

PALESTINE RESISTANCE BULLETIN

In Solidarity with the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

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15 ¢

EDITORIAL

The attempt to liquidate the Palestinian revolution in Jordan in September, followed by Nasser's sudden death, led to the acceleration of the Nixon pacification program for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

A detailed plan between the American and Israeli governments for intervention in Jordan, in case of Hussein's failure to crush the Palestinian organizations, was recently disclosed (see New York Times, Oct. 8, 1970). The plan reveals a significant shift of American strategy towards an open reliance on Zionism as its only faithful ally in the Middle East. The "even-handed policy" of the early Nixon administration (exemplified by the Scranton mission to the Levant in the winter of '68) is now far gone. This reflects likewise US apprehensions about the ability of the "progressive" Arab regimes (especially those in Iraq and Syria) to stop the tide of social revolution led today by the Palestinian struggle. The death of Nasser, by removing the only force capable of containing social strife in the Arab East, only heightened those US apprehensions.

Meanwhile, the policy of the USSR has come closely in tune with that of the US. From a position of complete support for Egypt, the Soviet Union has moved to a position of promoting its own version of the Rogers Peace Plan (which includes "a formal state of peace" before Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories). The American imperialists adequately referred to the plan of the Soviet Union as "soured wine in old bottles"--meaning that they had fermented the liquor way ahead of the Russians.

The naked collusion of American imperialism and Soviet revisionism finally resulted in the "new" US-sponsored project for the creation of a Palestine entity in the West Bank (see New York Times, Oct. 16, 1970). The struggle for the imposition of this latest solution will be stepped up in the coming months. Its intensity will be in direct proportion to the resistance of the Palestinian movement against liquidation from within. For this so-called Palestine entity must be exposed for what it is: a puppet regime in the West Bank under the tutelage of the Israeli government and administered by the local Palestinian oligarchy, the remnant of the traditional leadership of the days which preceded the popular revolutionary struggle.

Nixon is now performing the same game of Vietnamization for the Palestinians. But whereas in Indochina the US and the Soviet Union are kept apart by conflicting interests, they have succeeded



in establishing a mutually acceptable working arrangement in the Middle East--where they both know that in the long run the stakes are higher than in Indochina. Oil, imperial capitalism and Israel for the US, and strategic military implantation and even oil in the future for the USSR.

* * * *

The new scheme for pacification in the Middle East lays new tasks on the revolutionary left in North America. To expose and fight the Nixon policy in the Middle East calls for increased efforts, which are an integral part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

One last word. To say that the recent confrontation in Jordan, from which the Palestinian resistance emerged severely bloodied, was a setback in the battlefield and so provided hard-earned lessons, is one thing. But to argue that this confrontation showed the necessity for the Resistance to reconsider its uncompromising aims, is an entirely different matter. The issues are clear. The struggle is difficult. And the aims of fighting, discrediting and defeating counter-revolution are indeed uncompromising.

--The Editors, 10/16/70--

the blood of the revolutionaries : a torch for the future

The revolutionaries whose blood is now being shed in the streets of Amman must be wondering why, as they are facing attempts at liquidation, the attitudes of all the Arab regimes vary from false rhetoric to gloating approval. What is it that inescapably separates the revolutionaries from those regimes? It appears that not all those in the Palestinian resistance--nor even a majority of them--have yet found a definite answer to that question. Because the Palestinian revolution is the vanguard of the Arab revolution, the answer that the Palestinians will find will be the light for all Arab revolutionaries and will illumine a new road for the masses.

The honor of the Palestinian resistance is that it is today shedding blood in order to kindle the light that will lead the masses. For the crucial matter is not that answers to important questions be found by cold reasoning, but rather that these answers penetrate the mind of the masses--for only they can carry the hopes of revolution through the smoke of fires and the whine of bullets.

There are some regimes in the Arab world which consider themselves "progressive" and part of the Arab movement for national liberation. For the last twenty years these regimes have fed on the Palestinian cause. By displaying loud "opposition" to Zionism and its allies, they attracted the support of the masses. By calling for unity in the face of the "common enemy", they diverted the attention of the masses from their own exploitation. And, today, those regimes watch passively as the institution which represents the national existence and emergence of the Palestinians is facing destruction.

The majority of the Resistance did not feel that there was an account to be settled with these national regimes. Fateh, the mainstay of the Palestinians' armed struggle and the best representative of their national existence, had not proposed since its inception a goal different from the one proclaimed by these regimes. In fact, it spared the reactionary governments any trouble--even the Hussein government--and tried its utmost to keep all the guns, at least those of the Palestinians, directed toward one enemy. Fateh did not choose an "ideology" different from that of the "progressive" regimes, yet it refused to indulge in their "socialist" boasting. In its treatment of the Palestine question, Fateh remained modest about its capacity and its goals: it did not pretend, as did Abdel Nasser, that it would "destroy Israel" or, as did Hussein, that it would "tear Israel to pieces". Rather, it shows for its armed struggle a very reasonable goal, the Democratic Palestinian State.

As for those in the Resistance who had chosen a different ideology, they could not have threatened the regimes nor mobilized the Palestinian masses

nor shaken Fateh's stand with respect to the Jordanian and other governments, if it has not been for the policy of those governments: The policy of confronting the Resistance, in conspiracy, with treacherous bullets and collusive silence.

What could the regimes fear so that today they all unite (in spite of their differences) in order to liquidate the Resistance? The first reason for fright (which in the case of the Jordanian government has reached a degree of hysteria), lies in the essence of the Resistance; a second reason follows from the present phase in the Middle East situation.

First, there is inherent in the Palestinian revolution an inevitable contradiction with the Arab regimes, in spite of their resemblance in ideology and political coexistence in the past. That contradiction manifests itself in the confidence and solidarity of the Revolution with the masses. The Revolution starts by organizing the masses and by giving arms to those who are asking for them--because the interests of the Revolution are the interests of the masses, and because the Revolution does not silence the masses, nor does it cheat or exploit them. As for the bourgeois regimes, they do not dare give guns to the poor or allow free popular organizing--otherwise they would not last long.

The second reason for fear in the Arab regimes stems from the fact that the Resistance and the Arab regimes have represented two different methods for the same problem. That problem (the struggle against imperialism and Zionism) has developed to a stage wherein the difference in the means inevitably leads to a difference in aims. For those who are confronting an enemy with a total commitment will not stop that confrontation until complete victory. Whereas those who divide their attention between external enemy and exploited masses will wait for a "French initiative" or an "American plan" to bring stability. . . Then they keep proclaiming that the "means are multiple" but the "goal is the same". Indeed, the means are different. As for the goal. . . Have the recognition of the state of Israel and the liberation of Palestine from Zionism become the same goal?

This contradiction governs the stands of all the Arab states with respect to the massacres in Jordan. It explains the baseness and the rage of the King, the collusion of Cairo, and the deceitfulness of Baghdad.

Indeed, Cairo cannot abandon King Hussein because he is the main partner in the discussion with imperialism concerning the political solution. Hussein's removal would mean the removal of one of the bases for that discussion, since Hussein is the partner who is guaranteeing security on Israel's eastern front. Thus the liquidation of the Resistance is the first requirement for the resump-

tion of the stalemated dialogue with imperialism. This explains why Cairo radio, in its "Palestine Program", broadcast a discussion about the moral duty of "preserving security", while at the same time Amman was covered with blood and fire. It also explains why that same radio equates the statements issued by the Resistance Central Committee and those issued by the Jordanian government, thus imitating (except for hypocritical expressions of sorrow) the Voice of America. And this explains also why Abdel Nasser (and with him, Kaddafi and Numeiri) stated publicly, at the height of the butchery, that the Palestinian organizations must be differentiated into "honest" and "dishonest" and, by so doing, in fact tried to split the Resistance.

And it explains why the rulers in Baghdad, who lose their demeanor when a British airliner is hijacked, cannot but break their promises of help to the Resistance.

As for the [Arab regimes'] fear of imperialist intervention, it is no more than a screen to hide the fact of incapacity, failure and collusion. Hanoi, when it came to the rescue of the Cambodians, did not dread the American entry into Cambodia. . .

(Translated from al-Hurrieh, No. 533, 9/21/70)

THE SOVIETS OF IRBID

[Loren Jenkins of Newsweek magazine was one of the few reporters who happened to be in Irbid just before it was declared a liberated territory by the revolutionary forces in northern Jordan. The radical transformation which occurred to the town impressed Jenkins so much that he called Irbid—for lack of a better term—"the first revolutionary city-state in the Middle East". The DPF fighter however preferred another designation: "the first Arab soviet!" In the excerpts below, Jenkins records his impressions.]

...despite the surface tranquility of life in Irbid, genuine revolutionary activity was going on behind the scenes. To replace the city administration, the commandos set up on every street "people's committees", which in turn elected members to larger district committees. These groups, composed of commando commissars as well as leading residents of Irbid who support the Palestinian cause, held evening meetings to discuss such matters as the future organization of the city and preparation for its defense. Although they are similar in structure to the local Soviets that the Bolsheviks formed in the early days of the Russian Revolution, the committees seemed to be a relatively spontaneous response to local events with no overt influence from Moscow or Peking. "We have not had enough time to crystallize our thoughts," a Syrian doctor who is a member of one committee told me. "Everything is moving so fast



that we just try to cope with things as they come up." Clearly, however, the Marxist loaders...were more certain about where they were headed. "This week you are seeing the birth of the first Arab liberated area," commented a commando chief. "You could call it—and I prefer to call it—the Arab soviet."

Before I left Irbid, a "people's congress" met in the center of the city and resolved to bar all pro-government officials from the city and to resist any attack by the Jordanian army. Toward the end, some 1,200 commandos hastily dug trenches along the main routes of attack and set up road blocks to control movement to and from the city. "We are preparing to fight here until the end," said Lt. Abu Kussai, a burly 30-year-old Palestinian college graduate who is in charge of the city's defenses. "We are a poor nation in a very big struggle, but we are confident of victory." Sept. 26, 1970

The Role of the Party...
(continued from page 11)

the workers and peasants. This, however, is not immediately possible due to the lack of revolutionary class-consciousness among the workers and peasants. It is the task of the vanguard of the revolution, which should create a political organization or party. The party is the organized representation of the ideology of a class. Thus the party of the working class. Hence the membership and the organizational forms of the party cannot be separated from the ideology. Therefore we believe that the revolutionary party plays an essential role in the actualization of victory in our struggle for liberation. It is the guarantee that the revolution will continue until complete victory is won.

al-Sharara, Vol.1, No.1
(official organ of the Democratic Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine)

REVOLUTIONARY AMERICAN JEWS SUPPORT THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

The following statement was delivered by the Jewish members of the American delegation to the International Conference on Palestine, organized by the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) in Amman, Jordan, September, '70

As revolutionaries of Jewish heritage in the United States of America, we take this opportunity to whole heartedly support the Palestinian liberation movement.

As Jews and as proletariat, our grand-parents participated in the Russian Revolution, the anti-Nazi resistance in Europe, the early struggles of the working class to organize itself in America.

Some of us have learned from our history as revolutionaries, as proletariats, and as semites, that our real enemy is the capitalist, racist, imperialist class throughout the world. Zionism and all its allies continue to oppress mankind, particularly our semitic sisters and brothers, through a sophisticated form of racist-settler colonialism originated and supported by Western imperialism.

We cast our lot with the Palestinian liberation movement which struggles in behalf of our semitic sisters and brothers. We hope for the day that the exploited dark-skinned Jews of occupied Palestine, one-half of its present Jewish population, will reject the false security offered them by the racist-Zionists and join in class struggle against Zionism, racism, and imperialism with the rest of the Arab masses. We hope for the day that Israeli workers, students, and youth will reject their exploitation by U.S. and West German anti-semites who use them as middle-men in their attempts to control the peoples of the Middle East and Africa. We hope these people will someday fight alongside the Arab masses to establish a free democratic non-sectarian, anti-imperialist Palestine.

We plan to spread the true facts of the Palestinian liberation movement as the only hope for lasting peace in the Middle East. As American Jews, we will attempt to combat the Zionist propaganda machine which chokes freedom of thought in the Jewish community and prevents Jewish youth from rejecting Zionism and joining the ranks of anti-imperialist struggle.

It is the Zionists who have equated Zionism with Judaism and, by doing so, have intimidated and repressed followers of the progressive Jewish tradition. The Zionist collusion with the racist regime of South Africa, their support of colonial oppressors in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, and the counter-revolutionary forces of the Congo, Chad and Ethiopia has driven a wedge between the Jewish people and our black sisters and brothers throughout the world.

It is the Zionists in the United States who hypocritically raise the specter of anti-semitism whenever black and brown people resist exploitation by landlords, merchants, and social welfare neo-colonialists who happen to be of Jewish background. It is the Zionists who treacherously accuse our

black and brown sisters and brothers of anti-semitism when they take a vanguard position in support of Palestinian liberation. We know that our struggle is to get the Zionists out of the black and brown colonies of Harlem, Chicago and Detroit, and out of Palestine.

We thank our Palestinian sisters and brothers for welcoming us here and allowing us to see for ourselves the fascist nature of Zionism and the revolutionary and humane nature of the Palestinian liberation movement.

Victory to our semitic sisters and brothers in the people's war to reclaim Palestine.

Victory to the struggle of all oppressed and exploited peoples in the world.

S.R., M.F., J.C. (Sept. 2, 1970)

BEN-GURION WORRIED ABOUT ARAB MAJORITY IN ISRAEL IN TWENTY YEARS

Tel Aviv. —David Ben-Gurion expressed concern for the Jewish character of the state of Israel, "unless we do more to encourage immigration and ensure that Jews do the work in this land."

The former Premier was delivering the Moshe Haviv Memorial Lecture at Tel Aviv University on the subject, "Israel as a Jewish State." He reiterated that Israel today was a long way from being the Jewish State of his vision, and that much remained to be done.

Speaking about immigration, Mr. Ben Gurion said "not enough is being done by Israeli society, and little is being carried out by the government for absorbing immigrants." As for Jewish labour, Mr. Ben-Gurion believed that more widespread technological education would enable Jewish youth to run machinery to do the physical labour now performed by Arabs. He conceded that the Arabs of the territories /sic/ should be provided with work, but warned against the negative social influences.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that, "If nothing is done right now, we may reach a point in 20 years' time where we have an Arab majority and most of the work done by Arabs. That would endanger the Jewish nature of this state."

Jerusalem Post
June 15, 1970—p. 5
(emphasis added)

the forces behind the onslaught in jordan



Since Cairo's acceptance of the Rogers proposals and the entry of Jordan as a second party to the "peaceful settlement", the contradictions between the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the reactionary regime in Jordan began to explode.

The Arab governments established a political umbrella for the Jordanian regime which it had been in need of since the beginning of feda'i activity in Jordan after the June defeat (1967).

Until then the Jordanian regime was unable to move against the Resistance in spite of its (i.e. the regime's) awareness of the threat that feda'i activity posed to it and in spite of the fact that it would have been easier to crush it at the beginning, before it could grow into an uncontrollable force. The Arab regimes would not have allowed that. To them the Resistance was a bargaining weapon for the implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolution which (until then) was rejected by Israel.

The Jordanian regime, following the June defeat, had linked its strategy with the policies of Cairo. King Hussein rarely missed an opportunity to emphasize the ties that bound him to the position of the "great Arab sister-nation"; for he was aware that after the defeat he was in need of Cairo's backing and support in his move toward accepting the "peaceful" settlement. For that reason Jordan's ability to confront the Resis-

tance was restricted by the contingencies of the Arab regimes. Thus the previous clashes initiated by the Jordanian regime against the guerrillas, prior to the Arab acceptance of the Rogers Plan, were limited in scope. They could not have been carried to a decisive conclusion--i.e. the liquidation of the Resistance--because of the pressures applied by the Arab regimes.

DOMESTIC COVER-UP

Furthermore King Hussein felt the need to put his own house in order. A "broader" government was planned to include nationalist and Nasserite elements which would play the role of go-between to enable the regime to neutralize a section of the Palestinian national movement and create the illusion of possible peaceful coexistence between the regime and the Resistance. Another task was to cover-up the nature of the Jordanian army. That army was originally founded and prepared to be the striking protective force for the Hashimite throne; its top officers were recruited from the royal family and from tribal and Bedouin elements that were in complete loyalty to the King. Some of those officers were eager to create a confrontation with the Resistance in an attempt to liquidate it, but the King at that time was aware of the prevailing political climate in the Arab states, so he played the role of a 'moderate' who appeared willing to co-exist with the Resistance. In the recent (i.e. June 1970) crises--only one month before the acceptance of the Rogers Plan--he dismissed several top officers in the army (including his uncle) as a price for ending clashes with the feda'yeen at an inappropriate time for the Arab regimes.

Cairo's acceptance of the Rogers Plan and the implementation of the Security Council resolution gave Hussein the green light to proceed against the Resistance--an event for which he had been waiting for for three years. Thus the formation of Abdel Moneim al-Rifai's government coincided with Cairo's acceptance. (On the political level, the King's acceptance of the Rogers Plan was facilitated by the presence of this "popular" government. On the military level, the King increased his control over the army by reinstating all the dismissed reactionary officers and by transferring all leading elements whose loyalty to him was in doubt [see "The Regime in Jordan Mobilizes Against the Resistance", Bulletin #2]. Hussein, however, found a dis-

crepancy between his and Cairo's position toward the Resistance. The Egyptian regime was against an immediate attempt to crush the guerrillas.

Egypt, basically, did not want to associate its acceptance of the Rogers Plan with the liquidation of the liquidation of the Resistance, for she still expected serious obstacles to the peaceful settlement, and it did not seem opportune at that time to sacrifice the existence of the guerrilla movement before resolving these obstacles. On the other hand Cairo foresaw another way of liquidating the Resistance movement without hurting its popular image, namely, the formation of a Palestinian state (in the West Bank, or elsewhere) which would accept a peaceful settlement. Despite these conflicting positions, the King was confident that any counter-revolutionary move on his part would not meet any serious opposition from the Arab regimes. He had secured the Arab political umbrella and although the King would have preferred Cairo's backing, it was sufficient that Egypt would remain officially neutral--which objectively amounted to taking his side.

One factor encouraging to Washington was the indication that the 10,000 to 12,000 Iraqi troops and about 600 Syrian troops based in Jordan before the fighting erupted had made no move to intervene in the Jordanian strife. Washington had made plain its deep anxiety that such outside intervention would rapidly heighten the tension jeopardizing American political interests... N.Y. Times, Sept, 19.

Determined to deal a final blow to the Resistance, the King now had two essential factors in his favor: 1. An implicit Arab support, whether through silence on what would happen, or apparent neutrality from the reactionary and "progressive" regimes which had accepted the settlement, or through limited and ineffective assistance (to the Resistance) from those who had rejected the Rogers Plan. 2. Anglo-American intervention in support of the regime if threatened with collapse.

Behind the shadow of the "popular" government the King began his moves initially under the assumption that the army would conduct prolonged battles of attrition against the Resistance. During two weeks of such maneuvering he discovered, however, that those tactics were more advantageous to the Resistance than to his regime--giving the former possibili-

ties for consolidating its ranks and the chances for developing its methods of mass political mobilization. It also allowed the Resistance to conclude alliances with Jordanian progressive elements and with sections of the army which resulted in the paralysis of his "popular" government.

A NEW STAGE FOR THE RESISTANCE

Indeed the Resistance movement did enter into a new stage of solidifying its position against the reactionary authorities. Until then solid opposition to the regime was confined to few sections in the Resistance movement. The Democratic Popular Front had raised the slogan of "All Power to the Resistance" on the basis of actual preparation for a decisive battle with the reactionary regime, leading to "an armed popular insurrection". What weakened this position was the vacillation of the other Resistance contingents, especially Fateh, thus providing for a climate of political paralysis following the acceptance of the Rogers proposals. This situation allowed the Jordanian regime to exploit those contradictions to a maximum [in striking at the movement]. The question of power (in the East Bank) raised by the DPF, therefore--while essentially correct--could not have been implemented under those circumstances.

What dialogue and discussion failed to achieve within the Resistance contingents, however, was forced on the movement by the development of events themselves, especially the military onslaughts of the regime during July and August. For the first time Fateh now raised the question of power in Jordan under a new slogan: "Popular Authority". Fateh [Newspaper of the Central Committee of the Resistance in Amman] explained the new position only two days before the formation of the military government:

"...After a series of daily and planned criminal attempts on the part of the puppet regime...to bleed our militants in confrontation with the army away from the (Israeli) front...after all this, and when the puppet regime has transformed the Jordanian army into a tool of police terror against our people...in an attempt to incite regional hatreds, and in view of the daily slaughter of our citizens by the bullets of agents...it has become necessary for a popular authority to take over in the country. The authority must meet the following conditions:

One, it would have to be in complete control of the army, security and state machinery.

Two, it must purge those institutions of all agents and counter-revolutionary elements.

Three, an immediate trial of all criminals guilty of conducting the massacres.

Four, cessation of the hateful campaigns conducted by the regime within the army and among the citizens.

Five, to build a fraternal unity between the armed forces (the army) and the revolution so we can confront the occupying enemy with our united efforts.

Six, all suspicious and agent organizations must be disbanded so that our fighters can have their rear flanks secure.

Those are the minimal conditions for the framework of a popular regime that is capable of stopping bloodshed and securing the confidence of our masses...those are the demands of the revolution and of the people..."

Fateh, Amman, Sept.
14, 1970.

In raising the slogan of "Popular Authority" the Resistance movement began mass political activity involving several alliances, resulting in the Interim Committee of the Jordanian National Movement, and in advancing the positions of most Jordanian labor unions and professional organizations. This activity culminated in the successful general strike in Amman.

It was clear that introducing the slogan of "Popular Authority" at this time--with what it entailed of provoking offensive reaction from the regime--was leading to an inevitable confrontation which the government was preparing for. The Resistance movement, on the other hand, was waiting to receive the blows. This confrontation compelled the Resistance movement to face the question of state power squarely. In addition the slogan forced the Jordanian regime to reveal its true nature by forming a military government composed of the most reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements in the country's history. Its members can truly be called the "millionaire military elite" who accumulated fantastic fortunes through their positions and by virtue of their tribal and family connections with the regime.

The important political significance of the formation of the military government was the King's decision to embark on a decisive and final battle to liquidate the Resistance movement. His dec-

laration of war on the people's movement was--in this sense--similar to the appointment of Moshe Dayan to the ministry of Defense just before June 5 (1967). The

Given a showdown, Moscow is assumed to prefer to see the Jordanians emerge victorious, partly because some Palestinian leaders look so closely attuned to the Chinese, but mainly because of Jordans willingness to follow the leads of Cairo and Moscow. N.Y. Times, Sept 19

King's decision made full use of the vacillating position of the Arab governments [see the article "Nasserism and the Peaceful Strategy" in Bulletin #2], and brought the Resistance face to face with the very question of its existence, which at this stage, cannot be secured unless the reactionary regime is overthrown and the complete authority of the Resistance is established.

Hussein's military plan was to deal a quick and decisive blow to the Resistance movement, especially in Amman, with the aim of wiping out its leadership and paralyzing its ability to survive. Hence the significance of establishing the liberated zone in the North (Irbid and vicinity) from which a permanent base can be secured for protracted struggle. The conditions for the success of this coming struggle is contingent, however, on simultaneously initiating effective political activity which will expose the objective collaboration of the Arab regimes and which will mobilize the Arab masses to form a protective belt around the Resistance. Only then will the impending military struggle acquire the revolutionary effectiveness necessary for its victory.

Al-Hurriah No. 533
Sept. 21, 1970.

Mr. Nixon reportedly indicated [to Golda Meir] that he would seriously consider active United States intervention if either Iraqi or Syrian forces entered fighting on the side of the guerrillas. Mrs. Meir reportedly told the President that Israel was vitally concerned about the outcome of the events in Jordan and would consider a Palestinian takeover in Amman a serious threat to her security.

N.Y. Times, Sept. 20.

WHAT HAPPENED IN JORDAN

Twenty thousand people lie dead or wounded in the city of Amman. Al Fateh leader Yasir Arafat radioed Cairo on Sept. 23, "God is my witness, a massacre has been committed. God is my witness, I have told you about it."

Jordan's King Hussein, who has had enough of sharing power with the Palestinian fedayeen, seems prepared to destroy all of Amman in order to defeat the commandos and their people, who make up two thirds of the population of Jordan. Then the Roger's plan "peace" talks -- which are attempting to negotiate the Palestinian liberation struggle out of existence -- could proceed smoothly.

Arafat described the results of Hussein's attempts to bring law and order to Jordan:

"Amman is burning for the sixth day. Thousands of people are under the debris. Bodies have rotted. Thousands of houses have been destroyed. Hundreds of thousand of people are homeless. Our dead are scattered in the streets. Hunger and thirst are killing our remaining children, women and old men.

In Amman proper one out of two people has been without food or water for six days. The reactionary army has cut off water supplies from densely populated areas such as refugee camps. Eighty percent of the camp dwellers have either been killed or wounded by napalm. Whenever the curfew is lifted briefly, there are popular street demonstrations which are shot at by the army."

The Israelis first introduced the use of napalm as an anti-personnel weapon in the Middle East during the six day war in 1967. The reactionary Arab governments have imitated the practice.

Fighting began in Amman on Sept. 17, the day after Hussein placed Jordan under martial law, ordered the commandos to surrender their weapons, and handed control of the country over to the most reactionary elements in the government.

The new military leaders are even farther to the right than the former army chief, Nasser Ben Jamil, King Hussein's uncle. Jamil's attempts to crush the commandos earlier this year were coordinated and financed by the American CIA.

The new 12-man cabinet of army officers appears to be dominated by a Bedouin, Habid Majali, who was named commander-in-chief of the army and military governor of the entire country. Bedouins predominate in the cabinet, and Bedouin tribesmen make up most of the 10,000 man elite Jordanian counterinsurgency units. These are the forces which shelled refugee camps and shot at ambulances during the June crisis, and who are probably responsible for most of the present carnage, like the recent shelling attack against a refugee camp

which killed 7,000 Palestinians and destroyed 80% of the camp's housing.

The counterinsurgency units are coordinated by the Jordanian Special Bureau, first conceived of in November, 1968 as part of a CIA plan for suppression of the commandos. In April, 1969, a Jordanian lieutenant code-named Nasr was sent by Jamil to the United States for six months of counter-insurgency training with the CIA. When Lt. Nasr returned to Jordan, he established the Special Bureau. The Bureau has unsuccessfully plotted the assassinations of Yasir Arafat and Dr. George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Advice, money, and arms flow into the Special Bureau from the United States Embassy.

Despite the dreadful attack that the Jordanian forces have unleashed on the Palestinian citizens of Amman (90% of the casualties are civilians), the fedayeen are still in control of most of the capital.

The United States appears to have ceased rattling thunderbolts, at least for the time being. Claiming that Syrian troops had invaded Jordan, the U.S. was making preparations for an armed intervention. Three Sixth Fleet supercarriers with jet fighters were moved into the Eastern Mediterranean, Marines were shipped over in amphibious assault ships, C-130 transport aircraft were flown in to bases in Turkey and Greece to help carry in U.S. troops, and thousands of paratroops in Germany and the U.S. were readied for alert -- all to threaten the commandos with a U.S. invasion into Jordan to "rescue American citizens" there and insure Hussein's victory.

The Palestinian Red Crescent Society, the relief arm of the liberation struggle, stated: "The human dimensions of the civil war now raging in Jordan require immediate attention. To date, the toll in civilian casualties has mounted to 8,000 dead, and 10,000 injured and 100,000 homeless."

└ The above review — dated Sept. 26, 1970 — is taken from a Liberation News Service article based on dispatches sent by S. Ryan & G. Cavaletto from Amman during the fighting.

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ARAB & INTERNATIONAL MASS SUPPORT FOR THE RESISTANCE

September 16

* Mass rallies supporting the Palestinian Revolution were held in Damascus and Baghdad. Syrian head of state said his country would "spare no blood" to help the Palestinian Revolution in Jordan. The mass rally was one of the biggest ever seen in Damascus.

* In Baghdad thousands of demonstrators marched through the capital led by a vanguard of fedayeen to protest against the military crackdown on the Palestinian Revolution.

* Tripoli, north Lebanon, went on strike against Hussein's regime.

* Palestinian and Arab students occupied Jordanian embassies in Damascus, Baghdad, New Delhi, Moscow and London.

September 19

* Mass-supported revolutionaries tightened their hold on liberated areas in north Jordan, gained control over Salt and escalated their resistance in Amman. They also rocketed Hussein's palace in Hummar. Jordan's crack Hussein Brigade switches allegiance to the commandos amid further bitter fighting in the capital.

* IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES fourteen mayors, including those of Ramallah, Nablus, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho, Tulkarem, Qalqileh and Jenin called for an end for the massacre openly condemning Hussein's stand. In their cable, the mayors held the King responsible for the "terrifying massacres which cause the loss of life of thousands of our brethren—children and countrymen."

* The daughter of Brig. Mohammed Daoud, Prime Minister of Jordan, joined the Palestinian resistance, appealing to her father to resign.

* About 70,000 demonstrators march through the streets in Kuwait urging the Kuwait govt. to cut relations with Jordan or stop financial aid to the military government.

* Several thousand Algerians demonstrated in Algiers in support of the Palestinian Revolution at a meeting called by the FLN. Shops and cafes in the center of Algiers close down in solidarity with the Palestinian people. FLN leader Kaid Ahmad ridicules the "eternal comedy of Arab summits." U.S. Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver is present at the 2½ hour mass rally.

September 22-26

* About 300 supporters of the Palestinian Revolution marched in London, chanting "death to Hussein".

* In Madrid, Palestinian and Arab students demonstrate against Jordan's regime but police stops them from occupying the Jordanian Embassy.

* In Moscow, scores of Arab students protesting Hussein's crackdown on the Palestinian revolution are barred from the Jordanian embassy by a strong force of Soviet police.

* China reiterates her staunch support to the resistance. Two days earlier an editorial in the People's Daily declares that America's plan for a so-called peaceful solution of the Middle East question was designed to "strangle the Palestinian revolution... Just as the reactionary Jordanian forces launched savage attacks on the Palestinian commandos, US Secretary of Defense Laird raved frantically that the US Sixth Fleet had moved nearer to the Middle East war zone..."

* In Jerusalem the General Confederation of Labour Unions condemned "the criminal massacres engineered by the ruling clique in Amman". In a public statement the GCLU declared its solidarity with workers of the East Bank and called for mass support for its two demands:

1. "The overthrow of the fascist military regime in Amman.
2. "The establishment of a popular authority in Jordan that will put all those guilty of engineering the massacres on trial".

al-Quds, Jerusalem
Sept. 29. 1970

* Albania and the Democratic Republic of Korea announce full solidarity and support to the Palestinian Revolution. The Albanian daily Zeri I Popullit says in an editorial that the Soviets "pose as neutral and make appeals for reconciliation, putting on a par both the aggressors and the Palestinian fighters, who are the victims of aggression."

* In Berlin, thousands of young left wing demonstrators, among them Arab workers and students, expressed solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution in a march through the city which lasted for several hours.

* In New Delhi, Indian demonstrated outside US and Jordan embassies in protest against US support for Hussein in liquidating Palestinians. The protest was organized by the All-India Students Congress.

Fateh, Sept. 30. 1970

Eric Rouleau, correspondent of Le Monde, quoted the King as having said: "I was indignant recently when I learned that my own chauffeur, to whom I entrusted my children, was a terrorist. He was arrested while he was firing a mortar at my palace... I also just discovered that my cook had important functions in one of the Palestinian organizations. ---Reuters dispatch, Sept. 25

THE ROLE OF A PARTY IN THE PEOPLE'S WAR OF LIBERATION

What is the importance of building a revolutionary party to the Palestinian war of liberation? To answer this question one should consider the general characteristics of revolutionary wars of liberation as well as their particular characteristics, taking into consideration differences of time and place. Hence we have to study the experience of other peoples in addition to analyzing the facts of our own society and the factors which have influenced the development of the Palestinian war of liberation.

The Vietnamese war of liberation which has already defeated French colonialism and has almost defeated American imperialism is one of the greatest experiences in wars of liberation. The relation between the revolutionary party and the Vietnamese war of liberation is demonstrated by General F. Giap, the commander of the People's Army of Vietnam. He describes some of the factors of victory of the Vietnamese revolution:

"The Vietnamese popular war of liberation is successful because it is just... It has achieved great victories because our people have had an armed revolutionary power. That is, the People's Army of Vietnam... This army has always fought for the people because it emerged from them and is led by the party of the working class.

The Vietnamese victory is the result of a powerful, large and united national front, which has enveloped all the revolutionary classes and which was established on the basis of this alliance between the workers and the peasants led by the party.

The Vietnamese popular war of liberation was able to achieve victory because we had the people's authority... this authority is the government, which is the alliance of the revolutionary classes, i.e., the government of the workers and peasants. It is the popular democratic dictatorship, which is in reality the dictatorship of the workers and peasants led by the party. This government has organized and mobilized the people for the resistance. It has achieved material benefits for the people, not only in

the liberated areas, but also in the commando bases behind the frontiers of the enemy.

The Vietnamese popular war of liberation achieved its great victory for the above reasons, the most fundamental being the C.P., the party of the working class who organized and led the war. This party proceeded under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology to analyze the social conditions and the balance of power between us and our enemy in order to design the plan of armed struggle and to establish the principle which says: 'The struggle will take a long time and we shall depend only on ourselves.'"

We have introduced this quotation from General Giap's book to stress the importance of the party of the working class in leading the Vietnamese popular war of liberation, the liberation army and united national front, in analyzing the social condition and the balance of power against the enemy, in defining the essential goals of the revolution and the plan of combat, and in carrying out the tasks of struggle and establishing the base for a better society.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION AND PALESTINIAN WAR OF LIBERATION

Similar to the Vietnamese, and under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the experiences of the struggling peoples, we shall now attempt to clarify the importance of building the revolutionary organization in terms of the Palestinian war of liberation.

The first point to be clarified is that of the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the area. The basic conflict between the two camps is as follows:

1. The anti-revolutionary camp including:
 - (a) International imperialism, led by the U.S.A., which has essential interests in the wealth of the Arab countries, such as oil, and which exploits the Arabs in many different ways.
 - (b) Zionism and the Zionist existence in Palestine which is the essential instrument of suppression against the people of Palestine and the Arabs. Fundamentally racist, it continues to expand through the support of imperialism. It

is the front line of international imperialism in the area.

- (c) Feudalism and the Bourgeoisie which are the agents of imperialism and which are dependent on its interests and its exploitation of the Arab land and people.

2. The revolutionary camp including:

- (a) The workers who form the most revolutionary class on account of their productive function and their full dependence for their life on their labour. They are prepared more than any other class to give to the revolution and to be organized. But it is obvious that the discrimination against the Palestinian workers in occupied Palestine the weakness of industry in the Arab countries and the strict measures of suppression and deportation which are practiced against the Arab workers in general and Palestinian workers in particular in all Arab countries, are reasons which do not allow any large grouping of Palestinian workers to take place.
- (b) The peasants, who form 70%, that is, the majority of the population. The peasant of Palestinian society has been characterized by his exposure to successive disasters. Due to the emigration from the countryside to the cities and from Palestine to other countries, the petit Bourgeoisie gained a hand over the peasants. The peasants are the essential power of the revolution for the movement of national liberation. It is well-known that the peasant of the Arab countries and of all other countries has sought the movement of national liberation to fight foreign colonization. But the active role of the peasants is determined by the organization of the working class which directs the peasants through the different stages of the revolution.
- (c) The petit Bourgeoisie which, due to its national feeling and vast number, is a strong ally of the revolution. Furthermore some of the national bourgeoisie might take the side of the revolution and the liberation movement. The majority of the refugees who are relegated to camps are poor peasants and workers. They were exposed to eviction and they are still exposed to poverty, unemployment and the worst conditions of living. In addition they suffer suppression and extermination practiced by the Zionist soldiers, and to discrimination and repression from the Arab governments. They are without doubt the main reserve which can be mobilized to share in the revolution.

In these two camps (the Anti-revolutionary and the revolutionary) one can easily realise that

the weak one is still that of revolution. This latter front, however, represents a potential strength. It is accelerated by the harsh measures of suppressions and eviction practiced by the Zionist power in Palestine, and by the guardianship enforced by the Arab regimes which did not permit the Palestinians, until very recently, to organize themselves.

The Palestinian revolutionary struggle which is represented now by the popular movement in the West bank and Gaza by guerilla warfare, shall soon overcome the very difficult situations facing it.

One of these difficulties is the so-called "peaceful solution". It is only a conspiracy that is giving benefit to the United States while monopolizing the Arab economy. It is a conspiracy which sees to the Soviet Union becoming a partner to the U.S. in so-called "peaceful co-existence" with the capitalist bloc. It is the same conspiracy which is accepted by the reactionary Arab regimes and the so-called progressive Arab regimes who have failed to face Israel. These are the same regimes which tried to lead the social revolution half-way. They have failed to understand the leading imperialist role of the U.S. and were unable to escape its monopoly.

Although the so-called "peaceful solution" seems unfruitful, it is clear that this solution is still possible on account of the anti-revolutionary camp and the betrayal by the regimes of the petit-Bourgeoisie in the so-called progressive Arab states.

The weakness of the Palestinian national movement lies in the fact that the leadership has never adopted the ideology of the working class, but rather expressed the hopes and goals of the petit-Bourgeoisie. This leads the revolution only half-way, and not to its ultimate end, to change the relations and concepts which dominate every bourgeois society. Hence the participation of both the national and the petit-bourgeoisie in the national liberation movement has two aspects. The first is positive, since it allows a large section of the population to participate in the resistance movement. The second is negative, for it allows the infiltration of the logic of compromise, with the ensuing danger of crippling the revolutionary movement in the middle of the struggle. We believe that the petit-bourgeoisie and part of the national bourgeoisie can and should play their roles within a large front. This front would be led by the alliance of the workers and peasants, for it is the workers who are the most revolutionary class and the peasants who are the essential power of the national liberation movement.

This analysis represents the fundamental problem of any revolution; that is the problem of political authority. We believe in a large national front to be led by the alliance of

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PALESTINIAN WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE...



"The Palestinian women feel they earned their rights through their own hard work, and that by competing with the men they are spurred to become stronger and more capable than they had thought possible. Naturally, the women find those who are actively engaged in the resistance movement more receptive to change than Arab society as a whole, but the strategy of protracted war makes it possible that the new ideas will spread. Perhaps a story we heard in Lebanon best illustrates the process...

An insult that is often leveled at the female Palestinian activists is the suggestion that they are sleeping with the commandoes. Thus, two young women began to hear murmurs of "may God protect your honor" from

a certain group of men every evening when the women passed them on their way to serve their military duty. After hearing the phrase once too often, one of the two women wheeled around, marched up to one of the men, and struck her Kalashnikov in his stomach. "I am defending my honor," she said, "what are you doing about yours? When the Zionists come again, I shall be defending you, because you do not even know how to handle a gun."

—S. Rose & C. Tackney, "The Birth of a Revolution"
Off Our Backs, Vol 1, #12. Oct 25, 1970

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