The resistance movement entered a new, sensitive and very dangerous stage in September of 1971 when national leadership representing the leadership of Fateh and Sa'qa plus some "independents" travelled to Jedda, Saudi Arabia, for negotiations with representatives of King Hussein's regime. Ironically enough, the meeting was held on the anniversary of the September 1970 counter-revolution which King Hussein led against the resistance movement. Since those bloody and savage nine days of civil war in 1970, King Hussein has not stopped his attacks on the resistance movement until finally in July, the last stronghold in Jareish and Afulin fell to the Jordanian army with 2000 guerrillas captured. During this year of civil war, over 25,000 Palestinians and Jordanians lay dead or wounded, and few can breathe more easily again because their ally Hussein has once again managed to suppress the Palestinian movement for national liberation.

The Jordanian-Syrian negotiations — above and beyond being smooth step backwards in the struggle of the Palestinian national liberation movement with Hussein's forces and above and beyond being the equivalent of national war in Jordan, King Hussein has attempted to smash the resistance movement into one of two alternatives: either to go underground and start the long and tortuous road of building for a people's war of national liberation or to lead the other classes in their joint struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reactionaries. Nevertheless, as the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine's leadership had constantly shown the nature of the contradiction between the oppressed masses — Palestinian workers, peasants, and poor refugees — with their own interests. This separate interest was specifically what the imperialists were aiming at when the idea of a Palestinian State in the West Bank was let out among Palestinian political circles. A puppet state in the West Bank can, within certain conditions, satisfy the aspirations of the Palestinian national bourgeoisie. However, the liberation of all of the Palestinian soil is a necessary prerequisite to the end of the exploitation. Therefore, the Palestinian masses and for ending their exile from their homeland.

Fateh's leadership at first rejected the idea of a West Bank puppet state. But that resistance movement was at the pinnacle of its strength and the Palestinian bourgeoisie had far more grandiose visions as to where this movement could carry them. However, since the September 1970 civil war in Jordan, King Hussein has continued his attacks on the resistance movement. Since those bloody and savage nine days of civil war in 1970, Hussein has continued his attacks on the resistance movement. The resistance movement entered a new, sensitive and very dangerous stage in September of 1971 when national leadership representing the leadership of Fateh, has abandoned the road of a simple hero-warrior who was not after any personal glory and preferred to work out of the limelight. Although Al-Kassam was more conscious of the norm of sacrifice than being at the head and leading factor in the masses fight against Britain and Zionism. Through agitating among the masses for armed struggle, Al-Kassam gave this position enough strength to enable the fighting to carry on for three years after his death. The British saw a violent revolution occur in all parts of Palestine, creating new conditions in the entire Arab area.

Shortly before Al-Kassam launched the revolution, he contacted Al Hajj Amin al-Huseini and asked him to be appointed a mobil organizer to work for the preparation of the revolution. Al Huseini apologized saying, "We are trying to solve the problem politically, we are not going to do this in the name of one men, who was called Mahmoud Salem, to Al-Huseini to inform him that Al-Kasam had decided to proclaim the revolution in the north and to ask him to do the same in the south, but Al-Huseini answered that the time had not yet come for such an act and that the political efforts being made were enough to insure the Arabs of Palestine their rights. But these answers did not turn Al-Kasam to desperation for he believed that the new form of struggle would impose itself on everyone in the final analysis.

On November 14, 1935, Al-Kasam fought his first battle and the British forces, searching for him, turned all of the Jinyin area into a battlefield. The British were able to surround Al-Kasam and some of his comrades in a valley where he refused to escape and continued to fight along with his comrades until they had all been killed. They refused to attend his funeral and they limited themselves to sending condoling telegrams, and that same week with the British High Commissioner to discuss with him the necessity of British response to the Palestinian Arab's demands for their rights.

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION

The first stage of the 1936 revolution saw the workers and peasants stand on the side of the armed revolution while the family leaderships stood against it trying to peacefully persuade the British.

The second stage began late in May and lasted until the 15th of April 1936, when the new secret organizations of Al-Kasam were able to rebuff the forces and renew their work in the countryside, attempting to continue the November 14th movement. The British decided to isolate the countryside from the city and focused most of their forces on the countryside from April 15th until the 19th of April.

In reaction to this uprising, the British forces destroyed entire villages, and renewed their work in the countryside, attempting to continue the November 14th movement. The British decided to isolate the countryside from the city and focused most of their forces on the countryside from April 15th until the 19th of April. The spark which lit the "National Commissions," organized by purely popular initiative to support the revolution, to declare a general strike (while the five family parties quarreled with one another, far removed from the popular front) for two successive days.

On April 25th the National Commissions forced the following parties to dissolve themselves:
- The Islamic Board (Al-Huseini)
- The Arabic Defence Party (Rajeb Nashashibi)
- The National Front Party (Abdul Latif Salah)
- The High Palestinian Party (Jamal Huseini)
- The Idris (Reformist) Party (Husein el-Khaldi)

The National Committees forced upon all these dissolved parties the formation of an Arab Higher Committee to lead the popular struggle which
was manifesting itself in general strikes and armed revolution. The leaders of
those dissolved parties had to keep pace with the events and accept the
proposed solution.

Here we must stop for some important observations:
1) The Arab Higher Committee which was formed from the five major
parties dominated by bourgeois and feudal parties, did not
calculate the armed revolution as one of its tasks. It stressed in its charter
"to continue striking" until the British Government changed its policy by;

2) The National Committees which were formed through solely popular
initiatives had the responsibility of backing the revolution both materially
and morally, in addition, these committees were running the affairs and
administrations in those territories where the British had retreated.
3) In spite of all types of violence and terror the British could not
liquidate the revolution or even prevent it from spreading. So Britain went
to the Arab rulers who were loyal to her and asked them to mediate and
conserve the Palestinian leaders to halt the revolution and to try to
peacefully persuade Britain to take regard of their demands.
4) The Arab rulers responded to Britain's request. Leading the Arab rulers
was Nouri Al Said, who arrived in Jerusalem on August 26, 1936 and asked
the Arab Higher Committee to use all means to break the strike and halt
the present "disturbances" because the Iraqi government would try to
convince Britain to give the Palestinian Arabs their legitimate rights.
5) The Palestinian people rejected the concept of mediation and carried
on their strike and armed revolution until the rulers of Jordan, Saudi Arabia,
Iraq and Yemen intervened by sending telegrams telling the Palestinian
people to "calm down."

In spite of the people's refusal, the Arab Higher Committee quickly
issued a communique declaring that it had agreed to mediation and asked
the people to halt the strike and all disturbances beginning October 12,
1936. With this communique the second stage of the revolution came to an
end, reaffirming the manifestations of the first stage:

1) The people's rush towards the armed struggle and their rejection of the
concept of negotiation with the British.

2) The hesitation of the bourgeois and feudal family leaderships and their
continuous attempts to accept compromising solutions in those political
negotiations.

An important element, however, appeared on the stage at this time. The
Arab rulers, who stood with the leaders of Palestine on the same clan
grounds, attempted to intervene in order to impose a position on the
Palestinian people. But the failure of the Arab mediation and Britain's
refusal to give the masses a new and material proof of the necessity of armed
struggle as the only method to accomplish their goals. With the failure of the mediation and with the people's belief in
what they were doing, the third stage of the 1936 revolution began.

THE THIRD STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION

This stage begins with an incident of important significance: the
assassination of Governor Andrews of the northern district by the
revolutionaries on September 27, 1937 and a communique from the Arab
Higher Committee condemning the assassination.

This stage also begins with confrontations between the masses of the
country and the British occupation forces. These confrontations will intensify
every day until the end of the revolution.

The British occupation forces moved quickly in the face of these events
and stepped up their methods of violence and terror. Even the communique
condemning the assassination issued by the Arab Higher Committee could not
help any of its members to escape from the British terror. Some members were
killed, others arrested and four families of Palestinian leaders were
murdered. These confrontations will intensify every day until the end of the
revolution.

The poor masses of city workers and country peasants were the material
forces of the Palestinian revolution. But the failure of the Arab mediation and Britain's
refusal to give the masses a new and material proof of the necessity of armed
struggle as the only method to accomplish their goals. With the failure of the mediation and with the people's belief in
what they were doing, the third stage of the 1936 revolution began.

In light of this popular situation it may be asked, where were the
bourgeois and feudal leaderships?

Several attempts were made by the bourgeois and feudal leaderships to
stop Jewish immigration, stopping the sale of land to the Jews, and
consider the armed revolution as one of its tasks. It stressed in its charter
the necessity of mediation and political negotiations with the British
administration of the territories where the rebels imposed their control.

The armed revolution - in light of the competition between the
bourgeois and feudal parties, the war launched by those parties against the
revolution, these parties negotiations with the British and the absence of
any co- ordination among the fronts of the revolution - began to weaken
and subsides. With the beginning of 1939 and World War II, the revolution
came to a halt. Thus remaining in the field of the rightist reactionary
political leaderships working with a bimetal mentality and trying with this
mentality to face the growing Zionist danger.

APPARENT CONCLUSIONS

The apparent conclusions that come from this quick review of the
development of the 1936 revolution are:

1) The poor masses of city workers and country peasants were the material
elements of the revolution and it's initiators.

2) The bourgeois and feudal leaderships stood continuously against the
revolution by introducing the logic of peaceful negotiations and accepting
partial demands on the one hand, and by resisting the revolution with arms
on the other. These leaderships, even in the stage when they pretended to
be with the revolution, could not catch up with the popular initiatives of
the masses nor be on the level of the masses.

3) The absence of the existence of an effective, united, revolutionary -
ideological leadership at the head of the revolution is the factor which
enabled the bourgeois feudalist leaderships to manipulate the direction of
the revolution.

We will discover later, when we complete our review of the following
stages of the Palestinian struggle, that the same law will continue to
dominate and is the same law which led to the abortion of all other
revolutionary attempts before and after 1948. In light of this we should
stop and examine the Palestinian work to see if it was able to face up to
the situation according to the concrete facts existing within it.

1. The al- Kusam revolution is usually spoken of separately, but we think it
was an original preparation for the 1936 revolution.

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