



Definitions of a Battle

Nayif Hauatmeh

The Palestine guerrillas of the Democratic People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine (OLP), Al Fatah (Palestine Liberation Front), Al Saika (The Spark) and other organizations confront Zionism and the reactionary governments of the Arab world with the unshakable decision to regain the occupied territories

To eliminate the resistance and divide the countries of the area are the unachievable aims of Hussein, in cahoots with Tel Aviv and the United States.

In this interview for *Tricontinental* magazine, Nayif Husatmeh, Secretary-General of the Democratic People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, explains the principles and strategy of the organization, founded in 1968.

What is the present state of the Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation and the reactionary Arab regimes?

The general strategic situation at present with respect to the Israeli occupation and the State of Israel is based on these fundamental principles: complete rejection of Zionist imperialism's oppression and usurpation of the people of Palestine which, since 1948, has resulted in the creation of the State of Israel in one part of the Palestinian territory; and of the consequent expulsion of our people from their land and Israeli occupation of Golan and Sinai and the remainder of Palestinian territory in June of 1967.

These two fundamental principles mean, in effect, the rejection of all the solutions that confer legality on the presence of the State of Israel in any part of Palestinian territory, and of any new political or geographic concession to this state and to imperialism in the region.

Beginning with this, all the organizations of resistance have declared their complete rejection of Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, of the US initiative taken by Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and any other partial solution that leads to the same consequences that form the basis of the Security Council resolution. These consequences can be summarized as the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied in June 1967, in exchange for legal recognition, coexistence and the guarantee of safe borders for the State of Israel.

At the same time, the Security Council resolution represents a reactionary and colonialist view of Israeli and Palestinian problems. It preserves the existence of the Israeli state and urges its recognition. Practically and objectively, it means abandoning a part of Palestinian territory in favor of the conquistador Zionist colonialization that took place in Palestine in the 20th century.

This solution also means that the problem of the Palestinian people would remain unresolved forever. On the other hand the revolutionary, democratic and progressive position sees the need for presenting a democratic solution based on the rejection of the Zionist oppression and usurpation of 1948, and of the Israeli

geographic expansions that took place later, and on the insistence of the rights of the Palestinian people to the self-determination of all the original territories at the same time as the solution to the Israeli problem through the establishment of a single, democratic, people's state in Palestine, where Arabs and Jews live together with equal rights and responsibilities. This state must be linked to a socialist Arab federation opposed to Zionism, chauvinism and imperialism.

The organizations of Palestinian resistance agree on this fundamental principle now and for the future, but from our point of view this is not the problem.

The mere declaration of these preliminary principles is not sufficient to achieve the realization and concrete practice of this strategy within the context of the idea of a prolonged people's war of liberation. These preliminary positions must be related to the basic laws that make these positions an alive, practical and realizable question.

This is the problem with which the Palestinian liberation movement lives. There are two contradictory currents around this point within the resistance movement:

1) The orientation adopted by Al Fatah especially tends to consider that the conflict with Israel is only between the Palestinian people and the national liberation movement on the one hand, and the State of Israel and the Zionist movement on the other.

We believe that this line only leads the Palestinian resistance and the movement of the Palestinian people into a cul de sac and does not provide a democratic and progressive solution to the Palestinian question.

2) The line adopted by the progressive organizations headed by the Democratic Front expresses clearly that our conflict with Israel is also with imperialism in the whole Arab region. There is a daily, living dialectic relationship between the Zionist movement and the imperialist camp throughout the entire history of this movement. Before and up to 1948, the year in which the State of Israel was founded, there was a tight relationship with British imperialism. Since then a new alliance has been established with US imperialism in the light of the new international conditions that grew out of the Second World War.

It is for this reason that the fight against Israel and the Zionist movement must be linked to the struggle against imperialism and be extended to the entire Arab world, given the relationship between what happens to the people and territory of Palestine and what happens in Arab territory, especially in those countries nearest to Palestine.

This law leads naturally to another based on the tie between the struggles against Israel and the Zionist movement and against the local reactionaries of the Arab world. These reactionaries represent the shock force, imperialism's class and political instrument in the Arab lands against the Arab and Palestinian national liberation movement. The reactionary Arabs, on the basis of their identification with imperialism, defend their economic, military

and political interests in the zone. In summary, their relations with imperialism represent an obstacle on the road to the democratic national liberation of the Palestinian territory.

That is why our struggle must have a close link with the two wings of the Palestinian and Arab revolutionary and national democratic movement to achieve the complete and definitive defeat of Israeli imperialism and the Arab reactionaries. In other words, that the possibility of achieving any victory at tactical or strategic levels against Israel and the Zionist occupation is completely subordinate to that whether or not there is triumph against Arab reaction and imperialism in the zone.

The internal class enemy, Arab reaction and imperialism must be liquidated so we are able to mobilize all the energies of the Arab world into a long people's war against Israel which culminates in the defeat of the Zionist movement. Throughout the entire century, Arab reaction has been a very strong link with imperialism working within the context of imperialist plans with respect to the Palestinian question. This was already clear at the beginning of the century and became evident during the Palestinian revolution of 1936 when the reactionary Arab regimes intervened rapidly to smother it with the approbation of Arab kings and presidents.

The interference was also patently clear in the war of 1948. The armies of the reactionary regimes limited themselves to fighting on the border of the territories ceded to the Palestinians by the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine in 1947, and which permitted the foundation of two states in Palestinian territory, one Zionist and the other Arab.

In fact, these armies fought in conjunction and in accord with the imperialist forces in the area, in favor of the partition of Palestine and the founding of the State of Israel.

From 1948 up to the present, the Arab reactionaries have represented imperialism's material base in the area, a class enemy of the Arab and Palestinian national liberation movement and a historic safety valve for the State of Israel and its regional expansion.

These reactionaries refused to meet the requirements of Palestinian liberation, especially those of liberating the zone from imperialism, mobilizing the energies of the population throughout the area, and urging the subordination of the internal productive front to the fighting front against Israel and imperialism.

That is why we state that there are two different lines in the Palestinian revolutionary movement. One leads to a cul de sac limited to the struggle between Palestinians and Israelis. A struggle with those characteristics is lacking in equilibrium. On the one hand a Palestinian population dispersed through the neighboring underdeveloped Arab countries; on the other the State of Israel with close to 3 000 000 inhabitants planted in Palestinian territory living in a contemporary society, technically and scientifically modern and linked to imperialism.

This conflict lacks balance; Palestine's ancient and modern history confirms the fact that the destiny of the Palestinian ques-

tion is intimately tied to that of Palestine's neighboring territories. This historic fact encompasses the entire Arab question from medieval times up to the present. That is why we say that the orientation that confines the struggle only to the Palestinian people and Israel leads to a dead end limited by vague declarations, strategies that can't last and are incapable of any daily, quantitative accumulation of revolutionary achievements.

For this reason, the other line is the national revolutionary line that effectively leads to the development of the situation in the area in a way that converts it into a second Viet Nam where everything available is mobilized against imperialism, Zionism and the State of Israel. In order to be able to do this, we must first overthrow the reactionary regimes in the region to open the road to revolutionary mobilization at all levels: organizational, military and productive.

Is it true that there is a crisis of confidence within the leadership sectors and even among the Palestinian and Arab fighters?

Yes, it is true. The cause of this crisis arises originally from the program, tactics and practices of the Palestine resistance under its present leadership. The right wing of the resistance, represented by the experience with Al Fatah, occupied a principal position of force that influenced the whole Palestinian resistance movement over the past four years. This occurred because of different subjective factors in the Palestinian people, governed by the general characteristics of geographic division and the chaotic class stratification. Also, because almost half of the Palestinian population is nonproductive and has no relationship to production. This makes the Palestinian people an easy prisoner of the thinking of the ruling class. This is why the Palestinian population is prisoner of the ideas of bourgeois and reactionary culture. Such a situation conditions a national movement governed by nationalist, spontaneous and bourgeois ideas.

In order for the revolutionary movement to make an impression on these people and rescue the masses from the influence of reactionary ideas and liberate them from spontaneity, an arduous prolonged ideological, political, organizational and armed struggle is required.

On the other hand, the objective conditions exist in the Arab zone for stimulating these regressive currents. All the Arab states collaborate with the right of the resistance which, for them, represents a comfortable situation and doesn't worry them ideologically, politically or organizationally.

The right wing of the resistance, represented by Al Fatah, limits the conflict between us and Israel to a Palestinian-Israeli frame of reference. Everything the right wing demands from the Arab world it obtains from its relations with the existing power structures and not through the masses.

Thus, the revolutionary program adopted by progressive and leftist forces within the resistance requires an understanding of the laws of the conflict in the Middle East with respect to the struggle against Israeli imperialism and the reactionary Arabs to

paralyze the demagoguery of the petit-bourgeois regimes and their programs. Up until now the leadership hasn't developed such a revolutionary program, which requires a long struggle.

The program of the right-wing forces in the resistance was and still is of a general character insofar as its relations with the Palestinian masses and within the context of a logic of sentimental and spontaneous relationships. Thus relations with the Arab masses remain very limited while the chief relations with the Arab world are established through their regimes.

In the light of all the daily tactics and practices of the resistance, this situation gradually led to the alienation of the Arab and Palestinian masses from the resistance. These masses demanded that the resistance present them with a revolutionary program in substitution for that of the reactionary regimes that capitulated before imperialism and the Israeli State and were defeated in June of 1967.

The masses waited a long time before discovering from their own experience that the program presented is objectively a complement and prolongation of the contradictions that govern the Arab regimes in the zone.

Finally there occurred the crisis in relations between the leadership and the Palestinian and Arab people's fighting base. Sentimental and moral speeches of a general character are not enough to solve this. The masses have to be given a revolutionary program that provides them with revolutionary solutions to the national question, alternatives to the solutions presented by the Arab regimes and embodying the point of view of the masses and their own experiences.

A prolonged struggle within the Palestinian population at the ideological, political and organizational levels is required until these solutions become dominant within the revolutionary movement. At the same time it is necessary to strengthen the alliance with the revolutionary and progressive forces, enemies of colonialism and Arab reaction within the Arab world.

By this road, the masses will be able to appreciate, through their own experience, the difference between the revolutionary and the right-wing position. In this way the confidence of the masses will be strengthened again and they will give their complete solidarity to the forces that sustain the revolutionary line within the resistance.

In what way do you think the Palestinian national liberation struggle depends on the political awakening and revolutionary action of the Arab masses, and how could this Palestinian struggle help in this awakening?

As I said at the beginning, the victory of the Palestinian national question is related to the unity of the democratic national liberation struggle throughout the entire Palestinian and Arab region because of the ties that Israel and the reactionary Arabs have with imperialism. This situation forces a united struggle by the Palestinian people's movements and those of the Arab nations to solve the problem of national liberation and fulfill the duties of the democratic Arab revolution, among the first of which is the liberation of Palestine.

This unity of struggle must be oriented practically and objectively against the enemies of Arab national liberation and at the same time the enemies of Palestinian liberation: Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction.

If the Palestinian struggle is capable of participating in the awakening of the revolutionary political and organizational consciousness of the Arab masses, the starting point for this awakening is in the Palestinian struggle for a revolutionary program for these masses, which clearly states its positions against the enemies of the revolution and establishes close relations with these masses through their revolutionary organizations and parties and not through the present Arab regimes.

The Palestinian struggle presents a unifying strategy of common struggle in which the Palestinian people occupy a vanguard position in the clash against Israel and Zionist occupation. Meanwhile, the Arab revolutionary, democratic and national forces must play the role of direct shock troops against imperialism and local reaction, with the objective of paralyzing the program of the petit-bourgeois regimes incapable of undertaking national revolution and overthrowing imperialism and Israel.

Only in such circumstances would the whole area be part of a strategy of united revolutionary struggle by the Palestinian people and those of the Arab nation. This would be the sudden departure transforming the Middle East into a second Viet Nam, scene of a prolonged national liberation war, and the only way to counteract the technical superiority of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary war machine.

This program constitutes the basis for a dialectic response to colonialism, Zionism and the local reactionaries. In the field of these political relations, organizing can be born and the principal method of struggle can arise, based on the character and conditions of each Arab country in the common battle. These forms and methods will develop later when the armed struggle of the organized masses becomes the principal form of struggle against imperialism and its allied forces and against Israel, in all the Arab countries, and subordinates the other forms of struggle to it.

This is how the Palestinian struggle can participate in the crystallization of a revolutionary strategy for the Palestine and Arab movement of democratic national liberation.

Do you consider the creation of a political party within the Palestinian resistance to be fundamental? Some Palestinian political tendencies speak of a proletarian party. From what I know, the Arab and Palestinian proletariat is poor in number and politically weak.

Scientifically speaking, the proletariat is quantitatively and qualitatively weak. Not only among the Palestinian people but among all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. If there is any difference it is with respect to the number of components and the quality of political culture from one country to another, but the differences are not substantial.

All the countries of the underdeveloped world are subject to a general law by which their local bourgeoisies were incapable,

because of their "comprador" character, of carrying through the democratic bourgeois revolution (liquidation of feudalism, industrialization of the country, industrial revolution, national unity within the framework of a single state). Thus we find that the proletariat in these countries is small in number and relatively weak, with its forces dispersed and with a low level of political culture. This general situation, however, does not exclude the possibility of the upsurge of revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The possibility of organizing such revolutionary movements as revolutionary parties is feasible thanks to the alliance between these few proletarians — different in their class political consciousness, internationalist and nationalist — and poor peasants and revolutionary intellectuals who play an effective role in the national liberation movements and in socialist revolutions in those countries (Viet Nam, Laos, Cuba).

In the case of our country, the possibility of founding a political party within the Palestinian resistance is linked to certain objective and subjective conditions and does not depend on the desires to create such a party at will, as in certain organizations in the Palestinian resistance.

Up until September of 1970, because of the general patriotic uprising in the country in an atmosphere of great liberty that permitted each of our citizens to become affiliated with the Palestinian resistance without great danger to life, the Palestine-Jordanian camp did not have the objective conditions necessary for the formation of this party. Anyone could fulfill their responsibilities without great risk and, fired by spontaneous patriotic sentiments, everyone could receive armed training and fight against Israel and the attacks of the counterrevolution represented by the reactionary government of Jordan. In this situation, any attempt to create such a party was a mere subjective proposal condemned to failure because the revolutionary party must grow out of armed struggle confronting the attacks of the counterrevolution and when all democratic liberties have been trampled.

The conditions that flourished after September 1970 created the appropriate atmosphere for the birth of the objective situation for the construction of the nucleus of the revolutionary party within the resistance. With all democratic liberties wiped out, Jordan was subjected to a violent police dictatorship obsessed with the extermination of progressive and patriotic forces. These conditions created the possibility for an objective selection of militants and fighters.

The requirements for membership in the resistance at present are more rigorous than before September 1970. Now a resistance militant is exposed to daily arrest, exile, persecution or assassination. Under these conditions we can place greater value on the solidity of each militant and his dedication to sacrifice.

With respect to the subjective conditions necessary for the formation of a revolutionary party within the Palestinian resistance, we believe that its first success would be to demonstrate its existence, but not all the subjective conditions are completely mature.

Some of them can be summed up in the feeling of all progressive and revolutionary forces for the necessity for contact within a single revolutionary organization as an alternative to the present fractionalism that is evident within the revolutionary organizations.

The objective conditions are ripening each day. We know that the progressive and revolutionary elements in organizations such as Al Fatah, Al Saika or the Popular Front are closer to the revolutionaries of the Democratic Front than to some of the members of their respective organizations.

A greater development of subjective conditions leads to a more profound maturity in the objective conditions, a maturity that will stimulate all or part of the revolutionary elements of the resistance to seek a new organizational force that will regroup them into one organization. We believe that this will take place in the not-too-distant future.

It is clear that such a future organizational unity of revolutionaries into a single organization within the resistance does not mean that the revolutionary political party has been achieved, but it does fulfill the first stage. This step should prove to the masses that it means that its tactical and strategic program and its daily action are really the expression of a vast class alliance among proletariats, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and soldiers. This alliance must be led by a proletarian program toward a democratic national revolution in this phase.

The attempts to create such a party were marginal efforts without any important value and at no time have they been able to demonstrate their existence in the Palestinian question. These efforts are similar to the petit-bourgeois attempts that were born and nourished in the Arab region, especially after the Palestine disaster of 1948. As we know, some of these experiences led to Bonapartist Arab regimes dependent exclusively on the forces of the petit-bourgeois class, while others ended in small fragmented groups incapable of supporting the attacks of the counterrevolution. Any attempt to construct parties with the same logic will inevitably lead to the same results.

In fact, one of the resistance organizations¹ is trying to construct a party that will break out of this, but this party is incapable of playing a vanguard role within the resistance or within its own organization since it has been conceived as an appendage of the organization. It represents nothing more than a petit-bourgeois birth outside of any national Palestinian movement.

In what way, for example, could the Palestinian struggle benefit from the successful experience of the Tupamaros in Latin America?

The Palestinian struggle can benefit from the democratic-revolutionary experiences of all peoples, especially the national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America, because of the similarity of economic and class life in these countries. Among these experiences are those of the Tupamaros, which have

¹ Hautmech is referring to the Popular Front led by Dr. Habash. (Ed. note)

points from which we can certainly benefit, such as the creation of a great mass atmosphere of solidarity with the national liberation movement

On the other hand, certain political and armed experiences of that organization open the way to extending the network of relations with the class enemies of colonialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie.

At the same time we must observe the possibilities these experiences have in the construction of a revolutionary movement that, on a class level, reaches workers, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and soldiers inside the oppressive state. This requires that the program of the organization correspond to the aspirations of the most numerous classes of the society in the struggle against the excessive desires of the minority class which, by its link with imperialism, puts its own interests above those of the fatherland and the nation.

We must note that this organization, despite its structure in opposition to colonialism, the comprador bourgeoisie and feudalism, still lacks a national revolutionary class program that can arouse the working class, the poor peasants and the national forces of other classes.

Up until now the program of this organization has been limited to a petit-bourgeois horizon which from the beginning of its experience was unable to penetrate among the poor peasants and begin armed struggle in the countryside linked to that in the city in order to conquer power on behalf of the revolutionary movement of the country. All this impelled this revolutionary group to transfer the scene of its activity to the city and carry out a series of political and armed actions that have won it a vast solidarity but, because of the program proposed, do not offer the possibility for organizing the working class and democratic forces in the city.

We believe that this will lead to maintaining an organization limited to small groups of combatants with broad mass solidarity, but incapable of transferring this to a structural and political plane constituting an alliance between workers, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all the patriotic national forces of the small and middle level bourgeoisie. In any case, we can use certain of their experiences of a democratic and revolutionary political nature and others such as those that permit the Tupamaros to liberate numerous cadres from the jails of the counterrevolution (daring and ingenious flights). The rest is subject to the conditions of the Palestinian struggle and to the Palestinian program and subordinate to the relationship between the struggle of our people and other oppressed people.

Don't you think that the division between Palestinian groups is the best present that can be offered Arab reaction and the Israeli usurper? Do you see any possibility for unity among these groups? Do you think a collective leadership might be a solution at this time?

Certainly the division among left forces, when they are really left, seriously damages the revolutionary movement. Without any

doubt, the results benefit the interests of Arab reaction and the Israeli usurper. But we should note that the progressive organizations within the resistance are not grouped around a single ideological program that leads to a single political program in daily organizational military tactics. And so there is no possibility of unifying these organizations. The only alternative is to strengthen relations and alliances among progressive organizations within the people's revolutionary movements.

Certain of these organizations are truly left and revolutionary, oriented by a working class ideology and capable of assuming a correct national armed and organizational policy during the present phase of the Palestinian revolutionary movement while others, despite the Marxist slogans they wave, are ruled by Blanquist and adventurous tendencies of a petit-bourgeois nature. Any study of the life and practices of these organizations will reveal this historic and strategic fact.

We are faced with groups that consider themselves leftists and adopt a theory of Marxism-Leninism; but in reality they are phrases that are not reflected in daily political, military and organizational life. On the contrary it is the expression of Blanquist and adventurous explosions in many of the political and military positions they assume.

The solution to this problem is based on one principal element: Formation of alliances among these forces, considering that there are greater possibilities for agreeing with a program of minimum understanding between left and progressive currents than one could have between these and the right-wing forces within the resistance.

Such alliances can help to unify the struggle in its present phase, against the liquidationist attempts within the revolution and the Palestinian problem, as well as the progressive and left forces in the bosom of the resistance.

The formation of such alliances within the context of a progressive front with a collective leadership tied to a specific program, will certainly meet the problems and duties of the resistance at the present stage and impel it forward. Such alliances can also offer adequate defense of the progressive and left-wing forces in the resistance and open the road to more just and strong relationships with friendly progressive currents within the right-wing organizations.

Do you consider that the road to Tel Aviv passes through Amman? Is there currently some clandestine people's network organized with a view to overthrowing the Jordanian regime?

As I said earlier, the road to Tel Aviv must necessarily go through the liquidation of the internal enemy of the Palestinian and national Arab liberation movements, because of the dialectic link between them.

The liquidation of Zionist occupation and the liberation of the Palestine national territory are related to the creation of a permanent rear guard base for the Palestinian resistance, vital to the revolution and its shock forces.

The region most appropriate for this main base is Transjordan. Half the Palestinian people are distributed over both banks of the Jordan river. Some 70% of the Jordanian population is Palestinian and would greatly facilitate this enterprise. Without the existence of this base, the Palestinian resistance will always be exposed to easy liquidation or to being swallowed up by the Arab states, determined to implement Security Council Resolution 242, which provides a reactionary "solution" to the Palestinian question, based on recognition and legitimacy of the imperialist-Zionist aggression and usurpation of the Palestinian people in 1948.

Victorious popular revolutions don't come about without first insuring permanent bases to be depended upon as points of support for actions against the enemy and which serve as protection against his counterattacks. Transjordan is the only area that can become a principal base for the Palestinian people. For this reason, the Democratic Front has been urging a completely clear struggle since the beginning of 1969.

In order to pursue a prolonged armed struggle and transform it into a people's war of liberation against Israel and the Zionist occupation, we must solve the present contradiction with the internal reactionary enemy linked to imperialism. This internal enemy rejects coexistence with our people's movement and insists on the liquidation of the resistance before anything else. Nor is he interested in fighting Israel and imperialism. On the contrary, he maintains close relations with both.

We must recall that during the "revolution" of July 14, 1958, in Iraq, the British forces went to Amman to protect the Hachemite throne and the Hussein regime, and to do this they went through Israeli territory and air space, as all the colonialists have admitted and as Israel and King Hussein himself have confessed.

The Israeli leaders continue to declare at this time that any threat to the reign of Hussein will force them to intervene to protect him and keep him in power. The most recent of these declarations was made in September of 1970. For these reasons we can say that the liberation of Transjordan from the reactionary class regime, imperialism's agent and enemy of the revolution and the people of Palestine, is an historic and strategic necessity that opens up the possibility of establishing a solid anticolonialist and anti-Zionist bulwark that sustains the revolution and permits the concentration of society's energies on the development of action in a prolonged national people's war. This is the present duty of the Palestinian resistance and the patriotic movement in Jordan.

On September 7 the Democratic Front formulated to the Extraordinary National Palestinian Council, which met in Amman on August 28, 1970, the necessity to work toward the transformation of Transjordan into a permanent revolutionary base within the context of a national power formed by the armed masses and soldiers. This political position was completely victorious.

We believe that today more than ever, the Palestinian and national forces need a united front in Jordan for the defense of their rights from the teeth of reaction and imperialism, and that these could be summarized in:

- 1) armed training to defend the revolution and confront reactionary attacks and any probable Zionist aggression against Transjordan;
- 2) mobilization and organization of the population around the resistance;
- 3) proclamation of self-determination in its own territory.

At the same time this front has to struggle to tear political power out of the hands of the reactionary and imperialist forces in favor of a national democratic regime which is the enemy of imperialism, semifeudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie, those who historically constitute the material base of imperialism in the country and carry out the role of police in the protection of the interests of imperialism and the Israeli frontier.

The National United Front must carry on a tough clandestine resistance against the present Amman regime and must definitively discard the policy of bargaining and conversations, treaties and mediations for a new coexistence with the reactionary Amman regime. This regime on numerous occasions has rejected coexistence with resistance, and has seen in the contradiction that should be secondary to resistance a primary contradiction to be resolved in its favor, that is to say, with the liquidation of the resistance or its submission to its own reactionary and proimperialist power.

The reactionary Jordanian regime depends for the achievement of this policy on consecutive anti-Palestinian military campaigns and political deceit. But as we well know, the reactionary regime of Jordan will never permit the resistance to renew its armed struggle against Israel if this activity is not linked to its plans, and the resistance does not bow to the reactionary control of the Jordanian military high command.

The logic of the reconciliation has proven its ineffectiveness throughout the last four years, despite the numerous accords signed with the reactionary regime of Jordan (October 1969; June 1970; September of the same year under control of the Arab Committee made up of Egypt, Libya, Sudan and Algeria; that of Cairo on September 27, and the Protocol of Amman, October 13, 1970). These repeated experiences should alert all revolutionaries and patriots within the Palestinian revolutionary movement to the construction of a Palestine-Jordan National United Front, which employs all means of struggle, beginning with clandestine armed resistance, and all other democratic forms of mass resistance in order to overthrow the reactionary regime in Jordan and impose a democratic national regime, friend of the resistance, which supports it and makes Transjordan the principal permanent base of the Palestinian revolutionary movement.

Up until now this front still does not exist. Certain organizations, especially Al Fatah, are still looking to the Arab capitals for the achievement of coexistence with the reactionary regime of Amman which continues rejecting it. This situation leads to chaos and confusion among our people, militants and fighters. The government of Amman benefits from this, closing its fist still tighter over Jordan and pursuing its police campaigns to disarm the people and smash all opposition to the dictatorial regime.

This whole situation strengthens the counterrevolution and Arab reactionaries. Meanwhile, the Palestinian resistance loses ground by the vacillations of some of its organizations that persist in co-existence with the Jordanian regime, utilizing the Arab capitals as intermediaries.

The construction of this front will help to resolve the present subjective crisis in the resistance and concentrate all the available forces in a clandestine armed mass battle against the monarchy.

Up until now, we must say that there is still no people's clandestine organization whose objectives are to overthrow the Jordanian regime, but there are certain serious attempts to create this organization. In this respect we can mention a Jordanian organization that is now fighting against the Jordanian regime: the Jordanian Movement for National Liberation (Al Harakat Al Urduniat Litaharor Al Watani). We have some of this organization's military communiqués. We have also read its preliminary political program, whose objectives are the founding of a national patriotic force in Jordan with the overthrow of reactionary power.

How does the Democratic Front maintain contact with the Arab and Palestinian masses and help them in the process of revolutionary political awakening?

In summary, one of the main points of the Democratic Front's duties and of its relations with the Arab and Palestinian masses is their revolutionary ideological education.

This education clarifies the revolutionary position and disseminates political culture among our masses and the people of the Arab nation, reveals the false reactionary positions of the bourgeoisie, which has neither the possibility nor the courage to confront imperialism's and Israel's attacks, as well as the right-wing positions within the resistance movement. This labor permits the masses to guide themselves by their own experience, identify the correct and revolutionary position of the Democratic Front in those problems linked with the Palestinian question and the struggle in the Middle East.

In the second place it must provide political indoctrination on daily problems that arise within the resistance movement and among the people of the area in the common struggle against Zionism, imperialism and reaction. This political awareness will lead masses to discover their revolutionary road against the forces of counterrevolution in the area.

In the third place, to establish in the Arab region, organizational relations with democratic national revolutionary groups, as a step in the project of construction of a vast Arab national front throughout the entire extent of Palestine and Arab territories, to carry out a common struggle for a strategic program that has as its first condition, in the present stage, protection of the Palestinian resistance and contributing to the development of revolutionary progressive forces in the interior to pursue the armed confrontation against Israel and to inspire the peoples of the zone in their struggle against imperialism and the local reactionaries, and against all reactionary solutions to the Palestinian problem.