOW

May I, on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, extend to you and all the Soviet peoples, our comradely and militant greetings on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Our greetings are also extended on this occasion to all the fighting peoples and progressive forces of the world.

The Great October Revolution, led by the Great Lenin and his proletarian party, ushered in a new era in world history, and led to the establishment of the world's first workers state. Since then, millions of people have been able to gain their freedom, thanks to the guidance of Marxism-Leninism which has inspired their triumphant struggle.

We are confident that the fight against Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction, as well as all other forms of suppression, exploitation and discrimination will triumph and score continuous victories.

LONG LIVE THE GREAT OCTOBER
REVOLUTION,
THE FIGHTING PEOPLES OF THE
WORLD WILL TRIUMPH.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF OUR FIGHTERS EXTENDING ALL OVER THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

A large number of operations were carried out by our commandoes in the occupied territories during October. Israeli sources recognised 16 various operations. The enemy was forced to do this because it could not possibly cover them up. Among the operations carried out were:

An explosive charge was planted in the third story of the Shalom Tower in Tel Aviv. Israeli sources have declared that two people were injured and claimed that the explosive charge was placed in the stationery department. The two injured were taken to the hospital, and security police arrested seven Arabs for interrogation.

An explosive charge blew up a viaduct on the road from Nablus to Tulkarem just west of the crossroads to Deir Sharaf. A PFLP statement was found on the side, the Israeli authorities claimed, but refused to reveal the contents of the leaflet.

Three Israeli soldiers were injured in a confrontation with one of the commandoes in the beach camp in Gaza. Israeli army sources claim that the commando was killed in an orange grove after having been surrounded in one of the houses in which he had taken cover for some time.

In the south of Bethlehem, commandoes fired upon two Zionist soldiers who were on guard duty. Immediately after the attack, the Israeli security forces began an investigation.

This in addition to the fact that political leaflets and military communiques of P.F.L.P. operations are being distributed in the occupied territories, particularly in Gaza. In one of the operations carried out in 'Affauleh (North Palestine), our heroic fighters left a note stating: "With the compliments of Ghassan Kanafani."



THE INTERNATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE HOLDS 2ND SESSION IN BERLIN—GDR

Representatives from 62 countries gathered in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the second session of the International Preparatory Committee for the 10th World Festival of Youth and Students which will take place next year, 1973, in Berlin. The meeting, held in the Interhotel «Stadt Berlin», lasted for two days (5-6 October, 1972). Günther Jahn, First Secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth (FDJ) and vice-president of the National Festival Committee of the GDR addressed the delegates. His welcoming speech was followed by the report of the Provisional Working Group presented by Dominique Vidal, coordinating secretary of the 10th Festival. The report informed of the various activities of the Provisional Working Group since the first session of the IPC held in Sofia - Bulgaria last January. In its analysis of the political situation, the report stated the following on the Middle East:

«In the Middle East, imperialism has increased its aggressiveness. Israel, helped by imperialism, continues its aggression and its expansionist and an-

nexionist policy. All this is coupled with the oppression of the inhabitants of the occupied territories. By flagrant violation of the decisions taken by international bodies, and ignoring world public opinion, the Israeli government continues its aggressive policy, which is demonstrated by the recent aggression against Syria and Lebanon. We reaffirm our unreserved support to and our solidarity with the struggle of the Arab national liberation movement against imperialism, the Israeli aggression, Zionism and reaction. The unity in the ranks of the Arab liberation movement and the active support of the progressive forces in the world will guarantee the withdrawal of the Israeli troops, the respect of national and democratic rights of the Arab peoples, in particular of the Palestinian people and the attainment of a just and lasting peace in this part of the world.»

Discussion of the report began in the afternoon. A number of delegates from various delegations took the floor. The Palestinian delegation, consisting of two representatives, intervened on the second day.



The delegation expressed its thanks to the host organisation, and conveyed the greetings of Palestinian youth and students to the youth and students of the world. It further expressed solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to all peoples fighting against fascism and racism, to the peoples of the socialist countries, and to the progressive forces in the capitalist countries. After a quick analysis of the situation in the Middle East and the Arab countries, the delegation stressed the fact that «regardless of the feverish attempts of

our enemies, regardless of the difficult situation we find ourselves in, yet, we are determined to go on with the struggle, confident that victory will be achieved, justice implemented and genuine peace spread all over our part of the world.» Speaking of the difficulties facing Palestinian youth and students, the delegation called the attention of the meeting to the West German measures against the General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) and the General Union of Palestine Workers (GUPW) in Germany, as well as against Palestinians and Arabs in general. The youth and students of the world were called upon to protest against these measures.

The Palestinian delegation noted that in the midst of all these difficulties, the Palestinian people, especially the youth and students, have followed with great interest «the positive developments that took place, and are taking place in a number of Arab countries.» Among the developments cited were the «United Front» in Iraq, the nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company in both Iraq and Syria, the steadfastness of the regime in the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen, the consolidation and progress of the revolution in the Arab Gulf as well as the closer relations and cooperating among the Arab progressive forces. It further condemned the attempts of pro-imperialist and reactionary circles to lay doubts on the friendship existing between the Arab national liberation movement and the socialist countries.

The meeting was informed of the preparations for the Festival and the difficulties lying ahead of Palestinian youth and students. The delegation to the Festival would include representatives of wide sectors of Palestinian youth who are committed to the cause of revolution and progress.

Commenting on the slogan of the Festival «Anti-imperialist solidarity», the Palestinian representatives expressed support of the proposal and went on to say: «We are convinced that the proposed slogan reflects the role of youth and students of the world, not only on preparing for the Festival, but as a continuous, uninterrupted role.»

Support for the general framework of the proposals of the Provisional Working Group for the programme of the Festival was expressed. However, the proposed programme did not adequately reflect the important issues facing the world at the moment. The Arab cause, for instance, was not adequately reflected. Hence, a number of Arab delegations, including the Palestinian delegation, called for a reconsideration of the proposed programme. A special day of solidarity with the Arab peoples was proposed to be among the nine days of the Festival (28.7.73 - 5.8.73).

Interventions on the report ended in the evening of October 6th. This was followed by the adoption of a number of appeals and statements, and finally with the election of the Permanent Commission of the IPC. The commission was set up of representatives of 22 countries and organisations. The Middle East was represented by Iraq, Egypt and the Sudan. The meeting came to an end late at night.

The next morning, delegates to the meeting participated in a three days trip named «Festival Trip of Friendship» to different counties of the GDR. The trip culminated in a solidarity meeting with the Youth of Berlin on October 9th, in the Berlin Friedrichstadt-palast, which was followed by a reception given by Erich Honecker, president of the GDR National Preparatory Committee, and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in the Berlin City Hall.

Stop Repression Against Palestinians & Jordanians

Delegates of 21 national and international youth and students organizations, meeting at the 5th International Student Seminar on «The Student Press and its Role», signed two statements pertaining to the Arab struggle. The first was a statement on the campaign against Arab and Palestinian organizations and students in West Germany.

Following is the full text of the first statement:

«The undersigned national and international student and youth organizations, participants in the International Student Seminar on «The Student Press and its Role» held in Sofia between 12th and 17th October, 1972, have been deeply shocked by the plight of the Palestinian and other Arab students studying in the Federal Republic of Germany and the brutal treatment that they have been recently subjected to. Hundreds of these students have been badly manhandled by the police, arrested arbitrarily and deported, often to places where their fate could be in great danger, such as Israel or Jordan where they could be imprisoned and tortured.

The undersigned organizations condemn and protest energetically against these inhuman acts on the part of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany and call for their immediate cessation. They express their full solidarity with the Arab and Palestinian students in the Federal Republic of Germany,

victims of this treatment, and call upon students of the world to express their solidarity with them.»

The second statement on suppression in Jordan stated:

«The undersigned national and international students and youth organizations, being informed of the state of suppression prevailing in Jordan, where hundreds of Jordanian patriots and progressives as well as members of the Palestinian Resistance Movement have been detained, imprisoned and tortured for no reasons other than their staunch struggle against the imperialist backed Israeli aggression, the conspiracies of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and in defence of the vital interests of the democratic liberties.

We protest strongly against this repressive policy of the Jordanian authorities and demand the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and members of the Palestinian Resistance Movement. We hold the Jordanian authorities responsible for the fate of these prisoners. We also demand the respects of the basic democratic rights of the people in Jordan.»

The statements were signed by representatives of the following organizations:

- NSCB - National Student Council of Bulgaria
- NCHSO - National Committee of Hungarian Students Organizations

- KUSU - Khartoum University Student Union (Sudan)
- GUSIR - General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic
- IUS - International Union of Students
- BSU - Bangla Desh Students' Union
- ANC - African National Congress
- SCUSSR - Student Council of the USSR
- SYL - National Union of Students - Finland
- UNEA - National Union of Algerian Students
- JMPLA - Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
- VDS - Union of German Students (West Germany)
- UEJ - Union of Students of Dakar University - Senegal
- WFDY - World Federation of Democratic Youth
- GUPS - General Union of Palestine Students
- CNS - Committee of National Solidarity - Colombia
- FEU - Federation of University Students - Cuba
- CPUFCH - Council of Presidents of University Federations of Chile
- YUS - Yugoslav Union of Students
- FUPI - Federation of University Students for Independence - Puerto Rico
- UJS - Union of Jordanian Students
- FDJ - Free German Youth - German Democratic Republic

CHANGING FORMS OF ISRAELI COLONIALISM

Since the termination of the June 1967 war, we have been subjected to one ambiguous statement after another concerning Israel's intentions in regards to the newly acquired territories. On the one hand, we hear Mrs. Meir saying that everything depends on direct talks, hence, everything is negotiable. On the other hand, we are told that certain areas are non-negotiable.

We can perhaps cut across this ambiguity by analyzing the ideological incubator that gave birth to the Zionist idea, and which is the basis for its present development. First it should be clear that the Zionist leaders of the state of Israel are more concerned in keeping the occupied territories than they are with peace. In fact, the goal of the Israeli leadership is to colonize these territories. Moshe Dayan in a speech quoted in Ma'ariv, July 7/68 said: "During the last 100 years our people have been in the process of building up the country and the nation, of expansion, of getting additional Jews and additional settlements in order to expand the borders here. Let no Jew say we are near the end of the road."

When we take a critical look at the historical development of Zionism, we can deduce that from the outset, it was a movement directly linked to colonialism. Its aim was nothing less than the occupation of land that was already inhabited by Palestinian Arabs. The Zionists advanced the slogan "A people without land, to a land without people". Like their counterparts in Europe, the Zionists had to establish a set of "facts", myths more appropriately, to justify their goals. European colonialists had labeled Africa as the "Dark Continent", connoting that it was ripe for exploration, hence, bringing light to it. The Zionists followed the same logic. Their objective being none other than a colonial one, they first dismissed the fact that any people existed in Palestine; and secondly, they deduced that since Palestine was uninhabited, it was an appropriate place for settlement. When to the "surprise" of the Zionists, they found out that Palestine had its own indigenous population, Herzl in his diaries wrote that the basic task was the "gentle removal of the gentiles to the neighboring countries". In fact, just a few years before the actual colonization had been completed, J. Weitz, Director of the Department of Colonization of the Zionist Jewish Agency wrote in 1940:

"Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both people together in this country... We shall not achieve our goal of being independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is Palestine, at least Western Palestine (West of the Jordan River) without Arabs... And there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries; to transfer all of them: NOT ONE VILLAGE, NOT ONE TRIBE SHOULD BE LEFT... And only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb millions of our brethren. There is no other way out."

These words have their special eloquence in bluntly admitting that Zionism, to actualize its goal of creating a home in Palestine for the Jewish people, had in fact, to be part of the colonial movement of Europe which felt that very part of the "third world", (as we know it today) was ripe for foreign domination. In fact, in the First Zionist Congress held at Basle, the Congress stated that "for the attainment of this aim" the following means were to be considered:

1. "The appropriate promotion of colonization with Jewish agriculturists, artisans and tradesmen."

Furthermore, the fourth point of the Basle program stated:

"Preparatory steps for the attainment of such Government consent as is necessary in order to achieve the aim of Zionism."

Clearly we can deduce from the Zionist documents that the movement itself was consciously in alliance with colonialism, and in fact, viewed itself as part of a "civilizing" mission which can achieve its goal only by colonizing Palestine.

Emmanuel Farjoun, an anti-Zionist Israeli presented the following thesis to explain the method by which the Zionists were to actualize their goal:

"The three slogans under which the Zionists sought to build their new society were 'redemption of the land', 'Jewish labor', and 'Jewish product'. In practice these read, 'Redemption of the land - from the Arab peasants', 'Jewish labor - by blacklisting Arab workers', and 'Jewish product - by boycotting less expensive Arab-produced goods'. Inevitably, every access of strength of the new society was accompanied by the further disintegration of the indigenous Palestinian society." ("Zionism After the June 67 War" by Emmanuel Farjoun.)

Unlike the other forms of colonialism, Zionism was not only to dominate the local population; in fact, it was to control the whole territory. Zionism then represented a new form of domination that we could refer to as "territorial colonialism". Simply put, this new form of colonialism was to eliminate the indigenous population of Palestine, to be replaced by Jewish immigrants from all over the world - a complete population transfer. In the process, the new state was to have its own classes, (of course with

a potential of class struggle), that would be a microcosm of capitalist contradictions.

Hence, it became clear that the primary contradiction of the "Palestine Question" was and is to be the resolution of two diametrically opposed movements. One, representing the aspirations of a people to liberate themselves from the yoke of colonialism and Imperialism (Palestinian Resistance); and the other movement, i.e. Zionism undertaking the task of the colonizer. The resolution of such a contradiction, of course, depends on the actualization of National Liberation on the part of the Palestinian people.

As an outgrowth of Imperialism Zionism is inevitably an expansionist movement. Such a phenomenon can be explained by analyzing Israel's role within the Imperialist framework. Suffice it to say that one of Israel's primary tasks is to quell the abortion of any movement in Palestine that has a potential of becoming a mass movement. This necessitates that Israel regards all of the people in the occupied territories as suspects, hence colonial subjects.

Though we could use that formula to explain present Israeli policy in the occupied territories, it would seem more important to enrich that formula, hence to understand with more clarity the dynamics of present day Israeli colonialism.

We can notice that over the past two decades, Israel has brought under its control a large number of Palestinians. "Redemption of the Land" from the "Arabs" has been part and parcel of Israeli expansionism. One need only mention what presently is taking place in Jerusalem, where Arab-owned land has been confiscated by the state to build large office buildings and modern tenements.

Since 1967, Israel has confiscated a minimum of 15,000 dunums (one dunum equals 1,000 square meters) of Arab land in East Jerusalem. Of course, this confiscation is done within the "law". Mr. Palmon, a leading Israeli businessman said: "Everything is done according to the law, a detailed law, the law for the public benefit." Of course, what he didn't

mention is that by "public" is meant for the benefit of the process of colonization. Such confiscations have resulted in initially expelling 5,000 Arabs who lived in the area as a starting point. To insure success, the Agency for International Development has contributed 150 million dollars to Israel for funding large housing projects for recent Russian immigrants and other Jews. The Aid, by its presence and contributions to Israeli colonization, proved to be a cynical reminder of the relationship between Zionism and world Imperialism.

Of course, what has changed is that no longer, in industries like construction, is Jewish labor preferred by blacklisting Arab workers. On the contrary, we notice that Arab workers, who are a source of cheap labor (quite consistent of the operations of a capitalist market in a colonial or neo-colonial situation), are used to build homes where their previous homes once stood; of course, they will never be the occupants of these homes so long as we have a colonial administration in the occupied territories. The change in policy towards Arab labor is, of course, not the product of a humanitarian or altruistic regime. On the contrary, it is part of a pre-planned policy of a colonial administration. It is interesting to note that whereas 5,800 Arabs from the territories were employed in Israel in September 1968, the figures for March 1972, obtained from the "Central Bureau of Statistics of the State of Israel" indicate that the number has risen to 50,000. To understand the full significance of this sharp rise, we must understand that a) at the end of the first half of 1970, 12.5% of the Arab Labor Force from the territories was employed in Israel; b) at the end of 1971 this rose to 19.5%; c) as of March 1972, it rose to 25%. Consequently, if the colonial administrators were to break this tie, it would bring an overnight unemployment of a quarter of the labor force in the territories. The G.N.P. of Israel would, hence, fall by perhaps more than 25% (since the average wage in Israel is higher than the average wage in the occupied territories). The construction industry absorbs 55% of these workers, while 24% are employed in agriculture. The exclusion of these workers from the Israeli Labor Force would cause severe disruption in building and in agriculture, hence, in the entire economy. One must keep in mind also, that the inclusion of Arab labor had to plunge into the unskilled sector, hence, leaving the "white collar" jobs for the Jewish population.

The Arab workers are regarded as a foreign

and suspicious element. They can be likened to the Black workers of Rhodesia and South Africa who are only permitted in the "white" areas during work hours, after which there is a curfew as to their presence in those areas. Similarly, the Arab workers are inside Israel's "greenline" during work hours. As to after work hours, Ha'aretz of August 3, 1972 reported:

"The Government is going to instruct the police and the military government authorities to take firm action in preventing Arab workers from the territories from remaining inside Israel's 'greenline' after work hours, government sources have reported... The authorities will keep in contact with contractors and agricultural organizations. The Moshav (semi-cooperative farm) movement will also request its members to prevent workers from the territories from sleeping overnight."

When these workers return to the territories, they are subjected to outrageous exploitation. They are denied all democratic rights, especially "Freedom of Speech and Assembly" which are prohibited by the military colonial administrators.

If it was our intention to write a book on this subject, we would go on citing statistic after statistic, and displaying example after example that would both further document and clarify the process of Israeli colonialism. However, given the limitations of an article, let us conclude by pointing out the changes that have occurred in Zionist colonialism from its pre-statehood to post-statehood period.

Perhaps we can re-write Farjoun's statement in an attempt of enriching its content, hence, making the idea of Zionist colonization crystal clear.

In a nutshell we can say that the Zionist military administrators are confiscating Arab land, using Arab labor as "cheap labor", and will continue to do so in an attempt of checking or postponing the development of veritable people's movement that has no illusions of the collusion between Imperialism Zionism and Arab Reaction. Hence, we can deduce that to insure success for its program of colonization, Israel has to maintain a high level of counter-insurgency work. At times it might seem impenetrable, which leads bourgeois elements within the Arab camp to begin talking of a "Government in exile", or a "West Bank State" etc. But as we participate in the process of the development of our people's movement, we know that the only weapon that can defeat this process of colonization is a strong people's movement.

PFLP PAMPHLETS URGE OCCUPIED ARAB VILLAGES TO REVOLT

The Israeli newspaper "Davar" featured a very important news item in its issue of 11/10/1972. The paper stated the following:

"The Acre Police Office has carried out interrogations with tens of persons from the villages of minorities in the Galilee concerning the distribution of 'Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine' leaflets during last week in some of the Galilee villages. Until now, no one has been arrested."

"The results of examining the leaflets in the police laboratory are not known yet. Attempts are being made to discover where these leaflets were printed. As it stands now, and before the final results of the police laboratory are known, the conviction increases that the leaflets were printed in Israel, and that local elements carried out its distribution. In spite of this, police sources do not doubt the possibility that the leaflets were printed in the occupied territories, (West Bank or Gaza), or in an Arab country. Antagonistic elements coming from across the borders, could have been responsible for the distribution."

In an earlier issue of "Davar" (6/10/72), the following item appeared:

"On Wednesday and yesterday morning, leaflets were discovered bearing the signature of an Arab national organization in a number of minority villages in Western Galilee, among which were Ba'ana, Nahaf, Deir el-Asad, Sajour and Kufr Yasif. Some of these leaflets were found near the schools of these villages as well as in the market of Kufr Yasif, which is set up every Thursday for the whole area."

The leaflets bear the name of 'The National Organization for the Liberation of Palestine - Occupied Areas Command', and were dated 'August 1972'. The leaflets speak of the 'uprooted whose

homes and lands have been usurped'. It also stated that the Arabs were expelled from 240 villages in the country. The leaflets called upon the inhabitants of these villages to mutiny and revolt like their compatriots, the inhabitants of Iqrit and Kufr Ber'im, 'and to fight the new Nazi enemy with all means'. The Acre district police started its investigations."

The P.F.L.P.'s statement distributed among the Arab villages of Galilee addressed the masses on the problem of Iqrit and Kufr Ber'im. Following is the full text of the statement:

IMPORTANT STATEMENT ON THE VILLAGES OF IQRIT AND KUFR BER'IM

Brothers and Sisters of Occupied Palestine;
Our Struggling People;

We have been subjected for the past 25 years to the colonialism of Zionist Nazism, contemporarily, the ugliest form of discrimination and repression. In addition, our lands and properties are being confiscated as part of a dirty plan of the Zionist State. Hence, the question of Iqrit and Kufr Ber'im today is inherently related to 240 Arab villages whose inhabitants were forcibly driven out by the colonizing forces from their lands, causing the dispersal of the families to numerous places.

The settler plan of the enemy, which they believe to have been successful, will not force us to forget our homes and our land. On the contrary, with the passing of time and with the increasing brutality of the enemy, our love for our land, and our struggle to liberate it, will be constantly rising. We are the sons of a people brought up in struggle and who are nurtured with the love of

our homeland, and the giving of our life to its cause, because our honour and our human rights are part of it.

Our Struggling Masses;

Just because your towns have been occupied doesn't mean that they are dead because of the destruction of the stores and the mud - because so long as our blood flows in our veins, our towns will remain alive. Our people of Sasa, Safsaf, Faraz, Mairoun, Somoui, Roweis, Birweh, Kafr Anan, Kawmieh, Tierch, Kweikat, Manshieh, Souhmata, Deir-el-Asaad, Miryar, Maa'loul and Obelshieh:

The policies of the enemy that enforces its rules on the continuation of destruction and discrimination will not find success if we close our ranks in preparation for bitter fighting against the enemy with all possible means.

The uprise of your brothers in Kufr Ber'im and Iqrit is an indicator of a revolutionary beginning that proves that the masses can perform miracles in extending and continuing their revolution. The revolution is for you, made by you, and may the struggle of Kufr Ber'im and Iqrit serve as a new starting point to direct our revolution against all discrimination and against all who stand in the way of our people's struggle, including any direct occupation, Imperialism and Arab reaction that is a partner to the forces of the enemy.

Long Live the Struggle of our People in Palestine.
Death to the New Nazis.

We shall be Victorious.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
Command of the Occupied Territories -
Palestine

□ August 1972 □

TASKS OF THE NEW STAGE

THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF P.F.L.P.

INTRODUCTION

The Third National Congress of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was held between March 6 and 9, 1972.* The Congress was held amid very complex and difficult objective and subjective conditions. Since the events of September 1970, and the series of battles that followed between the resistance movement on the one hand, and the reactionary and imperialist agent regime of Jordan on the other, it has become very clear that the revolution waged by our people falls in a new stage which is more strenuous and difficult than the previous one. This picture became clear to the masses following the results of the battles in Jerash and Ajlun in July 1971.

The task of the revolution in this situation is to undertake a critical view of the previous stage and to combine this with a scientific analysis of the new reality together with a complete understanding of the present stage. It is in the light of this analysis and understanding that the tasks and programmes of the revolution for dealing with the coming stage must be defined.

As a left-wing organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine has become aware that its primary task lies in formulating a clear vision of its future development. A complex situation like the one facing our people now cannot be dealt with by spontaneous and off-hand action or by hasty adventurist undertakings. We view the Palestinian liberation struggle as a long term people's war extending over tens of years. It cannot achieve victory except through a people's revolutionary struggle. Such a struggle must be led by a revolutionary, organization, itself built through struggle, and must be

* The first Congress was held in August 1968, the second in February 1969.

based on a revolutionary, theoretical perspective together with a proletarian determination which knows no despair.

Therefore, the energies of the organization were devoted, during the months that preceded the congress, to the study of the political report and organization programmes that were presented by the political leadership to deal with the coming phase.

The political program together with the proposal relating to the internal organization of the Front, were the subjects of democratic discussion among the cadres and the bases of the Front. This was in preparation for the Third National Congress so that it would be able to develop and sanction these programmes in the light of the issues and matters raised by the discussion.

It is this which gives a special importance to the Congress, the political report that emerged from it, the organizational programme on transformation and the internal regulations of the Front. For all these form a comprehensive guide for action in the coming phase for which the Front is preparing itself. This new situation is more difficult and arduous than the one we faced during the period between mid-1971.

This report, which was crystallized at the Third National Congress of the Front, and which was officially approved as a guide for action complementing the political and organizational programme issued by the February Congress of 1969 should form the basis for observing and analysing the coming events and for defining scientific positions on these. Its programme should also form the basis for the direction of all our military and political effectiveness. In this we must, naturally, benefit from our experience and all the lessons revealed by dynamic practice.

PFLP — CENTRAL INFORMATION COMMITTEE

A LOOK AT THE EXPERIENCE IN ITS PREVIOUS STAGE

The defeat of June 1967 created new objective conditions which helped to accelerate the growth of Palestinian armed resistance. In the previous period, the resistance was confronted with the political reality by the Arab Nationalist regimes and their leaders, at a time when they had reached the peak of their growth. In addition the resistance was subjected to harassment and repression at the hands of the reactionary Arab regimes.

The collapse of the nationalist regimes' plans and programmes, and the destruction of their power in the June 1967 war, coupled with the collapse of the reactionary regime's total hegemony in Jordan and the dislocation of its military establishment and its instruments of repression led to a rapid growth of the resistance movement. Other objective consequences of the June defeat, taken into account provide the Palestinian and Arab masses with the direction that would facilitate the resolution of their contradictions with their enemies, hence to realize their aims.

The resistance movement created a revolutionary situation among the Palestinian masses and the beginnings of a feeling of agitation among the Arab masses as a whole, which had an impact on the Arab Liberation Movement. It attracted the attention of international revolutionary forces. It also formed, to some extent, a source of anxiety to the Zionist and imperialist enemy, and a serious threat to the reactionary regime in Jordan. This regime constituted, historically speaking, the safety-valve of the plans of imperialism in Palestine and more generally in the whole area. The Palestinian resistance movement has also come to constitute a serious threat to the plans of imperialism in the latter's attempts to solve the Palestinian problem so as to ensure the continuation of its interests in the area. Through all this the resistance movement became a force capable of exerting pressure on and exposing the impotence of the Arab regimes. Hence it was accelerating the process of termination of the stage represented by the regimes and thus prepared the way for the consolidation and the ascendancy of a new revolutionary stage led by a new class, capable, this time, of putting an end totally and radically to the contradictions between the masses and the imperialist presence in the area.

The resistance movement continued, increasingly, to express all this up to the battles of September 1970 and July 1971. It became obvious to the Palestinian and Arab masses - following these two battles - that the resistance was in a difficult predicament. This predicament was creating doubts about the future and the actual capabilities of the resistance to represent the hope that the masses previously attached to it.

The hasty analysis preferred by some following the battle of September 1970 and of Jerash (July 1971) and which predicted the temporary, partial and passing nature of the situation of retreat and weakness that the resistance experienced, were merely deductions based on wishful thinking and lacked the minimum level of bold scientific analysis. Such analysis should delve into the real causes, both objective and subjective, which led to the deepening and pro-

longation of the debility of the resistance, and the resulting wave of despair among the ranks of the Palestinian and other Arab masses who had given the resistance, before September 1970, their unconditional confidence.

Our responsibility lies in taking a precise look at the new conditions, comprehending them fully, and perceiving the factors which brought them about. This should be in preparation for the formulation of a program of action which can lead the resistance movement out of the present morass, and towards its revitalization so that once again it can represent the hopes around which the masses gather and mobilize, and for the realization of which they fight resolutely.

The starting point lies in having a new situation. This can be classified scientifically under two main headings:

- The new objective conditions which were formed lately and more clearly than ever before.
- The subjective conditions of the resistance movement.

1. THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

A. THE REACTIONARY REGIME IN JORDAN

The Jordanian reactionary regime found itself, after the June defeat, at the weakest point in its history. A history founded on the suppression of the masses and on a complete reliance on imperialism externally, and exploiting forces internally.

The June defeat crushed and fragmented the Jordanian military establishment. This was due not only to the strong military blow of the Israeli army but also to the fact that the Jordanian military establishment was formed from the beginning, not as a nationalist army but as a repressive police-like instrument experienced in assaulting the unarmed masses. This explains the enormity of its collapse, despite the very light losses which it sustained in the few battles it was forced into in the West Bank.

As a result of the situation to which the military establishment was reduced (its smashed equipment, fleeing cadres, broken morale) the Jordanian reactionary regime was forced to advertise in the newspapers its readiness to pay the amount of two months salary to soldiers who rejoined the armed forces. This step provided new evidence of the determination of the ruling class to rebuild the military establishment on the same mercenary principles as those established by British imperialism when the latter created the emirate of Trans-Jordan. This was meant to ensure the allegiance of this institution as an instrument of repression against the masses.

The defeat, the loss of the West Bank, and the long bloody repressive history which forms the essence of the Jordanian regime, have destroyed all hopes the regime had of winning support. It had clung to such hopes since it announced its intention to wage the June battle of 1967. The new situation resulted in the regime's mental and moral weakness. This spread to such an extent that some of the social forces which the regime used to depend on in facing the mass movement were not prepared, at the time,

to support an early battle against the resistance movement. The latter was quickly moving towards filling the vacuum resulting from the semi-total collapse on the two banks of the Jordan.

The reactionary Jordanian regime, which we consider as part of the enemy camp, attempted several times, on different occasions, to undermine the resistance: its subjective strength, the degree of popular support it enjoyed, and its Arab national extensions. Each time it was forced to retreat out of fear that the consequences might turn out the opposite of what it planned.

The reactionary regime in Jordan guided directly by imperialism and its experts in counter-revolution and as a result of a large number of studies, worked continually for the whole three years on changing the balance of power. In this it derived the maximum benefit from the serious weakness in the structure of the resistance movement and the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois nature of its leadership. It also benefited from the accelerating revival of the reactionary together with the reconciliatory Arab forces.

The reactionary regime in Jordan was not only able, during the September battles of 1970, to defend itself, but was also able to pursue the resistance movement, and to disrupt the reconciliatory tactics of its leadership. Thus it was able to achieve a sense of victory which stretched from September 1970 to July 1971 and ended in the elimination of the open existence of the resistance movement in Jordan and the renewed domination of the machinery of repression over the Palestinian and Jordanian masses.

The reactionary regime depends now on a military institution which numbers about 70 thousand. These are equipped with the latest American weapons. Some of them have been specially trained to fight guerilla movements. They have also been mobilized psychologically and politically to develop a

deep hatred for the resistance. They were also given material incentives so that the salary of a soldier increased from 9 Jordanian dinars prior to June 1967 to 19 dinars. This military machine was tested by the campaigns conducted against the resistance before September 1970. Furthermore, all nationalist and even hesitant elements were dismissed from the ranks of the army. This ensured the readiness of the military establishment to strike at the masses without any consideration.

Furthermore, the reactionary regime in Jordan was able, through its material capabilities and its utilization of the mistakes of the resistance, to mobilize and recruit the majority of Jordanians in the East Bank, so as to enlist their support against the resistance. All available means were used for this purpose. For instance, it recruited mercenary groups of intellectuals, journalists and artists to manufacture a historical and intellectual basis for the Jordanian structure, and to establish regionalist feelings supported by privilege. It also set about building up regionalist traditions giving the royal family a pivotal place. All this was supported by a campaign of plays, songs and poems which were produced and popularized specifically for this purpose.

To this must be added the political and military experience in its dealings with and deception of the resistance movement. This experience is provided by imperialism whose own experience is gained from its fight against struggling peoples.

The most prominent characteristics of the new political situation which we now face are as follows. The recovery by the reactionary regimes of its military, oppressive and investigatory powers, its reliance on all the power capabilities and experiences of imperialism. In addition there is the regime's dependence on regionalist sentiments which it succeeded in mobilizing and its consequent success in regaining the initiative in its battle against the resistance. All these characteristics must be appreciated fully. This will enable us to find the way out of existing predicament, in a correct and scientific manner.

B. THE DESIGNS OF IMPERIALISM

It is natural that imperialism from the beginning viewed the resistance phenomenon as a danger to be watched. It is natural too for imperialism to view the danger of the resistance initially, in terms of the latter's size and effectiveness at that period. That is a cautious, watchful view, based as a whole, on that of Israel's at the time. At the time Israel thought that it would be able to finish off the resistance movement in a few months or at least to live with it for a number of years without it having an effect on the Israeli Zionist presence in the area.

It is obvious that this outlook springs from the basis according to which imperialism views the movement of the masses. It thought that the devastating defeat inflicted upon the Arab regular armies would be sufficient to curb the masses, and that the resistance movement would not be capable of forming a real or serious threat to the status quo which was established, through the use of force, in June 1967.

The resistance movement, especially during the second half of 1969 and the beginning of 1970, proved that it is not as limited as imperialism believed. Objectively speaking, the resistance constituted the



beginning of an Arab mass movement on a wide scale. Nothing which could be considered as a large obstacle appeared then to stand between the resistance and its ability to achieve more polarization of the Arab masses.

The resistance movement had become a model emphasizing revolutionary violence as the method by which the masses confront their enemies. It had also come to exert pressure on the nationalist regimes thus preparing the way for the emergence of a nationalist movement surpassing these regimes, and constituting a real threat to imperialist interests and bases in the area, especially those represented by the reactionary regime in Jordan. Similarly the left-wing forces within the resistance movement had begun to exert increasing pressure on the whole political perspective, examples of this are: their position regarding the plans for settlement, in particular their emphasis on the organic link between the Israeli presence, imperialist interests, and the reactionary regimes in the area; and the question of surpassing the leadership of the nationalist regimes and their refusal to submit to the tutelage of these regimes.

American interests in the Arab area are basic and have both material and strategic value. They also form an indispensable source to the dominant imperialist power, and an essential link in the chain of its economical domination in other parts of the world. For example, although American investments in Arab oil constitute only 2.5 per cent of the total American investment abroad, they, nevertheless, provide the U.S. with 45% of the total revenue it receives from its foreign investments. The American companies reaped in 1968 from their exploitation of Arab oil a net profit of 2418 million dollars. Furthermore, American trade with the Arab world achieved in 1969 a surplus in its trade balance of 545 million dollars. This figure equals 34.2% of the total foreign trade balance of the U.S.

These passing examples about American companies alone are mere indicators regarding the way in which the Arab world is being pillaged by imperialism. Nevertheless, profits of non-American Western companies from Arab oil in the extracting stage alone, totalled one thousand million dollars in 1968. This accordingly returns to the pockets of dominant American monopolies in Western Europe. Western monopolies achieve a profit on invested capital that reaches nearly 65%. This is the highest in the world. In addition, there is a strategic value to this pillage. It is symbolized glaringly by the fact that most of the fuel used by American forces in its aggressive war in Indochina is derived directly from the oil refineries in the Saudi port of «Ras Tannura» which is controlled by American oil companies.

This exploitative reality briefly exemplified above is reflected in serious American designs to crush any national liberation movement which has the potential to carry out a struggle to put an end to this situation.

The accelerating developments of the resistance, its ability to attract the masses, its growing effectiveness on the Arab national liberation movement, its increasing call to link the Israeli presence with American imperialist domination of Arab wealth, and the conclusions reached by many studies carried out by American institutions linked with the Department of Defence (such as «Rand Corporation» and «Ford»), all these hastened in pushing the American leadership towards exerting its pressure and all its capabilities in order to supervise directly the crushing of the resistance and its actual and potential danger, thus blocking the road to another Vietnam in the area.

The Middle East has become «area number one» for imperialism according to Nixon himself. This explains the announcement made by Nixon during the September events that the period was the most critical period in his life. It also explains the existence of an operations' room in the White House during the September events that the period was the most critical period in his life. It also explains the existence of an operations' room in the White House during September which supervised the battle and which issued hourly reports about its progress to president Nixon.

Thus imperialism moved from being the observer simply encouraging Israel and Jordan to attack the resistance, to that of the major power responsible for crushing and eliminating the resistance.

If we ignore the fact of the non-employment of American troops directly in the battle, we find, nevertheless, that U.S. did all it could to strike at the resistance: all its capabilities were put on the alert, it was concealed behind a Jordanian reactionary front, helped and directed it, from the wealth of its experience in its attack on the resistance.

The intervention of U.S. imperialism was total. It included the supervision of Jordanian propaganda

abroad. As a result of instructions given by the C.I.A. to American information centers, U.S. imperialism was equipped to help in deepening the regionalist struggles and division between 'Jordanian' and 'Palestinian'. This became clear from documents that were published later.

In June 1970, to be exact, Washington began, through the chief of the 'Agency for International Development' (general security branch) in Amman, to establish a direct link with the Jordanian forces for training and giving advice as a consultant. The 'security branch' of the Agency for International Development is well-known in Latin America where it is associated with wide experience of repression. The task of this center is to provide various forms of aid to the systems of repressions of reactionary governments.

Later, sixty-five Jordanian officers, who received training in the International Police Academy in Washington, were put into responsible positions in Jordan in preparation for the September campaign. Washington, together with Jordan and Israel, prepared what was known as the emergency plan for September 1970. The responsibility for this was in the hands of Henry Kissinger, Richard Helms from the C.I.A., David Packard from the Defence Department and Admiral Thomas Moorer from the general staff. The ambassadors of Israel and Jordan also participated in this plan.

The basis of this emergency plan depended upon Israel attacking Syria should the latter move to help the resistance, and on parading the Sixth Fleet. It also depended on mobilization of the 8th Airborne Division in readiness for its landing at Amman Airport for operations there, to prepare the way for the arrival of American troops stationed in West Germany. After September 1970 the United States allocated 120 million dollars to Jordan to be paid for the next three years as a reward for the part played in smashing the resistance. The American Senate considered Israel, South Korea and Jordan to be the three countries of the world to have proved the success and effectiveness of American foreign aid.

These examples show the importance that Washington attached to the role of Jordan before September 1970 and afterwards.

The transition of imperialism, headed by America, to a position of direct supervision of the clash with the resistance and the mobilization of all its capabilities for this, constitutes one of the major characteristics of the current stage. This must be taken into consideration when discussing the new objective conditions which the resistance movement has had to confront since September 1970.

C. THE POSITION OF THE NATIONALIST REGIMES

During the early period of the resistance (1967-1969), when the defeated nationalist regimes were unable either to wage a war against Israel or to enter into acceptable process of negotiation with it, they saw in the resistance a triumph card capable of helping to pressurize Israel into withdrawing from the occupied territories in return for their recognition of Israel and of its rights to secure borders and free movement in water passages of the area. Hence, these regimes stood, generally speaking, in alliance with the resistance, at least they declared so in public.

These regimes, whose promises had been believed by a large number of people, were unable to stand against the resistance. The «vacuum» which was created as a result of the collapse of the Jordanian military establishment corresponds to a political collapse in the nationalist regimes. It was impossible, therefore, for these regimes to view the resistance as

a negative phenomenon, as was the case before the defeat.

It was still in the interests of these regimes to hold the resistance as a triumph card with which to pressurize Israel. However, conditions for the initial stage of implementing the Security Council Resolution No. 242 of 1967 became favourable in mid-1970. The U.S. then introduced the Roger's Plan and this was accepted by Egypt which began to think seriously about creating the conditions suitable for its implementation.

Egypt's acceptance of the Roger's Plan came as the logical step in the retreatist direction which the petit-bourgeois military regime had found itself forced to follow since the defeat, this, despite its verbal and propagandist war. Such regimes, in their behaviour towards and their fear of organizing the masses, their truce with reactionary forces, their dependence on the latter's so-called aid, and their reliance on the same class forces that led to the defeat, were moving, in reality, towards the acceptance of more defeatist plans. No other road was open to them.

This development in the positions of the 'nationalist regimes' could not take place without it having direct and indirect consequences on the resistance movement. For the acceptance of surrender is, implicitly, an acceptance to liquidate the resistance.

The resistance generally rejected plans for this elimination and for a political settlement. Indeed, at the time it had achieved a level of military and political effectiveness capable of being a real obstacle in the face of the implementation of these plans. Furthermore, the left-wing forces within the resistance were capable - through their popular revolutionary, and political stands - of imposing their position on the whole of the resistance movement. And these facts made it in the interests of the regimes subjugate the resistance, incapacitate it, and absorb it into their own strategic framework. Hence they moved into a position of conflict with the resistance and prepared to clip its wings.

This also constitutes an important element in understanding the new objective conditions of the resistance. It means the transition of a specific force from a position of support to one of antagonism. The transition forms an essential and radical change in the balance of forces. These regimes now stand objectively, with forces whose aims are the emasculation and eventual elimination of the resistance movement as a revolutionary phenomenon. This does not necessarily mean the slaughter of the resistance. But it definitely means attempts at its contents and paralysis of its independent and revolutionary political effectiveness, hence transforming it into accepting a policy for capitulation.

D. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE RESISTANCE

National liberation movements in this age are

intimately linked to each other, to the socialist countries and to the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist and imperialist countries. No doubt, these three forces have both positive and negative effects upon each other, which are reflected in the development of their struggle.

Any view of the Palestinian or Arab national liberation movement which sees this in isolation from the international struggle against imperialism (which is international in scope) is utopian in outlook, and is incapable of understanding the nature of the struggle in our age or its dimensions and dialectical relations.

The following phenomena are bound to influence the movement of the Palestinian and Arab struggle: the inactivity of labour movements in the Western bourgeois democracies, the rift in the unity of the socialist camp, and the revival of petit-bourgeois, reformist and military regimes which have offered themselves as an alternative to mass movements.

On the other hand, there is the inability of the Palestinian Resistance Movement to understand the international dimensions of its struggle against imperialism and consequently its future to establish serious and intimate alliances with other liberation movements in the world, the socialist countries, and with proletarian parties in the capitalist countries. This weakness led, generally speaking, to the support by many of the progressive forces in the world of the Security Council Resolution No. 242 of November 1967 as a framework for political action on the international level, it also was the reason for their inability to undermine this support for the benefit of the resistance movement and the Arab national liberation movement.

The leadership of the resistance movement is partly responsible for this, but it by no means bears the total responsibility. The following factors all have their part in explaining this failure: a) the general conditions through which the national liberation struggle is passing; b) the unity of the socialist camp; c) the proletariat of the capitalist world; d) the present situation of the total imperialist attack; e) and the «vietnamization» policy adopted by imperialism (not only in Vietnam but also in other parts of the world).

Furthermore, the submission of the Arab nationalist and petit-bourgeois regimes to the will of the reactionary regimes and their repression of progressive movements, i.e. communist parties, labour movements and youth uprisals have all contributed, in the present situation, towards the creation of obstacles to a more advanced international alliance.

In addition, the left wing in the resistance movement, despite all the efforts made in this sphere, did not give this basic dimension of the struggle adequate attention.

(To be continued)

THE SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS OF THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT



THE ISRAELI ATTACK ON SOUTH LEBANON & ITS AFTERMATH

Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon on the 16th and 17th of last September. The declared objective of the invasion, in the words of the official Israeli spokesman, was to destroy commando bases in the area. The "mopping up" operation, as it was called, was directed against the middle sector of southern Lebanon. It came after a series of air raids carried out by the Israeli air force against a number of villages and refugee camps in both Lebanon and Syria. The toll of the air raids (around 200) included a large number of civilians (Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians) with a very high number of casualties among women and small children. The air raids and the attacks were described as being in retaliation to the "killing" of Israeli athletes in Munich on the 4th of September.

In facing the invasion, the Lebanese authorities issued Emergency regulations throughout the country. The Lebanese army was officially handed over the task of "safeguarding" the security of the country against foreign invasion.

On the second day of the invasion, (Sunday, September 17th) the commander in chief of the army Major General Iskandar Ghanem issued a statement to all army, security and police forces to enforce certain decisions concerning the movement and presence of commandos particularly in southern Lebanon and generally in Lebanon as a whole. The statement included the following items:

- It prohibited the presence of commando bases in the frontier area, i.e. the Eastern sector of El-Arqoub, south of the Shab'ah-Hasbaya road, at least 2 kilometers away from any of the villages of the area and those of Rashaya El-wadi.
- As for the Middle sector, new

guerrilla fighters were not to be admitted.

- All commandos from villages 2 kilometers from the borders were to be evacuated.
- In Nabatiyeh, commandos were to be confined within the camps.
- As to the Western sector, commandos were to be stationed on-



* A Lebanese Mercedes car with its passengers, crushed by an Israeli tank *

ly within the refugee camps, the same applied for the Beqaa valley area and Mount Lebanon.

- Within the sectors as well as out of the camps, commandos were prohibited from bearing their arms or wearing their uniforms, except for the Armed Struggle

Command units after coordination with the army headquarters' liaison office for Palestinian military affairs.

Any failure to abide by these instructions called for arrest and trial before a military tribunal.

After Ghanem's statement was issued, it was clear for the Palestinian resistance movement and the Lebanese progressive forces, that the declaration of a "state of Emergency" was not intended as a measure to stop the Israeli invasion, but to place limitations on the PRM and the progressive forces as a step to force them further into retreat. It was clear that these measures aimed at the nullifica-

guarded the refugee camps against the despotism of the security police, and gave freedom for the Palestinian refugees to move in and out of Lebanon.

The Resistance Movement and the progressive forces categorically rejected any attempt to nullify the Cairo agreement. The Lebanese authorities spared no effort to provoke commandos, or even civilian Palestinians, on the road blocks set up along most of Lebanon's roads, or by instigating some people in the villages of southern Lebanon to call for the withdrawal of the commandos from the area. Palestinians travelling from one town to another were stopped on the way, asked to show their identity cards, humiliated and sometimes arrested. Members of progressive Lebanese parties were arrested for denouncing the state of emergency. Arrest orders were issued against leading figures of some Lebanese political forces. The press was subjected to military censorship which meant that nothing could be mentioned about the Palestinian resistance role in confronting the Israeli invasion, or the Lebanese progressive forces appeal to the masses to carry arms to defend their country. There was a total blackout of news relating to the Palestinian struggle. The authorities went so far as to arrest members of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. This tense atmosphere continued for more than a week. As a response to these repressive measures, the progressive forces of Lebanon and the Resistance launched a counter campaign to eliminate the state of Emergency.

In the meantime Saeb Salam, the Lebanese premier, visited the villages of the south. Welcoming receptions were planned, during which he was requested by the "villagers" to keep the Lebanese army and to "expel" the commandos.

Tension continued until early October when the state of emergency was cancelled. One more round of tension between the Resistance and the Lebanese regime had temporarily come to an end. Both sides of course knew quite well that this preliminary round of tension had made a total confrontation in the future inevitable.

National Liberation Struggles

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, and we would rather sacrifice all than lose our country and live as slaves." HO CHI MINH

INDO-CHINA

On September 11th, 1972, the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) issued a statement on the ending of the U.S. war of aggression and the restoration of peace in Viet Nam. The two requirements raised in the statement were:

1 - To respect the Vietnamese people's right to true independence and the South Vietnamese people's right to effective self-determination, stop the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam, the bombing, mining and blockade of the DRVN, completely cease the "Vietnamization" policy and all U.S. troops, advisors, military personnel, technical personnel, weapons and war materials and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp from South Viet Nam, liquidate the U.S. military bases in South Viet Nam, end all U.S. military involvement in Viet Nam, stop supporting the Nguyen Van Thieu stooge administration.

2 - A solution to the internal problem of South Viet Nam must proceed from the actual situation that there exist in South Viet Nam two administrations, two armies and other political forces. It is necessary to achieve national concord, the sides in South Viet Nam must unite on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual non-elimination. Democratic freedoms must be guaranteed to the people and to this end, it is necessary to form in South Viet

Nam a provisional government of national concord with three equal segments to take charge of the affairs in the period of transition and to organize truly free and democratic general elections.

What has Nixon's response been to this peace offer: American bombing of the North has even escalated further. One of the major objectives of U.S. bombing has been to rupture and cut communication lines, but in spite of the heavy and continuous bombing of routes like Route No. 1, the flow of supplies continues. Perhaps the lesson we learn from the Vietnamese is that the people's will can move mountains.

MOZAMBIQUE

The recent victories that the liberation movement in Mozambique has registered in the Tete area, which is strategically situated next to the site of the Cubra Bassa Dam, now under construction, is an important development in the people's struggle for national liberation.

Already the racist Rhodesian and South African regimes, which are quite concerned about this people's victory, have begun to organize troops to be sent into the Tete area to assist Portuguese colonialism in its fascist goals.

The liberation fighters in Mozambique are gaining wider support not only from the masses, but also from progressive forces all over the world. Given this development the maneuverability and mobility

of the freedom fighters have been constantly increasing, hence they have been able to hit the enemy at more strategic targets in a more effective and sophisticated manner.

Rhodesia and South Africa are of course frustrated with the rise of African revolutionary activity, because they too well know that as the masses become a more integral part of the liberation movement, this can mean that the time for these racist regimes extinction has come closer.

How have these successes against the enemy reflected themselves on the people of Mozambique? Samora Machel, President of the liberation front, summarizes as follows: "Big changes are taking place in our society now. Political power is being handed to the people themselves, the leadership of the liberated areas is being undertaken by the people of those areas. The Portuguese will never be able to destroy this new awareness."

Marx once wrote: "We must release the energy of the masses." In addition the liberation front in Mozambique has organized this energy, such a combination knows no obstacles, the people's struggle will be victorious.

GUINEA-BISSAU

The PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau who has mobilized the people to liberate over two thirds of the country from the Portuguese colonialists is now facing a frantic effort by Portugal to reverse the re-

volutionary tide by using poisonous chemicals to destroy the crops and the vegetation hence to try and impose hunger on the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau.

It has been proved that with the revolutionary spirit of the masses, no weapon or modern technological devices can stop the just struggle of the people. At this crucial time we ask that all progressive forces in the world intensify their assistance to and their solidarity with the people of Guinea-Bissau.

URUGUAY

Uruguay, a country where in 1971 the cost of living went up by 35.7%, and the gross national product went down by 1.1% in fact, of the 19 Latin American countries, Uruguay is in the worst economical situation. The reactionary regime has, with help of American aid, launched a violent and brutal attack on the progressive and revolutionary forces of the country, resulting in torture, murder and hundreds of arrests. The national liberation movement has faced a setback, but the reactionary regime is not out in the streets celebrating its victory, because it knows that the revolutionary forces regard the struggle as a long protracted struggle. With the imagination and determination of the Uruguayan people this temporary setback will be turned into a victory.

ARAB LIBERATION STRUGGLE

1) DHOFAR

A PFLOAG communique announced that the Dhofari revolutionary fighters were able to hit two British bombers as they were raiding and bombing populated areas in these provinces of the Sultanate of Muscat-Oman. The British bombers were dropping incendiary bombs on cultivated land to burn the agricultural produce.

The communique also stated that the front had killed and injured 25 enemy soldiers in Dhofar, and had launched several attacks on enemy posts and on the British airbase in the central area.

On the other hand, news from the Arabian Gulf added evidence to previous news that the Iranian air force is participating in the military effort to crush the armed struggle in Dhofar. Reports from the Gulf indicate that no less than five Iranian fighter-bombers are taking part in this counter revolutionary war effort there along with the British air force, allegedly leased on contractual basis to the Sultan of Muscat-Oman. Along with the pilots, military officers and even a defense secretary for the Sultan, Colonel Hugh Oldman, have been supplied.

Other news from the Gulf stated that more than 10 thousand Iranian troops arrived to Salalah (in Muscat) indicating a probable escalation in the war effort against the growing revolutionary struggle there.

It is in this context that we should understand the motives behind the recent bill proposed to the Iranian parliament asking for an additional sum of 526 million dollars to be appropriated for the military establishment for the purpose of strengthening the armed forces. An official spokesman in Teheran declared that Iran is going to use this money to buy modern weaponry for its air force, and to develop its combat and naval forces, as well.

These plans are not solely for internal purposes, the suppression of the growing revolutionary activity in Iran, but obviously for external purposes too. The reactionary regime of the Shah, has turned Iran into a counter-revolutionary outpost for American imperialism in the Arab Gulf.

The Iranian occupation this year, of three islands in the Gulf was the first active step in its new founded role after the arrangements between Britain and the U.S. on the eve of the British withdrawal from the Gulf (with the exception of Muscat-Oman), and by which U.S. imperialism finally stepped into the Gulf to fill the said "vacuum of power" there.

The participation of Iran with Britain to crush the armed struggle in Dhofar province announces a serious escalation in the counter-revolutionary military effort against the liberation movement in that vital area of the Arab World.



PFLOAG fighters in one of their bases

VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONARIES VISIT DHOFAR

A delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam visited the liberated territories of Dhofar on the Arab Gulf. They were the guests of The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

Intensive discussions were held between September 16-26, and a joint communique, commemorating the visit, pledged the support of each party toward the other, and the world revolution.

The highlights of the communique were as follows:

- The Vietnamese delegation denounced the regional plans of imperialism in the Gulf, and the attempt to suppress the people's struggle and maintaining the area under the control of the oil cartels and their local Sultan agents.
- The Vietnamese singled out British imperialism for the role it is playing in the war of liquidation in the Gulf.
- The Oman Front expressed its admiration for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. It also denounced Nixon's Vietnamization schemes and the mining of harbours of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.
- Both delegations pledged to coordinate their efforts in the struggle against imperialism, and declared their support for the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam and its seven-point program.

- The two delegations also declared their unequivocal support for the Palestinian People, and denounced Israel's aggression against the Arab people, in particular in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon.

- Both greeted the revolutionary struggle of the Latin-American, Afro-Asian Peoples and declared their solidarity with all oppressed.

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FLN delegation in the liberated areas.

2) SAUDI-ARABIA

The Saudi Arabian regime undertook a further step in its long tradition of servitude to the international oil monopolies and American Imperialism in its proposal earlier this month (October) that the U.S. and Saudi Arabia should conclude a commercial oil agreement that would give Saudi Arabia a "special place" in the U.S. market, free from duties and quota restrictions of all kinds, and which would encourage large-scale investment of Saudi capital in downstream facilities for marketing the oil in the U.S. Mr. James Akins, director of the Office of Fuels and Energy in the State Department, described the proposal as "extremely important", and no wonder!

Saudi Arabia boasts of some 25 percent of the world's proven oil reserves, and given a "special place" in the U.S. oil market, along with facilities to invest a large proportion of its oil reserves in downstream operations in the U.S. would help the latter to protect its own colossal stake in Saudi Arabia - where Aramco is the only one of the giant concessions that is entirely American-owned - and guarantee a regular supply of imported oil.

The Saudi proposal - which is surely not an entirely Saudi initiative - would also help ease what is actually a monumental deficit in the U.S. balance of payments.

Actually American energy policy makers like Mr. Akins, are clearly worried about America's growing dependence on Arab oil. And King Feisal, though he looks secure at present - at the head of the Arab world's reactionary forces, recognizes the ever increasing threat to his regime, with the U.S. imperialist policy in the Middle East being what it is, and its growing stake in Saudi Arabia. That is why he is searching for a special relationship with the U.S. based upon the mutual interest in maintaining the Saudi reactionary regime.

And King Feisal's latest proposal is one segment of a plan to make his country a bulwark of the American economy in addition to serving as a strategic interest. The Saudi investment of a part of its oil revenues in the U.S. is virtually giving American Imperialism a new counter-revolutionary instrument by which to blackmail the Arab National Liberation Movement in the Arabian peninsula in future confrontations, and arming the U.S. with this new weapon to use against a potentially successful insurrection led by patriotic and democratic elements in Saudi Arabia to defend its monumental stake there.

3) MOROCCO

An unofficial statement in Rabat mentioned that 37 persons who were arrested at an earlier date in the north-east part of the country, have been accused of trying to instigate an armed insurrection in Morocco. The statement noted that there were three women among them.

This appeared in the Alam (Flag) daily newspaper, organ of the Istiqlal (Independence) party. Officials of the Moroccan government declined to confirm the statement.

But it is reasonable to link this unofficial statement with another official one, 10 days before, in which the Ministry of Interior announced that accidents had taken place in the region where the arrests have been made. The official statement announced that a group of "evil-doers" attempted to terrorize the local population and murdered two persons. It alleged that this group acted on behalf of Moroccans living abroad, and backed and aided by the leadership of a foreign country (obviously Libya).

The Alam daily said that the group was besieged for three days in Ain-Safa village, about 30 kilometers from the Algerian border. It added that the captives are accused of planning to topple the present reactionary regime of King Hassan, and of "urging the population to raise arms against the authorities" and "threatening the security of the state" and "acting against its integrity and national unity".

Under the tyrannical regime of King Hassan in Morocco, there is an "information blockade" as to what is taking place in Morocco. But this latest news of the suppression of an armed revolutionary group in the north-eastern region comes not as a surprise. For there is a rapidly growing resentment against the regime of the privileged minority, of graft and corruption and institutionalized terror against the patriotic, democratic and progressive forces, in the country. Even liberals are increasingly being regarded by the King's court as a potential threat to the regime. The latest suppression of the afore-mentioned armed revolutionary group, is a sign of something simmering in Morocco, against the regime.

King Hassan has survived a few months ago, after a second attempt on his life in a period of 13 months.

A New York Times reporter once mentioned that the King has as a security measure a special helicopter, with its engine running 24 hours a day, ready for the inevitable escape. The latest news should indicate that he would like to make the engine of his helicopter run 25 hours a day if he could!

4) EGYPT

Five hundred progressive Egyptian intellectuals signed a statement protesting the current policy of censorship and repression. They put forth the following demands:

1. To allow the publication of literary magazines in all fields;
2. The editorial boards of these magazines should represent all viewpoints;
3. The creation of committees that will increase the publication of books designed to sharpen public awareness rather than obscure it;
4. End the ban on poetry that is either written in colloquial or free verse;
5. End restrictions and censorship placed on both literary and artistic works;
6. End restrictions on the import of foreign books, periodicals and magazines, with the exception of those that serve Imperialism and Zionism;
7. Respect the moral dignity of the writer and his freedom to express himself.



OPEN LETTER TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.N.

Following is an open letter addressed by Dr. George Hajjar to the Secretary General of the United Nations on the occasion of the General Assembly's discussion of the so-called question of "International Terror."

The Secretary General:

I thought of sending you a well-reasoned letter to explain the nobility of our deeds, the magnanimity of our heroes and the validity and justice of the Palestinian cause. But I decided not to do so, because you abandoned reason and rationality in your hysterical defense of Zionist "innocence" and overlooked the Zionist history of terror and intimidation and massacre against the Palestinian people.

I thought of sending you a letter-bomb, but I decided not to confer upon you the honor of martyrdom or to give you the pleasure of a fervid masochism.

I thought of sending a money order to purchase from you a few tears for the blood shed by our martyrs - Lebanese and Palestinian - in facing the columns of hell and fire of Western technology in South Lebanon on September 16-17. But I decided against the idea for fear that your human niggardliness required too high a price which could not be met by our meagre resources and lack of international power-wielding.

Therefore, I decided to write you a note expressing my feelings and those of my comrades in the knowledge that the word "Palestinian" shall become the watchword of our age in the same fashion that the words "Jacobin", "democrat" and "Bolshevik" were in yesteryear in their meaning and revolutionary implications: the word of promise to the oppressed and the fear-striking word for the oppressor.

I am in profound disagreement with your position vis-a-vis revolutionary violence.

I believe your abstraction of the principle of revolutionary violence, its identification with terrorism and its isolation from our historic context clearly underscore your prejudice in favor of the Zionist occupation of my homeland - Palestine - the dispersion of my people, and the denial of my right to self-determination. Such a stance casts doubt on your impartiality as the citizen-representative of the world and jeopardizes your trustworthiness as a sentinel jealously guarding the ramparts of freedom.

I believe your characterization of revolutionary violence as terrorism instead of just and righteous violence undertaken by the oppressed against tyranny and colonialist depredation, makes you the friend of tyranny and defender of despotism rather than being the advocate of liberty and the upholder of justice.

I believe the abuse of the authority of your office and its use in the service of Zionism and imperialism places you in the enemy camp of mankind and forces us as freedom-lovers and fighters to abjure your deed and denounce your acquiescence to American-Zionist machinations.

I believe you have forfeited your right to the Secretariat and lost the confidence of the wretched of the earth who believed you could have been their spokesman.

I believe you have become the loyal servant of Zionism rather than remaining the voice of man's conscience in a universe of numbed consciences.

But since you profess to be an enemy of terrorism, I invite you to come to little, peaceful, defenseless Lebanon to see with your own eyes what your "innocent" Zionist friends did in Al-Rafid, Nahr El-Barid, Jauvia and many other towns and villages. I invite you to try and understand - in your capacity as a rational human being - that Israel daily practices collective punishment against my people; that deportation, the dynamiting of homes and the terrorization of a whole population in its entirely occupied land is a common occurrence. I invite you to rid yourself of your Zionist blinkers and dare utter a word of condemnation of the reign of terror that Israel visits upon my people.

Need I remind you of the heartfelt sympathies expressed and the messages of condolences sent by you and many so-called world leaders to the pirates of Israel, and neither you nor they sent a single word of regret to the president and people of Lebanon when Israel obliterated 19 villages - by Israel's count - in South Lebanon with their truly innocent and defenseless people. Will you "noble" Westerners hearken to the voice of conscience or continue to still it and apply it solely whenever a Jew is scratched?

I am afraid your guilt complexes have overcome your humanity and misled you from the path of righteousness and truth. As a result, you have succumbed to the dictates of the practitioners of institutional violence and submitted to international Zionist blackmail and psychic terrorism. You have confused barbarism with humanity, vandalism with innocence, savagery with liberty. You have failed to distinguish between the victim and the perpetrator of aggression. You have debased the meaning of true justice by exculpating the armed robber of my land and placing him beyond the realm of moral judgment. Thus your frenzied state of mind is no more than a reaction to the effective response of my comrades to your theft of our home. And your anger at us and retaliation against bystanders are the infantile answer of spoiled rich children to their deprivation of fun and game at Munich - fun you were enjoying at my expense and the squandering of my rights. I suspect that your unmitigated fury is the result of my reminding you of your scandalous past as a "civilized" people who have tried to conceal their past and exorcize its haunting spirits. We must have made it a little unbearable for you on this propitious occasion of the World's Olympics when the German Nazis sought to forget their past, amass fortunes and win the approbation of imperialism and Zionism. And

since Palestine was not represented at Munich, whereas Israel was, we had simply to force our way in and tell you in a language you understand, that your admission of Israel to the games, with your obsequious adulation and enthusiastic support reinforcing her sanctimonious posturing and fanning the coddling of her soldier-athletes actions which do not and cannot negate our collective existence! I am certain now that you, the German Social Fascists and the imperialists will remember us for awhile, while you enact laws to protect your Zionist offspring, ban Palestinian organizations and imprison and deport without trial Palestinian workers and students. I am absolutely certain that you will inevitably fail in your attempt to stamp out the compelling presence of my people and your insidious plots against them will be exposed and defeated.

I understand that you have defined me as a terrorist and a criminal and the audacious Richard Nixon - the master outlaw of the world - has called me an "international outlaw". I submit that the bearer of the Semiof is a dove compared with "knights" who use B52s, phantoms, skyhawks, napalm, anti-personnel bombs and other weapons of mass destruction against defenseless people. I submit that I am a commando with a few bands of dedicated revolutionaries, whereas Richard Nixon and Moshe Dayan have endless columns of mercenaries massacring the Vietnamese people and razing towns and villages in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. I wonder why a Ph.D. cannot see such a rudimentary truth? Is it because Nixon and Dayan possess technological superiority? Or is it because both have white skin and claim to be among the elect and chosen? I submit, my dear Dr. Waldheim, that you and many Westerners have become the dupes of Zionists who merchandise the Jewish holocaust and bludgeon liberal-minded intellectuals into submission to their will. I submit that you have become a pliant American-Zionist tool par excellence.

I, as an invisible atom, count very little in the world of Zionist blackmail and their outright bribery of feeble-minded and opportunistic politicians in America and Europe. But I shall count more and dear because I intend to resist. Moreover, the organic imperialist relationship between America and Israel which is based on the robbery of the black gold of my people, the bounties of my land, and the dispersion of my brethren cannot go on unchallenged. Therefore, it is not mere spiritual affinities and mutual admiration that bind Dayan and Nixon together. And since I do not occupy the editorial offices of the Western media, nor do I sit in their "democratic" parliaments or in the boardrooms of their corporations, nor do I "profess" in a "distinguished" Western university or wear the robes of their "liberated" priestesses, who am I to deserve a hearing before the bar of Western conscience and appeal my case before fellow human beings as an equal? I am a Palestinian and that is the source of my bane and curse in Western eyes; I am a Palestinian and in your view I must have a sense of shame for being myself; I am a Palestinian and in your judgment I must annihilate myself on the altar of Western freedom in order to redeem Western barbarism and give your troubled conscience a bit of tranquility and quietude. I am not, but I shall become! You are and you shall cease.

Dear Mr. Secretary General: I have no intention of disappearing to reduce your onerous burden, but I plan to forge a new reality to negate your faux accompli and proclaim a new humanity in Palestine and the Arab world - a humanity whose establishment will alter the course of history for mankind, especially the Third World. I know you have denied me and salvaged your conscience by sending a few bandages to cure my cancer. I know you have passed resolutions to restore my rights, but I remain stateless carrying a blue ration card as an identity. I know the U.N. commissioner prepares an annual report that rends the hearts of Western "Christians", but infuriates America's politicians who think I should have less of their largesse and be either assimilated or forced to immigrate to make room for "superior" Jews who long to desecrate my land and defile my history. But I do not intend to permit you to consign me to the world of oblivion and disintegration. I do not intend to cease being what I am. I, therefore, must resort to the practice of revolutionary violence as your savior and mine hoping to reach your closed mind and achieve our mutual liberation.

I assure you that my rights will be restored not because the U.N. will suddenly resolve to restore them, but because I intend to fight for them and I shall win not only because the Zionist enemy predates his existence on my continued and perpetual weakness and the denial of my identity, but also because the immense majority of mankind are on my side and I am marching in the path of freedom and progress.

Finally, I shall make a travesty of all the laws you, America and Israel hope to legislate against my being. And, I shall make fools and clowns of your enforcement agents throughout the world. I shall trample underfoot all the secret deals you will make with dictators, despots and self-appointed law-givers who will attempt to coerce me to surrender my destiny to Golda Meir and her satanic financiers and merchants of death. I shall make the world an arena for my deeds and combat your misdeeds and overcome your conspiracies. I shall be and you shall not, because I am a Palestinian Arab with countless aroused comrades who intend to uproot your kind and establish a new kingdom of freedom for mankind.

May the emerging new triumph over the decadent old, and may your fanaticism, medieval zealotry and moral degeneracy be cleansed by the blood of martyrs and supplanted by the victory of the oppressed,

Yours in Revolution,
George Hajjar