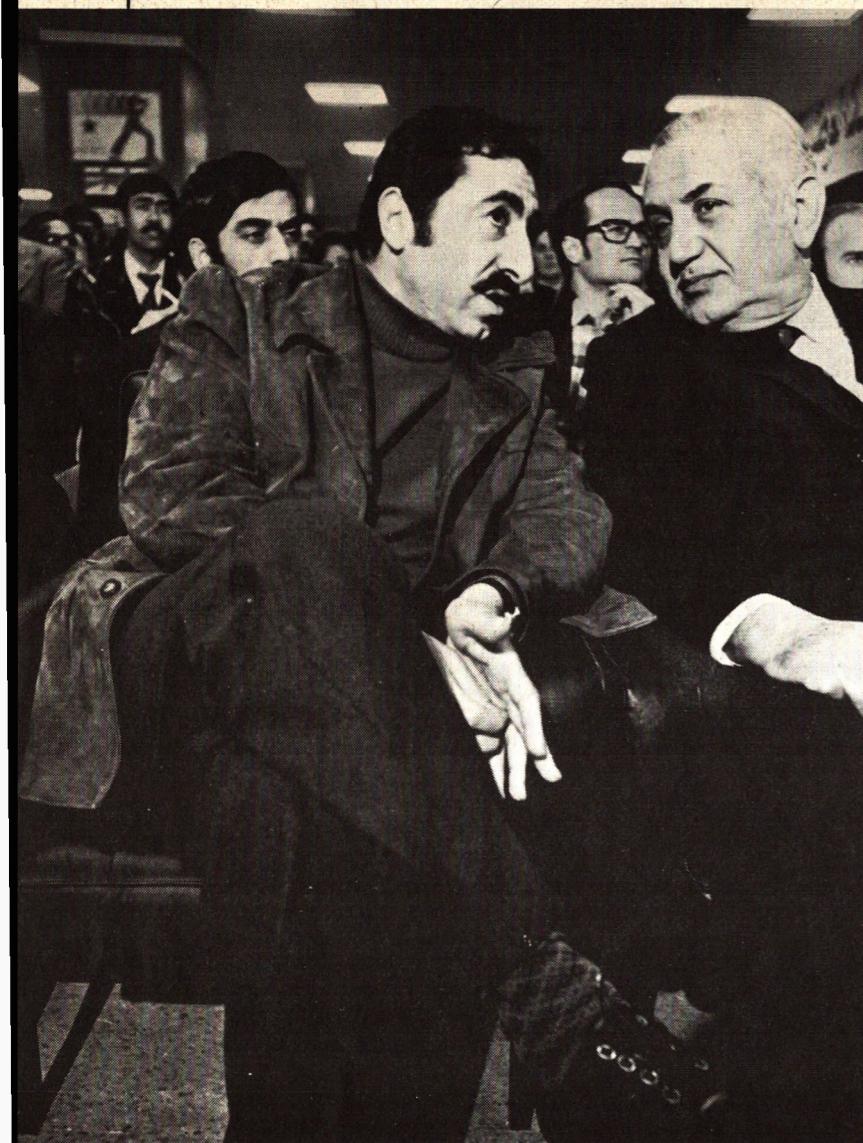


**SPECIAL**

# REPORT

On the Occasion  
of the 6th Anniversary  
of the D.F.L.P.

A Year's Struggle,  
a Year's Victories



# A Year's Struggle, a Year's Victories

February 22, 1975 was the 6th anniversary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the anniversary of the Palestinian left's independence on political, ideological and organizational levels.

The Democratic Front views this anniversary celebration as the occasion to make the yearly balance of its activities on all the levels of struggle. The degree of mass mobilization achieved is the indicator of the revolutionary work produced in both theory and practice. One can get an idea of our work by noting the size of the D.F.L.P.'s 6th anniversary celebrations which took place in various countries. Tens of thousands of people attended the rallies in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Democratic Yemen, and representatives of the various sections of the Arab national, democratic and progressive movement took part in the celebrations.

This special issue of the D.F.L.P. « Report » is devoted to the 6th anniversary in order to give our non-Arabic speaking comrades and friends an idea of the main points stressed in some of the various speeches and the general lines for the struggle at this stage.

# On the Occasion of the 6th Anniversary of the D.F.L.P.

Article written by Comrade Michel Kamel\*, which appeared in the magazine « February 22nd »\*\*

After the news media had received reports on the « Maalot » (Tarshiha) operation, I received a telephone call from a friend of mine in Paris who is a press correspondent known for his understanding and support of the Arab cause.

« What has happened? » he nervously and excitedly asked.

« We know nothing more than the news media does », I answered.

« I am not asking for news information. I want an explanation of what has taken place. It is all so unexpected — I want an explanation of what is happening. »

« A military operation in occupied territory has succeeded » I said.

« Yes, but the Democratic Front is responsible for it. Isn't this a flagrant contradiction of its declared political line? »

« Of course not », I replied, « I really don't see how they are in opposition. »

« Doesn't the Front » he asked, « advocate a program of stages and the establishing of a national authority on occupied land that is liberated? »

« But, » I answered, « it has never called for putting down arms or stopping military activity or substituting diplomatic activity in place of the struggle. A genuinely revolutionary movement fights the enemy with a joint military and political program. »

My friend was still confused. Taking into consideration the price of our telephone communication, I gave him the following advice :

« Reconsider the military principles of the organization, re-read its political line with a mind as detached as possible from the influence of the dominant Western views. Keep in mind the theory and practice of the revolutionary activity in Vietnam. If you do this you will be able to clearly understand the actions of an organization which is based on the same Marxist-Leninist principles. »

It is deplorable that such confusion exists in comprehending the dialectical ties between direct, immediate objectives and long term strategic goals ; between the military and the political ; between negotiation and struggle. This confusion exists to varying degrees among important factions of the Arab national forces and also among the extreme leftists. Their view of the struggle between opposites lacks an understanding of quantitative change in relation to qualitative change. Without having sufficient quantitative change they expect to get qualitative changes — hoping to achieve everything at once by some miracle. It is the thinking of day dreamers.

Others, influenced by rightist and bourgeois ideology see only quantitative change in the struggle. They are characterized by a lack of stamina. Though they occasionally have resorted to armed actions, they easily develop conservative positions and bend to all sorts of concessions and compromises.

It is revolutionary thinking — arising out of scientific analysis, based on correct theoretical principles — that can develop the working equation of the dialectical tie between immediate and long term goals. It is this revolutionary thinking that puts

\* A militant Egyptian Communist.

\*\* Publication issued yearly by the Democratic Front on the occasion of its anniversary.

tactics in the service of strategy, while never losing sight of the final goal. It is this force that understands the relation between the objective and the subjective ; between determinist and voluntarist acts ; between spontaneity and consciousness. **It is this force that can master analysis of the local and regional situation.**

The Front is an organization that believes in doing concrete political work, and strives to develop the organic connection with the proletariat which relies on raising the level of consciousness and, mobilizing and organizing the national forces — thus putting a directed gun in the service of the struggle.

The D.F.L.P. is an organization which does not abandon its goals or principles, and it masters ever more successfully the application of those principles in its work.

The D.F.L.P. has the spirit for initiative in putting forth the ideological and political issues concerning the Palestinian and Arab national liberation

movements. It does this never hesitating from fear of blackmail threats, lashes of unprincipled criticism or going against what are dominantly accepted ideas of large sectors of public opinion. The D.F.L.P. boldly puts forward its positions, stands by them and works to achieve wide support for them and if there is a temporary defeat of its positions the Front does not retreat because it knows that the correct line will in the end win out.

The Front has put itself at the head of the movement — taking the initiative during times when others kept silent, even up to the point at which the given situation was absolutely clear and even when some actually knew the opinion of the Front was correct.

The dialogues carried out by the Front served as a real factor in raising the level of political consciousness. They stimulated wide debates and controversies by inviting all cadres and all bases to

formulate their ideas and contribute to discussions which covered all sorts of problems (including some which had not before been part of open discussions. This phenomenon was began by us and we did not limit things to a rejection or acceptance of the Front's viewpoint — we opened the way to wide ideological and political participation within the Palestinian and Arab movements.

Another outstanding aspect of the Front's position is the connections made (while avoiding getting bogged down in contradictions that may exist) between Palestinian, national, Arab and international tasks. The D.F.L.P. has succeeded in pushing to the fore the necessity of national unity between the different revolutionary groups and has insisted on the social dimensions of the Palestinian and Arab revolutions.

At the same time, the D.F.L.P. confronts conservative and rightist concepts in respect to Arab

solidarity. A clear and firm stand is persistently taken against reactionary and rightist forces/regimes, with no effort spared in exposing their nature.

Since its creation, the Front has steadily grown and matured, learning from the experience of the revolution in order to give to the revolution. The D.F.L.P. has accomplished a great deal in 6 years and its development has influenced the development of the movement in general. Many of the members have given their blood and made great sacrifices for their people and the Arab national movement.

We salute the Front's martyrs, its imprisoned militants, its active cadres in the occupied territories and those cadres in all Arab countries. We salute the leadership of the Democratic Front and wish it evermore progress in the interests of the Palestinian people and the Arab liberation movement.

## IRAQ

# SOLIDARITY RALLY

The DFLP's organization in Iraq held a large rally in Baghdad for solidarity with the Palestinian people. Among the more than 2,000 persons attending were representatives of:

- the Iraqi Communist Party
- the Baath Party
- the Jordanian Communist Party
- representatives of progressive student organizations
- diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union
- representatives of the Iranian Communist Party «Toudeh»
- Press agencies

**SPEECH OF COMRADE  
MAGID ABD AL-RIDDA,  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
MEMBER OF THE IRAQI  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
GIVEN AT THE CELEBRATION  
IN BAGHDAD FOR THE 6<sup>th</sup>  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE D. F. L. P.**

Dear Friends:

We Iraqi communists are today celebrating with you the 6th anniversary of the DFLP. This front came into existence under very difficult circumstances — through the struggle of our brothers, the Palestinian people, against Israeli occupation (which is supported by U.S. imperialism) to gain along with the other Arab peoples their national rights.

The birth of the Palestinian organizations, among them the DFLP, expressed not only the Palestinian people's desire to make their presence known, but also this people's determination in the face of exile and plots, to take its fate into its own hands and its natural place alongside all peoples struggling for freedom, democracy and social progress.

The DFLP has confirmed its progressive and revolutionary character through its practice, positions and the alliances made with international progressive forces in its work to realize its objectives, foremost of which is the Palestinian people's right to self-determination on its own land.

These just and noble objectives will be achieved as long as our brothers, the Palestinian people, and their vanguard remain determined to struggle until victory. This calls for the unity of the Palestinian armed and patriotic forces — unity that responds to the noble aspirations of this courageous, struggling people. The enemies of the Palestinian people, their liberation movement and of the Arab national liberation movement are aware of the importance of unity, and are in vain trying to sabotage it. The long historical experience of the victories and the defeats have taught us to consolidate and maintain to the utmost the unity of the revolutionary forces, thereby guaranteeing victories over imperialism, Zionism, and reaction.



Magid Abd Al-Ridda, member of the Iraqi Communist Party Central

On this, the occasion of the DFLP's 6th anniversary, I am happy to salute — in the name of our Communist Party — the leaders, militants and friends of the Front who are courageously struggling for the just Palestinian cause which is also the cause of all militant Arab peoples.

On this occasion we greet all Palestinian militants and assure you, our brothers, that we will continue to stand with you in your struggle against Israeli occupation for the Palestinian right to self-determination on their own land. Let us consolidate the unity of the revolutionary Arab forces and the ties with the international forces of liberation and progress — headed by the faithful friend of the peoples, the Soviet Union.

# DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

## Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People

The Democratic Front's organization in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen held a rally in the national theater at the Ministry of Culture and Orientation in Aden. The more than 2,500 persons attending included representatives of the diplomatic body from the socialist countries and national liberation movements. Speaking at the rally were :

- Comrade Abdallah Al-Khamiri, representing the National Front of Democratic Yemen.
- Comrade Nasr Nasser Yafi'i representing the Popular Vanguard Party.
- Comrade Farid Barakat representing the Democratic Popular Union Party.
- Comrade Ahmed Sultan Omar representing the Yemeni Revolutionary Democratic Party.
- Comrade Khaled Amin representing the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman.

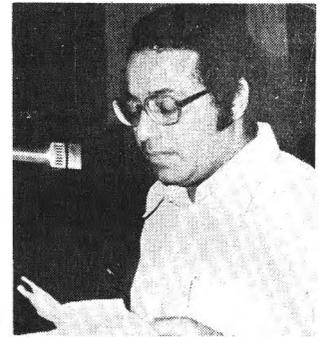
Among the many telegrams which were received there was one sent by the Organization of the Yemeni Revolutionary Resistant, (North Yemen) and one from the General Labor Union of the Republic of Yemen.

The rally closed with the projection of Palestinian revolutionary films, and Palestinian and Yemeni folklore dances and songs.



Solidarity of Yemeni and Palestinian revolutionaries.

## SPEECH OF COMRADE ABDALLAH AL-KHAMIRI, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL FRONT AND MINISTER OF STATE



Comrade Abdallah  
Al-Khamiri

Dear Friends :

It is my pleasure to represent the Political Organization of the National Front, as well as the state of Democratic Yemen in this celebration of the 6th anniversary of the D.F.L.P. This celebration taking place in PDRY expresses the unity of forces of the Arab democratic revolution, and the unity between the Palestinian and Yemeni revolutions.

Our revolutionary movement is an integral part of the Arab revolutionary movement. Our people are concerned with all revolutionary changes occurring in the Middle East and in the whole Arab homeland. The geographic, economic and cultural bonds between the peoples of the Arab nation, makes our people integrally connected in the Arab nation and we stand with the people struggling to achieve the common and just goals.

The just Palestinian cause has become one of the fundamental questions of the century. It is heightening the consciousness of the peoples of the world and of the democratic forces. Daily gaining more support, the Palestinian people under the direction of the PLO have achieved recognition of their just national struggle, and the young Palestinian revolutionary movement is already a real part of the international revolutionary movement.

Though the Palestinian people have been struggling for a long time, they suffered greater difficulties than other Arab peoples who have gained their political independence and established national states. The Zionist invasion, its continuous aggression and the exile of the Palestinians have left them without their homeland — without the material base of their existence, without the base for exerting its right to self-determination.

Today the Palestinian people are asserting themselves. They are armed and have the support of the other Arab peoples to establish a national state on Palestinian land. The Palestinian people are part of the historical development of the Arab national liberation movement.

We are proud to see that the revolution has been capable of altering the balance of forces which previously had been so much in the favor of Zionism and imperialism. The present Palestinian situation cannot be compared with what it was in '48, '65 and '67. The favorable changes are a result of the development in the Arab peoples' national

consciousness and class consciousness. This of course creates a daily more complex and explosive situation which threatens imperialist and reactionary strongholds in this area so rich in petrol and mineral resources, and so strategically important.

The struggle in this area is continuously growing — though the imperialist and reactionary forces refuse the Palestinians' rights and try to squeeze them between the hammer of « Israel » and the Hashemite anvil. The Palestinian people are conscious of these dangers and are struggling — with the support of those people who hold high freedom and peace — to gain their right to self-determination on their own land, creating a national independent state and thus accomplishing a step on the road to replacing the Zionist state with one democratic state on the whole of Palestine.

The mobilization of the Arab forces around the Rabat decisions, and their organized struggle against imperialism, Zionism and traitorous reaction is the way to defeat the enemy. All decisions taken to consolidate Palestinian unity (on the political, military and financial levels) must be executed in order to further develop the armed struggle, and intensify the political and mass activity. Such determination for unity will achieve the unity of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories and will strengthen the PNF inside the occupied territory.

The Palestinian left is more obliged than others to militate for national unity within the framework of the P.L.O. (the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people).

The Palestinian left is obliged to also resolve, in a democratic way, the conflicts and contradictions between the different organizations of the revolutions.

The Yemeni people and all the Arab people are sure that the Palestinian people will be victorious in their national liberation struggle, due to the unity of the Palestinian people and to the support from the Arab and international forces.

I respectfully salute the martyrs of the Palestinian, Yemeni and Omani revolutions.

We wish for these revolutions a speedy victory and we hope soon to see the defeat of the Irani invaders and of the troops of Qabous, making Oman a progressive, independent Arab state.

Victory is ours !

# KUWAIT

## A RALLY AND A POPULAR FESTIVAL FOR THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT'S 6TH ANNIVERSARY

On February 22nd 1975, the Democratic Front organization in Kuwait held a rally which was attended by some 700 Palestinians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Kuwaitis and members of other Arab communities currently working in Kuwait; the rally was also attended by diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union, the People's Democratic Republic of China, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; by representatives of the liberation movements of the Arab Gulf and Eritrea; by editors of the whole Kuwaiti daily press, who reported the rally on the front-page.

On February 28th, the Frint held a popular festival at the Kuwaiti General Labour Union. An enthusiastic crowd of some 2,500 people attended the celebration in which there was the singing of Palestinian revolutionary songs, folklor dancing, and the showing of the film «May of the Palestinians».



Kuwait and Palestinians at the Front's sixth anniversary rally in Kuwait

# SYRIA

## POPULAR RALLY AT DAMASCUS FOR THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DFLP

February 21st, a large rally was held at « Yarmouk » refugee camp. In front of large masses, the following spoke :

- brother Mohsen Abou Maizar, on behalf of the PLO executive committee,
- comrade Arabi Awad on behalf of the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories,
- the representative of the National Front in command in Syria,
- the chairman of the Martyrs' Families Association, and,
- the representative of the Palestinian mass organizations.

The rally closed on a speech launched by comrade Yasser Abed Rabbo, member of FDLP political bureau and its representative at PLO executive committee.

# LEBANON

## RALLY CLOSING AT THE ARAB UNIVERSITY

The large rally in Beirut was attended by 15,000 people, including representatives of the Palestinian and Arab national movement and of the socialist countries. In the 2 weeks preceding the rally activities such as demonstrations, showing revolutionary films, military parades, speeches and campaigns for material support took place in all Palestinian concentrated areas throughout Lebanon. At the rally closing the anniversary celebrations speeches were given by:

- Brother Kamal Jumblat, representing the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party and the Arab Front Participating in the Palestinian Revolution.
- Comrade Nicolas Chaoui, Secretary General of the Lebanese Communist Party
- Comrade Mohsen Ibrahim, Secretary General of the Lebanese Organization of Communist Action
- Brother Abu Ayad of al-Fateh
- Brother Abd-Al-Jawad Saleh of the Palestine National Front inside the occupied territories, and
- Brother Mohammed Choutfi, ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.



The international revolutionary movement and the Arab revolutionary movement support us.

# Extracts of speech given by Kamal Jumblat, Secretary General of the Arab Front Participating in the Palestinian Revolution, and President of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon



Kamal Jumblat : Kissinger's policy is based on Arab ignorance...

- 1) Kissinger's policy is based on Arab ignorance and the assumption that this ignorance will continue.
- 2) U.S. policy is based on militarily building Israel in order to guarantee for the U.S. not only an equilibrium of forces, but Israel's predominance. This being the same sort of tactic used in South Vietnam to allow for a pullout of U.S. soldiers.
- 3) It is necessary to U.S. interests to maintain the existence of the state of 'Israel' to serve as a counter-balance to the developing Arab forces.
- 4) The threat of occupying petroleum sources is kept hanging in order to prevent a possible boycott against the industrial countries, in the event of a 5th Arab-Israeli war. These threats serve to instill fear and apprehension among the Arab leaders and the people — thereby strengthening the position of the U.S. in Europe and pressuring the direction of Arab capital into the U.S. which is threatened with a severe crisis.
- 5) The U.S. is trying to prevent any Euro-Arab meetings.
- 6) There are all out attempts to lower real petrol prices in order to increase exploitation and to help insure that the Arab example will not be followed by other countries of the Third World which possess

- needed raw materials. In our opinion and in that of bipartisan experts, it is necessary to raise the real petrol prices so as to stop imperialist stealing.
- 7) U.S. policy aims at provoking divisions in the Arab World — heating rumors and arguments on partial solutions, «step by step» policy and on Soviet policy at Geneva. The U.S. tactics are to instill doubt and mistrust between the Arab leaders.
- 8) The U.S. tries to pull the maximum profit out of local and regional contradictions (of confessional or a secondary political nature) that exist between certain Arab countries of the Middle East and, Iran and Turkey. The imperialists know that if these two countries joined the Arab World the latter would become a third super power.
- 9) The U.S. tries to pressure the Soviet Union — politically, economically, and financially — to get Jewish immigration to Israel increased, thereby allowing Israel to achieve a population growth needed in the face of the Arab population explosion. At the same time, the U.S. wants to strangle and finally eliminate the Palestinian resistance — the force able to keep the world aware of the crime against the Palestinian people.

# Extracts from the speech delivered by brother Abu Ayad, leading member of al-Fateh



Abu Ayad : the true voice of Lebanon is that of its progressives.

Brother Abu Ayad spoke in the name of Fateh. He opened his speech saying, «I consider this an anniversary not only for our brothers of the DFLP, but also for Fateh and for all the forces of the revolution.» In the course of his speech Abu Ayad gave emphasis to the following points:

- Kissinger's attempts are aimed not at an Israeli withdrawal from Arab territory, but at a withdrawal of this or that Arab front from the military front.
- The Jordanian front has not and will not fight, and there is no reason for Arab mediators to keep travelling to Amman.

Abu Ayad stated the three conditions which were stipulated by King Hussein:

- 1 — that a PLO attended summit conference be held for the purpose of revising the Rabat decisions with PLO sanctioning
- 2 — that Hussein be granted a mandate to negotiate on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- 3 — that the national authority which will supposedly govern the West Bank be defined.

Abu Ayad went on saying, «King Hussein has said that he will wait for the appropriate moment. I say in the name of the revolutionaries, that he will have a long wait because he will not be granted the power to act on our behalf — the Palestinians are not struggling to have Jordan able to play its former role or reactivate its plots.»

Concerning the situation in Lebanon, Abu Ayad said, «We believe the real voice of Lebanon to be that

of its progressives, not that voice of discord which harmonizes with the Zionist enemy. These people know Lebanon only through their exploitation of its people, we know Lebanon through the men, women and young people who are resisting in the South.» Abu Ayad appealed for opposing the plots by:

- protecting the Palestinian revolution through strengthening the ties with the Lebanese progressive and national forces.
- further developing the Palestinian national unity through all those who want to, joining together around the 10 point program of Palestinian national authority.

Abu Ayad spoke of the program of stages as a program of real struggle which could unify our forces and he said that all present plots endeavor to do away with this program replacing it with the power of King Hussein. He then said, «Therefore, I call for national unity. I appeal not to those who are making a financial profit out of their rejection, but to those who have been struggling with us and are protecting the revolution... » to:

- strengthen the ties between the Palestinian revolution and all Arab progressive and national forces, and strengthen the Arab Front Participating in the Palestinian Revolution.
- strengthen the ties of the revolution with liberation movements of the world, and stand in firm alliance with the socialist countries — headed with the Soviet Union.

# SPEECH GIVEN BY COMRADE NICOLAS CHAQUI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LEBANON

**Comrade Hawatmeh, Secretary General of the DFLP, Comrades, and friends:**

Allow me, in the name of the Communist Party of Lebanon, to salute the DFLP on the occasion of its 6th anniversary which our party joins in celebrating as we have a position of support for the Palestinian people's cause and are part of the common struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The rise of the DFLP, the left wing of the Palestinian national revolutionary movement, was the development of the role played by the left trends within this movement since its creation. It is the crystallization of those tendencies which are to the core hostile to imperialism. It constitutes the development of a revolutionary line based on scientific analysis and aimed at defining the objectives and working methods that put the revolution on a sound basis assuring continual growth and opening the road to reaching the final goals.

Our participating with the DFLP in its 6th anniversary celebration has for us a double significance. On the one hand, we are taking part with the whole Palestinian revolution in celebrating the



**Comrade Nicolas Chaoui. The Lebanese and Palestinian national forces' alliance.**

accomplishments made throughout its struggle. On the other hand, our participation here is also an appreciation of the role played by the DFLP to the core of the Palestinian revolution through its crystallizing the political positions which will get the tasks accomplished.

As communists we know the positive significance of the development of the leftist tendencies in all national liberation movements. By this we are not putting the left and right of the movement into some sort of formal or superficial categorization nor are we making artificial differentiations between the various organizations based only their slogans, nor are we turning away from the call for the national unity of the groups struggling for national liberation and social progress. Concerning this we recall the DFLP position which adheres to national unity of the resistance organizations. Throughout even very difficult times and while firmly maintaining its line, the DFLP has not lost sight of national unity and not allowed the struggle for its positions to be cause for divisions nor has it allowed itself to get dragged down in artificial divisions or factionalism within the Palestinian national movement.

The positions of the DFLP on Fateh, the most important faction within the Palestinian resistance; the positions on brother Abu Ammar, commander-in-chief of the forces of the revolution; and the positions on the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people testify to the correct line followed by the comrades of the DFLP on the matter of national unity.

The Palestinian revolution had found itself at a crossroad in a stage in which it had to correctly resolve the twofold task of escalating the armed struggle and escalating the political struggle. This based on a program of stages that would be capable of mobilizing the largest percent of the masses around the defined tasks, and that would guarantee success. The DFLP was able to discern the new factors and from this define a precise scientific analysis and the appropriate tactics.

## **The program of stages and the democratic state**

We give credit where credit is due in saying that the comrades of the Democratic Front have led a wide political struggle, carried on profound theoretical debates and have been able to develop an organized military practice with far reaching influences. The DFLP was the first group within the resistance to put forth, as an urgent and fundamental task, the program of stages, and was the first to raise the slogan of «national authority». Fateh, the PNF in the occupied territory and all Palestinian national forces have agreed on this program — recognizing that there are progressive stages to reaching the final goal of creating a democratic state on the whole of Palestine's land.

## **The victories of the revolution**

The Palestinian revolution has achieved many successes in this last period. These were above all a

result of the boundless sacrifices of the Arab and Palestinian people in their resolute struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab (mainly Jordanian) reaction. Due to the struggles led by the masses of the whole Arab homeland; to the October War; and to the firm support given by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and support from all forces of the world which care for freedom and progress we have witnessed the great strides made by the Palestinian revolution. These strides were concretized by the U.N. general assembly decision to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and by it now having permanent observer status at the U.N. In addition, the Rabat decisions were a great achievement for the Palestinian and Arab cause. For these decisions stipulate the Palestinian people's right to national independence and to establish their national state on all land that is liberated from the occupationists, and the decisions reject any partial or separate solutions.

## **Dangers of the partial solution**

Many moves taking place in the Arab world after the Rabat Summit constitute transgressions of the Rabat decisions. Such are the attempts to make the PLO give to the Jordanian regime a mandate to negotiate disengagement on the West bank, as are the moves for a partial solution in Sinai.

Clearly, no patriot opposes an Arab country trying to regain its land, but the scheme of partial solutions is not such a clear cut matter. To see this one need only note the declaration of the Israeli military chief of staff stating that reaching a separate agreement with Egypt through Kissinger is more important than keeping the strategic positions in Sinai. The dangers of Egyptian leaders' positions which place all confidence in Kissinger are clearly dangers of political concessions, this being the core of the partial solutions.

The October War has proven that Israel will not be able to indefinitely occupy Arab land. Developments in the international situation have proven that U.S. imperialism is no longer capable of imposing its will. Regaining land through partial solutions is regaining it at the expense of other occupied Arab land and to the detriment of the Palestinian people's cause. And this, at a time when Arab and international support is behind a just solution in the area. Such concessions do not help us in gaining our national rights, rather, they encourage the enemy to make more demands; they work against the unity of the patriotic Arab forces; they break the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; and they deny the Palestinian people the achievements made in their struggle.

## **The illegitimate solutions will not come to pass**

At best the rightist solutions can only see some sort of temporary success. Any solution that does not

encompass the total retreat from all occupied territories and the guarantee of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people is a solution that will not last. The experience of the years following the Palestinian people's 1948 tragedy proves this. Many Arab countries have since liberated themselves from the domination of colonialism and reaction. These masses have made important national, democratic, and social accomplishments which can not easily be reversed by antagonistic forces, and the Palestinian people have made their way out of a great prison which no force in the world can put them into a second time.

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#### The support of the parties of the Solidarity Front

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Comrades and Friends,

The matter of support for the Palestinian resistance takes an important place in the struggle being waged by the Lebanese people — struggles for total national liberation, for democratic liberties, for a worthwhile life and a better future.

Our party takes part — side by side with the Progressive Socialist Party and all sectors of the Lebanese national liberation movement — in supporting through various ways the Palestinian cause which epitomizes the cause of Arab liberation and the people's destiny.

The Arab Solidarity Front constitutes for the Palestinian revolution one of the frameworks in which our party, along with all groups of the Arab national liberation movement cooperate together in our common struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

The masses of Kfar Shouba and South Lebanon have demonstrated the national consciousness of our people and their regard for their sovereignty. They struggled side by side with the Palestinian resistance against Zionist aggression and they condemned the policy of desertion followed by the bourgeois-feudal alliance which has been ruling in Lebanon for more than a quarter of a century.

Our party has persistently warned of the Zionist and imperialist dangers to southern Lebanon and of the Zionist obsession for its waters. We have called for a serious national defence policy that is in coordination with the Arab brother countries and has arms supplied by the friendly countries.

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#### The martyrs of the Lebanese people constitute the most striking referendum

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Those who plead for foreign protection and international guarantees and carry the myth that Lebanon «draws its strength from its weakness» have totally opposed any real national defence policy in order to preserve their interests which are tied to imperialism.

These people have not lifted a finger in defending national sovereignty — not in 1958 when the U.S. 6th Fleet landed in Lebanon at the outbreak of the

14th of July revolution in Iraq nor when Zionist enemy forces have invaded Southern Lebanon costing us lives and much destruction. These people talk about «sovereignty» only in opposition to witnessing the Lebanese masses united with the Palestinian resistance in defending national dignity and Lebanese land.

The extreme right of the Lebanese bourgeoisie is growing more and more isolated. Their fascist cries attempting to scare what is, in fact, a determined sector of the Lebanese people or to inject the poisons of confessionalism, are ineffective. They have proved incapable of preventing the large national democratic and syndical struggles through which the will for change from the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese people is being manifested.

From this rightwing come the voices trying to agitate the people against the Palestinian resistance, trying to light isolationist and sectarian fires. These are the voices calling for a Lebanese referendum\* on the question of the Palestinian resistance's presence in Lebanon. To this we answer: the martyrs of the Lebanese people in the South who side by side with the Palestinians gave their blood for the homeland, and those martyrs who were killed in Beirut on April 22, 1969 are the most striking referendum to the Lebanese people's national dignity and to the unity of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples' destiny.

Attempts at creating sectarian divisions and undermining the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples' unity will once again fail. This, due to the heightened political consciousness of our Lebanese people and to the real solidarity between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. As in the past, our Party continues to stand with the other sections of the Lebanese national democratic movement in confronting such attempts, and we will work even harder than before to ensure that this rightwing will harvest nothing but condemnation and defeat.

Comrades and Friends,

In closing I would like to affirm that our Lebanese Communist Party and the Democratic Front have relations founded upon a solid basis. The commitment of the Democratic Front to the cause of its people; its refusal of all and any form of tutelage over the Palestinian people and the experience of the revolution have provided the Democratic Front with the means to follow a correct line in its relations with other national and progressive Arab forces — to working in a way which benefits Palestinian national unity.

Due to its Marxist-Leninist comprehension, the Democratic Front does not present itself as an alternative to the other Marxist-Leninist organisations. Rather, it has established solid relations with the Lebanese Communist Party, the other Arab communist parties and with the international communist movement.

Salute to the 6th anniversary of the DFLP  
Long live the Palestinian revolution.

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\*Pierre Gemayel, the Phalangist Party leader who represents the fascist extreme right in Lebanon, has called for a referendum to decide on the presence of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon.

# ABRIDGEMENT OF THE SPEECH GIVEN BY THE COMRADE NAYEF HAWATMEH SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE D.F.L.P.

Comrades,

I extend my greetings to the leaders of the Lebanese national movement and to all our comrades of the Palestinian Revolution. In the name of the heroes of liberation and national independence from Tarshiha to Bissan, and the heroes of the «Safad operation» whose leader died this morning — I salute our Front on its 6th anniversary and salute the Palestinian revolution. I extend greetings from the Central Committee of our Front to the struggling fighters among the ranks of our people, our Revolution, our country and the Arab liberation movement.

Today we are celebrating the 6th anniversary of the Democratic Front, and a few days ago we celebrated the 10th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution for which Fateh had taken the initiative in firing the first bullet.

That we are now celebrating our 6th anniversary clearly shows that decisions on the Arab nation and Palestine do not rest in the hands of imperialism reaction, the rightwing and Israeli Zionism. For the prediction of these forces, giving the DFLP a life span of a few months, was unable to be realized.

We reaffirm at this 6th anniversary that the revolutionaries will triumph. No matter how cruel the atrocities; the bloody wars against us; the wars of starvation and siege; no matter what the obstacles — the revolutionaries will dig with their guns, their hands, with every ounce of strength, the road to the left — the road to the revolution's victory.

Today we celebrate and recall our national experience from a new position in comparison to the forces of imperialism, reaction, Zionism, and the Arab right. Our revolution now has a record of important victories which were achieved by

surmounting the grimmest situations passed through by our revolution, and under the shadows of defeat of the Arab nation's armies and states. The Palestinian revolution continued in its struggle proving that armed revolutionaries and patriots are able to overcome the most unfavorable conditions, develop and strengthen the forces of revolution and achieve victories.

Given our present situation — after the 10 year experience of the revolution and after the glorious patriotic October War — how can the enemy camp now be able to carry out its conspiracies? They failed to impose their liquidationist, surrenderist solution on our people, on our nation at the time when the Arab armies and states were defeated. The Palestinian fighter took up his gun — supported by the Arab masses and the forces of freedom, justice and peace in the world — and the enemy could not stifle the voice of the Palestinian and Arab liberation movement.

Now, in 1975 how can enemy plots be successfully executed? We say to them in the language of those who trust their guns, their goals, their cause and their organizations — your time has passed. Our struggle against you has gathered the cumulative points engendering a new, qualitatively different situation. It is too late and now beyond your capacity to deal us a fatal blow. Point by point we will defeat you and consequently it will be you who will receive the fatal blow.

To our comrades-in-arms who do not support the program of national authority, we stress the fact that the balance of power is not to the advantage of the enemy. To the theorising that it is and that «we can do nothing but wait, until the period after the enemy



**Nayef Hawatmeh : Foiling of partial settlements.  
We are armed with our guns and our political program.  
The mass mobilization, indicator of a correct political line.**

executes its plans» we say, even after the 1967 defeat the enemy was unable to effect the liquidationist, surrenderist solutions. Our recent victories make this present state one in which we are more solidly than ever able to combat the conspiracies against us.

We celebrate this anniversary with the knowledge that the revolution — our revolution which has overcome all kinds of crises, and outlived all the temporary defeats — will definitely live on to complete tasks for liberating all the Palestine homeland, to complete the Palestinian national democratic revolution.

The loyalty and self sacrifice of the revolution's left in serving our country, our people and our revolution will continue through all the stages of revolution; national liberation, national democratic revolution, and the following stages leading to a dignified and peaceful life in the homeland.

We will successfully pass all the progressive stages of the revolution, finally wiping out all traces of backwardness, of Zionist- colonialism, and reactionary, rightist traces. As long as there are comrades to carry the guns of the heroes of 'Maalot' Tarshiha, Naharia, Khalsa, Bissan... the struggle will go on.

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Arms in one hand,  
the political program in the other

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«A class that does not know how to use arms deserves to be treated as slaves. A party that does not know how to use arms also deserves the treatment of slaves.» We are armed with our guns and our political program.

The conflict after the October War, as before it, is around the question of the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and national independence. It is the conflict between our people's national rights and the denial of those rights through schemes for redividing Palestinian land among the Zionists, Jordanian reaction and other reactionary, rightist forces.

The crux of the struggle, since the first bullet of the Palestinian Revolution was fired in 1965 has been the restoration of the Palestinian independent national existence, denied as a result of the imperialist-reactionary-Zionist conspiracy of 1948. That conspiracy established the Zionist state and also wiped out what else remained of the Palestinian

independent national presence. This, through annexation and domination by the Hashemite Jordanian Kingdom, and leaving the remaining piece, which deprived of the name of Palestine became known as the «Gaza Strip», under Egyptian administration from 1948 until the 1967 defeat.

The 1948 plot was, of course, a well studied plan with the armies of Arab reaction fighting within the limits of the U.N. Partition Plan and according to a previous agreement on dividing up what remained of Palestine among the neighboring Arab reactionary states. After the declaration of the Zionist state on May 15, 1948 began the process to completely erase the Palestinian independent identity. The Hashemite Jordanian Kingdom's procedures for annexation and subordination began immediately. The Palestinian national armed forces, «Army of the Holy War», was disbanded by order of King Abdallah and there followed a decree liquidating Palestinian arms. All of

this, a necessary part of the process sealed by formally legal procedures completed in April of 1950. The struggle has, since the first bullet been for restoring the Palestinian independent, national existence. From the first we therefore took the initiative to decide upon a stand which is based on this principle — not tactics.

The stand is on the Palestinian people's rights of self-determination, liberation and national independence on all Palestinian land which is liberated through the combined efforts of our people, the Arab nation and friendly powers. This being the principle right of our people, the principle on which we stand — it is then quite strange that there are among us now some denying this right, whatever the motives of their denial may be. We must unite on the principle — for this, not tactics is the basis of the stand.

In denying our people's rights, in opposing the principle we stand on — King Hussein executed the massacres in Amman, Jarash and Ajloun, and Lebanese reaction plotted the events of April 1969, October 1970, and May 1973. All of which are connected to imperialist-Zionist plans to end the presence of armed Palestinians — to exterminate the revolutionary and national, armed Palestinian forces, and thus make it possible to put through the liquidationist solution. But, we will not allow the wheels of history to turn backwards in their plan to re-enact the 1948 tragedy.

During and since the October War the struggle has been against the plans of America, Israel, Jordanian and Saudi Arabian reaction, and Arab rightist forces which are responding to plans and pressure of American imperialism. In confronting the plan to liquidate the Palestinian national question by the redivision of Palestine between the Zionist and Arab reaction, our Front — under the guidance of its Central Committee — has contributed decisively in the formulation and support of the program of national authority. In defending this program some of

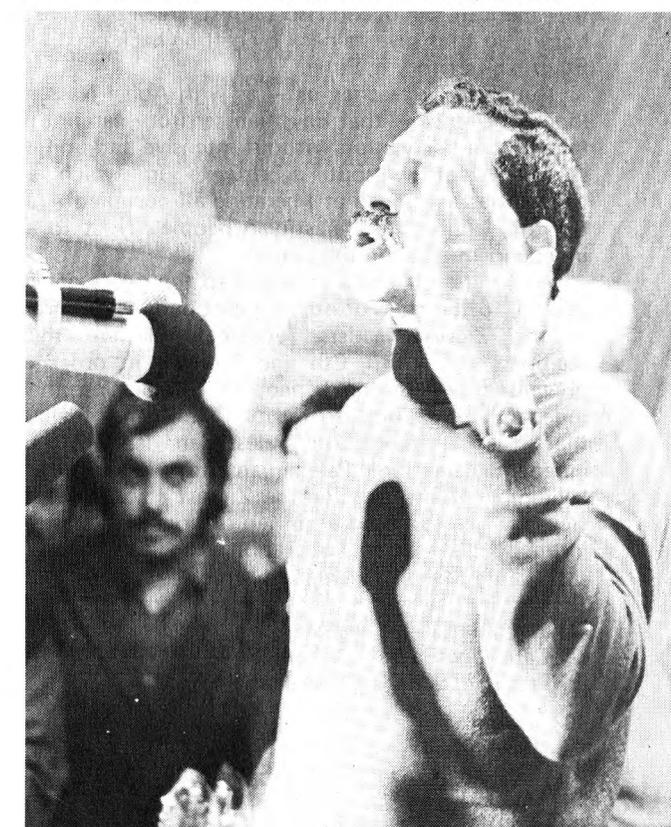
our comrades fell martyrs, which we bitterly regret to say, was at some Arab and Palestinian hands. We persistently defended the program of national authority and it has since become the victorious line having the full support of our people.

The formulation of the transitional national program has been the central link in the strategic chain. In realizing this program we will be able to take a solid step forward to the other links on the way leading to the strategic goal of liberating all the land of Palestine, and defeating all short and long range imperialist plans, thus being able to establish a unified democratic state on all of the Palestinian homeland.

Our Front has played a vanguard role in the formulation of the transitional national program and in its staunch defense. The Front at the same time continued and stepped-up the armed, organizational, political and popular struggles within the occupied territories, from 'Maalot' Tarshiha to Bissan under the slogans of the national program.

As brother Abu Ayad has said, we do not expect the plans against our 10 point national program to cease. But, as for those who differ with us only on tactical points, they may add points to our program — the criterion is on the principle question, not that of tactics.

Armed with the transitional national program we buried the Egyptian-Jordanian communique which attempted to trample the right of our people to establish an independent national state. Under the banners of our program we achieved the victory of the Rabat decisions which came as a defeat to the Saudi-Egyptian alliance which had hoped to pass Kissinger's step by step plan and to put King Hussein and the «United Kingdom» project in place of our revolution. Under the banners of our program we succeeded in penetrating the world's conscience. Palestinian entry into the U.N. is a victory indicative



of the change in the international balance of power which is to the favor of and in the interest of our people's cause and the Arab national movement.

Armed with our guns and our political program we have achieved important victories. But, the enemy has not yielded yet in its fight against us, and will not do so until after point by point we are able to give it a final blow. After the Rabat Summit and after the Vladivostok Summit between Comrade Brezhnev and Ford, Kissinger and Ford stated that the U.S. will not reconsider or revise its «step by step approach», will not take as final the Rabat decisions and will not recognize the PLO demand for Palestinian rights to self-determination and establishment of an independent national state.

The forces of Arab reaction and the right adopt programs which submit to American imperialist plans to move «step by step» into and on the Arab countries. At the same time, these plans and that support for them build the Zionist-Hashemite alliance for liquidating the Palestinian independent national identity by crushing it under the expansionist Zionist state and the reactionary «United Kingdom» project.

By the energy of our revolution, the Arab national liberation movement and the friendly international forces we will defeat the surrenderist, liquidationist solution. Armed with our national program based on the principal rights of our people, and by consolidating a national base in which we move among the masses like fish in the sea — we will succeed in each stage of the struggle.

Our 10 point national program is in direct confrontation with the plans of the enemy camp. The U.S. is working feverishly to put through its plans trampling our people's right to independence. Saudi Arabia worked behind the scenes for the production of the infamous Jordanian-Egyptian communique which was prepared by Zeid Rufai,<sup>1</sup> Kamel Adham<sup>2</sup> and Ashraf Mourwan.<sup>3</sup> The Egyptian right responded to American, Saudi and also Zionist Israeli pressure — hoping to thus save its neck by getting back occupied Egyptian territory in Sinai.

But, history teaches us — as with Abdel Nasser's long experience — that Egyptian territory can not be taken from occupation without intensive and unified struggle. Not without a struggle in which all capabilities are aimed at liberating all occupied Arab territory and at the Palestinian people's right to an independent state on their land.

As for Israeli plans in regard to the rights of our people, to the goals of our 10 point national program — the Zionist leaders repeatedly declare their readiness for a 5th, 6th and 7th war in order to prevent the Palestinian people's establishing their independent national authority. The enemy realizes that the existence on Palestinian land of an independent national Palestinian entity would be the beginning of the end for the Zionist state, and the step towards building a unified democratic Palestine in the people's national liberation struggle.

It will be a long and hard struggle, but we will

recover all our land. We will begin through building our independent, national entity on every piece of Palestinian land liberated. We will not allow any of it to be handed over to plots for reconstructing 1948.

The enemy camp is trying to wipe out the program of national authority and the Rabat decisions. They are aware that the transitional national program is the central link in our present struggle, and they know fully the implications of its realization. They understand that the national program and the Rabat decisions are decisive in combating the plans of America, Israel, King Hussein, Saudi Arabia, and also the support of the Egyptian right for these plans.

As we mentioned before, the crux of the struggle has been and is the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and independence. To gain the rights of the Arab peoples in liberating the occupied territories — without conditions, without partial settlements, without annexations and divisions, without any plans at consolidating imperialist-Zionist-Arab reaction and rightist-forces in the face of the will for liberation, for revolution, for an independent Palestine and Arab nation.

#### Aims of Kissinger's latest mission

Kissinger is trying to get our surrender to imperialist domination and hopes to push the Arab states to this point by starting with the major Arab state, Egypt. Kissinger's hook in Egypt gives us great concern and worry, for we want Egypt's revolutionary effort with us.

The great people of Egypt and her gallant soldiers have been a formidable force against the many waves of invasions and campaigns (from the Tartars, the crusades and onward) which tried to take over Palestine and the Arab East. The Egyptian peasant was the tool in liberating these lands from occupation.

Egypt, with its 36 million people, with its boundless energy and manpower, with its revolutionary effort whose resources are endless — this is the Egypt we don't want to lose on the Kissinger hook. We want Egypt with us — struggling shoulder to shoulder in the cause for liberating our land and all occupied Arab land.

After the defeat of 1967 the American hook tried to trap Egypt, but Abdel Nasser stood firm even when he had been alone. He did not bow to American imperialist attempts to solve the problem of occupied Sinai at the expense of the total Arab and Palestinian question. They set the forces of Arab reaction against Nasser to break his defiance, to starve Egypt into submission, but Nasser did not kneel because the will of patriots can not be bent, because the Egyptian people and its great soldiers do not kneel.

Our concern and worry is great when we witness the Egyptian right responding to American plans. Anyone thinking to play with American imperialism as a «clever Egyptian peasant» who can trick Kissinger by telling America to be on its way after the land is regained, had better think again. The matter is not so simple, for this first step is not an unconnected

one with no implications beyond getting the land back.

This first step is linked to an economic, social and political chain of successive revisionist steps on the Arab land of Egypt. It is linked to splitting and dissolving Arab war fronts and Arab solidarity. It is linked to getting rid of the Rabat decisions and to trampling our people's right to an independent national authority — by preparing the ground for Hussein (or some other third party) to negotiate on our land and set up the reactionary «United Kingdom» project.

Out of these considerations stem our great concern and worry over what is happening on the Egyptian front. Frankly, we fear the possibility of American imperialists succeeding in pushing Egypt to the next step. For it would be on an agreement to liquidate the struggle for the coming two years (until the next American presidential election) and to allow Israeli goods to pass through the Suez Canal. This, for a withdrawal (even partial) on the Sinai and with no conditions for coordinating it with withdrawal on the Golan Heights and the Palestinian West Bank of the Jordan River. Thus cornering Syria and the PLO, and having two years in which to plot adjustments to the Syrian and Palestinian situations.

Obviously, with this one strike the Arab positions are split. Following such a removal of Egypt's combative weight from the arena of struggle, we would fear the cunning imperialist hand reaching to the Syrian front. And if the imperialists saw success of another partial solution there, they would thereby have isolated the Palestinian revolution and would have an isolated P.L.O. to combat.

We do not close our eyes to such possibilities, but we face them head on. We are confronting the plots to trap Egypt and to corner Syria and the P.L.O. Our revolution will not fall into an easy target for our enemies. The determination of our revolution, our guns, the Arab national liberation movement and the progressive national Arab states can foil these conspiracies.

#### Saudi Pressures against the National Forces

Once again we are hearing the infamous Saudi tune of «honest and dishonest» fedayeen. After seeing the odds for its bet on King Hussein go down, Saudi Arabia prepared to emasculate the PLO of all revolutionary and national progressive forces. This, to transform the PLO into an empty framework able to be filled with liquidationist plans.

In the war being waged against the PLO by Arab reaction we hear their hackneyed call for «a PLO which is free of communism so that the future national Palestinian state will not be a Soviet Union base.» Such calls don't have the scare they are intended to have.

With all ranks of our people we are fighting to liberate our homeland. Our future state will not be turned into a base of any sort other than a national revolutionary Palestinian base. And it is not the Soviet Union, but American imperialism which wants

to secure colonialist bases. Socialists are struggling to demolish imperialist bases, and the Soviet Union is struggling with us to defeat Zionist-colonialist occupation because Israel serves as a colonialist base for both Zionism and American imperialism.

We are convinced that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are struggling with us will continue in their efforts to support us throughout the struggle. They will support us in achieving the only lasting and just democratic solution (as long as it is truly democratic in both the short and long run). This radical democratic solution is under the banner of the unified democratic state on all Palestinian land.

We know that socialists do not betray or abandon liberation movements. The anti-communist scares about the role of the Soviet Union in our struggle or about communists «invading» the PLO will not be swayed. And the PLO will not be mutilated into a puppet for imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

U.S.-Israeli policy intends to pull Egypt and Syria out of the battlefield, thereby giving the rightwing an isolated PLO to attack at the next Arab Summit (to take place in about 8 months). Such a situation would serve the rightist demands for the PLO to expel its revolutionary elements and to give King Hussein the power to speak in the name of the Palestinian people.

The pressures to give Hussein such power persist under the guise of «the most important task is to get back Arab land, and King Hussein is the only one able to accomplish this.» King Hussein, the King who massacred 25,000 of our people. As brother Abu Ayad has just said, Hussein is relying on the forces of the Arab right to help him rob the rights of our people at the next Arab Summit.

At the same time, imperialism which has taken a lesson from the experience of the last quarter of a century is with Israel and Arab reaction developing a process of integrating Palestinians into their industrial and agricultural projects. The motive here is of course disassociating the Palestinians from production relations in their own country and thus weakening the ties of the Palestinians to Palestine. But, such schemes will not succeed in making the Palestinian people give up their just demands for self-determination and for establishing a national authority on their own land.

Clearly, the present plots are aimed at attacking our accomplishments of the national program, the Rabat decisions and the U.N. resolutions. The right-wing is working feverishly to put us in an isolated and weak position at the next Arab Summit.

We do not deny that last year some land was regained, but at the same time we must not overlook other events that also took place. We witnessed a demobilization of Arab potentials in various fields including the economic.

The declared objective of the October War was not realized. We all remember well Sadat's speech on October 16th to the People's Council in which he declared the war would not stop until all occupied Arab land was liberated and the national rights of the Palestinians were guaranteed. Instead, we witnessed disengagement on the fronts, neutralization of the oil

(1) Jordanian Prime Minister  
(2) Late King Faysal's Counselor  
(3) President Sadat's Counselor

weapon, and a tremendous flow of money into Western markets. Saudi Arabia poured huge amounts of money into ailing U.S., British, Italian, and Japanese banks while Egypt and Syria were receiving mere dribbles of Saudi money. Feisal is not ready to pay with Saudi funds for Soviet arms, for weapons that «smell of communism».

The enemy may have won some tactical successes after the October War, but our successes are of a strategic nature. The war effectively showed that a unified Arab and Palestinian gun is able to strike the U.S.-Israeli war machine. And we saw the progress of the national struggle crystallized by our successes at Rabat and at the U.N.

Comrades, the enemy failed to liquidate us during the difficult period of 1967. How can he now, when the revolution is advancing in our Arab homeland and in the whole world.

It is unfortunate that certain Arab regimes put aside their national duties by blackmailing and pressuring our Front to backdown on the national program. We are revolutionaries and as such have not and will not succumb to such coercion. We support those Arab governments which oppose the interests of imperialism and as for the others, we shall never collaborate with reaction nor keep silent in the face of its manœuvres.

Geneva is not for us an end in itself. If anyone thinks we will eat leftovers at Geneva he is dead wrong. We shall refuse to go to the Geneva Conference if a second disengagement takes place. And here we call on the great Egyptian people and their courageous soldiers to reject Kissinger's plan.

Our major task in this period is the realization of our national program and upholding the Rabat decisions. The problem is not the text, as such, of the Egyptian or Soviet invitation to Geneva. For in an atmosphere of Arab economic, military and political inertia, a non-belligerent Egypt, and with the aim to freeze the situation until 1977 — what would our position at Geneva be, what would the Geneva Conference be?

Clearly, unless the conference is held in a context of conditions favorable to us, we shall not participate. If total and unconditional withdrawal, and the guarantee of Palestinian national right are stipulations of the conference, we will of course struggle in Geneva with as much energy as we do for our cause anywhere in the Arab nation or the world. We will not be led astray from the real issue by cunning attempts to focus on the form of Geneva invitations, while the enemy is busy working to insure that the context in which the Conference takes place is favorable to its interests. Our Front has taken the initiative obliging the other groups of the resistance to take a clear position on the partial solutions. We want Egypt with us and we want Syria to stay with us. We must all stand together to sabotage the partial solutions.

And we must all stand together against the plots of King Hussein. The 250 million dollars earmarked at Rabat for Hussein must be revoked. This fund will help maintain the Hashemite forces against our Jordanian and Palestinian peoples — our people who have been fighting for a long time against Jordanian

reaction and who fill the Hashemite prisons. We must knock down the Hashemite fortress and be with our Palestinian and Jordanian people at the front.

In support of Hussein we have recently been seeing the Shah of Iran parading as a new «friend» to the Arabs. The Shah has given Jordan 120 million dollars. This «generosity» is quite transparent, for we are well acquainted with the Shah's policies. This is the Shah whose expansionism has led to the occupation of more land than Israel, whose army paralyzes a large part of the Iraqi army and whose petroleum policies are infamous. The moves against us, no matter in what clothes they come disguised, can be foiled when we all stand together in exposing and confronting them.

One of the principles of revolution is to preserve the initiative. After our victory at the U.N. we did not keep up our offensive momentum, but we can take it up again by forming a provisional revolutionary government. This will have to be truly a revolutionary government with no watering down to meet with Saudi approval. It must be a government made up of the militants of the Palestinian National Front and the PLO — a government armed with the gun and the national program. In this way we will effectively further isolate Israel, put an end to King Hussein's manœuvres, and stop Saudi and all Arab right interference.

At the same time, we must unite all the fighting forces and the militias. A united popular army will be the right arm of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. But, the development of this military structure must be tied to a similar unification of also the other organs in the PLO (administrative, diplomatic... ). The PLO must be the basis of national unity for our whole people, while the PNF its right arm in the occupied territories.

This is the offensive program we have put forth with the whole Arab liberation movement. This is the program through which the Rabat decisions can materialize. We are sure that the Soviet Union and all socialist countries will cover our needs for arms, as their interests are with ours. It is not in their interest to see this area fall into the hands of imperialism, with the Arab countries remaking such alliances as the Baghdad or Eisenhower pacts.

Comrades and friends,

We launch an appeal to all sincere militants and to those who have not been in agreement with us — to join the ranks of the revolution and consolidate Palestinian national unity which the Democratic Front has continuously called for since its creation in 1969. Establishing a unified democratic state on all of Palestine will depend on the realization of the national program in this present stage. This program is our guide to liberating all our occupied territories, the guide to defeating imperialism and reaction. We must all unite around it.

I would like to close by saluting all the militants of the revolutions of Palestine, Oman, Eritrea, and all the revolutionaries of the world.

Let us advance in solid formation towards a Palestinian Provisional Revolutionary Government!

Let us advance on the road to victory!