



CONSPIRACY CONTINUES RESISTANCE FACES NEW THREAT

“HE WHO CARRIES OUT A REVOLUTION
HALFWAY IS ONLY DIGGING HIS OWN GRAVE”

SAIN JUST

The attempts to liquidate or strike the Palestinian resistance movement seem to be endless. This is not unexpected if we consider the potential influence of this movement in the Middle East. The latest is the Syrian interference in Lebanon and the attempt to strike the Palestinian resistance or contain it if possible. This has surfaced as the most critical threat to the rejection and independent organizations in the Palestinian resistance. (see following article). Few signs of this danger have come out, but any observer of developments of the proposed settlement can witness that Syria's ambition to maintain a strong position in any potential negotiations with the Zionist enemy through the efforts of U.S. imperialism can only be on the account of the resistance movement, the Arab liberation forces in general and that of Lebanon at this particular stage.

The Syrian regime's interest lies in having a weak resistance movement that will not pose any serious obstacles in case of a new agreement on the Syrian-Israeli front. These intentions and events might be confusing to some, but they are natural results of an unfinished and continuous conflict between the forces of revolution and those of the nationalist parties mainly concerned with the protection of their existence in power. And when the first and major two Palestinian organizations, Fateh and the PFLP, shot their way to the battle-field, both declared their lines independent from these regimes in order to keep the Palestinians entity and the revolutionary process free from any external domination. Our struggle was, and is today to be led by our clear vision of the interests of the Palestinian masses, the Arab revolutionary and progressive forces and the World Progressive forces as well.

It was not a matter of choice when the PFLP withdrew from the PLO Executive Committee, but it was an objective necessity. And we do not feel comfortable losing a platform with comrades with whom we share blood ties and unity of principles and struggles.

The events in Lebanon unified us on the battle-field and the objective conditions are ripe now for serious and frank discussions on all issues. As a result, the PFLP and Fateh have started leadership meetings to discuss, analyze and attempt to confront jointly the present threats facing the Palestinian resistance. This does not influence our position on the settlement and neither makes us forget the PLO deviationist positions nor decreases our enthusiasm for the rejection front.

The events have proved that the proposed settlement is directed against all progressive forces, especially revolutionary armed struggle movements in the Arab countries and the Middle East region in particular. The tools of this settlement are the Arab reactionary forces. The Omani-Jordanian-Saudi-Iranian alliance in the Gulf; the Moroccan-Mauritanian alliance against the people of the Western Sahara; the Lebanese reactionaries in Lebanon etc.; these facts speak for themselves and as such it is an objective necessity to unify the forces of progress in the Arab homeland. The detente among the Arab regimes which was strengthened after the October War of 1973, is falling apart and the face of imperialism and reaction is being uncovered.

In order for the threatened forces of armed struggle to advance, not only survive as some would like it to do, the anti-imperialist regimes and forces of the Arab world must unite in an anti-imperialist front. As more and more confrontations with reactionary forces become nearer, coordination between Algeria, D.P.R. of Yemen, Libya, Iraq, Somalia, the Palestinian resistance and other anti-imperialist forces becomes a must.

The main task of the proposed anti-imperialist front will be to put the proposed settlement and imperialist re-entrance in the area to death and not to be satisfied with the end of the step-by-step approach. This calls for an anti-settlement program by the Palestinian forces in order to weave national unity.

The battle for Lebanon has stopped for the present time, and efforts, especially Syrian ones, are being made on the basis that the present ceasefire will be a lasting one. These hopes are based on the proposition that a new lasting «accord» has been declared. The «accord», which is to be a substitute to the 1943 Charter, was declared by the Lebanese President Suleiman Franjeh. But this accord came too short from satisfying the ambitions of the popular movement in Lebanon which fought for 10 months. Here are the most important points of the « new accord».

1. *Parliamentary seats will be equally distributed between Christians and Moslems on a 50-50 basis. The present distribution is a 6-5 ratio in favor of the Christians.*
2. *The Prime Minister will be chosen by the Parliament through a numerical majority. Presently, the Prime Minister is chosen by the President of the Republic.*
3. *Deconfessionalization of the Administration except for top level civil servants, namely 140 positions.*
4. *Formation of a Supreme Constitutional Court which has always been provided for in the Lebanese Constitution, but never enacted.*
5. *All decrees and laws issued will carry the signature of both the President and the Prime Minister. They are issued now by the authority of the President only.*

The immediate and clear result of this new accord is that the Moslem bourgeoisie has strengthened its position and increased its representation in the political set-up, especially through strengthening the position of the Prime Minister.

It can be easily stated that the «new accord» does not meet any of the demands of the popular masses in Lebanon or the reform program of the Front of National and Progressive Parties and Forces. We will only mention two basic demands.

1. THE ABOLITION OF POLITI-

CAL DECONFESSIONALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS AND THE DECLARATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY IN PUBLIC LIFE. THE DECLARED DECONFESSIONALIZATION DOES NOT DO THAT BY SAFEGUARDING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POSITIONS AMONG THE THREE MAJOR SECTS AND BY KEEPING CONFESSIONALISM IN THE PARLIAMENT ON A 50-50 BASIS.

2. NO NEW ELECTORAL LAW WAS PROMISED. THE DEMAND WAS FOR AN ELECTORAL LAW THAT WOULD MAKE LEBANON ONE ELECTORAL DISTRICT AND DISTRIBUTE SEATS ON THE BASIS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF VOTES RECEIVED.

Simply put, this accord can be viewed as a political defeat for the popular movement. Maybe not directly as well to the Palestinian resistance, because the «new accord» reaffirms recognition of the Cairo Agreement which is the basis of the resistance presence in Lebanon. On the military level the Palestinian resistance came out victorious by liquidating the fascist presence from Damour and Jijeh, two cities south of Beirut. This Victory, which can be considered that of the Lebanese popular movement as well, was in retaliation for the fascist right-wing attacks on isolated small pockets of Palestinians and the oppressed masses in Lebanon.

Then why what is gained on the battle-field is lost in the political arena? Why the results of Lebanese conflicts are always «no victor no vanquished?»

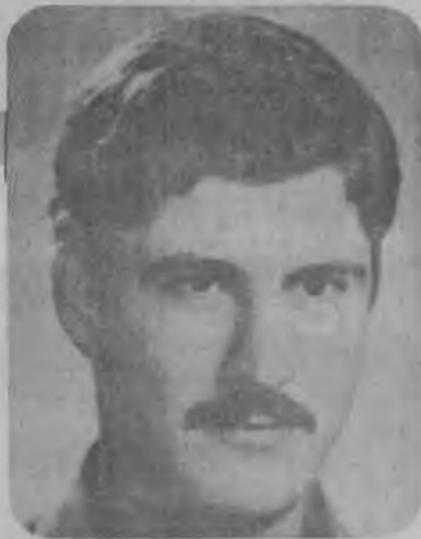
(For 1958 crisis in Lebanon see previous PELP - Bulletin issue).

The main reason is the Syrian interference in Lebanon represented by the efforts of the Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul-Halim Khaddam to bring about

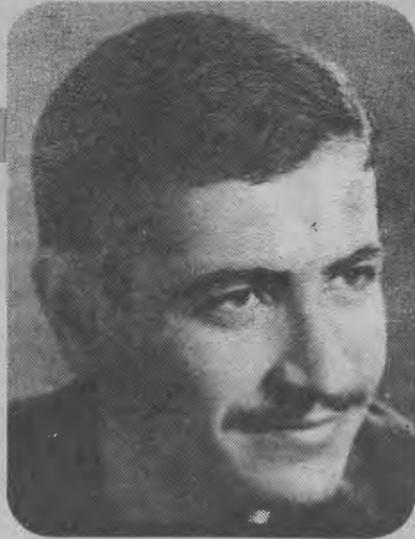
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AZMI EL KHAWAJA



JIHAD AL ZABRI



MAHMOUD NAZAL



FAROUK SAHWELL

FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN JORDAN

In this article we present the reader the case of the political prisoners in Jordan and the different forms of oppression that the regime is practicing against the Palestinian and Jordanian masses. The collaboration of the regime with the Zionist authorities is a known fact; and in order to strengthen this relation the Jordanian authorities is increasing its oppression of Palestinian militants concerned with the struggle inside the occupied territories.



The past two years have witnessed the following repressive measures :

1. There are in the Jordanian prisons about 143 Palestinian political prisoners belonging to four organizations of the Palestinian resistance: The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); FATEH; PFLP — General Command and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).



Most of the prisoners have been subjected to extensive torture at the hands of the reactionary jailers, such as electric shocks, pulling their hair, burning them with alcoholic liquids and submerging them in barrels of water for periods exceeding normal human capacity. Many of the political prisoners have not yielded or sentenced nor have been allowed to see their lawyers, families and so on. The excuse for detaining them is alleged possession of arms and plotting subversive activities in Jordan.

2. Jordanian interrogation revealed that most of the detained men are from those engaged in the support of the struggle against Israeli occupation. This is within their rights under the Amman and Cairo 1970 agreements on PLO activities, and thus, they do not constitute ordinary criminals.

3. The Jordanian authorities have crowned this campaign with the detention of comrade Azmi (Abu Issam) who is a member of the P.F.L.P. command. This is his sixth time since 1971. The interrogation has been centered around the type of organization structure of clandestine operations inside the occupied territories rather than the alleged «subversive activities» in Jordan. For the past four months he has been thrown into the intelli-

gence department Jail and it is understood that his health is deteriorating.

4. Repression was stepped up towards the end of 1975 and was meant to cripple the resistance inside the occupied territories. The outcome which is closely related to the above issue is the present state of affairs between Israel and Jordan and, the new political climate that prevails in the area, and the kind of «peace» that is most likely to emerge at the expense of the fundamental objectives for which the Palestinians have fought and died.

The detainees are subjected to different forms of torture including electric shocks uprooting of hair, beatings, burning with alcohol etc... we feel it is important and urgent for an Amnesty International fact — finding mission to go to Jordan as soon as possible. We would be very pleased if this can be arranged at short notice. Enclosed please find a list of 143 names.

Very truly yours,
Bassam Abu-Sharif

lages to comprehensive «actions of security».

2. The Jordanian regime suppressed all news media not completely loyal to the regime. In August, 1975, the authorities withdrew the permits of «Al-Sabah» daily newspaper, «Amman Al Masa» a weekly magazine and «Al-Hawadeth» another weekly magazine.

3. It assassinated one Palestinian unionist in the streets of Amman after failing to suppress his activities through jailing him. This is in addition to the arrest of several unionists and the dissolution of many unions which are lead by progressive elements.

4. The suppression of the student movement which is responsible for many of the demonstrations and distributions of leaflets exposing the nature of the regime. In addition, students are subject to be put in the jails of the regime and tortured along with militants.

5. The creation of organizations loyal to the regime whose aim is to abort the patriotic organizations through posing themselves as alternatives, also to infiltrate the patriotic circles and spy for the regime.

6. Arrest and dismissal of many of the patriotic officers from the Jordanian army.

7. Planning the assassination of a number of Palestinian resistance leaders. A plan was uncovered by resistance security on September 27, 1974. In addition to this, the Jordanian regime assists the fascist forces in Lebanon and the reactionary forces in the Arab Gulf, especially the hireling regime of Qaboos in its war against the forces of the Peoples Front for the Liberation of Oman.

The regime's actions are definite proof that the Palestinian and Jordanian masses struggle against hireling Hussein is still going on and firmly so. But a question poses itself during the last six months. Why did the Jordanian regime become more interested in fighting, killing and jailing the Palestinian elements concerned with the struggle in the occupied territories? Is it only a service for the Zionist authorities?

The only answer is that the Jordanian regime is taking all political, social and military (police) actions to assassinate the Palestinian entity. It hopes to eliminate the armed struggle and create local leaderships loyal to it, and thus starts from this an attempt to negotiate a set-

Following is the text of the letter sent by comrade Bassam Abu-Sharif, Official Spokesman of the PFEP, to Amnesty International calling on it to interfere on behalf of the political prisoners in Jordan.



Katrina Motimer

International Secretariat
Amnesty International

Beirut : 25 Feb 1976

Dear Katrina,

The news from Jordan are unbearably painful. The regime there (which is a tyrannical bureaucracy with a spy system, more elaborate and terrifyingly merciless than Hitler's) has been fostering, since September 1970, a policy of uprooting all forms and elements of resistance in the East and West Banks. The information as to what is happening now in Jordan has been confirmed by several reliable and independent sources. There are however, somethings of prime importance to note on our behalf.

1. Wellover 143 men belonging to four Palestinian organizations are in detention in several Jordanian prisons. A large number among them have not been charged, tried,



tlement with the Zionist enemy so that a part of the West Bank will be returned to the Hashemite Kingdom under Hussein. By this it also hopes to annul the right of the P.L.O. to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

In this issue we salute 4 of the «blue blooded» prisoners in Jordan. They have by their perseverance and determination become examples of the militants who make history even in the solitary confinement cells of the many and large Jordanian prisons.

1. *Azmi El Khawja (Abou Issam)* :
A leader in the PFLP - a prominent militant in the occupied territories during 1967 and 1968. He was a member in the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM) before the PFLP was founded and left the West Bank only after being uncovered by the Zionist authorities. He has been imprisoned 5 times before. He is presently in solitary confinement with no charges or a trial. He was arrested in August 1975 and has been questioned about activities against the Zionist occupation in the West Bank. His health has been deteriorating as a result of the conditions he is in. He has been denied the right to be represented by an attorney.

2. *Mahmoud Nazal* :
A Palestinian lawyer. He was arrested in August, 1975. He was subjected to inhuman torture - accused of possession of arms and attempting to overthrow the regime. In November he was sentenced to 3 years in prison while denied the right to attend his trial or even the right to any attorney. A PFLP cadre since its foundation, he was asked about the names of PFLP members in the occupied territories.

3. *Jihad Al Zabri* :
A PFLP cadre. First arrested in 1974 and later released by a general amnesty law. A former commander of a PFLP base in Jordan, he was arrested again in August, 1975. He was charged with possession of arms and in attempting to overthrow the regime. He was sentenced to 3 years in prison while denied the right to attend his trial or even the right to be represented by an attorney.

4. *Farouk Sabwell* :
He was a member of the P.L.A. until 1967. He joined the PFLP upon its foundation. He was the leader of Beit Furek battle in April 1968 against the Israeli army. The battle lasted for 48 hours and the people of the West Bank village participated in it. The enemy suffered heavy casualties in this battle.

He was imprisoned in 1971 without a trial - he spent 2 1/2 years in jail and was released under a general amnesty law. He was arrested in August 1975. He was charged with possession of arms and in attempting to overthrow the regime. He was subjected to intensive torture, and was sentenced to 3 years in prison while denied the right to attend his trial or even the right to be represented by an attorney.

We call on all organizations to make appeals to the Arab League, International Amnesty and all other humanitarian organizations to exert pressure on the Jordanian regime to release all political prisoners and give them treatment according to international laws. Copies of these should be sent to the PFLP Bulletin, P.O. Box 212 Beirut, Lebanon.

PEOPLE'S UPRISING IN THE WEST BANK

The Israeli court decision permitting Jews the right to pray in the contours of the Aksa and Omar Mosques in Jerusalem, was the spark that Ignited the fire. Indeed the present uprising in the West Bank is the largest wave of mass demonstrations to occur since the end of 1974. The Israeli police were stunned by the scope of the uprising and its long duration. The demonstrations spread into all the cities and villages of the West Bank, and through them the masses gave a clear testimony as to their support of their revolution and their demand for a totally free Palestine.

The demonstrations however are not simply against the Zionist disrespect of religious and sacred symbols, the masses have been engaged in numerous revolts protesting the establishment of new Zionist settlements. Furthermore, they have overtly demonstrated their rejection of local elections which aim to establish new Zionist schemes i.e., «local authority and regional autonomy». see Bulletin 19-20, Sept.-Dec. 75, p. 2-3).

The Demonstrations which have been going on for more than three weeks, witnessed the anger of the masses who have clearly expressed their rejection of Zionist occupation and in turn their support to revolution. On Feb. 13, 1976, after the Friday Prayer, Jerusalem witnessed one of the most militant demonstrations of its modern history. Hundred of demonstrators confronted the Israeli police. The latter utilized gas bombs to break up the demonstrations. Several of the enemy's police were injured, and in turn tens from the masses were arrested. The demonstrations however continued which forced the enemy to rely on the border guards in the battles against the masses who were armed with rocks and a determination more formidable than the rocks. The commander of these forces was injured as the events persisted to develop in Jerusalem.

In Nablus, the scene of previous militant uprisings, the demonstrators put up barricades, burned tires and threw rocks at the security forces. In spite of wide arrests, and attempts to convince the «dignitaries» of the city to cooperate in bringing about «peace», the demonstrations widened and the number of those arrested reached 81 (students, both boys and girls).

The same development took place in Ramallah, Jineen. The more repression used by the authorities, the more militant became the uprisings against Zionist occupation. Many students in Ramallah, and Al-Beera occupied their schools until they were attacked by the occupation forces. In the Bethlehem high school, the security forces surrounded the building to prevent demonstrations. In response the students chanted nationalist and progressive songs. They shouted slogans against the Zionist occupation which angered the authorities and led to the arrest of 50 more students.

From the morning of February 15, the occupation authorities attempted to silence the demonstrators through the usage of the Arabic media (radio, T.V. and newspaper). They pleaded with the

demonstrators to stop their «useless» uprising as they tried to assure the masses that their sacred places had not been vilified. Needless to say, the request of the authorities was too late, because the uprisings were not only directed at the original issue. They began to acquire broader goals and dimensions. The masses were expressing their support for Palestinian armed resistance, their opposition to the U.S. which they described as the head of the octopus. They expressed their opposition to the Brussels Conference, to the confiscation of lands and to the propped up local elections sponsored by the occupation forces.

The Palestinians raised their flag in demonstrations during which more than 500 citizens were arrested. Many were immediately put to trial in Kangaroo courts, others were forced to pay fines. These pressures have not eliminated the conditions of revolt in the West Bank.

The uprising entered its fourth week as most of the cities and towns continued to express their vehement rejection of Zionist occupation, and new Zionist schemes i.e., municipal elections. Jerusalem once again expressed its historic grandeur as the people once again defied the authorities as they clashed with them in battle. More than 50 were arrested in demonstrations whose large size forced the occupation forces to open their fire so as to disperse it.

Our masses in response expressed their unlimited imagination as they proceeded to attack the Jerusalem police precinct. The special Israeli forces opened their gun-fire causing some injuries among the demonstrators, and others were arrested. In the meantime, large numbers of people gathered in the Aksa mosque where they stayed for several days. They continued their occupation as they expressed their rejection and total refusal of the Israeli policy of the Jewification of the occupied territories.

In other parts of the West Bank, the occupation forces attacked the demonstrators by using police dogs, hitting and then occupying the schools from which the demonstrations had been initiated. In Ramallah, Ariha, Nablus, Qalhouh hundreds were arrested from among our

elders and students. In Ramallah and Nablus the authorities did not permit the citizens to travel in or out. In addition, curfews were declared in various cities and towns.

These uprisings have been continuing for more than a month. It has been reported that four of those arrested were martyred as they were subjected to the most inhuman forms of torture, in the Nablus prison. The martyrs are: Shehadeh Khalil from the town of Berqa, Mahmoud Hamad from the town of Alfendo-Qawmieh, and Mohamad Hassan Abed Al-Galeel from Camp Balata, and Ahmed Hussein Abdullah from Camp Askar. It has been revealed that these four Palestinian militants were martyred at the hands of an officer of the Israeli secret service, Shlomo Ahron, who is in charge of persecuting and torturing those who participated in the present uprising of the West Bank.

The people's anger was intensified as a result of the subjugation of our youths to such brutal deaths. In response, the masses closed off the major roads between Nablus and Jerusalem at the intersection of the town Hewarah. In addition, the roads between Nablus, Jineen, and Qalqilya were closed at the intersection of Kafr Qadoum. These were closed by rocks and stones, and in turn, two patrol cars were attacked causing the death of four enemy soldiers and the burning of their cars. Immediately thereafter, the occupation army sent a large force armed with tanks, helicopters and armoured cars. They shelled and bombed the towns of Hewarah and Boreen. A 65 year old woman and a 5 year old child were killed. Several houses and public places were hit directly. Moreover, 15 people were arrested and a curfew was imposed on these towns, from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

To top all these events, the occupation authorities expelled 300 Palestinian students from their schools, and some were ushered to the borders for exile.

These uprisings in the West Bank are not over. They are simply a necessary part of the process of liberation. The sacrifices our people have endured are many, but much more will be needed for the actualization of our goal of the total liberation of Palestine.

At this point one is reminded of *Amilcar Cabral's* words as he so militantly yet poetically wrote :

«You have seen our elders, simple militants or party workers, white beards on the black rock of their faces : did it remind you of the snow on your mountain peaks? Not bad, if so : its the snow of experience that no sun will ever melt...»

Our masses' dedication to total liberation and the establishment of a Democratic, Socialist Palestine is that «snow of experience» that «no sun will ever melt». Israeli violence will only help to solidify our people's commitment.





Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin



ISRAELI FINANCE MINISTER RABINOWITZ

CHRONIC CRISIS IN ISRAEL

Since the termination of the October War, many studies have been published whose aim was to analyse the scope and the reasons for the prolongation of the present Israeli economic crisis. To the dismay of Zionists, the gloomy conclusions indicate that the ongoing crisis will seriously affect the future of the Israeli state. Furthermore, these studies (Sunday Times, Middle East Economist, Jewish Chronicle and the Jewish Observer) conclude that the prolongation of this crisis will make Israel easy prey to both external and internal political pressures.

These pressures have been displayed but tempered to a certain extent by a U.S. Congressional decision to extend \$2.25 billion in aid to Israel. This sum constitutes two-thirds of all foreign aid granted by the latest U.S. Congressional act. As to the internal pressures, Rabin's predicament is at best dubious. Peres and Dayan are on the war path, (both are members of the ruling Labor Party's right wing Rafi faction), eagerly awaiting in the wings to jump to the helm. The latter two are overtly against further «concessions» to the Arabs. Their basic opinion was aptly expressed by prof. Neeman, former advisor to the defense ministry, as he described Rabin's policy as a «route of terrible concessions leading to the terrible war. Giving up the West Bank might make possible a general assault which could withstand at a cost of 50,000 to 100,000 killed» (London Times February 15, 1976).

However, to explain this political turbulence we must search for its underpinnings, i.e., Israel's chronic economic crisis.

Unlike the period preceding the June 1967 war, Israel spent 20% of its National Budget on defense. This was accompanied by a boom in economic life, industry, tourism and immigration to a certain extent. In addition, the rate of unemployment was very low and the aid from the «extended family» (U.S., West Europe and Zionist organizations,

namely the Jewish Agency), was more sufficient than now to enable Israel to balance its debts. The post-October war period, however, has been instrumental in elucidating the inherent chronic crisis of the Zionist state.

Zionist doomsday mentality continues to rely on militarism. «Israeli strategic doctrine now calls for a heavy reliance on attack, with a strong predilection for a pre-emptive strike of the kind that launched the victorious campaigns of 1967» (International Herald Tribune, article by William Tuaby). To provide and accommodate for such a strategy, 40% of the Finance Minister's proposed budget as approved by the Cabinet will be relegated to «Defense». The 1976 fiscal year budget of \$12 billion is to be compared to \$9 for 1975. This means that Israeli taxpayers will confront severe hardships. To comprehend the meaning and the implications of these figures,

we must note the following: a) inflation is running at a rate of more than 25%; b) repayment of past debts will consume \$2.5 billion as compared to \$1.4 in 1975; c) military expenditures and purchase will amount to at least \$4.6 billion.

In clearer terms, this means that the cost of basic necessities will spiral. Prices for milk and bread have already increased by 60%. To this fact we add the general observation that the cost of living has increased by 70% since 1973.

In its 28 year history, the Israeli economy has never enjoyed a favorable balance of trade. It has the highest per capita foreign debt in the world—\$2,206. This past year it had a \$4 billions deficit in its balance of payments. Its foreign debt was \$8 billion and its domestic debt \$100 billion.

The prevailing conditions forced Rabin to warn his Economic Council of the gravity and the consequences of the present Israeli economic crisis. In a statement directed to the Israelis, he insisted that they «must accustom themselves to less, and to free themselves of their old habits of over-consumption and spending, to a new level of belt-tightening». In turn, the Economic Council sees no way out of the present crisis unless strict measures are invoked to limit government expenditures on housing, education, health and nutrition. This is to be coupled with tax hikes and increased working hours. Practically speaking, this has meant the doubling of university fees, and the undertaking of extra work shifts by teachers. Only 15,000 flats are scheduled for construction (most likely they will never be completed) as compared to the 30,000 of 1975.

To accompany developments, on February 10, 1976, a new devaluation of the Israeli pound was invoked. This is the seventh devaluation since the decision of the council of ministers last June, 1975, to impose a bi-monthly devaluation. The Israeli pound, which

in 1948 was equal to 4 U.S. dollars, has been reduced to a paltry 14 cents. Allegedly, devaluations are imposed so as to encourage exports in order to cover a whopping balance of payments deficit and to try to diminish what is the largest capita debt in the world.

Ironically, these measures of austerity, have not prevented the deterioration in the conditions of living, nor the decrease in industrial output. However, this peculiar combination has led to a fourth increase of Israel's foreign debt, which is equal to \$10,000 per family. In turn, the level of special foreign investments has fallen off causing a rise in the rate of unemployment in various sectors of industry and construction. (It should be kept in mind that the Palestinian Arabs are the first and the most to suffer from these conditions).

With the above in mind, we can make sense of the irony and sarcasm expressed in some reports in Israel: «To be objective in Israel, you must believe in miracles these days». In short, the contradictions of Israeli society have reached a point of no return. What remains on the agenda is the intensification of these contradictions. Temporarily, the government might succeed in explaining these conditions, but the increasing number of labor strikes is of no comfort to Zionist authorities. In the meantime, it remains the task of the anti-Zionist force to transform these economist strikes into acts of class consciousness armed with anti-Zionism; the basic weapons that can enable the Jews to liberate themselves from being the colonizers and the victims of a society that can exist only through fostering insecurity and dependence on aggression.

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Another aspect of the present Israeli crisis is related to a basic need of Zionism i.e., «Aliya» (in Hebrew meaning «coming up»). Interestingly, the word for emigration in Hebrew is «Yerida» and it means «going down».



The intended meanings of these words help to clarify the «national psychology» attitude of Israelis to this important question. In a rather revealing article in the *Jerusalem Post Weekly*, Wendy Blumfield in her article, «Why some new settlers leave»: «The people who are leaving the country have obviously lost sight of the ideals that brought them here. They have lost - if indeed they even had - the motivation for making sacrifices and changing their life style. *The beauty of the country and a sense of identity and heritage no longer hold sufficient charms*» (Tuesday January 27, 1976). Mrs. Blumfield, a new settler from England continues, «People tend to expect from Israel things that they wouldn't get elsewhere. For where else in the world would an immigrant be welcomed at the airport, transported to an absorption centre and cushioned for six months with accommodations and language tuition thrown in.»

The eloquence of the Blumfield plea was accompanied by a Golda Meir plea at the convention of the Labor Zionist Alliance (Jan. 1976) where she asked for «Aliyah» (immigration) of two million Jews to Israel in the next years. Finally, *Time* magazine opened its article on immigration (Jan. 12, 1976) with the following, «No country in the world places a higher spiritual and patriotic value on immigration than Israel.»

Before we take a quick glance at the present situation, it would be useful to identify the ideological underpinnings of immigration's importance for Zionism. First, for the actualization of the Zionist goal of the «gentle removal of the gentiles to the neighboring countries» (*Hovrat*), so as to establish a Jewish homeland, a massive influx of Jewish immigration to Palestine was needed. A new society with a multiplicity of classes had to replace, that is, evict the old. «Redemption of the land», «Jewish labor, and Jewish products» were the slogans through which the Zionist sought to build their new society. In practice the above meant the redemption of Arab land, the blacklisting of Arab labor and the boycotting of Arab produce. In brief, every success of Zionism speeded up the forceful disintegration of the indigenous Palestinian society. With the advent of the Zionist state in 1948, Zionist leaders have insisted on Jewish immigration (Aliyah) and have questioned the Jewishness of Jews who did not respond to the call of «Aliyah» (Ben-Gurion).

Today there exists a fear in Israel and in Zionist circles, of the Arab birth rate which is higher than that of the Jews. To these people, such a fact possesses the potential danger of changing the occidental and Jewish composition of Israel. Such a fact might lead some Zionists to opt for a solution to the «Palestinian Question» through the establishment of mini Palestine state. This solution would provide the Zionists with the means of evicting the 400,000 Arabs from Israel proper to relegate them to this so-called «tree» state. The entertainment of such notions is not due to goodwill, but to fear of the negation of the *raison d'être* of Zionism. However, the dominant solution to the present crisis is the prescription of more «Aliyah».

The recently held Brussels Conference, attended by none other than Golda Meir, intended to use the conference as a platform through which to encourage a renewed wave of Jewish immigration to Israel. The conferees were alarmed by the disclosure of facts which point out that for the first time, emigration has

superseded immigration. They were also alarmed and worried as to the international consequences and ramifications of the U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism.

On the home front, the Israeli government has been trying to lure back the «Yordim» (emigres, means to descend - notice the negative implications and connotations of the word. The «Yordim» are looking down on as deserters). They have offered inducements like government - subsidized mortgages etc., but no positive response.

Of new immigrants, 40% of these originating from western countries have returned to their original homeland within five years. 80% of expatriate Israelis have gone to the U.S. Broadly speaking, Israeli authorities estimate that about 300,000 Israeli Jews - nearly one out of ten - now live out of Israel.

Whereas immigration figures have been constantly declining, emigration figures show a constant increase ever since 1970. *The Jewish Chronicle* of February 6, 1976, estimates immigration figures for 1973-75 to be respectively: 53,000; 32,000; 20,000; But as to «Yerida» (those going down) the figures between 1970-75 are even more revealing :

year	emigres
1970	7,500
1971	10,500
1972	13,000 - 14,500
1973	16,000 - 19,000
1974	15,000 - 20,000
1975	16,000 - 19,000

Jewish Chronicle; Feb. 6, 1976

Needless to say, these figures are not accurate because the Israeli Census Bureau is very sensitive about the dissemination of data relating to such a sensitive issue. In spite of this, the Zionist state is weary, for it no longer possesses the magic ability to lure support at will.

It is interesting to take quick sociological glance at these figures. The basic groups that form the bulk of the emigres are :

- Former immigrants who failed to be absorbed into Israeli society;
- Israeli-born members of underprivileged i.e., poor families (Arab Jews);
- Talented highly qualified young Israelis.

These emigres are the ones who obviously possess the basic means that enable them to afford the expenses of emigration. However, a study published by *Mdariv* indicates that 12% of all Israelis would have no qualms about leaving Israel if it were not for their debts, pressures from Zionists, and the lack of money to finance their emigration.

With the above in mind, one can easily comprehend why the alarm and concern of Israeli leaders is approaching paranoia. Of course, such developments in themselves will not cause the decay of Zionism. This is an important step, but the most important still remains the development of the potential of the social forces capable of negating Zionism from within the Zionist state so as to join the Palestinian Liberation movement in establishing the Democratic, Socialist Palestine.

ISRAELI ITEMS



● The Jewish Agency announced a new program that aims at spreading propaganda among Israelis who have emigrated to convince them to return to Israel. A new section of the Agency will handle this special task. The head of the immigration department in the Agency made a statement saying that the number of new immigrants is not one to be proud of.

This move comes after disclosure that the number of those who immigrated to Israel was 20,000; only 13,300 announced their intention to stay in the country. An equal 20,000 emigrated from Israel, as such making the inflow-outflow of individuals an equal one. This is the first time since 1953 that such an event is taking place. This comes as a result of the October war of 1973, and the deteriorating economic situation Israel has been living in since then.

★ ★ ★

● Zionist experts declared that drinking water will have to be rationed next summer after the light rainy season this winter. The Tiberias Lake, which is considered the only major and natural reservoir of sweet water, has lost 150 cms. from its usual height. This could cause certain demographic changes in the areas surrounding the lake.

Already water from Lake Kinnezet is no longer flowing into the National Water Carrier, and a Tiberias boat company has suspended sailings because the level of the lake has dropped to 211.82 meters below sea level - only 18 cms. above the danger line set by scientists.

★ ★ ★

● Zionist occupation authorities are expelling the Arab citizens of the Sinai to build new Jewish settlements. Information from the occupied territories desert, the Negev, and Gaza in order to build new Jewish settlements. Information from the occupied territories indicates that 14 new settlements are planned for the Sinai and the Negev. 20,000 Palestinians from Negev areas have been expelled since 1948. 800,000 dunums of land have been confiscated since 1967.

● The Israeli pound was devalued by a little less than 1 1/2 per cent, from IL 7 per dollar to IL 7.10 per dollar. As in the case of many devaluations, it was attributed to economic difficulties, especially in the balance of payments. The devaluation before was of 10 per cent and took place in September 1975.

★ ★ ★

● Zionist officials declared that 1,500 men were needed to increase the 100,000 man police force, but it was difficult to attract men. The Police Inspector General said that «it is unpleasant to go to cinema in the large cities.» He noted too that the internal security situation demanded nearly a third (!) of a policeman's time. He rejected the suggestion that the reluctance of the public to cooperate was the result of fear that the police would not adequately defend or protect persons who reported crimes.

«PFLP militants inside occupied territories have taken sound reprisal measures against elements cooperating with the Zionist authorities».

★ ★ ★

● Uri Avenri, a former Israeli Knesset member and editor of *Ha'alom Hazeh»* was stabbed and wounded by a Zionist attacker. Avenri, who is outspokenly anti-establishment, and one who advocates bi-nationalism for Zionists and Palestinians, has made many enemies by advocating that Israel negotiate with the P.L.O.

Psychiatrists at the government mental hospital in Bat Yam said that the accused is mentally ill and was not responsible for his actions!

★ ★ ★

● Eviction orders, telling Arab students at the Hebrew University to leave their dormitory rooms by the end of December, 1975 for failing to do guard duty, were the cause of demonstrations by Arab and Jewish students on the Givat Ran campus.

The 250 Hebrew University Arab Student Council demonstrated in front of the administration building in the early afternoon one day in December, which resulted in a counter demonstration by Zionist students.



PERSECUTION OF PEOPLE OF JEW

By Benjamin Merhav

PART III

ON THE FASCIST CHARACTER OF ZIONISM

1. THE PALESTINE STRUGGLE

The struggle of the Arab people for the liberation of Palestine has gained the support and admiration of the majority of mankind. The Palestinian cause is a just one and is part of the struggle for human progress. Except for the reactionary diehards, various fascist groups and some backward bourgeois «personalities», no one disputes the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and progressive nature of the struggle for the liberation of the Arab people.

But there are still some people who do not see the anti-fascist aspect of the Palestinian struggle against Zionism.

Zionism, as an international organisation, as well as a colonial enterprise in Palestine, has always been in partnership with, and at the service of capitalist imperialism. This is a major part of the fascist character of Zionism, as it is a major part of any kind of fascism. «Fascism in power», said Dimitroff, «is the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital». The struggle against Zionism is then a struggle against finance capital, against its most imperialist elements.

«The basic issue in the Palestine question», writes the Palestinian author Sami Hadawi in his book «Bitter Harvest», (1967 p. 41) «is the uprooting and dispossession of an entire nation in order to make room for the «ingathering» in Palestine of Jews from all parts of the world.»

Zionist colonialism proved itself to be the most ruthless and most cruel of all forms of colonialism in modern times; not merely oppression, exploitation and plunder, which characterise all colonialist regimes, but outright dispossession in a cynically planned and viciously executed Zionist policy against the indigenous people of Palestine. Even the Arabs who stayed and live in the Zionist state are virtually refugees in their own country.

2. «JEWISH NATION» and a ZIONIST MESSIAH

From its inception the declared purpose of the Zionist program has been two-fold:

1. create a «Jewish nation», and establish in Palestine the foundations for a «Jewish empire» in the Middle East.

2. safeguard the interest of capitalist imperialism in that important part of the world with the simultaneous implementation of the Zionist program.

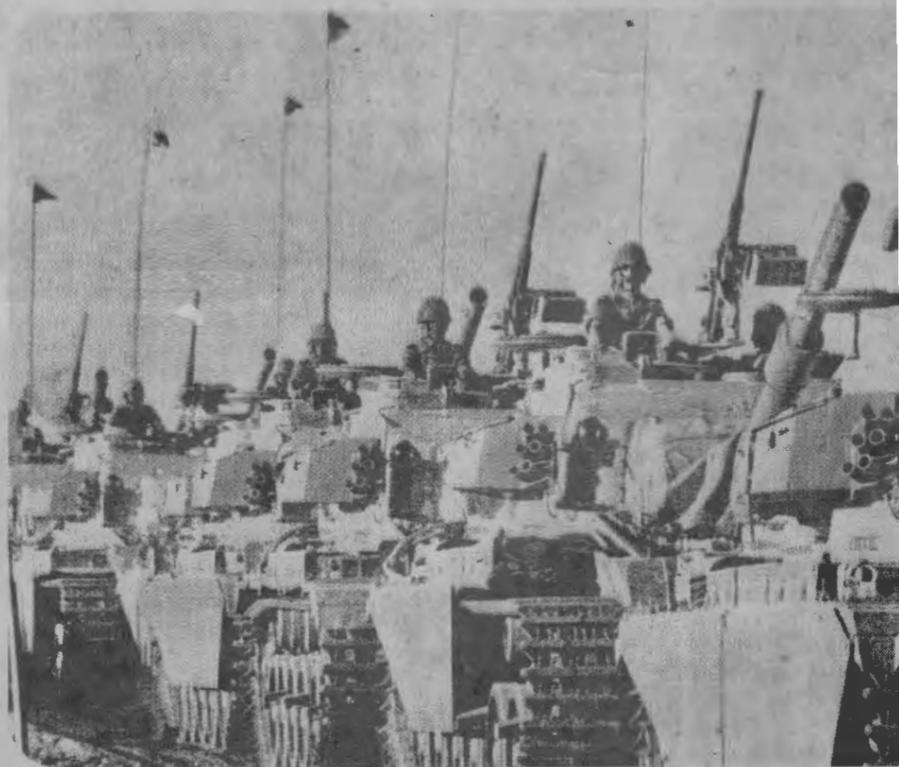
As an initial step in achieving the first aim, the Zionist leaders, beginning from Herzl, conducted a ruthless drive amongst people of Jewish background around the world to silence any voice of dissent. «Campaigning against Zion in the Jewish communities», announced Herzl during the second world Zionist congress in 1898, «cannot be tolerated any longer. It is an abnormal and untenable situation. We must put an end to it... The authority of the community, its means and persons it has at its command must never be used against the concept of peoplehood. Therefore, I believe, I speak for you too, distinguished congress members, when I propose capturing the Jewish communities as one of our next targets» (E. Berger, «The constitution and the Balfour declaration», «Issues» magazine Fall 1961 pp. 70-71). Thus began the creation of the Zionist ghettos in the capitalist countries, and formation of all the organisational tools for implementation of the Zionist plans in Palestine.

After quoting the «Basel program», adopted by the first Zionist congress in 1897, Moshe Menuhin, in his book «The Decadence of Judaism in our time» (p. 41), comments with a rhetorical question:

From its very beginning the purpose of Zionism was to establish legal recognition of a «Jewish nationality» automatically claiming all Jews to comprise an entity called «the Jewish people».

Moshe Menuhin, a Jewish American, together with many Jewish Americans, have opposed Zionism not merely on humanitarian grounds. They were opposed to the Zionist ghettos, which, like ghettos of the Middle Ages, isolated and segregated people of Jewish background from their native society.

Lenin himself, and as early as 1903, opposed the attempt to recreate the Me-



dieval reactionary ghetto. «That is precisely what the Jewish problem amounts to», wrote Lenin in Iskara No. 51, «assimilation or isolation;» - and the idea of a Jewish «nationality» is definitely reactionary not only when expounded by its consistent advocates, the Zionists, but likewise on the lips of those who try to combine it with the ideas of social democracy - the Bundists. The idea of a Jewish nationality runs counter to the interests of a Jewish proletariat for it fosters among them directly or indirectly a spirit hostile to assimilation, the spirit of the «Ghetto». (quoted in «Vanguard» 27.2.1975).

Indeed the Zionists had to work very hard for many years to convert any Jews to Zionism. With the aim of falsifying history, a swarm of Zionist «historians» descended on the cultural markets of the capitalist countries to sell the Zionist ideas as an integral part of the «history of the Jewish people from ancient times». Political Zionism, and Herzl, as its founder, (including, of course, the subsequent Zionist chieftans) have been presented as the continuation in Zionist terms «rebirth», «revival», regeneration», of the «glorious past» of ancient biblical times.

«The new-baked National-Socialist historians», reported Dimitroff on the rise of Nazism in Germany «try to depict the history of Germany as if for the last two thousand years, by virtue of some «historical law», a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread which led to the appearance on the historical scene of a national «savior», a «Messiah», of the German people, a certain «corporal» of Austrian extraction!» This description fits almost exactly the Zionist propaganda methods. It must be said that the Zionist job was much more difficult because they had to create the myth of the «Jewish nation» in the first place, then «transform» religious beliefs into political concepts and then proceed with the big lie itself. This is why it took then some 50 odd years to get any results and not before they could get active assistance from the Nazi «experts» themselves, as is clearly shown (a separate chapter).

3. SERVING INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CAPITAL

As mentioned earlier the history of political Zionism is dominated by a continuous and faithful service to finance capital and to its various imperialist chieftans. Herzl himself, before his death in 1904, was looking for imperialist patrons to offer Zionist services. He negotiated with the representatives and chieftans of Russian, German, Turkish, Italian and British imperialism, the «bargain» was finally struck with the British imperialists.

Addressing the fourth congress in London (1900), Herzl stated that, «It is of increasing importance to the nations of civilization that on the road to Asia - the shortest road to Asia - there would be set up a post of civilization, which would be at the service of mankind. This post is Palestine... and the Jews will be prepared to defend this post with blood and substance...»

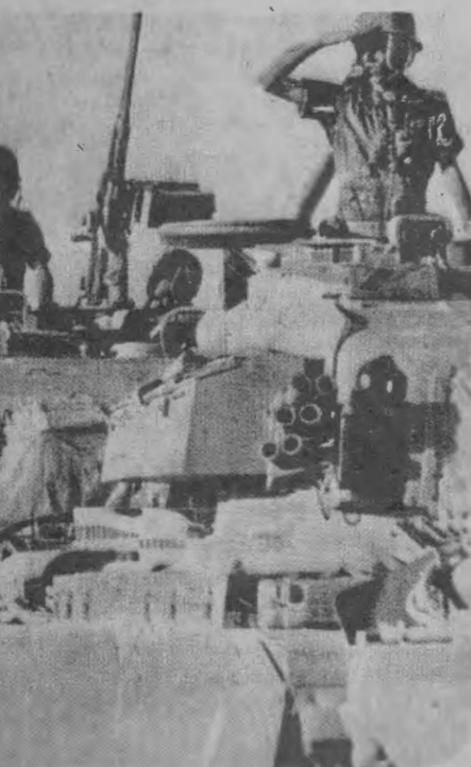
Appealing to British Imperialism, Herzl exclaimed his Zionist audience:

«England, Great England, free England, England commanding all the seas will understand our aspirations. It is from here that the Zionist movement, we may be sure, will soar to further and greater heights», (quoted by Leonard Stein, «The Balfour Declaration». London, 1961 p. 19).

With the crumbling of the British Empire and the final take-over of its role by American imperialism, the Zionist, beginning from world war II, prostituted themselves to their new masters. They offered services, not only in the Middle East, but on an international scale; subversion in third world countries (Africa in particular), the offering of local «Jewish communities» in capitalist countries as springboards for fascist attacks against the local working-class and democratic people (in Australia they have «distinguished» themselves through people like Bob Hawks and his ilk, and much of their secret subversions are yet to be exposed here).

Naturally the Zionists have fraternal ties with the notorious regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia the last colonial

ISH BACKGROUND BY ZIONISM



posts of imperialism in Africa. «... is there any real difference between the way», asked the Afrikaner racist newspaper «Die Transvaler» following the Suez War, «that the people of Israel are trying to maintain themselves amid non-Jewish peoples and the way the Afrikaner is trying to remain what he is? The people base themselves upon the old testament to explain why they do not wish to mix with other People: the Afrikaner does this too...» (quoted by H. Katzew in «South Africa: a country without friends», Midstream, Spring 1962). But, the increasing ties between these three last colonial posts of finance capital -- military, political, commercial and social ties, testify not only to their common features, but also to their desperation and isolation at this stage of history which is marked by capitalist decline and peoples liberation.

4. ISRAEL'S ZIONIST REGIME

That the Zionist state of Israel is the embodiment of Zionist concepts is hardly disputed by anybody. So too is the fact that all political parties in Israel, *without exception*, are part and parcel of that state. Even the so-called «communist party» of Israel spends much of its time, money and publications' space to refute «vicious accusations of its infidelity to the state». Its General Secretary was actually one of the signatories to the Zionist «Declaration of Independence» in May, 1948. To a certain extent, particularly for the oppressed Arabs in Israel, this so-called «communist party», which has had its representatives in the Zionist Knesset ever since the latter was established, is serving as a safety valve for the social pressures of the exploited and oppressed classes, as well as a «democratic» camouflage for external consumption. Not only is such a party «harmless», from a Zionist point of view, but indeed a dear necessity in Israel. Without any safety valves the Zionist regime would have been blown to pieces by the sheer force of internal pressures.

The Zionist regime, through its state and «Histadrout» apparatus, owns large sections of the economy, the rest of it being owned or controlled directly or indirectly by international finance ca-

pital. The National bourgeoisie as a class is virtually non-existent. The fact that the whole society in Zionist occupied Palestine has always been under the dictatorship of imperialist finance capital, has not resolved any of the numerous internal contradictions. «Hence», in the words of Dimitroff, «under the blows of class contradictions, the political monopoly of fascism is bound to explode».

The Zionist clique has had its terrorist oppression apparatus, backed by special fascist codes of legislation, ready for action since 1948. This terrorist apparatus has been used mainly against the Palestinian Arabs, not only to crush armed liberation struggle against the Zionist invaders, but also for the daily suppression of any sign of political resistance to Zionist exploitation, oppression and expropriation which are far more cruel and intensive against Arabs, most of whom are workers, than against any section of the settlers society.

A few words about that fascist legislation. The code is titled «Defence Regulations (Emergency) 1948». It was enacted and put into operation towards the end of the British Mandate for suppression of the Zionist terror campaign which aimed at a military take-over and the subsequent creation of a «Jewish state» over the whole of Palestine. At that time, the top Zionist leaders, two of whom became justice ministers after 1948, called the legislation, «worse than the Nazi Laws», «official terrorism» etc. So abhorrent were these laws to the legal profession within the Zionist colony that in one exceptional case in the newly created Israel (appeal No. 122/48) a Zionist judge refused to obey them saying, «I cannot act and give judgement in accordance with the Defence Regulations, which are still on the statute book». Since then tens of thousands of Palestinian Arab workers and peasants have been harassed, arrested without trial, (and tortured), expelled and have suffered in many other ways under that fascist legislation which is still unknown to so many people outside Israel.

In his book «The Arabs in Israel» (1969) Sabri Jiryis explains that the «Defence Regulations (Emergency)», 1948, consist of 170 articles divided into 15 sections... «which give extensive and extremely rigorous powers, whose enforcement (against the Arab population) is highly prejudicial to individual liberty and to an individual's right over his possessions». The author goes on to say, «It is true that these powers have not yet been used against the Jewish population of the state, but there is no legal impediment to this should the occasion arise».

5. RACISM AND MILITARISM IN ISRAEL

That the Zionist regime in occupied Palestine is a racist regime is only consistent with the basic tenets of Zionism. Like the Nazi ideology, the Zionists view the history of mankind as a struggle between races, some of whom are superior and are therefore «chosen races». Naturally, the Zionist view a «Jewish race» as the «chosen people», to which the Arab people, for instance, are inferior. This is daily life in Israel and not just an academic argument. The Jewish masses in Israel have been thoroughly brainwashed by this Zionist

prejudice. Indeed this is essential to the stability of the Zionist regime and to its aggressive and predatory policies of Zionist military expansion.

Like the apartheid system in South Africa, but in more subtle ways, the system of racial discrimination and segregation in Israel is a complex one. There are various degrees of «inferiority» (the extent of discrimination follows accordingly) even within the white settler society. Asian and other non-European settlers are, «of course», not on the same level as European stock, although they are «better» (and therefore better off) than the Blacks (in South Africa) and the Arabs (in Israel).

Likewise, militarism and chauvinism, which are major features of fascism, are part of daily life in Israel and this too is hardly disputed by anybody. The supporters of Zionism justify it by the «special conditions» of the state of Israel in «a sea of Arab hostility». Indeed, Arab hostility to Zionism, expressed in armed liberation struggle, is persistent and vigorous, but would any sane person nowadays dispute the just armed resistance in Nazi occupied Europe? Would anybody, other than diehard reactionaries and outright fascists, dispute the African liberation struggle against the Smith regime and the apartheid regime of South Africa? «Fascism», said Dimitroff, «is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war». How true is this statement when applied to the Zionist aggressions, not only to the 1956 and 1957 Nazi style invasions, from the early days of organized Zionist settlement in Palestine to this day.

«Fascism acts in the interests of the extreme imperialists», says Dimitroff, «but it presents itself to the masses in the guise of champion of an ill-treated nation...» Again how true in the Zionist case!

Through the education system, the Media, the cultural channels and in many other subtle ways the Israeli born Jewish youngster is led to believe that «the government has always wanted peace with the Arabs», and that it is the Arabs who do not want to live in peace, because «they hate Jews and want to kill them all». Naturally the expected reaction of such youngsters would be to «defend» himself and his «country's survival» by participating in the Zionist wars of aggression. The great majority of Israel youth have no idea about the Palestinian aim for a democratic Palestine, they have no idea of why and what the Arabs are fighting for and they don't know what Zionism is all about.

In any case, and there have been a few cases of actual resistance to military conscription, the Zionist law requires that every Jewish citizen, men and women, be a soldier in the Zionist army: from the age of 18 to 21 full time soldiers, and following that 2 months military service every year to the age of 55 (this is of course apart from the periodical wars).

6. COUNTER-REVOLUTION

When the salesmen of political Zionism were looking for imperialist patrons they always stressed the counter-revolutionary role Zionism can or has played. «It is clear», said Herzl to the Grand Duke of Baden, the German Kaiser's uncle, «that the settlement of a neutral people on the shortest road

to the East can be of immense importance for the German Orient Policy. And what people is meant by that? That people which... is compelled nearly everywhere to Join the revolutionary parties». The same arguments were presented by Herzl to the Russian Czar government and to the British government.

The argument was advanced in the most explicit way by Herzl's disciple Jabotinsky, who wrote in the early thirties on the Zionist position in relation to the anti-imperialist struggle the following:

«The essence of communism is in inciting the oriental people against the European rule. This is in its eye «imperialist» and exploitative, in my opinion the European rule is the one which turns them into civilized people, but this is a side matter, and has no connection with the subject. One thing is clear: communism incites and must incite the people of the Orient, and this it can do only in the name of their national liberation... Every success of communism be it anywhere - in a remote corner of the world in Mexico or in Tibet - is a substantial loss for the establishment of a Jewish Palestine. Every defeat of communism is a substantial gain for Zionism!»

Israel since its establishment has taken an active part in secret counter-revolutionary subversions all over the world, mainly in Third World countries, on top of its well known role in the Middle East.

Within Israel, and within Zionist ghettos around the world, «communism» is on top of the list of «enemies of the Jewish People». To win over workers support some of the big Zionist parties call themselves, like the Nazis, «socialists», while the revisionists and social imperialists are represented as «communists» to discredit national liberation movements, and, of course, to distort the meaning of Marxism-Leninism.

As mentioned earlier, the Zionist equivalent of trade-union movements is «Histadrout» which is merely a tool, and a major one too, of the Zionist regime. The wishes and deeds of the «Histadrout» are to bind the Jewish workers hand and feet to the Zionist wagon so that the aims of Zionism and finance capital can be achieved without much trouble. It is indeed an *anti-working* class organisation which serves well the fascist regime. «Fascism», says Dimitroff, «is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all toilers!» This is precisely what Zionism means to all working people in Israel. This is why the Zionist regime is doomed. Like the «one thousand year old Nazi Reich» the «Zionist empire» will end up on history's rubbish pile, and sooner than many people expect it to.



AN INTERVIEW WITH AN "IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY"

The following is an interview with an Iranian revolutionary. The interview was first published in «Al-Hadaf» the weekly organ of the PFLP on the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle in Iran on February 8.

The usual approach to an interview with a revolutionary organization is to pose questions about its history, origins, and aims, and to end it with questions about the political-strategic and provisional programs. But in this interview we have decided to pose questions about particular and definite problems. We also aim to uncover some of the facts that have resulted from this particular experience which are still not known to the public.

METHODS OF PRACTICE

Q.1 The literature of the Iranian revolutionary movement contains concepts that represent new lines in revolutionary experience; one of these is concerned with the method of practice by the revolutionary in Iran. Is it possible to explain the dimensions of your line?

A.1 Practice is the result of the individual's preparation on one hand, and on the other, the organizational political and theoretical strength of the organization he or she belongs to. Practice is the line of demarcation between opportunism and the revolutionary line.

History's experience in general, and our own experience give us the following lesson: there is no theory without practices, and it is practice that develops theory.

We have tested our conceptions by practicing them in reality. We test as well parts of practical experience with theoretical conceptions that are already known. We do not believe in abstract theory - that is theory without practice. We should also emphasize that we do not adopt practices that are not based on theoretical concepts. The main difference between our movement and others is that they adopt theory without practice. This makes them idealists, since the duty of revolutionaries is to change conditions - the situation - and not only to interpret it. Practice without theory makes one an empiricist - not having a guide to practice.

We take all steps that serve the strategic or tactical aims of the revolution. We do not mean by practice only armed struggle but in the range from the simple to the most difficult or important step. Limiting practice to armed struggle leads to the fall into leftist dogmatism.

Regarding the second part of your question - methods of practice. It is difficult to name these methods. But we can simply say that we pursue planned action based on the analysis of the objective conditions surrounding us. When we determine the political dimension of an action and see that it is in our own interest, we attempt to carry it out. As our comrade «Maroud Ahmad Zadeh» said, «We do



not consider the action from the point of view of whether it is possible to do it or not, but whether or not we are convinced of its necessity; we will take it upon ourselves to carry out the necessary plans of its execution. This is, of course, based on the principle of the possibility of applying theory through practice.

As we stated, we believe in a well studied and planned action before the final execution. We submit our analysis to revision and tests, and after having positive results we enter the phase of final execution.

As an example, when we reach the decision of the necessity to distribute a pamphlet, we distribute it internally to find its deficiencies. We discuss these deficiencies among the comrades and afterwards present the revised version and begin to distribute it. We do not believe in action «from above».

Another example is the cooperation with other organizations and the building of a united front. We do not believe that the establishment of a united front should be the result of meetings between leaders, decisions to be taken in conferences, or through the publication of joint communiques. This would be a coalition and not a united front.

When we are convinced of the necessity to establish a united front, it is necessary that we consolidate the internal relations, begin joint actions and cooperation in different fields before we make any declarations. By this we will create a spirit of mutual cooperation and affection among the elements. Then we can start centralized discussions about the establishment of the united front. We believe that this method consolidates, strengthens, and intensifies the attempt with reality.

We do believe in criticism and self-criticism as a main weapon within the organization, and we also put ourselves through experiences in order not to resort to methods of liquidation in the future.

THE SECRET STRUGGLE

Q.2 We also know that the struggle in Iran takes place under very difficult conditions represented by the authorities' measures to implement its fascist dictatorship. This makes it imperative to practise a secret struggle. What is your view of the secret struggle inside Iran?

A.2 The oppression practiced by the

hireling authority in Iran is increasing in its savagery and terrible forms. It is not possible for people who have not experienced such conditions to imagine this savagery.

There are no books, magazines or any political publications that criticize the regime in the open. You can not find any books written by great thinkers or leaders of revolutions, national liberation struggles, or communist movements. Even books like Maxim Gorky's are forbidden and readers of «forbidden» books are sent to prison. The burning of books has included children's stories that might have any political connotations.

Oppression and terror do not stop at this point, but extend to include people's personal lives. The Universities, instead of being centers of education and thought, have been centers for the regime's terror and Savak activities - with no limit to these activities. In every university, in addition to the secret police and security forces at the entrances, there exists a special police for the university itself. Students are arrested and expelled continuously and militant students are a main aim of the university police which is formed of well-trained troopers, specialized in oppressing civil disobedience and demonstrations. This police is on the university campuses constantly and uses the ugliest forms of oppression.

Democracy in Iran is rarely felt and there is not even one free trade union. Savak agents are the ones who run the factories. The point that draws attention is that the positions of the experts and technicians are filled by previous officers who are directly connected with the Savak.

The elections in Iran, which are carried out by the Shah and the Savak, are nothing more than appointments and designations which do not even reflect their external production. Until four months ago, there were two parties, both made by the Shah. But the Shah dissolved the two and established a new one under the name of «Renaissance». In the elections that took place the representatives who were already chosen won. Truly, the elections are nothing more than a play produced by the Savak.

The fascism of the regime has extended itself to the villages. They have created «justice houses» and centers of «civil defense» to play the role of the police and to uncover any action by the masses. Briefly, the fascism in Iran is one of the ugliest kinds of fascism ever to appear in history.

The army acts as a guarantee of the regime's security, which counts more than 250,000 in addition there is the Savak and the political police which counts more than 60,000.

The political struggle in Iran now is an art, and the militant that struggles through his organization must be familiar with all arts of the struggle. The revolutionary movement in Iran today contains many prominent experts in guerilla warfare and organizational matters. We are confident that the number

of these experts is increasing day after day.

The organized comrade is considered an artist. Our militant comrades have grasped this art - we mean the art of war - through war itself.

Until 5 years ago we did not have any experience in this field. Many years of the open struggle and many years of terror and oppression did not give us the necessary chance to gain the experience of secret struggle. We had to start from the beginning, from point-zero. Because of this, we lost our best cadres and leaders during the first year; during that year we lost more than 150 martyrs. This is a big number vis-a-vis the number of comrades in the movement. But this experience, which we gained through the blood of our martyrs, made us the owners of one of the richest experiences of secret struggle. This experience will remain beneficial to us and to the rest of the liberation movements of the region. We believe in the inevitability of the development of our experience through the continuation of the struggle.

THE SECRET STRUGGLE AND THE MASSES

Q.3 If the struggle continues on the basis of «professionalism», would this lead to the alienation of the masses who do not have the knowledge of this «art» which you mentioned?

A.3 No, not at all. I believe this is the best answer.

Q.4 Can you explain the reasons behind this?

A.4 To answer this we have to mention the stages of secret struggle in Iran. We are now at the stage of struggle through vanguard organizations, and we need a long time to reach the state of mass or popular struggle. The aim of the vanguard forces at this stage is not to mobilize all the elements who are members of the present organizations - the present organizations are seeds for popular organizations in the future - they will at a future stage transform from vanguard organizations into class parties. In other words, our organizations are those of the transformation period; they will prepare the conditions and the situation for the rise of the popular movement and mass organizations. At present, the political-military organizations have the task of creating the political atmosphere for the development of the movement. During the march they will strengthen their ability and readiness to lead the popular masses.

Regarding the experience, or the art, I have to say that this is the task of the militants struggling through these organizations.

All of the present organizations in Iran do not aim to mobilize all of the people inside them, but their task is to organize the popular political sectors on all levels around them. We are at the beginning now, but we are sure that support of the masses to the movement will increase and the need for secrecy will be less. The militant will be active among the masses like the fish in the sea.

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Q.5 We notice from your answers that your struggle goes on under special circumstances. Based on this, there must be certain differences in the structure of your organizations and those of other organizations in the area. Can you explain how a political-military unit operates?

A.5 The form of political-military struggle makes it a must that the organization submit its work to the conditions surrounding it. In addition to the political, ideological and informative struggle, the political-military unit has to possess military ability. A unit is composed of 3-5 elements. According to internal regulations no one element should know the identity of the other before joining the unit. The unit-all its elements being professionals - works from the same house. Each element has his private residence and it is not known to the rest of the elements in the group. This is a reserve place in case of dangerous situations. Each element is armed with a pistol, a hand-grenade and cyanide (to commit suicide) and some houses have machine guns; this depends on the ability of the organization. Each unit has a political-military responsible. He is responsible for the contacts with other branches of the organization.

Q.6 Can you tell us about the internal life of a unit?

A.6 The elements are armed and are on alert 24 hours a day. During the night the alert takes place at the unit's house and guarding is carried out. The guarding hours in the night are divided among all the comrades of both sexes. Sleeping hours range from 5-6 hours for each person each day. The comrades sleep with their clothes on and their arms ready to face any emergency.

The documents in the houses are arranged according to importance, in order to burn them and withdraw in case of danger.

Rising up time is set for all. Exercises are done together for the whole unit, in most houses the comrades of both sexes live together. Each unit has a political education program, technical work and continuous reading program.

This is in addition to the organizational and struggle tasks that are given to each unit by the organization.

The leader, or responsible of the unit, is the one who has more experience than the others, and elements from the working class are pushed to the top of the movement.

CLASS STRUCTURE AND PRESENT TRENDS IN THE REVOLUTION

Q.7 What is the class structure of the organization?

A.7 Before answering this question, I would like to explain two predominant mistakes about the role of class in history. First, the confusion between the individual and the class. Most of the analysts, who view the causes of liberation as a mechanical process, usually see the individual and the class as equals from the view point of their historical development. They take the work of the labourer as a criterion for communism and they judge the roots of any movement by the number of workers in it. In our opinion, this is wrong. The role of the working class in making history is tied directly to the mode of production, and its ability to make new modes of production (socialism) in the society. The class is the one makes history and not the individual - the type of the proletariat and not its number. The working class is revolutionary, but not necessarily every worker. There are mercenary workers and fascists - the same as there are revolutionary workers.

Therefore, to evaluate the class structure in the organizations we do not depend on the simple gathering of workers, but we see the role of the working class from the stage of its historical development.

Second, the generalization regarding the historical role of the working class as a provisional one. The working class is a revolutionary one and has a constructive role in the process of history. But at certain stages it can not be revolutionary in spite of its historical role. We emphasize this but we are not trying to shed any doubts on the historical role of the working class. But at certain stages the working class might not realize its historical or class role because of the

influence of the petit-bourgeois or bourgeois culture on it. Due to this influence, or because of the upper structure or other reasons, it finds itself working for the interests of the bourgeoisies. A look at the European working class movement - where the industrial working class exists in its classical form - is proof of this. Hitler's National Social Party (Nazi) had a working class base. The Liberal Party and the Labour Party in Britain are considered working class parties. So is the situation in North America, where individual workers demonstrated demanding the continuation of American interference in Vietnam; South America witnessed similar examples when industrial workers demonstrated against Allejande and for the interest of the right. We mention these examples in order to be able to have a logical starting point regarding this question.

Taking these two points and considering the present stage of the Iranian movement - the national liberation stage - and considering the role of the vanguard in this movement we answer the question by saying that the majority of the elements in the movement are intellectuals and educated ones. But the movement has been able to bring out prominent militants and cadres of workers along side of the rest of the comrades. The comrade workers played a great role in the establishment of the Partisans Movement in Iran. They have taken big steps for the development and leading of the movement. There are also comrades of educated petit-bourgeois origins whose contradiction with the regime is a result of oppression and terror and not due to the mode of production of their class; this contradiction is also due to their consciousness of the capitalist and socialist mode of production and their conviction in the socialist system. These comrades have to gain proletarian characteristics before they join the movement. They have to live for a certain period with the workers so as to know the life of the workers before completely joining the movement. In addition, the difficulties of the

struggle give little chance for elements without proletarian characteristics to join.

As I mentioned before, the Iranian revolution is passing through the national liberation stage. The Iranian struggle movement contains broad sectors; from the extremist Marxist militants to progressive Moslems. As such, it is difficult to determine the class nature of the organization.

Every movement, since its foundation, carries in its structure its own class characteristics. It determines, through its aims and work (internal and external) these characteristics. As such, if we want to discuss main trends in the present Iranian armed struggle movement and the conditions of their class developments, we find two: one is Marxist, which developed as a result of the development of the Iranian communist movement; the other is Islamic and is considered the continuation and development of the nationalist cause and the aspirations of the Iranian petit-bourgeoisie.

The Marxist trend, which is independent of the conflict between the two communist giants, has its origins among the progressive intellectuals in particular and among the workers in general.

This trend adopted a new method of taking corrective measures continuously through its practice. As a result it was able to build a focus, which if it gets the chance for growth, will be an effective nucleus in building the communist party.

This trend has to continuously prove its deep association with the proletariat, its ideology and its worthiness in leading the Iranian people's struggle.

Therefore, we consider the present organizations in the Iranian communist movement as organizations of the transitional stage. The majority of its elements at this stage are from the educated petit bourgeoisie and it strives to mobilize and organize the proletariat. This is an idea of the struggle carried out by the new Iranian communist movement.

However, there is a theoretical point concerning the nature of organization which we have to make. A Leninist organization - specially a vanguard organization and not party - does not necessarily mean an organization with the majority of workers. An organization - to use Lenin's term - can be formed out of devoted revolutionary intellectuals and avanguard workers. On this base the O.I.P.F.G. is a communist organization which in its development would enlarge its working base and shall embody the ideological class aspirations of working class movements.

The other trend is Islamic and non-Marxist. Its majority is from the nationalist forces which are supported by the national commercial bourgeoisie (shopkeepers, small whole-sale merchants, etc.,) as well as the petit-bourgeoisie. But this trend, not like the first one, has one of two choices in its development; either to adopt the positions of the proletariat, or throw itself in the laps of the dependent bourgeoisie.

The rapid growth of the big bourgeoisie in turn has resulted in the attraction of a sector of the well-to-do petit bourgeoisie to it and the weakening of the commercial petit bourgeoisie. This will result in a process of separation within this trend. In the near future, we will witness more of its elements joining the new Iranian communist movement.

THE ROLE OF THE WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTION

Q.8 Can you give us some informa-





Bidjan Jezani



Amir Partiz Pooian



Masoud Ahmad Zadeh



Mebrnoosh Ebrabini



Behrooz Debgani



M.A. Khosravi Ardabili

MARTYRS OF THE IRANIAN STRUGGLE

tion about the role of the women in the Iranian revolution?

A.8 Engels said, «The emancipation of women in society is a touchstone for the liberty of that society».

In an oppressed society, the oppression of women is considered a unique example of oppression and injustice. Women in Iranian society suffer from the general oppression as a citizen; the oppression of the monopolies and capitalist investors, and from the belief in illusory things and backward ideas which result from the feudal relations which are dominant. In addition, she suffers from cultural and social oppression, inherited backwardness and thoughts which deny her playing her natural role of participating in developing and building the society. As such, the Iranian women possess strong revolutionary motives that lead her to play her role in the struggle for her liberation and the liberation of her society.

As a result, our movement has the support and participation of many of our female comrades. Among them we have supporters and fighters who have taken up arms against the people's enemies in the streets of Tehran. This is ideal for the start of women's participation in the struggle in Iran.

There is a female comrade called «the mother». After her son's martyrdom, she and her younger son joined the «People's Fedai» organization. She became one of the most prominent revolutionary cadres and took part in many operations of «People's Fedai». She was captured in one of the clashes with the authorities' forces and was subjected to the ugliest kinds of torture. There is the same attitude towards the other mothers of prisoners and militants who struggle to expose the regime in every possible way.

Revolutionary enthusiasm of our female comrades is an example of the role they will play in the future of our society. Our female comrades participate in all the programs of the organization such as operations, distribution of leaflets, guarding and leadership of units.

Q.9 How are military aims chosen by Iranian revolutionaries?

A.9 Since the military struggle is in the service of political struggle the choice of a military target is a political decision. The revolutionaries make the choice according to strategic and tactical necessities.

In the beginning of the armed revolution, between 1971-73, the aim was to strike any kind of oppression or investment centers. But now, after the maturity of the political atmosphere, the targets have been more significant than before. Any operation has to aim at achieving the interests of a group or a class of the society. Some operations aim to achieve worker's demands and are carried out in defense of the workers' strikes. Other operations are carried out in the interest of the popular classes

and groups, such as the revolutionary executions of security men and the torturers, or of «Fateh Yazdi», the owner of the textile factory «Pjahan-Cheet».

THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE MAIN FORM

Q.10 Do you utilize armed struggle as an alternative to other forms of struggle at this stage?

A.10 Armed struggle is a substitute to parliamentary struggle. We consider it as a main axis of struggle and we organize other forms of struggle around it. We see that we must struggle on all levels; economic struggles for the working class are very important for us. We must and should develop these workers struggles to the practical level. But contrary to the «economists», we should not keep our hands tied and wait for the promised day!! Instead of searching for justification of our shortcomings we should strive to find the laws of struggle.

The partisans warfare started in order to end the dominant political relations and to intensify the struggle of the masses. The Iranian armed militants and revolutionaries defend all forms of mass struggle. They are vanguards of starting, organizing and determining the correct direction of these struggles.

Q.11 We have heard that Iranian revolutionaries commit suicide by taking cyanide or shooting themselves with the last bullet. Can you explain the reasons behind committing suicide?

A.11 «The crucified is crucified on the cross of his faith». In this Persian proverb we find an embodied of greatness and beauty. The Iranian revolutionaries are the real and practical embodiment of this poetic expression. The organized comrade receives his cyanide before being armed or being accepted fully as a member. Thus, he feels the difficulty of the struggle that awaits him from the beginning. Yes, we must sacrifice everything to gain everything. The comrades sacrifice their lives for the cause of liberty. This suicide is not a romantic matter, but, on the contrary, it is one of the necessities of the work. According to the analysis of the militants and the experience of the last years, any armed militant which is caught is executed after ugly torture or dies under torture. It is better than that he does not fall alive into the hands of the regime's agents. Instead of being killed by the regime — by committing suicide he spares himself the torture of the enemy and does not give the latter the «pride» of torturing him. On the other hand we safeguard the secrets of the movement, and as such, abort the conspiracy of killing by torture of the regime's agents.

Q.12 How do you select the members?

A.12 After getting to know the person, knowing that he is confident and being assured of his reliability, he

is subjected to simple tests. His experiences are put to test at every stage and this is what forms the principles of political and organizational education.

If he proves his ability in practice and was able to work, as a cadre, the ties with him are strengthened, and political and ideological discussions with him take place in an extensive way. During this period, he has to spend part of his life with the popular sectors and the workers. This is in addition to his training program. The Iranian militants are obliged to pass through these difficult stages.

SPECIFICATIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

Q.13 Is the political and military leadership in the Iranian movement united or separated?

A.13 The political-military leadership is a united and homogeneous one. The prominent cadre is the political one who also possess military preparation.

One of the prominent characteristics of the Iranian revolutionary organizations is the collective leadership. There is no one «leader» in the known meaning of the word. The comrades who are of more experience than the others lead the struggle.

In addition to the collective characteristic, the Iranian revolution has another characteristic; it is the striving to build the new man. The Iranian revolution, based on the lessons it learned from the Vietnamese revolution, is concerned to concentrate on the human characteristics and the building of the revolutionary person. The role of the human being, as far as we are concerned is the most important thing.

Q.14 How do you see the future of the struggle?

A.14 We are not able to specify in detail the coming of the struggle. But we can observe a trend of development and growth in the movement on all levels. The main task of the militants is to work, work, work...

THE POSSIBILITIES OF A MILITARY COUP D'ETAT

Q.15 What are the possibilities of a military coup d'etat?

A.15 This is a weak possibility; coup d'etats are usually one form of struggle used by the nationalist petit-bourgeois which is in a hurry to reach authority. This petit-bourgeois does not exist in Iran. In the army there are few officers and soldiers from whom we might expect such an action. The leadership is a hiring reactionary one. In addition to the process of elimination and arrests of free officers, the regime does its best to eliminate any signs of democracy or freedom in the army through bribery and terror, etc..

As such, the distatorship of the Shah will not give any chance for the occurrence of any coup inside the army. The Iranian militants are faithful to the people's prolonged warfare and will

not be driven to such methods. But it is natural that they give attention to the work inside the army in order to face enemy plans.

Q.16 The struggle in Iran has suffered heavy losses in human lives — more than 200 revolutionaries martyred during five years. Do you find this natural?

A.16 This question comes to the mind of those who do not know the nature of the Shah's distatorship. We say that the revolution in Iran has to sacrifice blood to solve any of its problems. The young movement in Iran started from zero. The previous experiences did not leave any lessons for it. So, it was forced to open the road in front of its struggle by blood. Today, we face a police oppression never before witnessed in history; searching of houses, sectors and the encirclement of people's houses. What attracts attention, except for the case of the «glorious Siah Kal»,* is that small number of the comrades were killed or arrested during these operations; they were always executed after being arrested for various reasons or they martyred under torture.

We must sacrifice for the sake of freedom. Conditions compel us to present the best of our people's sons on the road to freedom.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN

Q.17 We know that Iran contains many different nationalities. What is the position of the new Iranian movement vis-a-vis these nationalities and their future?

A.17 This is right, Iran is composed of many nationalities and minorities (Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Baluch, etc..) and these, in addition to the general oppression that all the peoples of Iranian suffer from, suffer from national oppression (the domination of the Persian bourgeoisie .. the main bourgeoisie in Iran - and its oppression of these minorities). The position of the new Iranian movement regarding the future of these nationalities is based on the principle of independence and the rights of self-determination. At this present stage, all the peoples of Iran must unify their struggle against this common enemy in order to completely exterminate it.

During the march of people's struggle, the different peoples in Iran will learn about their right to self-determination. It is safe to say that after victory over this common enemy, all peoples of Iran will determine their destiny and future. They will not give the chance to the hiring leadership to lead them or determine their destiny.

* - The first operation carried out in the forests of «Siah Kal» in north Iran by the revolutionaries. This formed the beginning of the armed struggle, in 1971.

THE U.N.

AND THE PRESENT DISCUSSION ON PALESTINE

East, thus accepting Israel as one. The U.S. veto which cancelled this resolution because of its objections to other aspects helped at least one Palestinian side from being committed to something that the Palestinian and Arab masses reject.

Let us affirm here the importance of political and diplomatic struggle, but also, affirm that the method of presenting the Palestinian question to the U.N. has been accompanied by concessions made by Arab governments in order to secure a solution on the account of the Palestinian cause. Some of the forces that have supported the Palestinian question at the U.N. are forces that support the existence of Israel and are the same ones that do not see how a resolution condemning Zionism is a condemnation of the existence of Israel.

We have the full right to take the positive results of the U.N. debates and to consider the resolution condemning Zionism as one which gives more legitimacy to the continuation of struggle till total liberation. The importance of this resolution is :

1) The resolution is an important one because it condemns Zionism for characteristics condemned by the whole international society. Thus it gives the Palestinian resistance the legitimacy mentioned above.

2) The resolution is a correct and sound one. For not only has Zionism been given its proper character, but it has been condemned because it represents one of the ugliest forms of racism in its aims of liquidating a people, not only discriminating against them.

3) The resolution shows that the U.N. is no longer under the control and domination of the U.S.A. and that the U.N. can be a proper platform for one kind of struggle at this historical stage in spite of the U.S.A.'s threat of sanctions against the Third World countries. If proper and solid leadership is present, it can obtain correct and progressive resolutions, keeping in mind the size of such a resolution without having illusions about effectiveness in the process of liberation.

4) The resolution uncovers once more the U.S.A. - Israeli alliance and their roles in defending their interests. The result was a shock to the American Senate, as if Zionism was a pillar of American independence.

5) The resolution needs more clarification in order to become a firm conviction of the forces who voted with it, and in order to transform this resolution into some kind of practical action against Israel and Zionist institution around the world.

The resolution should open the eyes of the world to Zionism and be transformed to victory of the human being against an ugly form of racism.

On November 10, 1975, the General Assembly of the United Nations resolved that Zionism is one form of racial discrimination. This resolution affirms one legal aspect of the Palestinian struggle against Zionism and Israel. The resolution shakes the basic foundations Israel exists on without shaking the Jewish presence in Palestine, or, more accurately, the potential strategic aim of establishing a democratic society in Palestine, composed of both Arabs and Jews. This resolution should be the first of many steps to clarify the strategic dimensions of the Palestinian struggle. The others are : 1) a complete and definite resolution about the historical and national rights of the Palestinian Arabs in Palestine; 2) that the method of people's prolonged warfare is the only way to resolve the contradictions with the class and national enemies; 3) that Israel is not only a racist society, but an imperialist outpost in the Middle East. As such it should be fought against and destroyed in order to complete the national liberation of the societies directly influenced by its existence. In addition to these points, the right of Jews to live in a democratic Palestine should be emphasized as an alternative to the existing Zionist entity.

Based on these fundamental points, any U.N. discussion of the Palestinian issue or aspects of it would be positive, especially if the Palestinian delegation at the U.N. holds firm to these uncompromising beliefs. The previous period has been marked by debates regarding the

Palestinian presence at the U.N. and the role played by the Palestinian delegation. The Palestinians returned to the U.N. after an absence of almost 27 years. The main differences are on two levels : first, the Palestinian national liberation movement has changed in character and level of effectiveness. Secondly, the composition of the U.N. has changed drastically and it is no longer under the domination of the U.S. and other imperialist forces. So our situation now is different - both within our movement and on the international level.

But what is achieved on the level of condemning Zionism has made our case clearer than ever; this is not reflected on the level of our demands from the U.N. or from many of the countries that supported the resolution. As a result, we should demand from the U.N. practical and direct assistance to achieve our strategic aims. Why should we not, when the U.N. itself has paved the way through condemnation of the very basis upon which Israel exists. The success at the U.N. is not merely in the resolution but should be in the fact that while our fight against our enemies escalates, we should begin an upward road and not retreat, but make the U.N. genuinely a new platform for our cause and other causes for national liberation struggle.

Instead we find a major and dangerous retreat in the U.N. Security Council when the Palestine delegation did not object to a resolution that would recognize all existing states in the Middle



Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department, toys with beads as he listens to debate in the United Nations Security Council.

Following is the salutation telegram sent by comrade George Habash, Secretary General of the PFLP, to the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

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Comrade President,
Comrade Members of the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party,

On the occasion of the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, I convey to you the sincere wishes of the fighters, cadres and leadership of the PFLP for success and progress.

Comrades,

Your Congress meets at a critical and sensitive period of the anti-imperialist struggle. Imperialism is mobilizing all its forces in a desperate attempt to regain the positions it lost and to compensate for the defeats it suffered on the hands of the forces of liberation and progress.

Your party - the great party of Lenin has had a prominent role in the support of the liberation movements, many of which were able to achieve victory since your 24th Congress. The victories of the peoples of Indo-China and Angola are outstanding examples.

Comrades,

The blows directed by the militant forces against imperialism have made the latter lose its mind and attempt to reinforce its positions by concentrating its operations, trying to heal the wounds of world capitalism and spread its influence on the Middle East region.

Today we face an imperialist-Zionist-reactionary attack which is only the beginning of an oppression campaign planned by imperialism in cooperation with Zionism and local reaction.

Imperialism has made it its aim to establish hegemony over our region so as to be able to exploit our resources, monopolize our markets and to keep our people hostages of backwardness on one hand and of the world capitalist system on the other. It attempts to do so by relying on the local reactionary regimes and the racial Zionist institution.

Imperialism, Zionism and reaction have started their attack by first securing the necessary conditions that would enable them to establish hegemony in the area. These are :

The liquidation of the strong existing relationship between the Arab peoples and the socialist countries - specially the Soviet Union; the liquidation of the Arab liberation movement in general and its armed struggle organizations in particular. What is happening in Oman and on the lands of Lebanon are imperialist-reactionary attempts to abort the revolutions of Oman and Palestine. The oppression on the hands of the reactionary forces of the progressive and democratic forces is only part of the process.

Our strong belief in the inevitability of victory of peoples to reach socialism, this belief which is based on the scientific comprehension of the development, of history, makes us more determined to continue our just struggle side by side with the forces of liberation and socialism in the world.

Comrades,

Your support to the struggle of our Palestinian people and our Arab masses strengthens our determination to reach victory.

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

CONSPIRACY CONTINUES RESISTANCE FACES NEW THREAT



a cease-fire in Lebanon. This initiative led to Syrian hegemony over Lebanon. Furthermore, it seeks to include the Palestinians existing in Lebanon. Taking this case, we find that it is different from previous Syrian mediations by the fact that it brought along with it the executive machinery necessary to impose a cease-fire, that is, the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) which is under the Syrian regime's command. Adding this force to the Saiqa, which is the Syrian Ba'ath extension in the Palestinian resistance, a considerable force of fighters is present in Lebanon under Syrian leadership.

Depending on these forces, Khaddam was able to «convince» many of the patriotic leaders that the «new accord» is the best possible under the present situation. Furthermore, Khaddam made it clear that Syria will not tolerate any dissenting voices from the Palestinian resistance or the Lebanese progressive and national movement. Khaddam was playing no psychological games; for within a few days after the Syrian position was made clear, armed men from the Saiqa attacked the offices of two left-wing Beirut daily newspapers and killed several of the workers and destroyed their printing facilities. Saiqa neither hid its responsibility nor apologized.

Thus the Syrian hegemony comes to save the right-wing from more defeats on the battle-field and to give it an «accord» which is more to its interest than to that of the Lebanese popular forces. The dimension of this is an attempt to disarm the Lebanese popular armed forces through measures under the slogans of «restoring security and order».

This might to the immediate and short-range aims of Syrian hegemony, but looking at the future and in the context of the Middle East developments two points can be predicated :

1. Syria will try to separate the

Palestinian struggle from the Lebanese one. It will do so by striking the rejection and the independent organizations in both the Palestinian and Lebanese national movements.

2. Syria will attempt under this cover and these events to test the possibility of a new agreement on the Golan Heights with the Zionist enemy. Two signs have recently indicated this possibility; first, King Hussein's trip to the U.S. carrying Syrian proposals to the American government. Hussein stopped in Damascus for consultations with President Hafez Assad before leaving to Washington. Second, the increasing criticism of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin among Zionist circles for the rumored possibility of a new disengagement on the Syrian front and Rabin's refusal to disclose the details of his discussions in Washington.

As a result, we can conclude that we are in a new stage that has brought new factors to the conflict in Lebanon and the proposed settlement in the Middle East. Briefly we can summarize the coming events as follows :

1. *There will be new attempts to strike the Palestinian resistance movement through forcing it to strict conditions of ineffectiveness, both on the military and political levels.*
2. *The Lebanese popular movement will once again pay a price for the absence of a revolutionary leadership capable of protecting its achievements.*
3. *The majority of the Lebanese people will be satisfied with the cease-fire after 10 months of clashes. But the reaffirmation of confessionalism will remain a cause for struggle on different levels.*
4. *The Palestinian arena will witness new alliances as a result of the Syrian threat.*

THE BIRTH OF THE LEBANESE ARAB ARMY

One of the main reasons that the Lebanese reactionary forces were forced to accept the last cease-fire is the fact that they could not control the military institution anymore. Since the beginning of the clashes, rightist officers and soldiers fought on the side of the fascist reactionary forces. During the last stage of the fighting and after witnessing the alliance of the Lebanese Army leadership with the right-wing, patriotic officers and soldiers took action to express their alliance with the Lebanese national movement and the Palestinian resistance movement.

Thus came the birth of the Lebanese Arab Army to challenge the Lebanese authorities and the reactionary forces and to prove that the masses of Lebanon are with the progressive forces. This new «army» is formed of officers and soldiers who left their positions with their arms and took role in the fighting against the reactionary forces.

Their force counts for at least 1,500 of the total of 15,000 officers and soldiers in the Lebanese Army. They are distributed in three regions of Lebanon - The Bekaa Valley, the southern part of Lebanon and the north, near Tripoli. They are led by a group of officers, most prominent of whom are - Lt. Omar Abdullah, Lt. Ahmed Al Khatib, Lt. Moeen Hatoum, Maj. Ahmed Al Maamari, Maj. Salim Hammadeh, Capt. Naji Al Hassan, Capt. Ali Al Halabi and Lt. Hammoud Al-Khatib. These officers

and their men took with them their personal arms and : Vehicles, Tanks, anti-armor batteries, jeeps and APCs. Since their movement started, many civilians joined their ranks and more and more the Lebanese Arab Army is gaining its real character to become a popular army of the deprived and oppressed of Lebanon. Many of the officers mentioned above have participated in mass meeting of the progressive movement and have become to be considered part of the Lebanese national movement.

Lt. Ahmed Al-Khatib is the best known of these officers. He has declared that their movement will continue until their demands are fulfilled. The demands are identical with those of the Lebanese national movement in that they include: 1) consecration of the Arab character of Lebanon in the constitution of Lebanon; 2) refusal to consecrate confessional distribution of state posts, including those of the presidency, the premiership and the speakership of the Parliament. 3) the reorganization of the army on non-confessional basis.

During the last three weeks attempts were made to convince the military men to return to their positions on basis of clemency. But the patriotic officers and soldiers have refused and have been stubborn in their position not to yield until the demands of the masses are met.



the Lebanese Arab Army

