To begin with it is important to admit that the role of women in the developing countries (the Arab countries in particular) in the stage of national liberation is still vague and undefined, and in most cases governed by traditional and worn-out views or by vague expressions of good will toward women.

It is manifestly the case that progressive Arabs who deal with the question of women, deal with it in a very superficial manner based on an initial recognition of the fact that women constitute one-half of the Arab society and have the right to work and enjoy the same rights and duties as men, but this basic recognition is met with a series of obstacles when it is to be transformed into reality. This is because of the shaky ideological ground on which progressive Arabs stand; thus we see this good intention turn into mere slogans and propaganda, and by the watchful eye of the Arab women, this without giving her a real chance and opportunity to transform this intention into concrete realities.

The "role of women" is a big and amusing topic for most of the progressive Arabs. They skillfully and elaborately deal with it, but when the Arab women come to "interpret" and "deal" with this matter seriously by starting to work, our Arab intellectuals fall back saying "the question of women's liberation objectively cannot be separated from the surrounding objective conditions and the liberation of women is also tied to the liberation of the masses".

The developing Arab societies have remained, even with the appearance of new organizations, subject to a distortion, which has imposed upon the revolutionary work that it is linked to the past laws, culture and traditions of the feudal society, a society in which women had no role at all, in any of its programs, culture or life.

But the Arab liberation forces, under the leadership of the petit-bourgeoisie and governed by their class nature and culture, who recognize the progress of the "women movement", but have failed and been unable to transform this recognition into a reality or take it beyond the state of mere rhetoric. This transformation would have come through the cultural educational program and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to women's rights. In addition, there has also been an objective transformation of society, economically, socially, or politically in order to put into practice these theoretical decisions concerning women's rights, a move necessary to pull women out of the inferior level, they have been told that men are more capable than women, and that women and women are taught more than men are selfish.

The problem is also related to the leadership of the Arab national liberation forces. They refer to their petit-bourgeoisie class nature it has failed to bear the task of carrying out other important tasks, tasks which the question of women's liberation is directly tied with and those are the economic development, the development of the local industry and intensive agriculture, the founding of strong democratic organizations for the people, worker's unions, people's armies, the introduction of new scientific and liberation educations, the establishing revolutionary relations with the international liberation forces and establishing a revolutionary boycott of the world imperialist and reactionary camp.

It is futile to think of a total liberation of women outside of the framework of national liberation and the total liberation of the masses. The petit-bourgeoisie regimes have introduced a few samples of women, as a sufficient example of their progressiveness and as an expression of their progressiveness, but the masses look at these women and at their government does not mean the liberation of women in the society.

The masses, organizations revolutionary level, on any stand, is not only their initial declarations but is, to a further extent, their ability to actualize their progressiveness. A "women's liberation and the liberation of women" will not be one unless it is tied, dialectically, with its social, economic, and revolution deal, if it is not then it is a mere hypocrisy, especially in this period of many leftist hypocritical stands.

At this period of our society, truly genuine revolutionary forces are being formed and are gaining strength through their revolutionary practice and they are requested to discuss the question of women's liberation seriously because it is not difficult to see by examining the practice of the resistance and armed struggle that the question of women is understood within a petit-bourgeois context. Women's liberation and the women's struggle, in our society, is taking a superficial and individual Alliloff draw and in the individual woman's heroic acts, which gives the false impression that a level of social liberation has been reached ("though she is a woman, she is a heroine and has partially assumed an airplane and she is beautiful, shiek and revolutionary, too"). The liberation of the Palestinian woman through armed struggle dictates a series of basic political directives, if we want a genuine and total liberation of women and if we want a mobilization of the huge reserve of women for the national struggle. We find, for example, because women have a special ability for collecting funds, that collecting funds is a woman's task. The correct view is countered by the examples of the role of women carrying the task of their liberation through the process of national liberation struggles in countries like China, Vietnam, Russia and Cuba where the task of liberation is carried out side by side, in one struggle, with men, and there exists "no devil" between them except the "devil" of imperialism.

In our developing society, the liberation of women is always met with opposition, and every opposition has its new excuses and justifications, so we find with the historical defeat of the old excuse "that the place of women is in the home so they can raise good and healthy children," new excuses arise only to fall in the face of the example of today's Vietnamese women.

The bourgeoisie have molded the liberation of women into a particular feminine form "in order to save her beauty and feminity" and "liberate" her from the house and "harem" right into the offices of big companies, where she becomes accident or typist because she is different from man, physically and psychologically, and she must remain "feminine" for "they" don't want a "masculine" woman.

But science tells us otherwise and demonstrates that women are proving they can do all the things men can. Who "likes it hot" and who is afraid about a woman who is willing about the softness of her skin, and who prefers a woman as a beautiful playing? We can see that women in China and Cuba remain women, but they are no longer playthings and do not remain in in their productivity. Their true value lies in the fact they have been freed from slavery and from waiting all their lives for their "partners" to come along. Women in China and Cuba are not soft and lazy for they are not victims of bourgeois exploitation or private property, as is the case with our contemporary Arab women.

The true liberation of women in the revolutionary societies is not a false liberation in the capitalist societies, as a total exploitation of an "unproclaimed prostitution." Bourgeois liberation is a struggle and battle over needs and desires, protected by a capitalist consumer society. It is a struggle which has created a huge propaganda machine aiming at directing her dreams and aspirations toward selecting the "right" future husband, home and modern life. Bourgeois liberation is built on a new kind of lies for women: love, marriage and relationships based on class and class interests, compromises and polite conversation deals in the name of love and marriage.

The liberation of women in our educational institutions, particularly in the university and the school, and the relationship between the sexes.

It is harmful to talk about the truth about the hostility, proclaimed and unproclaimed, which exists. It is a primitive hostility and metaphorically based on historic myth concerning relations between the two sexes and reinforced by the society's culture and prevailing ideology. This hostile relationship is based on a double-edged fear of the other sex. Our people have been educated by their parents not to trust women because they are unstable, have little brains and are of an inferior level, they have been told that men are more capable than women and women are taught that men are selfish.

There is also the feeling of fear of opportunistic relationships and the "dangerous consequences," which are configured by the reactionary culture (even on university levels) with its historical extension of backwardness and colonialist slavery.

In this manner, we are able to see that any relations which exist among university students, as well as within families and among students, are marked by cultural and social fear, based on bitter experience resulting from the distortion and misunderstanding of relations between the sexes, rather than being based on an objective and scientific understanding of them.

What strengthens these incorrect relations is the absence of university organizations of a nature which would establish a scientific and objective understanding of such matters, in addition what is missing is student unions, organizations or political parties, all of which are needed for playing a role in breaking down this hostility between the sexes.
non-material privileges. A ratio not to exceed 3:1 in the differences of
soldiers' councils for observing, evaluating and directing any leadership
punishments, the right of criticism and self-criticism). Establishment of
(cancellation of the salute, cancellation of physically abusive
continuity with their role as a revolutionary people's army. The
organizations belonging to the united national front to practice political
continuation of these efforts for as long as the united forces are in
military unity of all the fighting forces (regular and guerilla) to the
program, principally based on the decisions of the previous National
Organization (PLO) and its different executive branches, in such a form
that would guarantee:
1. The independence of political and ideological organization for all
groups. The right of comradely criticism within the framework of the
joint national work.
2. A commitment to a minimum political and defined common struggle
program, principally based on the decisions of the previous National
Congress (in particular the 7th Congress, the special August 1970
Congress, and the 8th Congress), in addition to the aforementioned
resolutions of the Palestinian Congress.
The possibilities which are available at this stage, and the necessities
and needs of the present and future struggle bring the question of military
unity of all the fighting forces (regular and guerilla) to the forefront of the
program for national unity.
These possibilities are the immediate construction of a united
people's liberation army, integrating all fighting forces around the
principle of complete unity from top to bottom on the condition that this
be dependent on the principles, the right of criticism (and self-criticism). Establishment of
soldiers' councils for observing, evaluating and directing any leadership
and giving them the necessary gains based on cooperation in the
leadership. Thereby insuring an effective military discipline based on
political and organizational correctness.
2. Democratic internal relations among the ranks of the united forces
(cancellation of the salute, cancellation of physically abusive
punishments, the right of criticism and self-criticism). Establishment of
soldiers' councils for observing, evaluating and directing any leadership
and giving them the necessary gains based on cooperation in the
leadership. Thereby insuring an effective military discipline based on
political and organizational correctness.
3. The abolition of all class differences in relation to all material and
non-material privileges. A ratio not to exceed 3:1 in the differences of
material privileges.
4. A total subjection of the army to the political leadership committees of
joint national work (with regard to each one's special duties),
considering that the leadership committees are collective.

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DPFLP WOMEN

The relations between university men and women, have been
dictated by and through the dominating values and culture of its
dominate volumes. That is because of the absence of vanguard forces
who would consider it their task to form to form to common
struggle among the students at this stage.

What about the question of women's liberation in the Jordanian
university? It has been observed that the female students in their
understanding of the question of women's liberation have not surpassed,
objective or practically, their bourgeois concept of liberation. A concept of
subjective or superficial liberation, based on superficial rejection of their parental or social tutelage, this thus leads to submission to bourgeois
governs. The vague rebellion without theoretical objectives, and
in the absence of any revolutionary understanding, bursts like a soap
bubble with no lasting effect.

A political liberation based on the superficial participation of the students in patriotic work, with total submission to prevailing social
conditions, is an attempt at liberation based on good will and
enthusiasm for the national struggle without truly surpassing a "bourgeoisization" process.

The antipated liberation of women lies in their emotional, political, cultural, and social liberation, through the national struggle and
through the basic transformation of the masses' culture and the
structure of class society.
The liberation of women is through their realization, and the
realization of the society, of their human value as a "productive force." Work alone is the determinant factor of their value in the society, not
their class, tribal, or family relation, not the prevailing culture and morals, and not their position as private property of men.

In this existence different kinds of unequal relationships between
university men and women, as shown by the establishment of warped
relationships instead of democratic relationships in the
university. The duty of the masses' organizations is to initiate and create
broad avenues for the Palestinian-Jordanian women to work in, plus
confronting the reactionary legacy of the "mystic" relation between the
two sexes whose negative effects appear at this time in an atmosphere
filled with distortions and rumors concerning every relation between
male and female.

It is necessary to eliminate all the illusions related to the
"inability" of women and it is necessary to develop the subjective
conditions of women in order to push them to work with confidence.
Furthermore, it is necessary to conquer the "bourgeoisization" which now exists among the ranks of women and to
eliminate their negative attitude and petti-bourgeois concepts of
liberation which manifest themselves through individual adventurism and
heroism. For the liberation of women cannot be achieved except through mass consciousness, to conquer this concept of individual heroism and strengthen the concept of mass struggle.

We would really be deluded if we believed that our cultural
liberation could determine the question as a whole. The question of
women's liberation, and with it the liberation of men, is tied with men is tied to the national struggle, and by consolidating the
values of our national and democratic struggle we solidify the role of
women and create many opportunities for ourselves.

At this stage, it is the duty of revolutionaries to initiate mass
action around this matter and spread revolutionary concepts toward the
question of the liberation of women.

...SUDAN

One asks whether the progressive officers prepared to face the
possibility of a counter-coup, whether they removed hostile elements in
the army, purged corrupt governmental officials, or armed the masses.
The answer is no. For when the counter-coup actually started the
officers of the progressive coup called upon the General Union of
Workers in Sudan for an extraordinary meeting. It called upon the
people to resist. This shows that the new coup was not ready to face the
counter-coup. It also shows clearly its distinctive features for it has
never happened before that the military called upon the workers for its
defense.
The neo-reactionary forces entered a "holy" alliance to end what
seemed to be a Communist shadow. What would happen if communism
actually prevailed?

THEY INTERVENED BY AIR AND "TEETH" IN SUDAN, AND BY "TALK" IN JORDAN.

In his last speech, President Sadat of Egypt made clear indications
that Egypt and Libya actually intervened to crush the progressive coup
in Sudan. Certain reports indicated the possibility of the Egyptian air
base in Sudan and the movement of a Libya unit intervening in favor of the
Numeiry counter coup. Also, Haschem Atta leader of the progressive
coup made a broadcast from Khartum Radio indicating "foreign
intervention." Thus we can realize what is behind the Tripartite Union and the
Tippy Declaration: Common security and defense for the Arab regimes
against any democratic and revolutionary possibility.

While Sadat was proclaiming his intervention in Sudan when he
stated, "this Union was born with teeth," his other "intervention" in
Jordan was completely different. It was nothing but a verbal attack on the
Jordanian authorities that came after the Palestinian resistance movement
was removed out of its bases in Jerash (Jordan), and secondly a short
lived propoganda for the PLO to be made by the third (coup) by a
particular praise for King Faisal of Saudia Arabia and his
"understanding of higher Arab interests" in Faisal attempts to intervene in favor of King Hussein.