

الثورة الفلسطينية

THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

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WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS

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" WE SHALL BE

VICTORIOUS "

Dr. George Habash

***Secretary General of
Popular Front for the
Liberation of Palestine***

**Popular Front for
the Liberation of Palestine**

Central Information Committee

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Following the brave operations fought by our heroic revolutionaries in the occupied Gaza Strip during the recent period, particularly during the past two weeks, which inflicted a large number of casualties on the enemy, of which he admitted the death of one soldier and the wounding of nine others, the Zionist enemy launched a wide-scale search campaign, involving the use of a large number of forces.

During the search launched by the Zionist enemy in the Remal district of Gaza city, a fierce clash broke out between a group of our heroic revolutionaries and the forces of the enemy. In this clash comrade Mohammed Mahmoud El-Aswad (the Guevara of Gaza), a member of the Political Bureau of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the commander of PFLP forces in the Gaza Strip, was killed in battle. Also killed in action were comrades Kamel Abdel Aziz Amassy and Abdel Hadi Ibrahim Abdel Aziz El-Hayek, two of the PFLP leaders in the Gaza sector.

While announcing to the masses of the Arab nation and the progressives of the world the death of three of its heroic leaders, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine reaffirms the pledge that it will continue the struggle until complete liberation.

**(Central Information Committee
of the Popular Front
for the Liberation of Palestine)**

This is the text of the message to the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip from Comrade Dr. George Habash Secretary General, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, offering condolences for three distinguished resistance fighters from Gaza who were killed in battle against the Israeli invaders. This message was broadcast on 12 March 1973.

A message from the secretary general, comrade George Habash to the masses of our people in heroic Gaza.

To our heroes in the Gaza Strip
To the masses of our people who are determined to triumph,

The enemy has murdered your comrade and son, the martyr Mohammed Mahmoud Al-Aswad «Guevara of Gaza», and his two fighting comrades Kamel Al-Amassi and Abdel Hadi Al-Hayek.

Our masses in Gaza know the martyr well and remember the mission he had carried out in one of the most critical periods.

Since 1970, after the humiliating submissive stand adopted by some of the Arab states towards the Rogers Plan, and in the wake of the degrading silence on all the Arab fronts, and after the Jordanian regime managed to exploit this situation in

order to carry out the plans of its imperialist masters in striking at the resistance movement in the East Bank, the enemy began to devote efforts to the suppression of the resistance movement on Palestinian soil, particularly the Gaza Strip, where the torch of resistance remained a flame to express the determination of our people to pursue their revolution in spite of all difficulties.

Ever since then, the Zionist enemy has been making one attempt after another to achieve this end, namely, forcing the Strip to kneel and putting out the flame of the torch of resistance.

Time and again the enemy drew up one plan after another, and every time he had the illusion that he had realized his aims. But the masses of our people in the heroic Strip have always struck back ridiculing the enemy's bragging and allegations that the resistance had ended in this formidable part of our homeland.

In the meantime, and throughout this important phase in the history of the revolution in the Strip, our martyred comrade,

Following all the past experiences, our people have become more determined than ever to take up that path and to persist in it despite all the blows, difficulties, obstacles and setbacks.

The masses of our people will never accept to remain occupied and persecuted in their own homeland.

They will never accept to remain in the camps of humiliation and misery. They will never accept to remain dispersed in various parts of the world without a homeland and without dignity. This will never happen. Our masses have begun their march on the path of the revolution, the path of liberation, and there will be no backing down.

The enemy may deal hundreds of blows at us. He may beat up our women, children and old people in the Baddawi and Nahr Al-Bared camps. He may murder Ghassan Kanafani, Youssef Al-Khatib, Mahmoud Al-Hamshari in Paris, Wael Zuaiter in Rome, Abul Khair in Cyprus and »Guevara« in Gaza. He may plan for other blows and perhaps succeed in some of them, but he will

never be able to smother the will to fight in us or prevent us from continuing on the same path, the path of the legitimate and protected popular war of liberation which will realize victory for us in the same way as it did in Vietnam despite all the bombs and devastation.

The enemy is exerting all his efforts today, taking advantage of the humiliating attitude of the craven Arab regimes, including that of the agent regime in Jordan especially since September, 1970.

The enemy has been trying to take advantage of this situation in order to sow desperation among us, the masses of the Palestinian Arab people. But we shall never allow him to do that. It is perhaps the only thing which the enemy cannot achieve, because the matter has to do with our will and determination as popular masses. The enemy must know that here he will stand confused and bewildered. His weapons will turn into toy weapons, and his plans will remain empty words.

What has been the result of all the campaigns of persecution, massacres, arrests, containment and suppression during the recent period?

In September, 1970, and for a period of ten consecutive days, bombs were falling on our masses in the camps of Amman like rain. The entire world knows the ugliness and the barbaric characteristics of those massacres which were following by the massacres of Jarash and Ajloun and the battles in Al-Arquob; the campaigns undertaken by the Zionist enemy, the successive plans drawn up to evacuate the population of Gaza and re-disperse the people, the campaigns of researches and arrests, the last of which was the arrest of Abu Daoud and his men by the reactionary and subservient traitors in Jordan. We all know these are only examples and part of a long and continuous series. But despite all that, What has been the result?

The result, heroes of our determined people, has been that the revolution has become clearer, more cohesive and more determined. The revolution, through exper-

ience, has defined a clear vision of things which have been embodied in the progressive political program adopted by the revolution during the last Palestine national congress. This is considered a great victory and a major step on the way to liberation.

As a result of that, the chances of cooperation and merger among the various resistance groups have increased. What is required now is to take more steps on this path.

The Arab Front for the Support of the Palestinian Revolution has emerged and this is supposed to be the first step on the way towards merger of the Palestinian revolution with the Arab people's movement and the Arab revolution which mobilizes millions among the masses of our great Arab nation.

Our revolution today depends on the mobilization and support of the revolutionary forces on the international level. The great Soviet Union, the great Chinese revo-

lution and all the countries of the Socialist Bloc as well as the revolutionary forces throughout the world are now providing us with political, material and moral support. A revolution that relies on its own masses and on all the revolutionary forces in the world must inevitably triumph in the end.

The resistance movement is becoming clearer and more determined. The Israeli enemy himself knows that the blows struck by our revolutionaries in occupied Palestine have not stopped despite his claims about his superiority and might.

The justice of our cause and the crystallization of our people's will to continue the fight have begun to give birth to a phenomenon in the ranks of the Jews themselves, which in historic terms will have a great influence on the future of our whole struggle. The case of the Red Front, which included a group of freedom-loving young Jews in revolt against the oppression and persecution represented by Israel and the Zionist movement, indicates the future

strategic pattern of common struggle by all persecuted Arabs and Jews against the Zionist ruling gang for the establishment of a democratic Palestinian society in cooperation with the Arab and revolutions.

From all the difficult experience which the revolution has been living since September 1970, it has been acquiring the fundamentals of victorious revolutionary activity. As the strategy of popular liberation war in Vietnam secured its crushing victory over its imperialist enemy, so also will our Palestinian and Arab revolution gain its crushing and definitive victory over its Zionist-imperialist-reactionary enemy in the long term of history.

Masses of our people in the Gaza Strip, brave comrades in heroic Gaza, from every blow the enemy directs at us, let us draw more determination to pursue our task, so as to prove to the enemy that «Guevara» and his two comrades were merely an expression of the masses will, and that the enemy who exterminated «Guevara» cannot

exterminate the will of the masses. Let us work to unite, to organize ourselves, to muster all our strength, to reject all the enemy's projects and policies, to continue aiming blows at the enemy and his agents and to use all our hardships to raise our revolution to a new level.

To the souls of our martyred comrades, to the souls of Guevara, Kamel and Abdel Hadi, to the souls of those who died for the revolution, to our comrades, men and women, in the Israeli enemy's prisons and to Abu Daoud and all our comrades, men and women, in the prisons of the reactionary enemy in Jordan, we say : our masses will never allow all these sacrifices to be in vain.

We pledge to you that we will continue the fight until victory.

Peace be with you.

This is the full text of the speech delivered by Dr. George Habash on March 17th. Dr. George Habash together with representatives of the Lebanese national movement and Fateh addressed thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese who walked in a symbolic farewell march to the PFLP's martyred leaders in Gaza : Mohammad El Aswad - Guevara of Gaza - Abdul - Aziz Amassy and Abdulhady Hayek.

Speech by George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), delivered at the Beirut Arab University on Saturday, March 17:

Brothers, what is our duty to our martyr hero, the Guevara of Gaza? What is our duty towards his comrade martyrs, Kamel and Abdel Hadi? What are our duties and responsibilities towards all our martyrs, Abou Ali Iyad, Ghassan Kanafani, Mahmoud el-Hamchari, all the martyrs, the martyrs of the Palestinian revolution? what are our responsibilities towards their folks, their fathers, mothers, wives, children, who have been deprived of the touch of their tenderness? What are our duties towards their cause, towards the revolution, the masses, the cause of the oppressed against the oppressors? What are our duties towards the oppressed who were rendered homeless by

their oppressors? What are our duties towards our masses who have been making sacrifices for 50 years, while fighting against their imperialist enemies, the enemies of humanity, the enemies of freedom? What are our duties? What are our responsibilities?

Comrads, our duties towards these martyrs is to see things clearly, to see our causes clearly. Our duty toward all those is to declare, be determined and act in the light of the clear vision that our revolution is continuing and will continue, and that there is no force on this earth that can overpower the masses of our Palestinian people and our Arab people.

Brothers, the central point in the enemy's plans at this stage is to fill our hearts with despair, fill your hearts with despair, fill the hearts of the masses with despair; to make the masses question the validity of their revolution, its usefulness and the strategy of the people's war of liberation. This is the central point in the enemy's plan, and it is our duty to foil this plan, foil

How did the Vietnamese leadership deal with all the crises through which the Vietnamese revolution passed before realizing victory? Last December and January, Nixon wanted to make the world understand that the Vietnamese revolution did not achieve a complete victory; he wanted to prove that his withdrawal from Vietnam was an honorable withdrawal, and therefore rejected the agreement that had been initiated in Paris. At this time, hundreds of bombs were dropped on Vietnam, primarily on Haiphong and Hanoi. If I am not mistaken, the bombs and tools of destruction dropped on Britain throughout the Second World War totalled the amount of bombs dropped on Vietnam during those few weeks. What did the Vietnamese leadership do? Did they stop the fighting? Did they, humiliated, send their envoys to New York? Did they call the members of the National Liberation Front terrorists and we should destroy them? General Giap stood up to tell the imperialists : You may destroy the whole the imperialists: You may destroy the whole of Haiphong and Hanoi, you may not leave

a stone unturned, but you cannot, and will never be able to destroy our will to fight.

Our duty to the Guevara of Gaza is to declare today to ourselves primarily, to our masses and to the Zionist imperialist reactionary enemy that despite all his might, his war machine, his Phantoms, and his technological superiority, he can direct blows against us, can kill Guevara, Kamel, Abdel Hadi, Abou Ali Iyad, Ghassan Kana-fani, Mahmoud el-Hamchari and scores of others, can direct new and unexpected blows to us, but cannot, and can never destroy our will to fight. Therefore, how can we be defeated? How can the millions of our Palestinian people, tens of millions of our Arab nation which is determined, after 50 years of experiences, to continue the armed struggle, guided by the revolutionary theory and the strategy of the people's war of liberation. Brothers, it is our first duty to our martyrs to establish this fact.

Our second duty is to make a re-assessment of the progress of the revolution during the past few years. Despite all errors,

and all blows, the achievement of our progress during the past few years has realized to the Palestinian people, to the Arab people, a major step towards the final objectives of the Palestinian and Arab revolution. This truth is admitted by the enemy, one of the Zionist leaders said clearly that the Palestinian resistance remains the main obstacle in the way of any settlement. Despite all errors, the Palestinian revolution has managed to prove to the world that there is a people with a just cause, a people who will not surrender, despite the conspiracies that were being engineered against their destiny for 50 years.

Our third, basic and most important duty to our martyrs is to see our future course with total clarity, to march and act in the light of a clear program, that our words may turn into a veritable material force capable of achieving victory. Along this path, the principal point is this : the Palestinian organizations, the principal ones in particular, and their leaderships

should pause, if they actually want to continue their revolution. to re-examine all their theoretical, political and organizational structures. These structures should be made solid and capable of confronting all the conspiracies that are being engineered by the enemy in this phase.

It is not permissible that our past experiences should go by headlessly or without teaching us lessons that should reflect themselves, as soon as possible, on the nature of our organizational structure, the structure of every group, and the structure of the resistance movement generally. The grassroots of the commando organizations, their cadres and their leaderships should undergo an operation of theoretical, political and organizational education that they may become a true leadership of the masses. We cannot achieve victory, by means of sentiments and appeals. The organizations which assume the responsibility of a historic leadership should build themselves on these facts.

We should rid ourselves of all manifestations of flabbiness, theoretical flabbiness,

political flabbiness, organizational flabbiness and behavioral flabbiness, through which the leaderships, cadres and grass-roots of the resistance movement are still living. The commando, the member of the resistance, should be a model for the masses. He should spend hours enlightening the masses and strengthening their faith in their cause; he should be at the head of the people at the time of hardships, crises and ordeals; all his work should be in the service of the masses. This was not the state of affairs in the past, and is not the state of affairs until now. Our primary duty is to struggle with ourselves, within our organizations, to get rid of the flabbiness through which the resistance movement is living.

Now every organization should flex its muscles again. The members and cadres of the organization, should harden themselves stand on their feet and revolt anew, against all the bad habits we acquired during the phase of exposed action. Let us rid ourselves

of all bureaucratic phenomena, and return to the source of the revolution. The masses: live among them, serve them, mobilize them with political awareness, and make out of them a historic force capable of achieving historic tasks.

« This is the first step along the path, but this alone is not enough. It is not acceptable any more indeed it is a crime from now on, for any organization to see future course of liberation through itself only. The united Palestinian national front, the unity of the Palestinian organization, should become a principal and central objective. It should become the central link in the plans of all organizations. Now that the resistance movement, has made its political stands clear in a decisive and revolutionary manner, it is unacceptable any more to keep the same form of relations between the Palestinian organization. The Popular Front declares to you, with all truth and sincerity, that it will throw all its weight and efforts, together with all our sincere comrades who enthusiastically advocate

the cause of national unity, push forward the cause of national unity step by step. This is the duty that is awaiting us along our path.

It is now part of the plan of the reactionary enemy to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization and replace it with Palestinian traitors, to say that they are the representatives of the Palestinian people and carry out the plans of settlement and treason through them. In this case, it is our duty to support the Palestine Liberation Organization, and try to raise the standard of its political, organizational and military activities, particularly the military. We should try to fight from within the Liberation Organization that it may rise to the level that would enable it to shoulder such a task. This national unity line should be coupled with basic alliances between some organizations that believe that their alliance and cooperation could have positive and effective reflections on the march of the revolution in occupied Palestine, in Jordan and in the Arab land.

The third point along our path — after we rid ourselves of the current state of flabbiness, after we harden our organizational structures, politically, theoretically and organizationally, after each organization flexes its muscles anew and prepare for a new phase which is more difficult and hard than the previous phase, and after acting, not from a narrow and fanatic outlook, but from the outlook of national unity — we should always remember that the masses alone, not the organizations alone, and not the national front grouping these organizations, but the masses, all the masses, are the only force that can achieve victory and outline history. By the masses I do not mean the likes of Jaabari and Anwar Nusseibeh, because these do not belong to our masses, but to the four per cent category, which is part of the class structure in many underdeveloped countries. The masses of our Palestinian people are the 96 per cent. The masses in the camps, the working class, the peasants, the students, the revolutionary intellectuals, the doctors and lawyers, all the nationalist honorable people

We should make continuous efforts and work constantly to turn these masses — women, children, youth, old people — into a force that cannot be defeated. Our efforts should be channeled through the women, students, labour unions, the cub's organization and other mass organizations. We should never forget that this line, the line of the masses, is the principal line that can cope with all the difficult phases the revolutionary movement is facing now.

Brothers, the special circumstances in which our Palestinian masses live require us to take a special pause to deal with every grouping of this people, that have been scattered throughout the globe. In this respect, our people have their own particular aspects. Part of our people still live in the heart of our holy land, our beloved occupied Palestine. They are the most important, from all aspects. They should receive the principal part of our efforts. More than one million and a quarter of our Palestinian people are still in the occupied

land of Palestine : 400,000 in the heroic Gaza Strip, 400,000 in the lands occupied since 1948, still fighting back all Israeli attempts to destroy their Palestinian personality and rejecting all forms of national and class oppression which Israel has been applying to them for 25 years; and there are 700,000 of our people in the west bank. This means that we have one million and a half or 50 per cent, of our Palestinian people still living in the occupied land of Palestine. Our duty as a resistance movement is to direct our efforts towards this primary, basic and large part of our people inside. The second advantage of these masses is that they are in constant touch, face to face with the Zionist enemy occupying the land of Palestine. Hence, we should make a re-examination of all our past activities in the occupied territories. If we make such a re-examination we will find that there are several loopholes which should be filled as soon as possible.

It is no longer permissible that our view

of the mass action against the Zionist occupation should be confined to military operations alone. These masses are living under conditions of class oppression. Despite all its allegations, the Israeli occupation is aimed at economic exploitation. All studies point this out clearly, despite all the claims of Israel: occupied Palestine has become the second market of Israeli products, and Arab labor force is being exploited now by the Israeli industry. The masses of our people actually feel this exploitation. Consequently, our military blows against the Israeli enemy in occupied Palestine should be coupled with political action by the masses struggling daily against the enemy. This struggle cannot be realized in a complete and sound form unless a veritable Palestinian unity is established in Palestine between the principal organizations operating there. When the cause is one of life or death, when the revolution is at the crossroads, there is no longer room for narrow-minded thinking about each of our organizations.

We should make strenuous efforts that

the united Palestinian front which we are trying to establish here now is reflected in Palestine. Its creation should be followed by political activity by the masses to be accompanied every now and then with painful and hurting blows to the Israeli enemy. In our action, we should maintain the principal rule that we should not lose our nerves and should not indulge in adventure, that might cost us the lives of our young men. We should take good care of every revolutionary so we can eventually achieve victory. Our action in occupied Palestine requires from us a thorough and comprehensive revision, in the light of the enemy's new plans, and in the light of our past course, and in the light of the new prevailing conditions of the Palestinian revolution.

Then we come to the second part of our Palestinian people, who live in the eastern bank of Jordan. They number between 700.000 and 800.000, thus making up between 67 and 70 per cent of the inhabitants of the Jordan east bank. Since they have been prevented from fighting the Israeli

enemy, it is their right and duty to unite forces with our brothers, the east bankers, to destroy the treacherous, hireling regime that prevented, them, and still prevents them from confronting the Israeli enemy.

This regime was created originally in 1920, as Churchill says in his memoirs about the birth of the principality of Trans-Jordan, kingdom to hit the struggle of the Palestinian people against the conspiracies of imperialism and Zionism on the land of Palestine. Since this artificial and hireling entity was established, it has played its role against the Palestinian people, their struggle and their revolution. In 1936, the Jordanian regime played this role; in 1948, the Jordanian regime also played this role, and in 1970, in Black September, you all know the role which this hireling regime played against the revolution of our people and against our just and legitimate struggle for resisting the Zionist occupation.

Our duty toward our cause makes it necessary for our masses in the east bank to

become an integral part of the Jordanian national liberation movement, which works day after day, to destroy the hireling regime, despite all its current might, destroy it and trample it under the feet of the masses.

Comrades, I say this fully knowing the difficult circumstances of the resistance movement. I am fully aware of the blows we have received and the blows we are still receiving until now. I am fully aware of the diminution of the size and effectiveness of the resistance movement. I fully realize that there is a gap between the organizations of the resistance movement and its masses. I fully know all the errors of the resistance movement, but I also know very well that the revolution of our people, despite all errors and obstacles, is moving towards an eventual victory.

These points I have mentioned cannot be realized in moments, and will not be realized tomorrow, or in a week or a month. They will be realized when all of us believe in them, and act and fight according to

them. This is the duty of all; the duty of the of the organizations to constitute a veritable pressure, in the light of these sound policy-lines, on all the leaderships of the resistance movement, that we may benefit from our past experiences and learn lessons from them and march forward.

When we discuss our Palestinian masses, we should pause at the particular nature of the third Palestinian gathering in the current phase. This gathering is here, on our beloved land in Lebanon. Unless I am mistaken, there are between 300.000 and 400.000 Palestinians living in Lebanon and forming the third Palestinian gathering. In the current phase, this gathering has a special historic responsibility toward the Palestinian revolution and its future. This gathering, which amounts to 400.000 people, can, if it mobilizes its children, girls, young men, men, and old men, temporarily form a firm ground on which the resistance movement can rely in the current difficult and delicate phase, that it may complete the work it started, which is to rebuild itself on the

land of occupied Palestine and in the heart of Jordan. This duty requires a high degree of awareness from us. We cannot perform this duty and succeed, unless we become an integral part, cooperative, merging and brotherly, with our Arab masses in Lebanon and with the Lebanese national movement. It is our duty, the duty of the Palestinian people to, honestly and sincerely, extend thanks and gratitude — though this is their duty — to our masses in Lebanon and to the Lebanese national movement which supported the resistance movement, and thanks to which, thanks to the masses and the national movement, the resistance movement has managed so far to avoid being massacred, though America works day and night, and incites her hirelings in Lebanon to eradicate the resistance movement.

Brothers, there are also other groupings of our Palestinian people in other parts of the Arab world and in all parts of the world. Our fourth grouping is in Syria, and there are other groupings in the Arabian Gulf and other parts of the Arab homeland.

There are also Palestinian groupings in Latin America and other countries of the world. All those should be mobilized to serve the Palestinian revolution. In this phase in particular, they should mobilize themselves and feel their responsibility towards the difficulties facing the resistance movement on the land of Palestine and the land of Jordan, due to the Arab political circumstances. Brothers, all this should form an integrated plan if the Palestinian revolution is to realize its veritable victory.

Brothers, if the Palestinian revolution rebuilt itself theoretically, politically and organizationally, and if the united Palestinian national front was established, and if this front actually managed to mobilize all the Palestinian masses, all this would not be enough to ensure victory. For there are the particularities of the Palestinian revolution, the particularities of the Israeli settler enemy, the particularities of the inter-relations of his interests and the interests of imperialism, the particularities of the imperialist oil interests in this part of the

Arab homeland, and there are the particularities of the links between the Palestinian cause and the Arab cause. Consequently, the major lesson we should draw from what happened in 1967 until now, the first, principal and major lesson is that the Palestinian revolution cannot ensure its victory unless it becomes an integral part of the revolution of the Arab masses in all parts of the Arab homeland. It is the strength of the Arab nation, the masses of the Arab nation mobilized to support the Palestinian revolution, that can provide the force capable of realizing the victory.

It is also not permissible, as we draw up the course by means of which we can be faithful to comrade «Guevara» and all martyrs, to ignore the importance of our alliances with all the forces of the revolution on the international level and the necessity of nourishing the relations of alliance with all the socialist countries. The revolution should weave the strongest relations with the great Soviet Union and the great Chinese revolution, and all the socialist states

and national liberation movements in the world. This alliance should produce effective plans to veritably support our revolution in surpassing the current crisis. It is along these lines that we can actually realize victory.

Comrades, our enemy is strong but he also has points of weakness through which we can aim strong blows when we build up our strength. Israel is basically an artificial state that consumes four times as much as it produces. It has this economic and military strength because its debts until now amount to four billion dollars. This artificial entity can exercise its violence and might against the defeatists and the weaklings, but it cannot, under any circumstances and in the historic range, exercise this violence and might against the comrades of «Guevara» and Abou Ali Iyad, against the Palestinian revolution and its masses.

Our revolution will continue to blaze its way marching forward until it wins victory despite all obstacles. This, comrades, is our duty to the martyr comrade «Guevara» and all other martyrs.