

*al-Jaridat al-Sha'b*  
DEMOCRATIC  
No. 11

PALESTINE  
October 1985

*New Attack  
on Palestinian  
National  
Resistance*

In late August, the Israeli daily «Haaretz» reported that IDF reservists in the West Bank, spent several days chasing and shooting down children's kites bearing the colors of the Palestinian flag. Eventually the kites were gathered and burned. This seemingly absurd undertaking on the part of the troops of the world's fourth-ranking military power, shows the antagonism and fear with which the Zionists regard any expression of Palestinian national identity.



*Democratic Palestine* is an English language magazine published by the PFLP with the following aims:

- conveying the political line of the PFLP and other progressive Palestinian and Arab forces;
- providing current information and analysis pertinent to the Palestinian liberation struggle, as well as developments on the Arab and international levels;
- serving as forum for building relations of mutual solidarity between the Palestinian revolution and progressive organizations, parties, national liberation movements and countries around the world.

You can support these aims by subscribing to *Democratic Palestine*. Furthermore, we hope that you will encourage friends and comrades to read and subscribe to *Democratic Palestine*. We also urge you to send us comments, criticisms and proposals concerning the magazine's contents.

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The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a Marxist-Leninist organization and an integral component of the Palestine Liberation Organization. A primary motive for establishing the PFLP was to inject a clear class perspective in the Palestinian national liberation struggle. Experience shows that the most oppressed classes-the workers, peasants, sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the camp Palestinians-are those most in contradiction with imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. It is they who carve history with determination that can persevere in a protracted war against the enemy alliance.

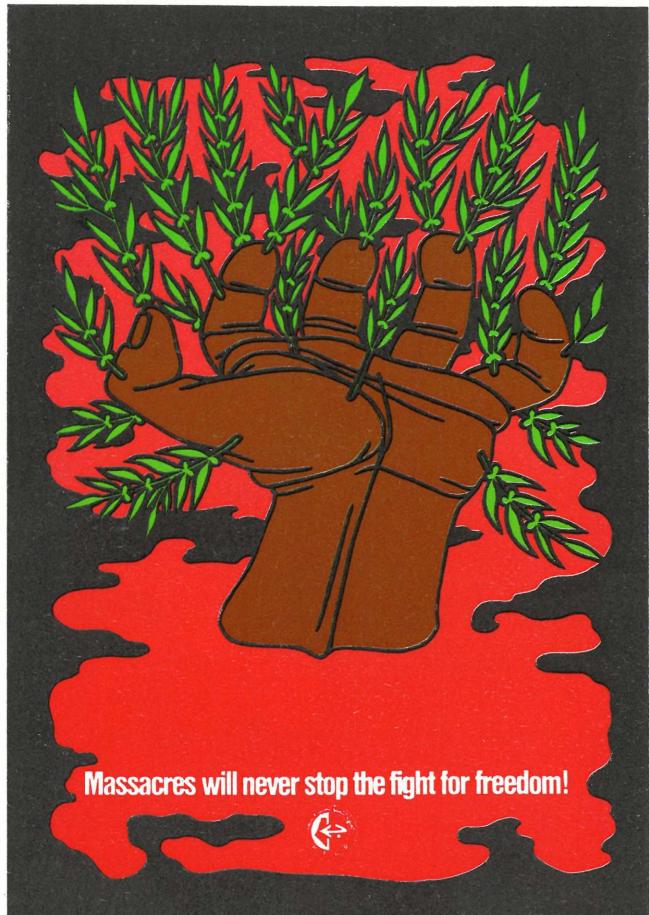
The PFLP is deeply committed to the unity and independent, national decision-making of the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. To this end, we work for strengthening the role of the Palestinian left, thereby accentuating the PLO's anti-imperialist line in common struggle with the Arab national liberation movement.

The process of liberating Palestine relies on radical, national democratic change or development in one or more of the surrounding

Arab countries. This will provide the PLO with a strong base for liberating Palestine. Thus the struggle for a democratic Palestine is linked to the creation of a united, democratic, and ultimately socialist, Arab society. This will provide the objective basis for eradicating the poverty, exploitation, oppression and the problem of minorities, from which the people of the area suffer.

As a cornerstone in this process, the establishment of a democratic, secular state in Palestine will provide a democratic solution for the Jewish question in this area, while simultaneously restoring the national rights of the Palestinian people. After liberation, Jews in Palestine, like all citizens, will enjoy equal rights and duties. The decision of the PLO to establish an independent Palestinian state on any liberated part of the national soil is a step in this direction. It is the sincere hope of all Palestinian revolutionaries that more and more Israelis will recognize that they, too, have become victims of Zionism's racism, expansionism, exploitation and militarism, and will join us in the struggle for a democratic Palestine.

## Sabra-Shatila 3 Years After



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# Letters

*This summer we received the following letter from an Irish Prisoner of War:*

By good fortune I have come upon a copy of your magazine called «Democratic Palestine» which I have enjoyed reading very much. I was delighted to see your interview with Gerry Adams the President of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA (Irish Republican Army). I would very much like to receive your magazine on a regular basis and any other progressive, revolutionary literature you may have. As you can see from my address, I am at present a Prisoner of War so I hope you will be able to help me; political hostages have plenty of time on their hands and there is much to be learned. Victory to the Irish and Palestinian people.

**We have received two telexes from Japan, relating protest events against Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir's visit there:**

The Japanese Committee to Protest Shamir's Visit to Japan has submitted an appeal to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, expressing outrage over the decision to officially invite him. Citing Shamir's role in the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, his past involvement in terrorist activities and his support for annexation and colonization of the occupied territories, the committee opposed Shamir's visit to Japan as contrary to the interests of peace in the Middle East.

The committee is composed of specialists on Middle East affairs, university professors, authors and artists. They have indicated that they will continue to speak out against the planned visit: «We are very much disturbed by the news that Shamir will visit Japan on September 6-10th. He was foreign minister at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. This invasion left 20,000 people dead, 30,000 injured and 600,000 homeless. It also brought with it the massacre of over 1,500 Palestinians in Beirut. Shamir bears primary responsibility for this tragic war, as confirmed by the International People's Tribunal held in Japan in 1983. With regard to the massacre of Palestinians, even Israel's own investigation committee indicated that responsibility lay with the Israeli government.

«During the 1930s and 40s, Shamir was a leading member of a Jewish terrorist group in Palestine and involved in terrorist training. It was also reported that his group was responsible for the assassination of Britain's High Commissioner Lord Moyne in Cairo in 1944, as well as the assassination of UN Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in Jerusalem in 1948, and for the massacre of 200 Palestinians in Deir Yassin in the same year.

«Shamir is also leader of the Likud coalition in the Israeli government. This coalition has supported a policy of annexation and colonization of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which

were brought under Israeli occupation following the 3rd Middle East war in 1967, and expelling Palestinians from these areas, along with annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights...»

## Demonstration vs. Shamir visit

On September 6th, Japanese people in Tokyo demonstrated in protest of Shamir's visit. The demonstrators were wearing the Palestinian black and white scarf (hatta) and shouting slogans of solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, and condemning Israel and Shamir as an internationally known terrorist. The demonstrators gathered at a rally where speakers from the ten groups organizing the event spoke.



## Table of Contents

- 4 Editorial: The Amman accord is the greatest danger Palestine
- 5 Interview with Comrade Habash
- 7 Bourj al Barajneh Attacked  
PNSF Memorandum on Zionist Terror
- 8 Occupied Palestine: Zionism is Racism
- 10 Military Operations
- 11 1985 Escalation of Armed Struggle
- 13 PFLP Central Committee Meets
- 14 PFLP - PCP Joint Communiqué
- 15 PFLP Visit to Moscow
- 16 Comrade Habash's Press Conference
- 17 Shadia Abu Ghasala Nursery
- 19 Lebanon  
Arab World
- 20 Somal National Movement
- 22 Mogadishu - Pretoria - Tel Aviv Axis
- 23 Bright Star 1985  
'Israel'
- 24 Israeli Nuclear Strategy  
World
- 26 IOJ Presidium Meets in Quito
- 28 Helsinki Accords Viewed in Retrospect
- 30 South Africa - Fighting Apartheid

## Correction

*In «Democratic Palestine» no.9 and 10 we printed the telex number of «Al Hadaf» incorrectly. Please note the correct number is 411667. We apologize for any inconvenience this may have caused you.*

# Editorial

*The most dangerous attack on the Palestinian revolution is the political attack made possible by the right-wing's adherence to the Amman accord.*

We go to press on the eve of the third anniversary of the Sabra-Shatila massacre. From September 16th to 18th, 1982, an estimated 3,000 Palestinian and Lebanese men, women and children were slaughtered by fascist militiamen commanded by Elias Hobeika, in an operation engineered by the Israeli occupation forces with US complicity. Hobeika has been rewarded for his service to the Zionist-fascist alliance, having been promoted to overall chief of the Lebanese Forces fascist militias. On the Israeli scene, officials directly responsible for the massacre remain in power, in concert with Peres' Labor Party. The Reagan Administration continues to escalate its aggressive policy against the people of the world. Most recently, the US awarded 'Israel' with extra aid to the tune of \$1.5 billion.

Since the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the resulting massacre, the Palestinian people and revolution have faced a new series of aggressive attacks: more Zionist-fascist terror in Lebanon, including this spring's attack on Ain al Hilweh camp; successive waves of Zionist repression in occupied Palestine, recently culminating in official reimposition of the iron fist policy; the war on the Beirut camps in May and June this year, and its threatened reoccurrence with the Amal movement's new attack on Bourj al Barajneh camp this month.

Yet none of these military attacks have achieved their goals: The Palestinian masses remain steadfast, and Palestinian militants consistently rally to defend the revolution. The military attacks did however have a lasting effect on the vacillating Palestinian bourgeoisie. Under the impact of the 1982 invasion, the Palestinian rightist leadership moved to surrender the national goals and opted for involvement in the US schemes to resolve the Middle East conflict. The right wing's deviation from the national program, especially Arafat's signing the Amman accord with King Hussein, gave space for the enemy alliance's political offensive to reap the fruits of its military aggression. This political attack on the Palestinian revolution is the most dangerous of all, for it threatens the revolution from within, eroding Palestinian unity, stealing forces from the main struggle, and impeding alliances with the Arab national liberation movement and progressive forces worldwide.

## The right persists in deviation

Despite a multitude of concrete indications that the Palestinian people and cause stand to gain nothing from a US-sponsored settlement, the Palestinian right persists in endeavors to accommodate Arab reaction and imperialism.

When US Assistant Secretary of State Murphy was in the area, a scant week after the Casablanca Summit, to check the pulse of the parties involved, the Palestinian right banked on his meeting with the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Two Palestinians, deemed acceptable to 'Israel', were summoned from the occupied territories to Amman to coincide with Murphy's meeting with King Hussein on August 14th. However, the day before, the US State Department had issued a statement that Murphy would not engage in «indirect negotiations or prenegotiations» with Palestinian leaders. Rather the Reagan Administration sent Murphy to reinforce the US conditions aimed against the PLO: The US will not start discussions

with the joint delegation unless this leads to direct negotiations with 'Israel' according to a specified timetable. Moreover, meeting with the joint delegation does not mean US recognition of the PLO, and the PLO must concede this publicly. Thus, Murphy's meetings were with those the US considers pivotal for expanding the Camp David process: 'Israel', Egypt and Jordan. His meetings with Mubarak and King Hussein were aimed at assessing whether Arab reaction is ready to drop the PLO altogether if Arafat will not announce his recognition of 'Israel' clear enough for Zionist ears.

It should not, however, be construed that the US is disinterested in the Amman accord. On the contrary, as recently as September 4th, the State Department issued a statement that it is very possible to hold discussions with a Jordanian-Palestinian joint delegation despite Arafat's statement that the US did not fulfill its promises about holding such a meeting. The US sees the Amman accord as the venue for having the official PLO leadership surrender Palestinian rights, hoping to thus dissolve the Palestinian cause as the main obstacle to expanding Camp David. The coming visits of Mubarak and Hussein to Washington are the latest proof of imperialism and Arab reaction's interest in hastening a settlement that leaves nothing for the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian right is now so deeply involved in its chosen deviating course that it cannot turn back. In recent interviews, Arafat stated that there is progress towards a US-joint delegation meeting, and challenged the Zionists to meet him in the «peace» process. He even went so far as to disclaim responsibility for our people's heroic resistance in occupied Palestine, which he usually likes to flaunt as all of his own making. This shows the extent to which the Palestinian rightists are bowing to the imperialist conditions as they were most recently articulated by US Secretary of State Schultz on September 6th: «Those who perpetuate violence deal themselves out of the peace process.» In line with imperialist doubletalk, he was referring to the PLO, not the Israelis, as logic would dictate.

## Countering the right

The extreme danger posed by the political attack means that defeating the Amman accord, its proponents and the trend it represents, remains to be central task of the Palestinian revolution. This means all revolutionaries pooling their efforts to mobilize the broadest sectors of our masses against the threat of political liquidation. One of the main conditions for thwarting the right-wing line is strengthening the Palestinian revolution's role in Lebanon, in joint struggle with the Lebanese nationalist forces. For this reason, this summer's attacks on Palestinian presence in Lebanon, spearheaded by the Amal movement, are especially disturbing. Their political consequences can only be used by Arafat to convince the masses that they are threatened even by erstwhile allies, and so have no hope save in US solutions. Those who pride themselves on their struggle against imperialism, Zionism and fascism, must follow this up by correct relations with other nationalist forces engaged in the same struggle. Only thus can the struggle against the main enemy be strengthened.

## Interview with Comrade Habash

On August 19th, Comrade George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP, gave an interview to «Al Hadaf», the Front's weekly Arabic magazine. The excerpts we have selected to print below revolve on seven themes: Palestinian armed struggle in Lebanon, the crisis in Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese nationalist relations due to the camp war, Palestinian national unity, the Palestine National Salvation Front, the danger of the Amman accord, the Casablanca summit and the Damascus agreement to end the war of the camps.

### Palestinian armed struggle in Lebanon

«Everyone knows that after the year 1967, the Palestinian revolution has depended on two main bases: the struggle of the Palestinian masses inside occupied Palestine, and the phenomenon of overt armed struggle in the Arab countries surrounding Palestine.

«The war of the camps thrust upon us a reevaluation of the second base and its future, for this war was a serious attempt to put an end to that base; it shook it. Now we are planning to consolidate and protect that base..

«This attempt to put an end to overt armed struggle in Lebanon is the most dangerous of many previous attempts. Why? Because it was carried out by those whom we considered as sons of one and the same nationalist camp... The phenomenon of overt armed struggle carries with it certain burdens. It seems that some nationalist forces are not capable of bearing these burdens.

«Our brothers in the Amal movement launched a hard struggle to liberate the South of Lebanon. However, when they had achieved concrete steps in the process of liberating the South, their silent logic was as follows: 'Now we have liberated the South. As for the liberation of Palestine, it is a historic, tiresome, costly, long process.' The Zionist enemy contributed to this idea by threatening to retaliate, inflicting massive destruction, for any shelling of the Zionist settlements...»

«All phrases of pan-Arab war, or that the liberation of the South should be the door to the liberation of Jerusalem, evaporated. These slogans reached a deadend. Now, the reality speaks for itself: 'We are satisfied with liberating the South. Let the Palestinians concen-

trate their struggle inside Palestine. When all the Arab states have arrived at a unified strategy for liberation, we will not hesitate to fulfill our duty.'

«Now, in the light of the above said words, can we abandon our gun in Lebanon? The answer is very clear, and it should be clear in the minds of all. Our duty remains the heroic defense of the Palestinian gun in Lebanon, no matter

Palestinian revolution in Lebanon must serve the war against 'Israel' and contribute to the war of the Lebanese national movement against the isolationist forces... d) We cannot enforce the Palestinian armed presence on the Lebanese nationalist forces... This presence must be agreed upon through dialogue...»

### Crisis in nationalist relations

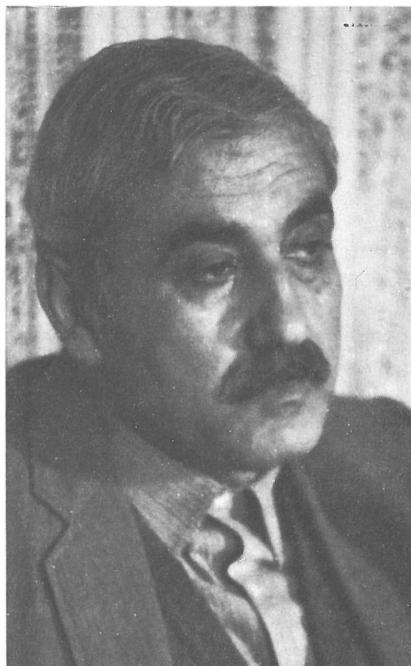
«The war of the camps led to a crisis in the Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist-Syrian relations...»

«I remember very well that after the evacuation of the resistance forces from Beirut in 1982...we in the PFLP said that we are facing a new, complicated situation. We asked ourselves: How can we deal with this new situation? Our answer was that there are two interconnected weapons by which we can overcome the crisis. The first weapon is Palestinian national unity. The second is consolidating our alliances with Syria and the Lebanese national movement.

«After Arafat's visit to Cairo, the convening of the splinter Palestinian National Council in Amman, and the signing of the Amman accord on February 11, 1985, we stressed the importance of the tripartite alliance even more strongly. Yet that does not mean that we have abandoned the slogan of national unity...»

«Our viewpoint was that the formation of the Palestine National Salvation Front (PNSF) would be the Palestinian partner capable of consolidating the alliance with Syria and the Lebanese national movement...»

«Then the war of the camps broke out with the aim of ending the role of the Palestinian gun, irrespective of organizational affiliation...At that time we felt that our allies see only a political role for ►



what the cost. How can we protect the Palestinian gun in Lebanon? a) By putting an immediate and decisive end to the previous improper conduct...for which the Palestinian right-wing leadership is responsible... b) By differentiating between the importance of preserving the Palestinian gun in Lebanon on the one hand, and unnecessary, improper military behaviour on the other... c) The overt military presence of the

us; that they do not see any Palestinian armed role...

«During the war we tried to solve the crisis in relations, in order to have another opportunity to rebuild the tripartite alliance on a new basis, whereby the Palestinian partner can play an important and effective role. This is exactly what we are attempting to do now. The following points constitute the basis for rebuilding the alliance:

a) To preserve the Palestinian gun in Lebanon...This means the preservation of all the achievements of the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon...This will mean foiling the aims of the Zionist invasion of 1982, to destroy the infrastructure of the Palestinian national struggle...The PNSF realized early how vital this matter is. The PNSF was quick to present a working paper to regulate the Palestinian presence and Palestinian-Lebanese relations...

b) We understand that the non-Palestinian partners to the tripartite alliance have the right to present their point of view of the common relationship. Of course, the interests of all partners must be taken into consideration - I mean their interest in confronting the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary enemy...

c) In any such alliance, there is always room for minor contradictions and differing viewpoints. All partners must agree on the methods for solving such contradictions...»

## **Palestinian National Unity**

«Concerning Palestinian national unity, the Central Committee of Fatah presented a memorandum expressing their viewpoint on this unity. Unfortunately, the memorandum confirmed our viewpoint about the deceptive way in which the Central Committee of Fatah deals with the question of national unity...»

«Everyone knows that the major obstacle to national unity is the Amman accord...Fatah's memorandum ignores this subject...The public cancellation of the Amman accord is a precondition for national unity...»

«There are some who believe that the abrogation of the Amman accord is possible while the official leadership of the PLO remains in the leadership. The PFLP holds no such conviction...However, we are ready to cooperate with all other organizations, including those outside the PNSF. The common denominator between us and them is the condemnation and abrogation of the Amman accord...»

## **The PNSF**

«When the war of the camps broke out in May of this year, some thought that this would bring the PNSF to an end...In reality, what has happened is that the PNSF stood the test. This will not lead us to draw overly optimistic conclusions...The PNSF still faces a set of contradictions. I will give some examples:

a) In the PFLP we still believe that the base of Fatah is nationalist, despite the fact that it is still dependent on the leadership (the Central Committee), financially and militarily. Accordingly, we believe it is important to intensify dialogue with Fatah's base. The outcome will be that this base will line up with the PNSF...

b) There are still nationalist and democratic forces that remain outside the PNSF...This fact should not lead us to ignore them or escalate contradictions with them. We have to convince them to join the PNSF. If we fail, we have to try to find the common denominator between them and the PNSF...

c) The PFLP will comply with the political platform of the PNSF which clearly states that the aim of the PNSF is to return the PLO to the nationalist, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist line. It is not to split the PLO, or to have two organizations...»

## **The Amman accord**

«All Palestinian nationalist organizations, forces and personalities recognized the threats posed by the Amman accord...But there were some who claimed that the accord was dead and would remain dead...»

«Now we can say, with proof in our hands, that the Palestinian right-wing, deviationist leadership and the Jordanian regime are still determined to pursue their policy: the US, unilateral policy...For example, the right-wing leadership and the Jordanian regime insisted on convening the Arab summit with a simple majority. Of course, their insistence stems from the fact that they needed an official Arab cover for the Amman accord which was signed on February 11, 1985...»

«I differentiate between the serious determination of both the (PLO) leadership and the Jordanian regime to follow the US solution, and the actual results of their choice...After all, Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip will not be easy or even possible. However, the dangers and splits caused by the right-wing policy in the Palestinian

arena, should be evident. Herein lies the necessity of confronting that policy...How can we confront and defeat that policy?

«Our weapons are clear. First and foremost is the weapon of comprehensive, political, mass mobilization. This mobilization will create a Palestinian will able to besiege and destroy the right-wing line. To succeed in this task, we deemed it necessary for all organizations, forces and nationalist personalities to close ranks...I am talking about the PNSF and all other organizations opposed to the deviating line...»

«A Palestinian peoples convention should be the apex of this mobilization process...We will call for such a convention in the name of the PNSF. Of course, the PNSF will propagate its political platform calling for the abrogation of the Amman accord and the overthrow of its proponents. After the convention, we are ready to take a common stand with the other organizations besides the PNSF members...»

«To succeed in this policy, we think it is vital to elicit Arab support...We will consolidate the tripartite alliance (Lebanese nationalist-Palestinian-Syrian)...We will consolidate our relations with the Arab national movement...We call for a summit of the confrontation and steadfastness states...We will call for an Arab peoples convention to back up the Palestinian one...»

## **The Casablanca Summit**

«The convening of the Arab summit in Casablanca, was meant to provide a cover for the Amman accord...The USA wanted Arab support for that accord. The cover was given in an implicit form...If you ask me why it was not given explicitly, my answer will be that America's Arabs are not willing to enter into an overt confrontation with Syria and other Arab nationalist states...»

## **The Damascus agreement**

«The implementation of the Damascus agreement (to stop the war of the camps) is going well...There are still some obstacles to its full implementation...For example, there are still some Palestinian prisoners who have not been released. Not all forces of Amal and the Lebanese Army Sixth Brigade have withdrawn from all positions around the camps...The reconciliation process has not yet occurred...»

# Bourj al Barajneh Attacked

Starting September 3rd, the forces of the Amal movement besieged Bourj al Barajneh camp on the southern outskirts of Beirut. For six days, the attack continued with the camp being shelled by tanks and other heavy weaponry. Palestinian fighters defended the camp to the best of their ability and repulsed all attempts to penetrate its boundaries. The most horrible attacks, however, occurred against Palestinian civilians living outside the camp: in a nearby neighborhood, 17 unarmed men, women and children were massacred and 30 Palestinian homes on the edge of Bourj al Barajneh were burned.

The PNSF was active in arranging a ceasefire, aiming to ward off an all-out confrontation with the Amal movement and instead return to the Damascus agreement which ended the previous camp war. Due to these efforts, the fighting subsided on September 10th, and the ceasefire is holding as we go to press.

## PNSF Press Release

*Concerning the Assault on the Palestinian Camps in Beirut*  
Damascus, September 7, 1985

This morning the leadership of the Palestine National Salvation Front held a meeting to discuss the situation in the Palestinian camps of Beirut. During the

last three days, these camps witnessed regrettable incidents whereby many persons were wounded or killed, and many buildings hit.

The PNSF leadership sent a delegation to deal with the situation with the Amal movement on the ground, so as to put an end to the tension around the camps. This tension was brought about

by those who consider the Damascus agreement as a threat to themselves and who consequently work to explode the situation once again. Several precautions were taken to prevent clashes.

The PNSF leadership stressed its readiness to implement the Damascus agreement and end any repercussions of the crisis. The PNSF leadership demanded that the Amal movement take all needed measures to prevent violations or provocations instigated by some elements and factions inside Amal itself.

The PNSF leadership denounced the heinous crime whereby 17 Palestinian civilians were slaughtered in the neighborhood of Haret Hraik. It demanded that Amal execute the one responsible for this massacre, halt all attacks on Palestinian civilians and release all detainees and prisoners.

The PNSF leadership called upon all signatories of the Damascus agreement to work together to consolidate the militant relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian people, and to confront any attempt to heighten tension, in order to serve the common nationalist cause.

## PNSF Memorandum on Zionist Terror

On September 8th, the Palestine National Salvation Front Leadership directed a memorandum to international organizations and democratic parties, calling attention to the Zionists' terrorist practices against the Palestinian population in occupied Palestine. Since we also deal with this repressive campaign in an article in this issue, we print below only a summary.

In the light of the economic crisis prevailing in the Zionist entity, and the program of the government coalition, the Zionist authorities have imposed the following measures:

1. The iron fist policy - collective arrests and curfews...Recently, Jenin and Tulkarm were turned into a great prison, surrounded by Zionist troops for three consecutive days. General curfew had previously been imposed on Nablus, Kafr Yunis and Nuseirat refugee camp whose inhabitants were forbidden to leave for several weeks. Curfew is usually accompanied by cutting off water and electric power, and Zionist

troops raiding homes and making massive arrests.

2. The number of Palestinian citizens detained reached 900, as stated by Shimon Peres, 62 of them arrested during the past few weeks, most of them Palestinian prisoners freed on May 20th; this violates the prisoner exchange agreement between 'Israel' and PFLP-General Command, guaranteed by the International Red Cross Committee and the Swiss government.

3. Imposition of house arrest on many Palestinian intellectuals without giving any reason; part of those affected are ex-prisoners.

4. The expulsion of Arab citizens, as recently happened to three patriots, in order to uproot the Palestinian people from their land.

5. Confiscation of houses and lands; in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 52% of the land has been confiscated to build settlements which now number 190.

6. Prevention of Palestinian students from leaving the West Bank and Gaza Strip to continue their university studies.

7. The terrorism of Zionist settlers is part of the daily life of Palestinians...Hundreds of Palestinians have been exposed to such assault, resulting in 140 wounded.

Our people in occupied Palestine are facing two kinds of terror, organized by the Zionist authorities and by the fascist, racist groups and settlers. Our people are exposed to the most vicious oppression, aiming to liquidate their freedom and culture. The Palestine National Salvation Front calls on you to raise this issue in your country, especially in the media, and to stand by our just cause, rendering support to our people in occupied Palestine.

# Occupied Palestine

# Zionism is Racism

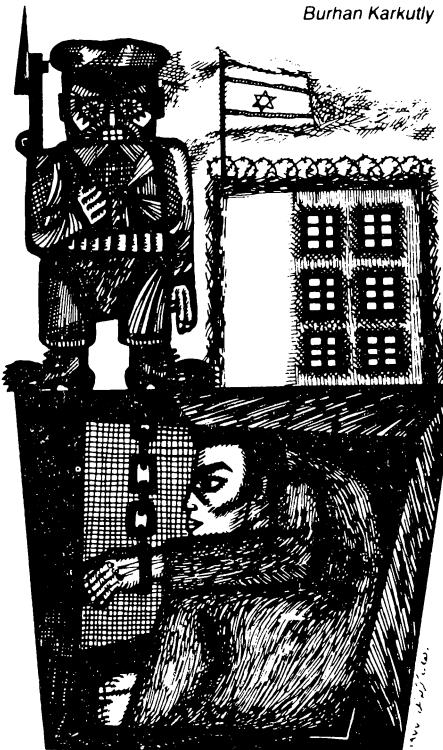
*Palestinians under occupation are facing heightened Zionist aggression with ever clearer racist overtones. The Zionist government has renewed use of emergency measures allowing for deportation and administrative detention for 6-month renewable periods on the grounds of mere suspicion. Zionist settlers have again escalated assaults on Palestinians. The first week of September, armed settlers instated their own patrolling all over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Israeli army reinforced its ranks in the occupied territories. This aggressive Zionist campaign is being presented as a response to increased attacks on Israelis, and certainly the oppressors always attempt to squash the people's resistance; a similar dynamic is at work in South Africa today. Yet the causes of racist violence go even deeper, being related to the Zionist state's nature and present crisis.*

## Mob violence

In late July, an Israeli mob indiscriminately attacked Palestinians arriving for work in Afuleh in the occupied Galilee, after learning that two residents of the town had been found dead. The settlers broke bottles in order to stab the workers, all of whom were beaten and 15 seriously injured. The Israeli police did not interfere. Kahane arrived in Afuleh and was hailed as a king by the mob. Afterwards three entirely different Palestinian youths were arrested on suspicion of the killing; their families' homes in a village near Jenin, in the occupied West Bank, were demolished by the occupation forces. The funeral for the two slain Israelis became another rallying point for the racists who shouted for revenge and «Death to the terrorists».

The truth of the incident was that three Palestinian youths, out hunting, stumbled over an Israeli couple. The Israeli man drew his revolver, and the Palestinians reacted. Fanatical Israelis jumped on the incident, whipping up mass hysteria to promote their political goals. A few days later two Palestinian youth from Tubas village were found dead near Nablus, their bodies charred and mutilated.

Several polls taken before the Afuleh killing attest to Israeli attitudes: the Israeli daily *Haaretz* published a poll on July 28th, that 70% of Israelis support imposing the death penalty on Palestinian commandos. Four Likud ministers have declared their support to this: Minister of State Moshe Arens, Minister of Justice Moshe Nissen, Minister of Tourism Abraham Shareer, and Minister of Trade and Industry Ariel Sharon.



Burhan Karkutly

citizenry...» (as quoted in *Al Fajr*, August 23rd).

## Legalized murder

The Zionist state gave its stamp of approval to murdering Palestinian commandos in mid-August: Brigadier General Yitzhak Mordechai, commander of the Israeli infantry and paratroopers, was cleared by a military court of improper conduct in the killing of two commandos in April 1984. He was the responsible officer present when the two were removed from the bus they had hijacked and beaten on the head with gunbutts, causing death. Yet the military court found that Mordechai had used only «reasonable force» and he can now be promoted to full general.

Earlier in July, a poll indicated that 10% of Israelis and 40% of Israeli youth agree with Kahane's goal of driving out all Arabs. Another poll published by *Haaretz* showed the possible political results: If elections had been held this July, Kahane's KACH would have received 9% of the votes, as opposed to 1% last year. The Tehiya party, also on the extreme right, and KACH together would have polled 16%, equal to 19 Knesset seats, making them the third largest parliamentary group. (Presently KACH has 1 MK and Tehiya 5.)

Besides whipping up racist sentiment, KACH is using its growing influence to undertake concrete steps towards its goals. The August 5th edition of *Syria Times* cited a Reuters report that KACH has established its first youth training camp at Mitzpe Jericho settlement; 60 teenagers are reportedly training there. In the latest elections to the Kiryat Arba settlement council, KACH

took almost a quarter of the vote, enabling it to influence other rightists in the council to fire all Palestinians employed by the settlement according to the original Zionist slogan «Jewish Labor Only». Also symptomatic of the racist campaign was Interior Minister Peretz's attempt to stop a program in Israeli schools to create understanding between Jewish and Arab children.

Assaults on Palestinians have occurred in all parts of the occupied homeland. In the South, a Palestinian doctor and three nurses were subject to an unprovoked physical attack on August 30th in Beersheba, necessitating their hospitalization. The next night all the windows in their hospital residence were smashed. On August 25th, a Palestinian girl was wounded by an Israeli soldier who shot «accidentally» in the occupied Gaza Strip. On August 8th, Kahane thugs threw stones at Palestinian cars passing a settlement on the road to Hebron; several people were injured. On August 15th, about 20 Israeli soldiers surrounded a group of Palestinian farmers working on their land near Sakhnin; the soldiers fired their guns and beat the farmers, injuring two children, a youth and three women, one of whom was 75 years old. No incident preceded this assault which appeared to be premeditated. Another revealing incident occurred to an Israeli woman trying to reach Ramallah for a demonstration against deportation of Palestinians; she was repeatedly stopped and harassed by Israeli soldiers, and had a gun pointed at her by one. Another officer

interfered and told her that had she been an Arab, he would have killed her instantly. (as reported in *Al Fajr*, August 16th.)

### State of emergency

At this writing a veritable state of emergency reigns in the West Bank in particular. On August 4th, the Israeli cabinet officially readopted the iron fist policy in the 1967 occupied territories: reinstatement of administrative detention and deportation without trial; closure of Arab newspapers «that violate censorship» and Palestinian institutions that encourage nationalism; expansion of prison facilities. As of September 3rd, 62 residents of the occupied territories were being administratively detained; dozens are facing deportation orders, including 30 newly released political prisoners. The targets of the repression show that the occupation authorities are not simply countering the rise in resistance operations. They are rather taking a new opportunity to round up activists and impose collective punishment to subdue the population at large. Most of those targeted in the West Bank are students or former political prisoners. The Zionists are trying to remove from the midst of the people those with advanced knowledge and experience to inspire and organize mass struggle. This was especially apparent on August 6 when the occupation authorities rounded up four students from Al Najah University, a few days after it was closed just prior to scheduled student elections. The same

day the authorities moved to deport a number of former detainees.

On August 30th, roadblocks were set up throughout the West Bank, spreading the state of siege that had been imposed more locally the previous days with the four-day curfew of Jenin and Tulkarm after the August 24th killing of the Israeli settler Andre Alush in Tulkarm and the shooting of another settler in Jenin. The Israeli reaction was massive: thousands of Palestinians were interrogated and dozens arrested. Earlier in August, Nablus residents suffered a four-day curfew and travel restrictions continued all month.

It is clear that the racists are snatching at any opportunity to promote their long-harbored political goals. The six Knesset members who occupied a house in the center of Hebron's market, August 15-20th, openly stated their goal: preventing negotiations with the Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. At the same time Levinger and his Gush Emunim settlers went on a rampage in the market, overturning the stalls of the Palestinian vendors. The Palestinian revolutionaries who stabbed two Israeli soldiers guarding the house after the MKs' exit, pointed responsibility to where it belonged: The MKs were only able to stage their house occupation due to the facilities offered by the nearby army post. Gush Emunim was also allowed to stage a massive demonstration outside Tulkarm on September 2nd, on the pretext of mourning Andre Alush, but actually intended to threaten Palestinians. ►



Youth interrogated during Tulkarm curfew

## Setting things right

That a crisis was in the making has been obvious since Operation Galilee when 1,150 Palestinian political prisoners were liberated in exchange for two Israeli soldiers captured by PFLP-General Command during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This great victory for the Palestinian revolution was a source of bitterness, anger and heated debate in the Zionist society. The government came under hard criticism for releasing «hardened terrorists» especially as 600 opted to remain in the occupied territories. Many Israelis advocated that they all be expelled. There was also much speculation that the rightists in the government only approved the exchange in order to use it as an excuse for later releasing imprisoned members of the «Jewish underground». In fact, in late August, Police Minister Haim Bar Lev proposed releasing 1000 Israeli prisoners for the coming Jewish New Year, among them persons detained for terrorism against Palestinians.

In reality, the Zionist government was forced to concede the exchange, and the current repressive campaign is its way of setting things straight. The campaign also aims to insure that any peace negotiations will involve only Jordan, not the PLO.

## Fighting the crisis

There are other things that the Israeli government is trying to set straight:

namely the economic crisis and imbalance in the immigration-emigration ratio. Despite US doctoring with massive aid injections, the Israeli economic crisis remains essentially unresolved. The class collaboration inherent in a colonial society, and the need to present a high standard of living to attract new immigrants and hold on to settlers, makes it difficult to impose such measures as are regularly dictated to 'third world' countries by the IMF.

As it is, the measures currently contemplated include massive lay-offs of state employees. This will swell unemployment which is already on the rise. The number of Israelis applying for unemployment benefits rose by one-third in August alone. Greater unemployment runs counter to the other Zionist concern: reversing the immigration-emigration imbalance. Since 1981, more settlers have left 'Israel' than have arrived. In 1984, 17,000 left the country and 30,000 are expected to do so this year. An Immigration Ministry official has reported that 50% of new immigrants from western countries leave again. The government has deemed this serious enough to initiate the «Come Back» project in conjunction with 20 Israeli companies, to lure back the estimated 35,000 professionals now residing in the US. In this context, escalated aggression and racism against Palestinians serves to make clearer than ever the nature of 'Israel' as a fortress state. ●

gunfire near Alfa Menashi settlement.

An Israeli settler was killed in Nablus on August 8th, and a petrol bomb targeted an Israeli car near Tulkarm. The next day a petrol bomb was thrown at the house of a policeman in Balata refugee camp near Nablus. On August 10th, a Kiryat Arba settler from the US was stabbed in Hebron, requiring hospitalization.

On August 11, there were two separate bomb attacks against Israeli military vehicles in the Gaza Strip, and a third against a car. The next day, a molotov aimed at an Israeli truck injured the driver, also in the Strip. In Qalqilia in the West Bank, a petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli vehicle.

On August 14, stones were thrown at an Israeli Egged bus in Jerusalem, and at an Israeli military vehicle in the Galilee. The next day, machinegun fire was opened on an Israeli bus near Qalqilia; an Israeli car on the way to Kiryat Arba encountered a mine; and an Israeli patrol was attacked by hand grenades near Khan Younis, Gaza Strip.

On August 16, there was a roadside bomb against an Israeli vehicle near Beit Haga settlement, near Hebron; a grenade targeted an Israeli military car in Ramallah. On August 17 and 19, fire bombs were thrown at Israeli military vehicles in the Gaza Strip. On August 18, an Israeli car was stoned on the Tulkarm-Bata road, and one passenger injured.

On August 20, a booby-trapped car was detonated only minutes before it would have exploded in the center of Netanya, on the coast. This followed a bomb explosion in the town two days earlier.

On August 24, an Israeli from Netanya was shot and killed in Tulkarm. Another, from Tiberius, was wounded by gunfire near Jenin.

On August 31, two firebombs were thrown against settlers outside Jerusalem. On September 2, a bomb exploded at a Jerusalem bus stop; Israeli radio reported that 6 Israelis were treated for shock. On September 3, two Israeli soldiers were stabbed in Hebron; one later died of his wounds.

On September 4, Katyusha rockets landed in the northern Galilee for the second time in a week.

An Israeli truck driver was stabbed in the Gaza Strip on September 5; a fire bomb targeted an Israeli bus near Nablus. On September 9, an Israeli soldier was injured by stones in a village outside Hebron. ●

## Military Operations

*On August 4th, a Palestinian military spokesman announced that within the last two months, Palestinian freedom fighters had carried out 59 military operations against the Zionist occupiers in Palestine. Eleven of these were against military targets and 31 involved explosives. Thirty-eight were carried out in the Gaza Strip, 15 in the part of Palestine occupied in 1948, and 6 in the West Bank. There were moreover 6 attempted operations which were unsuccessful. Following is an account of some of the most recent operations.*

August began with a series of attacks on Israeli vehicles in the occupied West Bank. On July 31, stones were thrown at an Israeli bus passing Al Amari refugee camp near Ramallah; one settler was injured. On August 2, a petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli bus as it drove through Azzariya village near Jerusalem. The next day an Israeli car traveling between two settlements was fired on by a machinegun. On August 4,

a fire bomb was thrown at a border police patrol, injuring two of the police, near Ain Alma refugee camp, near Nablus. On August 5, stones were thrown at an Israeli bus carrying settlers, near Jalazone refugee camp; the bus was damaged, and the driver fired on youth outside the camp. In the following days, grenades were thrown on an Israeli vehicle passing to a settlement south of Hebron; an Israeli bus was targeted by

# 1985 Escalation of Armed Struggle

In the first six months of 1985, there were 92 anti-occupation operations in Palestine, inflicting an estimated 200 casualties in the Zionist ranks, including over 10 killed.

The relative stagnation of armed struggle in occupied Palestine in the months just following the 1982 Zionist invasion of Lebanon, indicates the dialectical relation between the pace of armed struggle in Palestine and overt Palestinian presence in surrounding countries, especially Lebanon. In the wake of the Zionist invasion, the Palestinian revolution's top priority was preserving the fighting Palestinian gun in Lebanon, and regulating Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist relations in a way to warrant this. At the same time, the Palestinian revolution did not ignore the necessity of creating the prerequisites for escalating armed struggle in the occupied homeland in the light of the outcome of the 1982 war.

As a result of these efforts, armed struggle began to escalate, quantitatively and qualitatively in the occupied homeland. This escalation became obvious in the first part of 1985, arousing the concern of the Zionist leaders and

settlers. This renewed the debate in the enemy's ranks as to whether «Operation Peace for the Galilee» had been effective in terms of eliminating the infrastructure of the Palestinian revolution. This infrastructure constitutes the external mainstay for the development of armed struggle inside Palestine.

The rising tide of military operations in Palestine is very significant, especially as they were carried throughout the occupied territories, including the land occupied in 1948. In these operations, enemy patrols were surprised and confronted by militants using rifles and grenades. A new element was introduced: remote- and electronic-controlled explosions which worried the enemy. Another new method of struggle emerged with the abduction and execution of Israeli soldiers. In addition, the enemy has generally failed to apprehend the commandos. Zionist leaders attribute this failure to the effectiveness of cells operating inside Pales-

tine, in terms of structure, organization, planning and execution.

## The enemy's worry

The escalation of military operations in the occupied homeland touched off an extensive reaction and debate in the Zionist entity. Zionist spokesmen were forced to acknowledge that between January and June 1985, the Palestinian resistance carried out 37 operations in the part of Palestine occupied in 1948, and 137 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This was in addition to 119 incidents of throwing rocks and molotov cocktails. The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* published a list of 14 operations in Jerusalem, in June alone, and referred to the authorities' failure to arrest the commandos.

Another important development is that a number of our people have started, on their own, to undertake attacks on the Zionist soldiers and settlers. This is a result of the acute escalation of mass confrontation with the Zionist authorities and settlers. Israeli Defense Minister Rabin acknowledged this fact, saying «The recent attacks on Jewish civilians were perpetrated by scattered terrorists who are not affiliated with any organization. This development arouses great concern, especially as it is very difficult to fight this sort of terrorism.»

Quoting a military official, news agencies reported on June 20th, that in the West Bank a tremendous amount of weapons had been stolen from Israeli army depots. Rabin commented as follows, «It has been proven that some of the weapons found in possession of detained terrorists come from the Israeli army.»

The Israeli newspaper *Hadashot*, relying on official Israeli statistics, reported that during June, 23 operations and attempts were launched as compared with the average of 16 operations monthly during the preceding period. *Hadashot* attributed this rise to fierce competition among Palestinian organizations.

Burhan Karkutly



This is a summary of the most important Zionist statements about the escalation of military operations. Below we will review and evaluate this escalation based on our own information.

### The quality of operations

The quantitative increase of operations in Palestine is coupled with qualitative development and the introduction of new methods. We have already mentioned the use of remote-controlled explosions. During the first half of the current year, there were eight operations where Israeli soldiers were assassinated either by direct fire, or by abducting and later executing them. Six Israelis were thus executed. We believe that our militants in the occupied homeland began to devote special efforts to this kind of action in order to be able to exchange the kidnapped Israelis, at a later date, for Palestinian political prisoners. These operations seem yet to be in the early phase, as all have so far ended with the execution of the abducted Zionist. Table no. 1 shows the number and types of operations carried out in the first half of 1985 according to the data available to us.

*You may notice considerable discrepancy between the figures quoted from Zionist sources and those which appear in the second part of the article. This is not a mistake, but a real discrepancy. In the second part, we have only dealt with the operations about which we have reliable, confirmed facts; this is less than the number calculated by Zionist sources for whatever reason.*

### Table no.1

number	type of operation
25	setting off bombs or other explosions
31	throwing fire bombs molotovs
8	assassinating enemy soldiers
6	hand grenade attacks
4	attacks by rifles and grenades
2	rocket shelling (one by RPG)
4	stabbing Zionist soldiers or settlers
4	setting Zionist buses on fire
7	attempted operations which were foiled by weapons being seized or explosives discovered before detonation.

### Geographic distribution

Armed struggle mounted considerably in the 1948 occupied territories, including in a number of cities where Zionist security is presumed to be tops.

The 24 operations in this part of Palestine in the first half of 1985 were distributed as follows: Tel Aviv-10; Haifa-3; Askelon-3; Petah Tikva-2; Ashdod-1; Afuleh-1; Nazareth-1; Tiberius-1; Beersheba-1; and Kfar Kassem-1.

During the same period, 47 operations were carried out in the West Bank. Among these, 11 were in Jerusalem, 9 in Nablus, 2 in Qalqilia, 3 in Ramallah, 1 in Tulkarm, 2 in Dora, 1 in Beit Jala, and 2 in Jericho (Ariha).

In the occupied Gaza Strip, there were 17 operations in the first half of 1985. These were concentrated in Gaza

cally with 14 operations in February; by June, there were 26 operations in one month. This indicates the Palestinian revolution's great concern about escalating armed struggle in occupied Palestine. The PFLP played a prominent role in this escalation. Its fighters carried out a number of successful operations, dealing painful blows to the occupation troops and their agents. These operations included throwing hand grenades and opening fire on enemy soldiers and their agents. Table no.2 shows the most important operations carried out by the PFLP in the first half of 1985.

### Table no.2

#### PFLP operations

early Jan.	Throwing a grenade at a crowded Israeli bus near Qalqilia, injuring a number of enemy troops
early April	Shooting and killing Zionist soldier in Ramallah
April	Throwing explosive material on the agent Abu Auda in Ramallah and burning him
April 17	Attack on a restaurant crowded with enemy soldiers and intelligence officers in Gaza, killing and wounding a number of them. (The Zionists admitted one dead.) Our comrade Fadi Gharbawi was martyred.
April 25	Explosion in a police barracks in downtown Tel Aviv, causing casualties
April 28	B7 launched at a Zionist patrol at Al Tama, results unknown
May 6	Detonating an explosion against a passing settler transport truck near Qalqilia, causing a number of casualties
May 8	Shooting and killing the agent Hassan al Shamai in Ramallah
June 16-18	Placing explosives in Afuleh; casualties unknown Setting off explosions at Latrun, Jerusalem, not announced

City (6), but also occurred in other areas as follows: Khan Younis (3), Rafah (3), Jabalia (3) and Beit Lahia (2).

The number of operations launched from outside occupied Palestine in the period under study was four. This is a small number when compared to the overall number of operations in occupied Palestine. The main reason for this is the Arab regimes' continued refusal to allow Palestinian revolutionaries to utilize their territory for struggle against the Zionist enemy. Another reason is the Palestinian revolution's concentration on active participation in the struggle against the Zionist occupation and its agents in South Lebanon, alongside the Lebanese National Resistance.

The four operations carried out from outside include: one operation across the Jordanian-Syrian borders; one operation across the Jordanian border; and two operations from the sea.

### Monthly average

The lowest level of operations this year was in January when there were only three. Yet this soon rose dramati-

As a result of all the operations carried out in the first half of 1985, more than ten Zionists were killed and a number of soldiers wounded. Judging from the size of the operations, we can estimate about 200 enemy casualties. In addition are the many enemy vehicles destroyed and damage to installations.

The assassination of enemy soldiers has continued, especially in the areas of Ramallah and Al Bira. Such operations have a highly positive effect on our masses under occupation, showing that the enemy can be confronted successfully. The masses themselves have broadened and radicalized their confrontation with the occupation troops. Firebombs and stone throwing have proved to be effective, killing and injuring a number of Zionist settlers. These methods are conducive to broadening mass participation in the daily confrontation of the Zionist enemy. It is incumbent on the organizations of the Palestinian revolution to develop and promote such methods, and improvise new ones that can be utilized on a daily basis.

# PFLP Central Committee Meets

## Final Statement

*The central task of the Palestinian revolution is confronting the deviationist line.*

*Mass resistance and polarization are growing in occupied Palestine.*

*The aims of the camp war were not achieved; the reasons that ignited it still exist.*

*Enhancing the Palestinian role in Lebanon is a precondition for foiling the deviationist policies.*

*The PFLP's Central Committee held an extraordinary session on August 6th and 7th, 1985. The Central Committee discussed the dangerous new developments on both the Palestinian and Arab levels, based on a report presented by the PFLP's Politbureau. This report was adopted by consensus. The Central Committee issued the following communique:*

The Central Committee endorses the correct policy followed by the Politbureau in dealing with the dangerous developments that have faced the Palestinian cause since the last session of the Central Committee in April 1985. The Central Committee highly evaluates the analysis and tactics of the Politbureau during the aggression against the Palestinian camps of Beirut, which aimed to end Palestinian presence and the Palestinian national role in Lebanon.

The Central Committee noted that this aggression could not have been stopped without the heroic steadfastness of the fighters and sons of our people. Nor could it have been stopped without the support of the Lebanese nationalist forces, the forces and regimes of the Arab nationalist movement, and the socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union, the principled, strategic ally of the Palestinian people and of the peoples of our Arab nation.

The Central Committee devoted special attention to the intensified, vehement moves of the reactionary Arab regimes to provide a cover or umbrella for the liquidationist Amman accord and the joint moves of the Jordanian regime and the deviationist right-wing leadership of the PLO to implement this accord. These joint moves are in preparation for preliminary negotiations with the US administration. In the end, these negotiations will lead to direct negotiations with the Zionist enemy, based on the formula of «exchanging land for peace». This formula means abandonment of the Palestinian national program and rights, namely the Palestinians' right to return to their homeland, exercise self-determination and establish an independent state under the leadership of the PLO, their sole, legitimate representative.

The Central Committee reaffirmed that the central task of the Palestinian revolution is still the ongoing confrontation of the deviationist line in the Palestinian arena, with the aim of safeguarding the Palestinian national program. The proponents of this deviationist line are working to reach a bargain with the enemy, which is in reality a sell-out. It means fulfillment of the second link in the chain of the Camp David conspiracy, implemented on the Jordanian-Palestinian front, after the attempts to impose it via Lebanon failed due to the joint struggle of the steadfast Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian alliance.

The Central Committee endorsed the Politbureau's analysis of the aims of the Arab summit conference in Casablanca. In a nutshell, the summit aims to give an Arab cover for the Palestinian capitulationist line. This is in line with US

demands for more concessions from Arab reaction and the deviating Palestinian right-wing. These concessions will be in the interests of the USA and the Zionist enemy. As proof of this fact, the Palestinian right-wing has given the US Administration the final word in deciding the names of the Palestinians to be in the joint Jordanian-Palestinian negotiating team. The US Administration also demanded clear-cut Arab support to the Amman accord and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian moves based on that accord. In addition, the US Administration demanded that the PLO explicitly recognize Security Council resolution 242 and the Zionist entity. These demands are a precondition for the PLO to enter direct negotiations with the Zionist enemy.

The Central Committee noted that the continuing capitulationist concessions on the part of the deviating Palestinian right-wing and Arab reaction, endanger not only the Palestinian national cause and rights, but also the totality of nationalist and progressive causes of the Arab nation. This requires the Arab nationalist regimes in Syria, Libya, Algeria and Democratic Yemen, together with the parties of the Arab national movement, to close ranks and enhance the struggle against the line of capitulation and the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary onslaught. In this context, the convening of a summit for the steadfastness and confrontation states is of great importance. As a prerequisite for such a summit, any minor differences within the Arab nationalist camp must be overcome.

Discussing the situation in occupied Palestine, the Central Committee noted with great appreciation the escalation of the struggle of the Palestinian masses. This struggle shows the ability of our people and vanguards to foil the squandering policies of the deviating Palestinian right-wing. It also manifests our people's ability to confront the Zionist enemy's repressive and oppressive policies which aim to put an end to the steadfastness and resistance of our people and push them to leave their land. By so doing, the Zionist enemy is working to facilitate the Judaization of the occupied land and the building of new settlements.

The Central Committee noted the real polarization that exists in the occupied homeland. This is seen in the escalation of mass resistance against the Zionist enemy, together with the broad mass rejection of the right-wing, capitulationist line, on the one hand. On the other hand, it is seen in the increased Zionist repression, together with the intensified activities of the Zionist ultra-right and of the stooges of the Jordanian regime. This situation will enable the Palestinian nationalist and democratic forces to rally the Palestinian masses around the Palestinian national program which is antagonistic to the line and program of deviation.

The Central Committee hailed the struggle of our masses in the occupied homeland. The Central Committee is confident of the possibilities for enhancing the struggle of our people, in ►

contradiction to the Palestinian right-wing's attempts to plant despair in their ranks.

The Central Committee discussed the latest developments in Lebanon, particularly the question of the Palestinian presence and national role there. Special attention was devoted to the war of the camps which aimed to end the Palestinian national role in Lebanon, or at least minimize it. The Central Committee noted that the war of the camps threatened the alliance among the Lebanese nationalists, the Palestinian revolution and Syria. The Central Committee reaffirmed that the aims of that war have not yet been achieved and that the reasons that ignited it still exist. The complications of this war have not yet been resolved in a manner that guarantees the harmony and unity in struggle of the tripartite steadfastness alliance. The Central Committee noted that a special effort should be devoted to preventing the renewal of the clashes. Such a battle would be used as a pretext by the Palestinian right-wing for continuing its policy of squander and capitulation. The Central Committee considers the enhancement of the Palestinian role in Lebanon as one of the most important preconditions for foiling the plans and policies of the Palestinian deviationist line. To fulfill this task, the Palestinian revolution should work closely with the Lebanese democratic and progressive forces that are struggling to preserve the unity, independence, Arab identity and democratic development of Lebanon. Of utmost importance is the elimination of all forms of sectarianism, political or otherwise, and putting an end to the wishful thinking of the proponents of the sectarian, fascist-Zionist project in Lebanon.

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction the formation of the National Unity Front in Lebanon. It highly appreciates this front's political platform. The Central Committee noted the positive stand of this front concerning the necessity of escalating resistance against the Zionist occupation forces, preserving the unity and Arab identity of Lebanon, putting an end to sectarianism, achieving democratic political reform, and condemning and confronting the capitulationist projects which aim to liquidate the Palestinian national cause and rights.

The Central Committee reaffirmed the importance of the section in the National Unity Front's platform dealing with fraternal, militant relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian people. The Central Committee considers that the basis for the relations between the Palestinian and Lebanese people, and between the Palestinian militant nationalist forces and the Lebanese nationalist and progressive forces should be mutually agreed upon among these parties. Such a basis was clearly proposed in the working paper presented by the Palestine National Salvation Front. Also, the Central Committee

considers the joint communique of June 1984, between the PFLP and the Lebanese Communist Party, as a basis for regulating the joint militant relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian people.

The Central Committee devoted special attention to the war of the camps and the ceasefire agreement reached in Damascus on June 17, 1985. The Central Committee reaffirmed its commitment to this agreement. It reiterated its position on the importance of implementing all the clauses of the agreement, particularly those dealing with the armed resistance and its role in consolidating the joint struggle of the Lebanese and Palestinian nationalists against the Zionist occupiers and all US-Zionist-fascist plans. The armed resistance will further make possible the success of the Lebanese national program. This success shall be a base and a support for the Palestinian national program of liberation. Compliance with the Damascus agreement by all the signatories and its implementation will guarantee the correction of the steadfast tripartite alliance. This would foil the plans of those who attempt to upset this alliance as a pretext for continuing the capitulationist policy in the Palestinian arena and the sectarian, Zionist-fascist project in Lebanon.

Concerning the conditions of the Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon, and in Lebanon generally, the Central Committee reaffirmed its resolutions and those of the Politbureau. In this context, it is of utmost importance to prevent any inter-Palestinian or Palestinian-Lebanese fighting. The Central Committee reaffirmed that political and mass work is the only correct method of confronting the line of capitulation and its proponents. This is especially true in the light of these proponents' attempts to exploit tension as a convenient means for continuing the capitulationist policy.

At the close of its session, the Central Committee reaffirmed its great confidence in the ability of our masses to escalate the struggle inside and outside the occupied homeland, and their ability to effectively withstand the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plans. It is very important to foil these plans and defeat the planners. This will be possible with the support our masses enjoy from progressive and democratic forces all over the world, first and foremost the support of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union.

- Glory to the martyrs  
- Victory to the revolution

The Central Committee of the  
Popular Front for the  
Liberation of Palestine  
August 11, 1985



# **PFLP-PCP Joint Communique**

## **For a Nationalist Meeting vs. the Amman Accord**

On September 4th, the Palestinian Communist Party and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine held a meeting wherein they discussed a number of important issues on the Palestinian and Arab levels. A joint communique was issued with the following main points:

In particular, the two parties discussed the current upheaval in occupied Palestine, and the new, repressive Zionist measures which aim to break the resistance of the Palestinian masses and force them to emigrate from their homeland.

The two parties furthermore discussed the ways and means of enhancing the struggle of the Palestinian people in Palestine. They noted the attempts of the Jordanian regime and certain suspicious, rightist Palestinian elements to concretize splits within the Palestinian nationalist ranks, and to instigate bloody rifts. The two parties called upon the Palestinian masses and all nationalist forces to uphold democratic traditions for solving differences, and to isolate the suspicious elements.

The two parties reaffirmed that foiling the US plan on the Jordanian-Palestinian front necessitates an ongoing struggle against the capitulationist, liquidationist policies, and abrogation of the Amman accord. They deemed it necessary for all nationalist forces and personalities opposed to the Amman accord, to close ranks and meet. The purpose of such a meeting would be: (a) to crystallize all-out nationalist opposition to the Amman accord, and to all political moves based on this accord; (b) to reaffirm the soleness of the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people; (c) to reaffirm the Palestinian national rights of return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Such a meeting would be an important step towards reuniting the PLO on a nationalist, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist basis.

The two parties called upon the nationalist and progressive Arab forces and parties to meet to unify their positions and action in the face of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary onslaught, and to support the Palestinian nationalist forces opposing the Amman accord. The two parties also called for an official meeting of the Arab nationalist regimes.

In the context of discussing the US partial and unilateral solutions, the two parties reaffirmed the importance and relevance

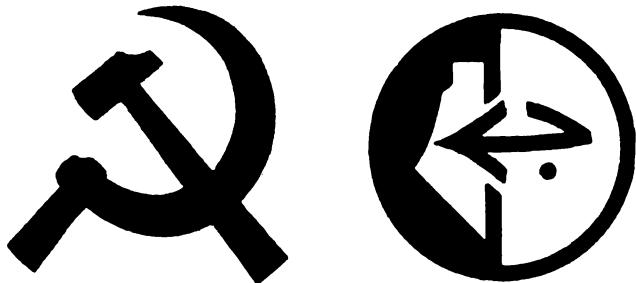
of the Soviet proposals of September 1984, including the call for an international conference to deal with the Middle East problem.

When discussing the situation in Lebanon, the two parties stressed the necessity of the Amal movement ceasing aggression against the Palestinian people there, and honoring the agreement it signed. The two parties made clear their stand against inter-Palestinian fighting and against anyone who tries to instigate such fighting.

The two parties reaffirmed the importance of consolidating the tripartite Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian alliance, considering it the spearhead for confronting the US designs in the region.

The two parties condemned the US Administration's aggressive policy on the international level. They highly appreciated the principled, peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and particularly Comrade Gorbachev's initiative to unilaterally freeze nuclear tests.

At the close of the meeting, the two parties expressed satisfaction with their bilateral relations and reaffirmed willingness to further develop these relations.



## PFLP Visit to Moscow

Between the 19th and the 23rd of August, a delegation from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) visited Moscow for talks with the Soviet comrades. The delegation was composed of comrade George Habash, PFLP General Secretary; comrades Abd Al Rahim Mallouh and Saber Muhyi Al Deen, Politbureau members; and comrade Omar Shehadah, member of the Central Committee.

This delegation held fraternal and comradely talks with the Soviet comrades in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the Soviet Union (AASC).

Present at the meeting with the AASC, which was held on August 20th, were comrade Kodriatsiv, AASC Vice-President and member of the Supreme Soviet Council; comrade Kalnedrov, Executive Secretary of the AASC; Comrade Drogin, Secretary of the AASC; and comrade Rashid, head of the Palestine department.

On August 22nd, another meeting with the Central Committee of the CPSU

took place in the headquarters of the Central Committee's International Relations department. Comrade Kaflinco, Vice-President of the International Relations department, was present, together with comrade Malozov and comrade Kalandrov. A working lunch was attended by comrade Sazakov, comrade Bisscov and comrade Gregory.

After the return of the delegation, the Front's Politbureau held a special meeting to evaluate the talks with the Soviet comrades. The Politbureau highly appreciated the successful visit and fruitful talks, and stressed the following important points that were discussed and affirmed:

1. The necessity of preserving the unity of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The PLO is a historical achievement for which the Palestinian masses have sacrificed greatly over two decades.

2. The necessity of adhering to the essence of the Palestinian national program as it had been decided in the consecutive, legitimate sessions of the Palestinian National Council. This program

affirms the Palestinian national rights, namely, the right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

3. The necessity of escalating the struggle to abrogate the Amman accord signed by Yasser Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan. The Amman accord minimizes the PLO's sole representation of the Palestinian people. It is considered an abandonment of the Palestinian national program. It is a prelude and cover for unilateral bargains. It will make possible the attempts to extend the Camp David accords on the Jordanian-Palestinian front.

4. Affirmation of the Palestinian people's right to continue their struggle by all means against the Zionist enemy, particularly when this enemy is escalating repressive measures in the occupied homeland in an attempt to break our people's spirit of resistance and enforce capitulationist conditions on our people and revolution.

# Comrade Habash's Press Conference

While the PFLP delegation was in Moscow, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee organized a press conference for Comrade George Habash. Below we print the main part of his opening address.

When we read the Soviet media concerning the Middle East and the Palestinian issue, we feel great comfort in the fact that its analysis closely corresponds to that of progressive Arab and Palestinian forces... Before answering questions, allow me to brief you on the PFLP's analysis of the present conditions of the Palestinian revolution...

The aggressive policies of the United States, and the Reagan Administration in particular, are based on several dangerous themes: deteriorating international relations, destroying detente, accelerating the arms race, and determined refusal to respond positively to the Soviet proposals aimed at preventing the militarization of outer space. Naturally this aggressive policy also applies concerning the Middle East and Palestinian cause, militarily and politically.

From the military angle, the US has recently conducted a new round of the Bright Star maneuvers with Egypt and other reactionary Arab states. On another front, the US has consolidated the strategic cooperation agreement with 'Israel'.

From the political angle, the US imperialist attack aims at drawing the Arab countries into a set of bilateral "peace" settlements with 'Israel', in order to spread the Camp David accords throughout the Arab world. It also aims at preventing the Soviet Union from becoming a partner in any solution to the Middle East crisis. The central aim of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, was to force the politics of Camp David upon Lebanon, as the first step towards imposing it on other Arab fronts. The May 17th agreement between 'Israel' and Lebanon was designed as the embryo of the second link in the Camp David process. The patriotic Lebanese and Palestinian forces, in alliance with Syria and supported by the Soviet Union, were able to force the cancellation of this agreement. The Camp David policy failed at the second link, but US

imperialism immediately attempted to force it on other Arab fronts.

Inevitably imperialism's efforts were directed against the Palestinian-Jordanian front. Please try to grasp the importance of the Palestinian link, considering that the Palestinian cause is the core of the anti-imperialist struggle in the entire region. Through this link, the extent of imperialism's aggressiveness appears, directed not only against the Palestinian people but against the peoples of the world.

## Dangers of the Amman accord

I am sorry to say that the Amman agreement signed February 11th, between King Hussein and Yasir Arafat, has paved the way for the imperialist moves to implement a new Camp David. Regardless of how much the bourgeois strata in the PLO attempt to conceal the reality of this agreement, it is clear that it represents a foothold for imperialist policy in the Middle East. This agreement has become the main tool utilized by imperialism to sharpen inter-Palestinian differences and extend these differences to the Arab countries, in order to divide and weaken the anti-imperialist forces and states. Hence, resistance to the new link of Camp David is minimized.

The PFLP is convinced that the Amman agreement heralded the most dangerous stage for the Palestinian national struggle since the PLO's establishment. It means that the Palestinian right has involved itself in the US's bilateral peace settlement trend. The Arafat-Hussein agreement differs significantly from the official PLO leadership's previous incorrect policies. In the past, we accused the deviationist leadership of adopting a conciliatory policy towards US imperialism. However, this agreement, which has been massively refuted, is not a mere flirt with the Reagan Administration. It is actual involvement in the US's "comprehensive peace settlement". Of course, Reagan welcomed this agreement as a

positive first step, as did the Camp David regime of Mubarak in Egypt.

After the announcement of this agreement, the PFLP defined our position on the new conditions for the Palestinian revolution as follows: (1) Struggling without any leniency against the Amman agreement, and the political trend and leaders that brought it about; clarifying that this agreement means liquidation of the Palestinian and Arab liberation movement. (2) Uniting all nationalist and democratic Palestinian forces within the PLO to confront this agreement. (3) Confronting this agreement is the correct basis for unifying all nationalist and democratic Palestinian forces; it is ultimately necessary to eliminate the deviationist trend in order to achieve true national unity based on a firm anti-imperialist line.

We warn against downplaying the dangers of the agreement, for it threatens the essence of the Palestinian cause. Some argue that the agreement was stillborn, and indeed there are three major obstacles facing it: (1) appointing the Palestinian half of the Jordanian-Palestinian joint delegation; (2) determining the next step after the proposed US-joint delegation discussions; (3) the real problems involved in any actual meeting between the joint delegation and 'Israel'.

These obstacles are real. Yet we should not downplay the dangers of the agreement or the political trend that engineered it. Sadat was able to eliminate the major obstacles to the Camp David accords, and the signatories to the Amman agreement are just as capable of the same. Thus, continued resistance is necessary to prevent the success of the agreement and entrench the obstacles.

Finally, we cannot view the Palestinian cause or plan for victory in isolation from our nationalist and internationalist ties. While refusing the deviationist trend, Palestinian democratic forces in the PLO must propose the correct alternative program for achieving our people's national aims. We put forth our national program: an independent Palestinian state established without conditions, the right of our people to return and exercise self-determination in their country, drawing strength from progressive Arab unity and international solidarity to accomplish these aims. It is impossible to achieve a just solution to our cause without the direct involvement of the Soviet Union, the true friend and supporter of our cause.

# Mass Work

## Shadia Abu Ghasala Nursery

In «Democratic Palestine» no.8 we wrote an article about the Shadia Abu Ghasala Nursery. Since the distribution of this issue was partially blocked and most of you did not receive it, we reprint this article.

In January 1984, the PFLP Womens Bureau opened a nursery in Yarmouk camp, Damascus. It is named Shadia Abu Ghasala Nursery in honor of the first woman martyr in the PFLP, who was killed in 1969, in Nablus, while preparing for struggle against the Zionist occupation.

There was a dual motivation for establishing the nursery: On the one hand was the conviction that it is more progressive for children to grow up in a group; that child development, both socially and intellectually, is enhanced in a collective environment; and that children should be raised with an understanding of their national cause and revolution. In the long-range view, raising the new generation to be strong, healthy and mentally alert is part of the ongoing struggle to liberate Palestine and establish a democratic state.

On the other hand, the Womens Bureau sought to support working mothers and give more women a chance to work outside the context of home and family, as a component of women's liberation which is also of utmost importance in advancing the revolution.

Traditionally in the Arab society, few women work outside the context of home and family. However, in this generation more and more wish to do so due to political involvement, economic necessity and the desire for a richer and more independent life. In Yarmouk camp there is actually a relatively high percentage of working women. Yet this



can be at the expense of the children; in the absence of sufficient childcare facilities younger children are left in the charge of older ones; many girls of ten years and up are responsible for households in the daytime. While there are a fair number of kindergartens in and around Yarmouk camp, there is very little childcare for the youngest. It was this fact that the Womens Bureau took into consideration when deciding to open a nursery rather than a kindergarten. In addition, there was the fact of close cooperation with the DFLP which was opening a kindergarten where children from Shadia Abu Ghasala nursery can continue when they reach three years of age. On the other hand, the DFLP kindergarten had some very young children who were referred to the PFLP nursery.

The great need for a nursery was proven by its immediate full enrollment. This occurred simply by passing the news of its opening by word of mouth

among comrades, friends and neighbors. Since that time, there has been a long waiting list. The Womens Bureau would like to meet this need by expanding the nursery, but is currently prevented by lack of funds. Early childcare is especially crucial as most Palestinian women have at least three children. This means that without childcare she would wait about ten years before finding a job, and it can often be difficult to start at that point.

### Aims and program

The nursery opens at 7 a.m. and a bus makes rounds in the camp to pick up the children. The nursery aims to develop the children according to what is possible at their age level. Obviously, for the smallest this comes through contact with the staff members who take time to speak and sing to the children while meeting their physical needs. When the child is one year and a half, toilet training begins in coordination with the family's wishes.

For the older children there are more structured activities to develop language and motor skills. In a conversation with us, the nursery's director stressed that the optimal time is the morning when the children are most alert. Therefore, activities are set early with emphasis on teaching songs, dancing, rhythmic movement and circle games. Also there is story-telling and simple puppet theatre. Songs and stories provide an avenue to teach about Palestine ▶





and revolution. There is also a program for teaching basic concepts: numbers, colors, names of animals, etc., as well as drawing, cut and paste, etc.

In the summer, much time is spent outdoors in the courtyard of the nursery. The importance of this can only be understood in contrast with the general camp environment. In all of Yarmouk camp, there is no playground except for a few schoolyards, but these are not suited to smaller children. For most, the playground is narrow streets which are often filled with dust, mud and garbage. As a result, many parents keep their younger children inside. For them, the nursery courtyard, with its little garden, small though it may be, is the only chance for outdoor play in safe and healthy surroundings.

Later in the morning session, the children who need to sleep take a nap. Then all gather to eat the lunch they bring from home, which can be warmed at the nursery kitchen. Throughout the day the staff works to instill social behaviour and develop the children's independence. It is a rule that the children are not hit for misbehaviour. Rather the staff seeks to discuss the problem with the child and guide him or her to alternate behaviour.

Most children return home at 2 or 3 p.m. However, the nursery is open until 6 p.m. to accommodate children whose mothers work in the afternoon, or want to attend a political meeting or other political activity.

### **Staff commitment- key to success**

While many Palestinians are educated to be teachers, few are trained specifically for early childcare. For this reason, the Women Bureau was unable

to assemble a professional staff. Rather women were chosen on the basis of interest in the project. Thus the staff members' commitment plays an important role as does on-the-job training. The nursery is attached to the PLO's Education Committee which plans for all Palestinian kindergartens and nurseries. As of now all staff members have participated in at least one PLO-sponsored training course. One has attended a month-long session arranged jointly with UNICEF, while the director of the nursery has lectured at some of the training sessions.

Limited resources mean that a great deal of work and commitment are demanded of the staff, which is composed of nine women who must attend to cleaning and practical matters as well as childcare. The child-teacher ratio is good by local standards, but does not allow the staff to do as many creative and developmental activities as they might like, for with small children, physical care alone is time-consuming.

The staff hold weekly meetings to sort out problems and discuss ways of improving the nursery. These have proved to be a form of on-the-job training and a process of learning to give and take constructive criticism in order to improve each teacher's work.

The nursery is regularly visited by a doctor in order to spot any health problems among the children. In the case of sickness, the staff has responsibility for taking the child to the doctor directly.

A high priority is contact with the parents. Besides daily conversations when the children arrive or return home, there are monthly meetings between the staff and the parents. These aim to acquaint the parents with the functioning of the nursery and also with the political line and work of the PFLP. Parents are encouraged to ask questions and air

problems, so much time is devoted to finding collectively acceptable solutions for problems that arise.

The staff has also made it a goal to visit the homes of the children in order to better know the specific situation of each, but the demands of work at the nursery itself have left little time for this. There is also a wish to eventually make the nursery into a kind of children's center in the afternoon, for example by staging puppet shows with political themes which would interest the older brothers and sisters of the nursery children. However, this is as yet not done, again due to the demands of the daily work.

### **At the nursery**

A visit to the nursery shows five rooms, filled with children, and walls brightly decorated with painted flowers and animals. The children are divided into four groups according to age. Two of the rooms are filled with the cribs of the youngest. Another two are equipped with pallets which are taken up to make room for activities. The ceiling of the central room has been lowered with red-and-white silk in parachute shape, to make it more cozy and colorful; here the children eat and play. The general impression is one of happy children with relations of liking and trust to the adults. At the same time one sees that the nursery is quite crowded and that toys and other materials are not abundant.

Talking with the staff members, one learns that these limitations are due to shortage of funds. The parents pay 100-150 Syrian pounds per month depending on the length of time their child stays at the nursery, but this does not cover all the expenses. At the same time, the Womens Bureau feels it is impossible to raise the fee as this would take too great a cut from parents' salaries and make it less worthwhile for women to work. Thus it is the staff's commitment which makes the nursery go round despite insufficiencies; expenses are reduced by the fact that the staff itself makes most of the toys and decorations for the nursery. The success and improvement of the nursery also depends on aid from friends who are interested in this project and wish to support its aims of allowing more women to work, while providing good collective childcare.

The Womens Bureau has recently published a brochure with pictures and text about the nursery's function and activities. If you would like to receive a sample, please write to:  
Nursery of the Martyr, Shadia Abu Ghasala  
Box 12144 Damascus, Syria

Predictably the Lebanese fascist forces launched their counter campaign after implementation of the Syrian-sponsored security plan in West Beirut and the formation of the National Unity Front. First came a series of initiatives for inter-Maronite reconciliation, accompanied by steady escalation of the fighting between East and West Beirut. Then in mid-August, the heaviest fighting in over a year engulfed the capital and surrounding hills, punctuated by murderous car bombs on both sides of Beirut's 'green line' and in Tripoli. When we attribute the new outbreak of violence to the fascist forces, we mean all factions of their ranks: Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel and his Phalangist Party, the Lebanese Front, the Lebanese Forces militias, etc.

To this day, internal Lebanese developments can only be gaged on the backdrop of the Israeli policy for Lebanon. Though the bulk of Israeli troops have been withdrawn without achieving their stated goals, the Zionist state has not relinquished its intentions to keep Lebanon divided and end its era as the focus of militant Palestinian-Lebanese national struggle. The fascist forces' moves are geared to make the best of this situation, given the fact that they failed to dominate Lebanon even with massive Israeli help. Instead, the role of the Lebanese nationalist forces, backed by Syria, was asserted.

Those who have relied on their Maroniteness to guarantee their privileges obviously feel threatened by the regrouping of the nationalist forces to end political confessionalism. The clearest evidence of this was the July 31st meeting in Ehden, where former Lebanese President Suleiman Franjieh reconciled his differences with the Lebanese Forces, now headed by Elias Hobeika. This ended the feud which began in 1978, when a unit of the Lebanese Forces led by Samir Geagea raided Ehden and slaughtered Franjieh's son and a number of his followers. Franjieh blamed Bashir Gemayel, then commander of the Lebanese Forces, and withdrew from the Lebanese Front. Since Hobeika's replacing Geagea as Lebanese Forces commander was a purely cosmetic change, the reconciliation has other causes. Both Franjieh and the Lebanese Forces see the need to close the «Christian», especially Maro-

nite, ranks in the present situation. Both have reservations about Amin Gemayel's ability to lead the «Christians» through this crisis; they thus moved to strengthen their own hand, by presenting a new pivot for «Christian» unity.

### Fascists incite violence

As for those who instigated the August violence, we must start with Amin Gemayel who needs a situation whereby he can pose as the common denominator between the opposing sides. To this end, he made tactical overtures to the nationalist side as in his response to the National Unity Front. At a press conference in Damascus on August 8th, Gemayel said that he supported the NUF's demands for more power, and took the opportunity to blame the Lebanese civil war on the Palestinians. Threatened by the Ehden reconciliation, Gemayel also needs to strengthen his hand within the Christian community, especially as the calls for his resignation are now coming from Franjieh and the Lebanese Forces, as well as from nationalist leaders. Gemayel needs to show that the danger comes from outside East Beirut. Thus, he moved the Lebanese Army in East Beirut to incite East-West fighting. By having the part of the army that is loyal to him actively involved in the fighting, Gemayel hoped to strengthen his own hand and give that part of the army a greater political role. Not surprisingly, after the Syrian-arranged ceasefire of August 22nd, Gemayel announced his intent to act as arbitrator of national dialogue..

Despite tactical differences, the Lebanese Forces share Amin Gemayel's need to unite the «Christian» side to face the «outside» enemy. There are many indications that at least some of the recent explosions in the fascist controlled areas were the result of infighting. The palace of former Communications Minister Michel Murr was destroyed by a bomb a few days after he mediated the Ehden reconciliation. A week later a car bomb exploded in Saad al Boushrieh, northeast of Beirut, an area controlled by Hobeika's Lebanese Forces. It cannot be ruled out that the Phalangists had a hand in these explosions, hitting at the new reconciliation in the Maronite ranks in hopes of preserving their own dominance. Informed

sources say that Camille Chamoun, veteran politician of the Lebanese Front, was active in initiating the East-West fighting in order to avert inter-Christian fighting. The danger was clearly there, as also seen in the mid-August fighting in Zahle in Eastern Lebanon, between Phalangists and the Lebanese Forces.

### Keeping Lebanon «in line»

Keeping the kettle of seemingly sectarian fighting boiling not only serves to buy time for saving Christian privileges. It diverts from other issues, chiefly that 'Israel' still occupies a portion of Lebanon, and the Jezzine crisis, where Lahd's SLA remains entrenched, harassing the neighboring southern villages. This is obviously in line with Zionist intents which have been further underlined by almost weekly bombing raids on eastern Lebanon; the Israeli message is clear: Keep us in mind when you are trying to arrive at a solution for the Lebanese crisis.

In late August, three former Lebanese presidents, Franjieh, Charles Helou and Camille Chamoun, met. Afterwards Chamoun told reporters that they had agreed on refusal to abolish political confessionalism (i.e. Maronite dominance), especially concerning the presidency, the cabinet, the parliament and top army posts. The most the Maronite elite is ready to concede is having 50-50 Christian-Moslem representation in the parliament. This is relatively meaningless since power has always rested with the top posts which are reserved for Christians and usually Maronites. It is also meaningless in principle, for the solution to the Lebanese crisis lies not in quibbling about individual points, but in the creation of a democratic constitution that would revamp the whole political structure.

The proposals put forth by the Maronite elite collide directly with the National Unity Front's position. This further underlines the deadlock for attempts at national reconciliation, as does the renewed outbreaks of fighting in the Beirut and mountain areas. The Lebanese crisis has reached a stage too complicated to be solved by various «plans» or partial proposals. This is even more so due to the recurring clashes and disorder in nationalist-controlled West Beirut.



## Somalia National Movement

In August «Democratic Palestine» interviewed two leading comrades of the Somali National Movement: Executive Committee member Abdel Kader Kossar and Military Coordinator Abdullahi Askar. Though not a large country, Somalia has great importance for imperialism and local reactionary forces. It has extensive coastlines on both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, vital for the oil routes, and has been used as a base for striking at socialist Ethiopia. Thus, mounting opposition to Siad Barre's reactionary regime is of prime importance not only for Somalians but for all the Arab and African peoples.

### *What are the origins of the Somali National Movement?*

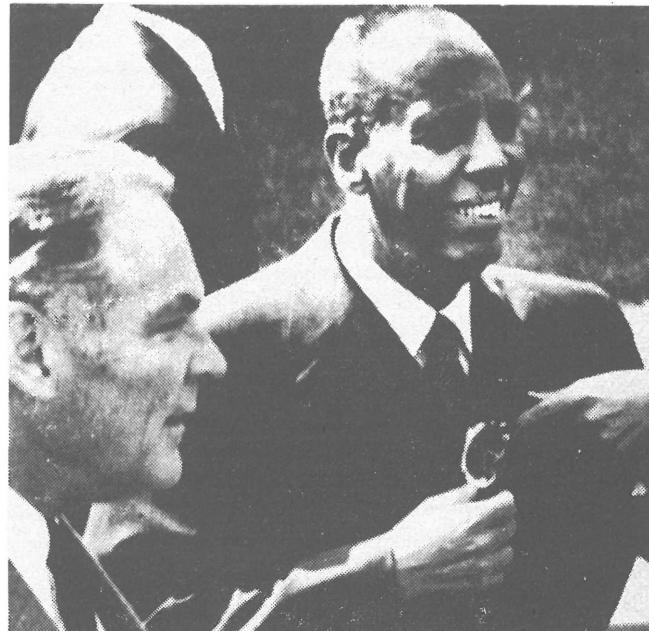
After Siad Barre's aggressive war against Ethiopia, and Somali's subsequent defeat, there was general discontent with the regime. In 1978, when a group of officers attempted a coup, but failed, the regime carried out more repressive measures. This in turn led to more discontent with the regime's socio-economic policies, especially its new pro-imperialist policies.

In this situation, the Somali National Movement began as an underground trend grouping senior army officers, intellectuals, trade union leaders and teachers. Underground cells were established in every major urban center, and within the armed forces, the police, student organizations and trade unions. The Somali National Movement grew as a popular movement with grassroots throughout the country, and was proclaimed as an organization in 1981. As the name indicates, we are not a party, but a movement comprising all political views.

As a result of the infamous trial of 52 intellectuals in February 1982, there were mass demonstrations against the regime in Hargeisa, Burao and Berbera. The regime responded with mass arrests of students, intellectuals and community leaders. Since that time, the Somali National Movement has grown into a national organization representing the Somali people against the regime. In this situation, in October 1982, we embarked on armed operations against the regime after having solidified our internal organization and our contact with the Somali community outside. Our presence is felt in every corner of the country. We have offices in Asia, Africa, Western Europe and North America, for making propaganda against the regime, organizing demonstrations at its embassies on national occasions and for collecting support. We are solely dependent on the support of our people in Somalia and those living abroad.

### *How do you see the political issue of opposing imperialism in relation to the social problems facing your people?*

Opposing imperialism is not a question of words, but due to the nature of imperialism. We are actually opposing the socio-economic structure in our country, which is the result of imperialism. We are opposed to capitalism that makes a class of overnight millionaires based on tribal relations. We are for a national economy for the good of all the people, not only for Siad Barre, his cronies, the compradors and overnight millionaires. We are opposed to imperialism because of its effects on our country and people. The IMF is running the whole economy of our country, and this has brought disaster. The regime has opened Somalia as a Rapid Deployment Force



Barre in Washington with then US War Secretary Haig

base, and for use by South Africa and Israel, which undermines our people's sovereignty in their own country. The aggression against Ethiopia cost the lives and resources of the Somali people, that could have otherwise been used for development.

### *What is the current situation in Somalia?*

The internal situation is a desperate one for both the regime and the people. There is total rejection of Barre's corrupt, repressive regime throughout the country. There are tens of thousands of political prisoners. Public executions and mass arrests are the most prominent activities of the state. Destruction of villages, nomadic settlements and watering points; raiding, raping, looting and narcotics trade have become the major activities of the regime's troops.

The regime has moreover armed various clans and set them against each other, deliberately instigating civil strife to divert attention from the real problems. There is a total breakdown of law and order, social services, and all that could be called real government. The regime has become a military junta, totally isolated from the people, depending on the repressive forces to stay in power, and placing Somalia under US domination. It was the regime itself that requested participation in the Bright Star military maneuvers which we strongly condemned.

The economy is in shambles. Resources, which are limited anyway, have been devoted to keeping Barre in power and filling the pockets of his relatives through corruption and mismanagement. After Somalia was placed under IMF rule, exports have come to a near standstill; local industrial and agricultural production is at its lowest for decades. Foreign debts have skyrocketed. The exodus of skilled personnel now occurring is a new phenomenon in Somalia's history, one with far-reaching consequences.

In view of the regime's isolation and mismanagement, there are US efforts to replace Barre with a more acceptable leader. So far it has been impossible to find anyone who could unite the country, for the possible candidates are thugs, fighting each other for their own power. Yet the US may still try to effect a cosmetic change. A change by the Somali National Movement which enjoys total popular support is the only salvation for the Somali people.

### *Conduit for the Zionist-apartheid connection*

On the external front, Siad Barre's regime is suffering from total isolation in the Arab and African world as a result of its recent connections with Israel and South Africa. The regime wants military equipment and know-how from these two fascist states for fighting the Somali National Movement. Israel and South Africa are now training and equipping anti-guerilla forces for the regime. South African airlines now land in Mogadishu. In view of South African-Israeli cooperation in nuclear power, there are reports that nuclear material is being transferred through Mogadishu. This makes Barre's regime the most dangerous one for the African and Arab peoples.



### *What impact did the overthrow of Numeiri in Sudan have in Somalia?*

It is reported that CIA officials and other agents stationed in Sudan to fight Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen, Mozambique, were transferred to Mogadishu. On the other hand, the fall of Numeiri was a big blow for Barre, because they are of the same kind. Barre got panicy and Numeiri's overthrow was not even announced on the radio. Three days later, there was a news item that there was a new president in Sudan.

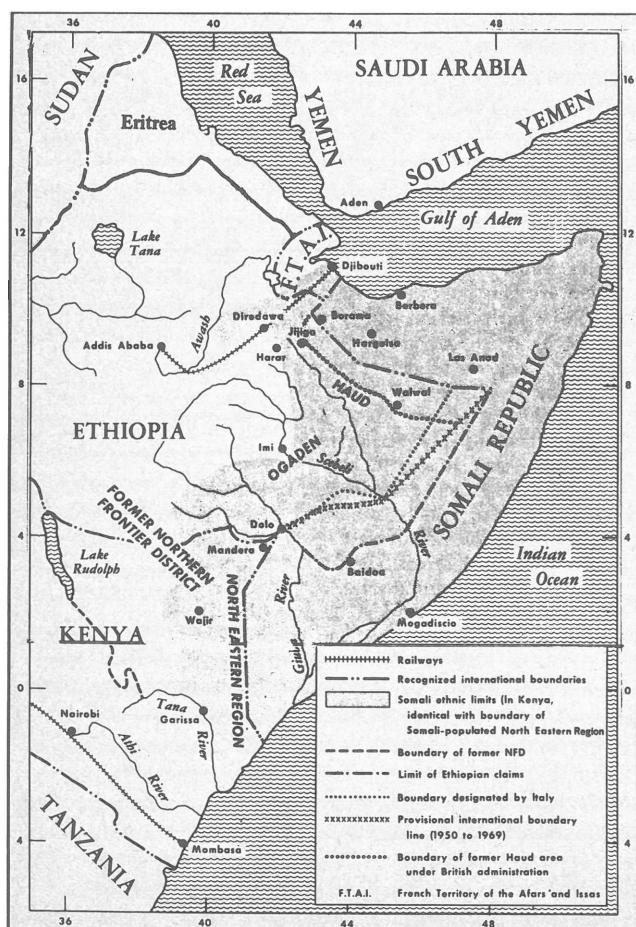
We ourselves were very happy, and we commend our Sudanese brothers for their victory. This was a good example for the Somali people that the people's will triumphs in the end, despite all the imperialist support given to a dictator.

### *How did you develop the armed struggle?*

The Somali National Movement at birth included senior military officers. The majority of our forces are defectors from the Somali army. All our military supplies are captured from the army or brought by defectors. Thus we began with a trained nucleus. We have training centers inside the country to transform our forces to guerilla warfare, allied to the mass movement. Armed struggle is essential in our effort to bring down the regime.

### *What is your position on the Palestinian revolution, and concerning the present differences where the right wing seeks a settlement through the Jordanian option, while the majority of the resistance organizations are for continuing the liberation struggle?*

Our support to the Palestinian people's struggle is a matter of principle, included in our political program. Concerning the present situation, we condemn all surrendering policies from Camp David to the Amman agreement and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. We fully support the unity of the PLO on its anti-imperialist line. We believe that the Amman agreement will never bring success to the Palestinian people. We support the Palestinian factions that oppose this accord. We consider the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers, and the Aden-Algiers agreement as the reference for restoring the unity of the PLO. We totally oppose capitulationist steps that put the PLO in the Camp David group of Arab reactionary forces.



## Memorandum:

# Mogadishu-Tel Aviv-Pretoria Axis

*Recently, the President of the Somali National Movement, Ahmed Mohammad Selanyo, published an extensive memorandum on the prevailing political conditions in Somalia, and the political and military accomplishments of the SNM in the armed struggle against the regime. Below we print one section of this memorandum which details the recently established connections between Siad Barre's regime, Pretoria and Tel Aviv:*

### **Alliance with the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel**

After failing in the face of the armed struggle waged by our people and having lost the sympathy of most peace-loving forces of the world, the regime proceeded to establish a desperate alliance with the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel that are hostile to all human values. Barre entered into these notorious alliances at a time when the mass struggle led by the ANC and SWAPO is escalating in South Africa and Namibia against white minority rule, and international support is forthcoming to the people of southern Africa.

Indirect contacts between Barre's regime and Pretoria started in 1979, through a Somalian businessman. Direct contact started on February 12, 1984, when an ATAIR plane arrived in Mogadishu. Onboard was a South African delegation consisting of officials from the Foreign, Defense and Commerce Ministries, in addition to civil servants of the South Africa airlines. According to reliable sources, the South African delegation met with Barre's deputy and the Defense Minister, and discussed matters pertaining to South Africa's aircraft using Somali's airports and air space, in return for economic and military assistance to Barre's regime. These preliminary negotiations were followed by a visit paid by the Somali Defense Minister to Pretoria, May 16-19, 1984. The Somali Defense Minister met with his South African counterpart, and visited some military installations and factories which produce military hardware.

In September 1984, a South African delegation, made up of five officials, visited Mogadishu and met with the Somali Defense Minister, Mohammad Ali Sametar. Contacts were furthered when the South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha visited Mogadishu on December 17, 1984, and met with Barre. Later it was confirmed in South Africa that the final touches were put on the accord that permits the racist regime of South Africa to use Somali territory and air space. It seems that there is an economic and military treaty between the two regimes. According to this accord, South Africa would grant loans to Somalia within two years, repayable after 12 years, in addition to economic assistance to the regime.

In a meeting between South Africa's Foreign Minister and Barre, the issue of selling to South Africa the oil now given to Somalia by Saudi Arabia, was discussed. Reports indicate that Barre granted the South African regime the right to have its air and naval forces visit the Somali port at Casmayo.

South Africa provided Barre with seven counter-insurgency experts. These mercenaries remained in Somalia for three weeks. They visited the Somali air base located 20 miles northwest of Mogadishu. There they met ten Rhodesian pilots who fly eight Hooker-Hunter planes and three training aircraft given to Barre by Abu Dhabi in 1983. The Rhodesian training group is led by a South African citizen. Some Somali officials have acknowledged the presence of these mercenaries in Somalia, under the cover of being experts. Reports indicate that the leader of the mercenaries is in the process of buying eight MIG-21 aircraft for South Africa. These planes have been grounded at Somali airports due to lack of spare parts.

It seems that the accord between Barre and the racist regime of South Africa includes repair of Barre's military vehicles and equipment. In addition, it covers things such as extending Casmayo's airport runway and training military intelligence officers. Reliable sources confirm that the delivery of weaponry to Barre started in March this year. Planes packed with weapons arrived in Mogadishu after nightfall. From there, the cargo is transferred by truck. Other sources in Mogadishu add that Barre's regime has granted South African ships anchoring rights in the port of Casmayo.

It seems that the racist regime of South Africa assumed the role of middleman between Barre and the Zionist state. Reports from Somali indicate that General Abdel Rahman Hussein, chief of the militia forces and Barre's son-in-law, secretly visited Israel in February 1985.

The road between Tel Aviv and Pretoria now passes through Mogadishu. This road is crucial since the weaponry imported by South Africa from the US secretly finds its way to South Africa via Israel. It is known that the Israeli role is not limited to providing weapons to South Africa. Israel also participates in military operations launched by the South African regime against African national liberation forces. Also the South African airlines transfers raw materials, as well as finished and semi-finished products, from South Africa to Israel. These products are then re-exported to Western European markets.

The unholy alliance between the dictatorship of Siad Barre, and the fascist regimes based on apartheid and Zionist racism, not only poses a great danger to the liberation struggle of our people. It is also a serious threat to the peoples of the Horn of Africa, Red Sea, Middle East and all Africa. This is particularly so as it threatens the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia led by the ANC and SWAPO. The unholy alliance is also dangerous because it threatens the heroic struggle waged by the Palestinian Arab people, to return to their land and establish an independent national state, under their united leadership in the framework of the PLO. This malicious alliance also threatens the nationalist states and the forces of national liberation and social progress throughout the Arab world and Africa, and all the forces struggling for freedom, progress, and peace throughout the world. For all these reasons, we call upon our brothers of the Arab and world liberation forces to exert all efforts to foil this malicious conspiracy.

# Bright Star

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## 1985

Since the beginning of the eighties, the US has been conducting military maneuvers in the Arab homeland under different names (Bright Star and Wind of the Sea) and in different locations. These maneuvers have been carried out by the Rapid Deployment Forces, in conjunction with troops from the participating Arab countries.

The striking feature of these year's maneuvers, which started in Egypt on August 3rd, is their scale in terms of the number of troops and countries involved, and their timing. The Bright Star 85 maneuvers have been conducted simultaneously in Egypt, Somalia, Jordan, 'Israel' and the Sultanate of Oman. Oman's participation was however kept under the rug in order not to anger its neighbors and stir their objections to US military presence in the area. Sudan, four months after Numeiri's overthrow, decided not to participate to ward off domestic protest and out of consideration for its neighbors, Ethiopia and Libya. Thus, the Egyptian regime lost a strategic ally.

In Egypt, the number of participating US troops reached the unprecedented level of nine thousand soldiers. This surpasses the total number of US troops that participated in Bright Star 81, Bright Star 82 and the Wind of the Sea maneuvers, added together. For the first time in the history of US maneuvers in the area, there were drills and operations in amphibious landing, employment of offensive weaponry and chemical warfare. It is noteworthy that the very same US troops that took part in Bright Star 85 in Egypt, carried out similar maneuvers in 'Israel' under the same name.

### The timing of Bright Star 85

Judging from the magnitude of these maneuvers, they were intended to carry special weight. Obviously, Washington wants to send an unequivocal message to the parties involved in the Arab-Zionist conflict, as well as to the Soviet Union. The timing of the maneuvers coincides with accelerated moves to broaden the base of the Camp David process. On the Arab level, this much talked about «peace» process



Hawk anti-aircraft missile in Gallant Eagle '84 - US military exercises simulating fighting in the Middle East.

is being promoted via the Amman accord and Mubarak's initiative. Although the facade of this scenario is Arab, the theme is American - joining US solutions for the area. Holding the emergency Arab summit on August 7th, in Casablanca, was intended to confer the blessing of Arab reactionary consensus on the Amman accord, as a preface to implementing it. Hence, the extensive US muscle-flexing in the form of military maneuvers aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the Arab summit, to have them go along with the US «peace» plans. The Bright Star 85 maneuvers also coincide with the visits of Murphy and Whitehead to the Middle East. These political and military moves stand as a new reminder that Camp David was never, as purported, a peace plan, but designed to insure imperialist dominance in the area.

In relation to the international arena, Bright Star 85 aimed to threaten the Soviet Union, being conducted not far from its southern borders. This is part of Reagan's overall anti-communist crusade, and moreover intends to target the social community's principled and substantial aid to the Palestinian and Arab liberation movement. The maneuvers were conducted prior to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit scheduled for Geneva in the autumn. In this content, they were designed to give the impression that the US has a free hand in the

Middle East and holds the key to solving its problems. The maneuvers were intended as concrete evidence that, in the last analysis, the area is a US sphere of influence. On this basis, the US will continue trying to block the Soviet Union from any meaningful role, for this would strengthen the Arab/Palestinian side, and prevent the US and 'Israel' from imposing their views unilaterally. In line with this, the US may try to avoid discussion of the Middle East at the Geneva summit or disarmament talks.

### Message for the Arab summit

The fact that the biggest maneuvers were conducted on Egyptian soil shows that, among the Arab states, the US attaches greatest importance to Egypt. The Egyptian regime being the only one to have signed an accord with 'Israel', the US views its role as pivotal in furthering the Camp David process to include other Arab partners. The message for the Casablanca summit was that they should pay equal attention to the Camp David regime, by restoring official ties with it. It is evident that despite Washington's spurious reservations vis-a-vis Mubarak's initiative and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian moves, the US is in fact quite interested in such moves and encourages their continuation.

## Boosting the morale of Arab reactionary regimes

Another reason for the Bright Star 85 maneuvers is to reaffirm to the Arab reactionary regimes that they can count on US military might to protect them from the anger of the masses, and that the US will not leave them to their fate if they enter into direct negotiations with 'Israel'. Of course, the Shah of Iran, Sadat of Egypt and Numeiri of Sudan counted on US aid too, and they all experienced a letdown.

The maneuvers are in line with the US and Israeli policy since the early fifties, of pitting one Arab state or policy against another, i.e. divide and rule. Specifically this means strengthening

the reactionary, pro-US regimes so that they can threaten or contain any popular movement or nationalist regime attempting to pursue an independent policy. The basic concept of Bright Star is involving the forces of the reactionary regimes in joint action with the US Rapid Deployment Force, to be ready to strike any anti-imperialist regime or movement.

Such muscle-flexing is a basic element in US foreign policy. The training of the Rapid Deployment Force in the tactics of military intervention reveals to what degree the US counts on military and political blackmail in its foreign policy. This is not a new orientation; it was the case under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower; it was seen in the Baghdad

Alliance, and more recently in the policy of Haig, Reagan and Schultz.

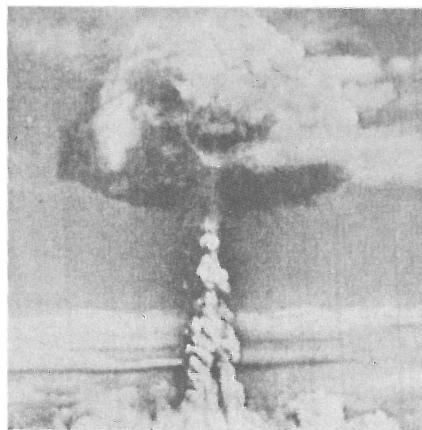
On the other hand, the question of direct military intervention involves certain dilemmas and risks. The two most recent occasions on which US troops have been directly interjected in the Middle East, met with dismal failure. The mission to retrieve US hostages from Iran aborted totally. The Marines, who came to Lebanon to bolster fascist rule and the May 17th accord, were forced to withdraw after many losses and failure to impose US goals. In this context, Bright Star 85 is another step in the US aggressive policies, designed to fill the gaps that were exposed by previous failures, in order to assert hegemony by force if necessary. ●



## Israeli Nuclear Strategy

# Stealing Uranium

*Another in a series of uranium thefts occurred recently, stunning intelligence and political circles. According to the International Nuclear Energy Agency, 'Israel' illegally acquired 40 tons of nuclear grade uranium, produced by Great Britain, via Luxembourg. («International Herald Tribune», July 11, 1985). As an isolated case, this incident may not appear significant, but taken in the context of the Israeli strategic nuclear program, the issue demands the attention of all anti-nuclear, peace forces.*



During the Eisenhower Administration, an Israeli agent, Zalman Shapiro, was assigned by the Israeli government to build a nuclear factory in the city of Apollo, Pennsylvania. Shapiro and his factory, called Numec, were responsible for secretly providing 'Israel' with numerous shipments of saturated uranium under various seemingly ordinary trade agreements. Shapiro's role in this conspiracy was significantly advanced

when then President Eisenhower decided, under the slogan, «Atoms in the Service of Peace», to allow Numec to cooperate with the Westinghouse Corporation in the production of uranium oxide, an essential substance for the activation of nuclear reactors, for US nuclear submarines. It was this cover which allowed Shapiro to produce this rare substance and deliver it, secretly and illegally, to 'Israel'.

Shapiro's operations soon became public with the announcement that a subsidiary of Numec, the Israeli Radioactive Isotope Company Ltd., would begin operations in 'Israel' in partnership with the Israeli Energy Committee, a government agency. The openness of Shapiro's dealings attracted attention and suspicion. US political opposition figures forced the American Nuclear Energy Agency to investigate, and the results were hardly surprising. It was discovered that 361 pounds (164 kgs) of nuclear grade uranium, supplied by the United States

Government, were missing. Their eventual destiny, as then claimed, was unknown. Shapiro rationalized the disappearance, insisting that the uranium was disposed of with radioactive waste. However, test samples of the waste found no traces of saturated uranium.

The investigation continued with the suspicion that the uranium had reached 'Israel'. After it was discovered that another 190 pounds (86 kgs) of uranium had disappeared, President Johnson ordered the Nuclear Energy Agency to stop its investigation so as to avoid «further complications». Soon afterwards, Shapiro sold Numec to avoid an international scandal, especially in light of his illegal employment of non-Americans, i.e. Israeli citizens who were actually agents of Mossad (the Israeli intelligence network).

US-Israeli nuclear cooperation reached its climax in 1968, when 200 tons of nuclear grade uranium were smuggled from Belgium to 'Israel'. According to Ellen Davenport, Paul

Eddy, and Peter Gilman, authors of *The Plumbat Affair: The Explosive Barrel*, the seacraft «Scheerberg» left port from Belgium, destined for Venice, Italy, with a cargo of 560 barrels of saturated uranium. Fifteen days after departure, the «Scheerberg» ported in Iskenderun, Turkey, but under a new name. It then continued its journey to Sicily, Italy, where its crew and captain disappeared. In addition, the «Scheerberg» ported in Sicily without its uranium cargo on board. The incident caused extreme confusion among the intelligence agencies of Europe. It was not until 1973 that these agencies came to the conclusion that the nuclear grade uranium was stolen by 'Israel', when Dan Art, an agent for Mossad, confessed to purchasing the «Scheerberg» so as to perform such operations for the Mossad.

The results of the investigation were not published until May, 1977, when Paul Lennontal, a nuclear energy expert for the United States Senate, stated in front of the Conference for a Non-Nuclear Future in Salzburg, that the 200 tons of uranium had in fact been stolen by 'Israel', and that this quantity was enough to produce 42 atomic bombs and still allow the Israeli Dimona nuclear reactor to operate at full capacity for 40 years.

## Nuclear missiles

Political observers of Middle East affairs have noticed that since the creation of 'Israel' in 1948, its cooperation with France to develop conventional medium-range missiles went side by side with its own nuclear technology development.

The Institute for Strategic Studies has stated that 'Israel' has now fully developed two types of medium-range missiles. The first is the MD600, with a range of 450 kilometers, equipped on stationary or mobile launchers; it can carry either conventional or nuclear warheads. The second type is the MD620, which has a range of 1000 kilometers, and can be equipped with nuclear warheads. 'Israel' now has built 40 missiles of this type. In addition, *Foreign Report* has uncovered that 'Israel' is now developing a type of cruise missile, with a range of 3000 kilometers, also capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

Before going into the political consequences of the Israeli strategical nuclear program, it should be noted that 'Israel' is not a signatory to the Nuclear

## The Krytrons Case

Another Israeli transaction related to nuclear weaponry power came to light in mid-May this year. The Israeli embassy in Washington D.C. admitted that a «certain quantity» of Krytron switches had been transferred to 'Israel' over the years 1979-1983. The Krytrons are detonators, timing devices that can be used for triggering nuclear bombs. It was later known that 800 Krytrons had been bought by Israeli businessman Arnon Milchen, who allegedly worked for Milco International, from the US company, EG&G Incorporated.

General Director of the Israeli Defense Ministry, Menachem Miron, has said that 'Israel' is ready to send back these detonators if the US so requests. Speaking to Israeli broadcast-

ing on May 16th, he said that 'Israel' had not yet received such a demand. He clarified that 'Israel' would return the 800 Krytron detonators, valued at \$ 50-60 per unit, on condition that the US pay for them, for 'Israel' had imported them. Miron further stated that 'Israel' had no connection with the investigation which began two days before in the US, where a US businessman, Richard Smith, is accused of exporting the detonators.

In a telephone interview with Associated Press, Israeli Defense Ministry spokesman, Nashman Shai, made an interesting revelation: He said that some of the Krytron units now in 'Israel' had been employed in extensive research, and it could be difficult to return them as they were worn out.

Non-Proliferation Treaty, thus avoiding any obligatory investigations of its use of nuclear materials or of its nuclear facilities.

## Israeli role in US strategy

Possession of nuclear weapons gives 'Israel' military superiority over the Arab countries, particularly the nationalist and progressive states. The tacit US support and encouragement given to the Israel nuclear program cannot be understood outside of the context of US strategical interests in the region and the world. 'Israel' is a partner of the US-Zionist-South African alliance. The United States aims, through this tripartite alliance, to achieve hegemony in the Middle East and Africa. Thus, Israeli possession of nuclear weapons is not incidental, nor a result of its own unique brilliance. The same applies to South Africa. The United States' understanding of the contemporary political world and its realities, particularly after its defeat in Vietnam, forces it to resort to such indirect methods of domination and exploitation. Israeli nuclear blackmail allows for the continued exploitation of the natural and human resources of the region by US imperialism and itself, in addition to further strengthening its existence as a colonial-settler state in Palestine.

Another aspect of Israeli nuclear capabilities is international. 'Israel', as a possessor of nuclear weapons, poses itself as another military front, in the ranks of imperialism, against the socialist community, mainly the Soviet Union. Its new cruise-type nuclear mis-

sile, with 3000 kilometer range, can easily reach the territory of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Imperialism's attempts to militarily isolate and besiege the socialist countries do not end in Afghanistan.

The Middle East is the most explosive region in the world, given the complexity of interacting factors and forces, the history of colonialism and exploitation, its conflicts, first and foremost the Arab-Zionist conflict and the Palestinian issue, and the political, economic and military importance attached to it by imperialism. These factors, coupled with the Israeli and imperialist nuclear strategy, make it the prime candidate as the potential area for the first nuclear war in the history of mankind. Zionism's development of nuclear weapons precludes the achievement of a just, comprehensive peace based on military balance, the solution proposed by liberal sophists, or on any basis for that matter.

The danger is real. The red line has already been drawn; Menachem Begin stated that any perceived threat to the existence of 'Israel' would force it to use its nuclear missiles. This spring 'Israel' stationed nuclear-tipped Jericho missiles in the Naqab (South Palestine) and the Golan Heights. Altogether, the regional and international conditions demand that Israeli nuclear potential be squarely confronted by all democratic, peace-loving and anti-nuclear forces. The Israeli nuclear capacity is an essential component of imperialism's nuclear strategy, and should be confronted as such in the context of anti-war and anti-nuclear struggle.

# IOJ Presidium Meets in Quito

*The International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) held its Presidium meeting in Quito, Ecuador, from June 28th until July 2nd. Quito was chosen as the site for the meeting primarily in order to draw international attention to the critical economic and political situation prevailing on the Latin American continent.*

As is usual, the main document of the Presidium's agenda was the report of IOJ Secretary General Jiri Kubka, which covered the activities of the Secretariat since the Presidium's preceding meeting in New Delhi. Kubka began as follows: «The work of journalists on each continent has its specific feature. But there is one thing that is common to all our members: with their creative work, they all wish to create conditions for just and friendly international relations... We are fighting for a new information and communication order. Then it is not merely a question of historical justice for the developing countries in the face of a long period of exploitation and silencing, but primarily an endeavor to give hearing to the voice of those who by economic subversion and often violence are deprived of their freedom and sovereignty...»

The second important report was presented by the Federation of Latin American Journalists Unions (FELAP). It cast light on the economic crisis of Latin America, mainly the foreign debt crisis. It also presented a comprehensive exposé of the conditions under which journalists in several Latin American countries are working.

Karl Nordenstreng, IOJ President, also addressed the Presidium. In discussing the IOJ tasks, he said: «In the first place there is the contribution of the IOJ and her members to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, for disarmament and an analysis of the situation of the mass media of different countries. Special attention will be dedicated to the situation of journalists in Latin America where in many countries disinformation and suppression of freedom of the press is accompanied by brutal steps against journalists...»

Rodrigo Santillan, President of Ecuador's National Union of Journalists,

spoke as follows: «Latin American and Third World journalists in these systems of dependent capitalism, exploitation and injustice are inconvenient witnesses so the system persecutes, exiles, tortures and kills journalists... In our country freedom of expression cannot exist as people do not have their own social means of communication... (Journalists) are subject to coercion, pressure and menace in the public as well as in the private sector... Those who denounce violations of this liberty are labelled as sectarians or subversives. Nevertheless, the journalists of the UNP have advanced in strengthening their organizations, because they have joined people's organizations in their decision to establish a really free, democratic, sovereign and independent state...»

Hernan Uribe spoke on behalf of FELAP, emphasizing that: «Journalism is intimately related to social factors. Its diversity springs from different class interests. It is false to say that in antagonistic social formations it represents the general public opinion. In our societies, journalism is considered an industrial activity, an enterprise established on the market, while news is merchandise, but we professionals reject such a view since it deforms the true journalistic mission...»

«According to a UNESCO study, publicly owned journalism exists in just eight socialist countries in Europe, ten nations in Africa, eight in Asia, and Cuba. In Latin America, Cuba is the exception - the only socialist country of the continent, although we could now mention a share in Nicaragua and to a lesser extent in Mexico...»

«Information is selected and disseminated by the proprietors of the media, members of the ruling class, who seek to protect primarily the interests of this privileged strata while influencing the receiver of the news coverage... This

journalism reflects only one side of the reality, defending the interests and way of life of one class while clashing with the interests of the majority. This hinders national development...»

«At present, as the consciousness of the workers and peasants increases, so does repression. The death and imprisonment of hundreds of journalists and closure of information media in many Latin American countries is another clear case of disinformation, through silencing the scarce dissent and alternative media...»

## **Palestine - Latin America - common struggle**

IOJ Vice-President Bassam Abu Sharif spoke, emphasizing that Palestinian journalists will fight side by side with Latin American journalists for justice, freedom and peace. He also spoke about the situation in the Middle East, highlighting imperialism's moves to impose surrendering solutions on the Palestinians in particular. In this context, the Amman accord provides a foothold for the US efforts to impose a solution. At the same time, the Israeli authorities continue to confiscate Palestinian land and build settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They are pursuing a plan to forcibly evict more Palestinians from their homeland. «The Palestinian people in occupied Palestine are denied the right of expression. Palestinian journalists are exposed to daily attacks by the occupation forces. Some were kidnapped, some put under house arrest, and all subjected to military censorship.»

He also spoke of the attacks by the Amal movement on the camps in Beirut, aiming to disarm the Palestinian people and prevent struggle against the Israeli forces from South Lebanon. «We defended our camps and our right to carry arms to continue the liberation struggle... We will always defend our people and our right to struggle until establishing our independent state... Our struggle is part of the international struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. We are in the same battlefield with the people of Latin America... The Nicaraguan people can

always be sure that the Palestinian people will fight alongside them..."

After speeches and discussion, the final statement of the meeting was formulated. The Presidium, at the invitation of Ecuador's National Union of Journalists, visited different regions of Ecuador, and was received by the President of Ecuador. They then traveled to Havana to participate in a meeting on ways to protect journalists working in dangerous conditions, and to attend the FELAP Congress which was addressed by President Fidel Castro.

### Final document (excerpts)

The Presidium highlighted the active participation of the General Secretariat of the IOJ as a whole, during celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism.

In this respect, the meeting of war veterans with journalists, which was held in Torgau, (GDR), was positively evaluated. Both the direct participants in the struggle against German fascism in the member countries of the anti-Hitler coalition and the then war correspondents who witnessed the events, emphasized the need to step up the struggle for peace and understanding amongst peoples.

The Presidium noted the aggressive course of US policy and that of other NATO member countries trying to achieve military supremacy and who are heading towards the militarization of space. It called for an end to the deployment of US thermonuclear missiles in Western Europe and expressed its support for the peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and for the peace movement which is gaining momentum in Western Europe, the USA and other countries around the world.

In this light, the Presidium considers that the planned US military base on Easter Island will increase the dangers of war.

The members of the Presidium stressed the importance of cooperation with UNESCO and denounced the US withdrawal and that of other countries from this organization.

The Presidium of the IOJ expressed its support for Angola and Mozambique and for other countries in Africa struggling to defend their sovereignty and independence in the face of the imperialist threat and condemned US support for the racist South African regime and for other counter-revolutionary forces on the continent. Participants in the meet-

ing condemned the policy of apartheid carried out by the government of the Republic of South Africa and demanded that they comply with UN resolutions on the independence of Namibia, without conditions on the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angola.

The Presidium also condemned the invasion of Botswana by the South African regime, and the conspiracy of silence of the majority of Western countries surrounding this unjustified aggression. They expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people struggling for their historic right to build their own independent state. They condemned attacks against the Palestinian camps in Beirut, attacks which only serve the interests of Israel and US imperialism, and applaud-

produced in some countries of Latin America. Recently, military regimes in Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil have ceased to exist, as opposition democratic forces have won the elections. The struggle against the fascist tyranny is increasing in Chile and Paraguay. In Guatemala, the people are intensifying their opposition to the regime, and in the other Central American countries, the national liberation movements are becoming more powerful.

The Presidium expressed support for the heroic people of Nicaragua in their fight against Somozist counter-revolutionaries, financed and led by the US, and condemned the economic blockade announced by Washington against this country, coupled with political and military aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, the slander campaign and the psychological warfare against Nicaragua.

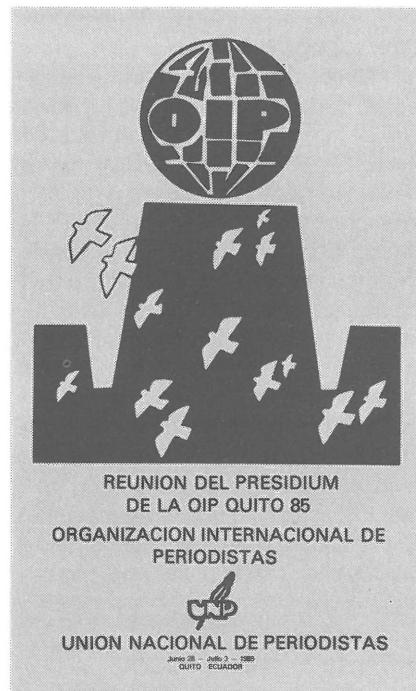
The Presidium urged all progressive and democratic journalists to support Nicaragua and to demand the immediate end to the undeclared war against this people, and all forms of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of this country...

The Presidium expressed its solidarity with the heroic people of Cuba and their revolution, condemning the threats and acts of aggression by the United States against this country, and the introduction of the badly named 'Radio Marti' which the Cubans dub 'Radio Reagan', a farcical propaganda aggression against the people of Cuba and an infringement of their sovereignty.

Participants in the meeting demanded the immediate withdrawal from Grenada of all troops of foreign occupation. They condemned US intervention in El Salvador and called for a resumption of dialogue to put an end to the bloodshed in this country.

Participants denounced the fascist methods of the Pinochet regime which is responsible for the thousands of Chileans murdered or missing and which imposes extremely rigid censorship over the media and has banned many press outlets; they also voiced solidarity with the journalists and people of Chile...

1986 was declared by the UN International Year of Peace, which will be broadly celebrated around the world. 1986 has special importance for the International Organization of Journalists, as it will reach its 40th anniversary in that year.»



ed the firm position of the journalists and the Palestinians against the intensification of revenge attacks by the Israeli forces of occupation...

The Presidium voiced solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos who are building a new life and defending their independence, freedom and territorial integrity. The meeting came out in solidarity with the struggle of the Korean people in their struggle for the reunification of their fatherland and condemned provocative military manoeuvres carried out by the US and the South Korean regime, which contribute to sharpening tension on the Korean peninsula and the entire region.

The Quito meeting was held at a time when historical changes are being

# The Helsinki Accords Viewed in Retrospect

Ten years ago, the heads of 35 eastern and western states, including the US, Canada and the USSR, gathered in Helsinki, Finland, to deliberate unresolved issues that had arisen in the aftermath of World War II and the ensuing cold war era. The signing of the final document at the Helsinki conference marked the beginning of detente. The signatories solemnly pledged to exert all efforts to make detente a steadily growing process.

## Ideological premises

To put things in perspective and grasp the motives for the signing of the Helsinki accord, we ought to examine the ideological theses from which the signatories proceeded. The US had started to review its conflict with the socialist countries in terms of the ideological, military and propaganda aspects, in the light of the new international developments. As of the late fifties, the socialist community had emerged as a force to be reckoned with; the global balance of forces had changed; the colonial system had collapsed and the role of the national liberation movements increased. Moreover, starting in the early seventies, the US had been unable to attain its goals and had suffered heavy blows, especially the defeat in Vietnam and the failure of Vietnamization. These changes created a situation conducive to detente.

The new conditions forced Washington to reassess its political strategies in international relations. However, there was first a heated debate among US theorists. The debate raged between two political lines. The first was that of ultralight hardliners who opted for continuation of the cold war: maintaining acute international tension and encouraging the outbreak of regional and local wars. This school of thought refused to acknowledge the existing reality, for this was considered a betrayal of the vital national interests of the US and western Europe.

The second political line proceeded from the necessity of acknowledging the new reality at least partially. Proponents of this line called for seeking a fresh line of reasoning for waging the ideological conflict.

## For the US, detente equals interference

When the US ostensibly acknowledged detente, it was not due to conviction in the policy of peaceful coexistence. The US had no choice but to sign the Helsinki accords. Having done so, it attempted to capitalize on detente by turning it into a weapon in its hands. Thus, the US proceeded to try to foment internal disputes in the countries of the socialist community. The goal of this campaign was curbing these countries' influence, halting their economic growth, diverting them from the principle of proletarian internationalism, and forcing them towards further armament, consequently diverting economic resources from meeting humans' needs under socialism to meeting defense requirements.

## Detente and socialism

Lenin developed the thesis of peaceful coexistence in accordance with socialist theory. In 1915, he called for doing away with war, bringing about peace between nations and curtailing plunder and exploitation. According to this theory, detente is a combination of cooperation and struggle. Countries with opposing social systems preserve their respective principled, class stands on economic, political and ideological questions. At the same time, it is incumbent on these countries to join efforts to eliminate «hot spots» on the international scene and seek a halt to armament, leading to disarmament, in the common interest of international peace and security. Countries, across the board, should strive to avert the threat of nuclear war.

## US opposes European cooperation

Even before the dust of World War II had settled, the US opted for strengthening capitalism in western Europe through the Marshall Plan of 1949. The US initiated the establishment of NATO to form these countries into a block against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, in line with socialist policy, did not hesitate to call for close cooperation between the western and eastern European countries, despite the US moves. As early as 1954, the Soviet Union called for facilitating the entire continent's cooperation and security by holding a conference of the heads of all European states. The US looked upon this call with suspicion and did everything in its power to block such a conference. It distorted the Soviet intentions, claiming that they aimed at driving a wedge between the NATO countries.

Eventually the US did agree to attend the Helsinki conference due to the objective changes in the global scene, but it did so only after inventing the thesis of human rights, interpreted in a bourgeois, individualist manner. The US insisted that this idea merited a place on the conference agenda. This was a malicious maneuver, intended to interfere in the socialist countries' internal affairs and weaken socialism, on the pretext that the European people have a common history and values.

## The essence of Helsinki

All in all, holding the Helsinki conference and hammering out the final document was an ideological, political, diplomatic and propaganda victory for the socialist countries. It marked success for their policy of peaceful coexistence. The tone for this has been set in 1972, when the Federal Republic of Germany signed bilateral treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, respectively. These treaties inaugurated a new era since they acknowledged the political outcome of World War II. They put an end to or froze border disputes and territorial demands between the signing countries.

The final Helsinki document approved a set of principles as the basis for international relations: solving international disputes by peaceful means rather than by force or threats; respect for all states' sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-interference in internal affairs of sovereign states; respect for human rights; equal rights and the peoples' right to self-determination; the duty of the peoples to cooperate; observing international law.

### The US goes back on detente

As mentioned earlier, the US only reluctantly adopted detente. This, however, did not last long. Soon after signing the Helsinki accords, Washington and its media launched a fierce campaign against detente. The US came up with its own special interpretations of the accords. The US daily *Washington Post* described detente as a vague concept, more obscure than any other. To this newspaper, the only reality which merited concern was a policy of forceful positions and the Pentagon's huge budgets. All else was illusions. Some US theorists put forth distorted concepts of detente. It was presented to the developing countries and national liberation movements as synonymous with international harmony, striking deals and mutual concessions between the two blocks. Imperialist propaganda tried to give the impression that the Soviet Union had been lured to the bargaining table; that the conflict between capitalism and socialism had abated; that the hands of the Soviet Union were bound and it could not help the liberation movements under detente.

Some US ideologists view detente as a Soviet-invented strategem, and claim that only the Soviets benefited. Others condemned the West's ill-timed termination of the cold war. They criticized the Helsinki accords as devoid of realism. Later, Reagan, using the same line of argument, described detente as a one-way street from which only the Soviet Union benefited. He called for a crusade against communism and spoke openly of «retaliation», «intimidation», «deterrence» and first-strike nuclear capacity.

After 1977, during the Carter Administration, the US veered towards restoration of the cold war. At the same time, it took one of the Helsinki principles, human rights, as a pretext for meddling in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. This was designed to blackmail these countries into changing

their policies, and as such, meant US disavowal of the Helsinki accords. When Reagan took office in 1981, this trend was escalated; US foreign policy was overtly oriented to fanning international tension. The US escalated its aggression and interference in other countries' internal affairs; it launched military interventions and encouraged civil and regional wars.

Reagan raised the banner of confronting the Soviet «danger», the necessity of gaining strategic superiority, protecting «democracy» and fighting «state terror». These slogans were raised to justify a more blatantly aggressive, militaristic US strategy. In practice, this meant a denial of detente and a return to the cold war, the escalation of armament, new nuclear missiles, etc., to upset the international military balance.



The Rapid Deployment Force, created under Carter, was institutionalized as the US Central Command with a scope of operations covering nineteen countries and a vast area from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf. The US declared its readiness to send troops to any spot of the globe to protect US vital interests if these faced imminent danger. To further the strategy of swift, direct military intervention, the US has acquired new bases and facilities, established strategic cooperation with pro-imperialist regimes, and initiated new military cooperation treaties. This policy led to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the invasion of Grenada. These aggressive acts combined to poison the international atmosphere, bringing the world to the verge of a nuclear holocaust.

### Blackmail as a means of foreign policy

The orientation of the Helsinki accords showed that economic cooperation should be the basis of detente. Following the conference, a number of agreements were signed between the socialist European countries and the capitalist ones, for long-term technical, scientific and economic cooperation. The Soviet Union signed agreements with virtually all European countries. As a consequence, its trade doubled over the last ten years. It is worth mentioning that the socialist community's orders for goods produced in capitalist countries, provide jobs for more than two million workers in the countries that were party to the Helsinki accords.

When the US reasserted its confrontation policy, it resorted to the use of economic blackmail in order to wrest concessions from the socialist community; otherwise the US would not lend credibility to the socialist countries' peaceful policies or observe detente. When the US failed to wrest concessions from the socialist community, it resorted to imposing economic sanctions and trade embargos against the Eastern European countries, and even on occasion against the western ones. This is a blatant violation of the Helsinki accords which forbids the use of trade as a means of achieving political ends. The US did this even though these measures had adverse effects on US economic interests. For instance, the US grain embargo against the Soviet Union cost US businessmen 22 million dollars. The US imposed sanctions on the Soviet Union and the western European countries that had joined it in a project to transport gas from Siberia to western Europe. Five months later, these were lifted after failing to make the cooperating countries halt the project.

Along the same lines, the US Congress failed to ratify the SALT II agreement, and trade agreements were suspended with the Soviet Union. When all these measures proved futile as a means of pressure, the US abandoned detente and the spirit of the Helsinki accords altogether and escalated its hostile campaign against the socialist countries. At the same time, the US continued its military build-up, culminating in the declaration of the Strategic Defense Initiative for the militarization of space.

# South Africa Fighting Apartheid

*In May 1945, the African National Congress, the Communist Party of South Africa and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions organized a march in Johannesburg, under the slogan «Finish the Job - Smash Fascism in South Africa.» This year, the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the Black masses in South Africa have mobilized on an unprecedented scale to further this end which is synonymous with their achieving liberation and democracy.*

It is now over a year since apartheid President P.W. Botha toured Europe, waving promises of «reform» in hopes of returning South Africa to international respectability. Predictably, Botha's «reform» movement has already fizzled out without any reforms being made. Instead, on July 21st, the apartheid regime declared a state of emergency in 36 districts, granting near absolute power to the security forces. This was followed by Botha's mid-August speech which had been much anticipated by capitalist states seeking to avoid sanctions against South Africa. In fact, Botha outlined no concrete reforms. Even the Reagan Administration dared not laud this empty talk, though its own «con-

structive engagement» has been a major factor supporting Botha's no-reform policy.

Botha is truly «fiddling while Rome burns». The real movement to watch is that of the Black masses who are becoming increasingly militant and overt in their support to the goals of the liberation struggle spearheaded by the ANC. For over a year the African majority has been in a state of constant revolt. Ongoing mass protests, funerals turned into political manifestations, workers' strikes, school and consumer boycotts, and armed resistance show the people's refusal to have the claw of apartheid clamped even tighter in the name of «reform». Their experience has shown that

«reforms» proposed by the apartheid rulers are but a cover for harder repression: Since the popular uprising began in August 1984, over 650 persons have been killed by the police, in addition to massive arrests. This escalated to new heights with the imposition of martial law. Over 1000 people were arrested in the last week of July alone. Most were community leaders and activists, many from the United Democratic Front, seized in their homes in line with prepared police lists. This pattern continued with 152 persons arrested on August 17th alone. A few days later, 500 schoolchildren were rounded up in Soweto for boycotting classes. By the first of August well over 2,000 had been detained under the state of emergency, whereby they are held incommunicado without specification of charges or access to lawyers.

## «Reform» under apartheid

The connection between «reform» and repression was put in a theoretical-historical perspective by Joe Slovo, leader of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, in a lecture delivered in August 1984: «The Botha



regime is not a reformist regime...On the contrary, it has gone further than any previous regime in South Africa's history in an advance towards the implementation of the essentials of apartheid...The least important reforms (which sometimes attract the most attention) such as allowing a Black to actually share your park bench, your restaurant, your football field, and perhaps even your bed, are part of a larger package deal...designed to imprint race domination finally and irreversibly into South Africa's social fabric

«Botha has proved to be the most efficient sales representative of this package deal...What is actually being sold is the South African version of the Hitlerian final solution...Over half of the African population have already been proclaimed foreigners in the land of their birth...Botha the reformer has put new energy into the resettlement program which, in the last two decades, has uprooted, transported and dumped into the veld over four million African souls...The very foundation of apartheid - the Bantustan creations and the fragmentation of South Africa (with one of the fragments, covering 87% of its area and 99% of its riches, going to the Whites) - has been pursued by the Botha regime with more vigour than by any of their predecessors. It is under Botha that the door of access by Africans to central state power has been slammed with deadening finality. It is through the duet of Botha and Malan that every surrounding country has felt the blows of military intervention...It is during their time that the Black political opposition has felt a heightened level of brutality.

«Before fragmentation had reached such an advanced level with the creation of the Bantustans, the defense of White cohesion had to be carried out in communities which, although segregated, were sharing common urban and rural territory. (Thus the need for laws against interracial sex and marriage, etc.) These mechanisms no longer play the same important role as they previously did in perpetuating White exclusiveness.» (Sechaba, February 1985)

In short, the aspects of apartheid which the regime contemplates removing are no longer necessary, for White domination and the exploitation of cheap Black labor are now structurally implanted. Developments have proved the validity of Slovo's thesis with martial law being the culmination of Botha's purported reform moves. What apartheid now needs is brute force to keep down

the swelling tide of the majority's opposition.

### «Call to the Nation»

The size and sustained nature of the protests show that an increasing number of Black South Africans have no illusion that their freedom will come through reform. Other features of the



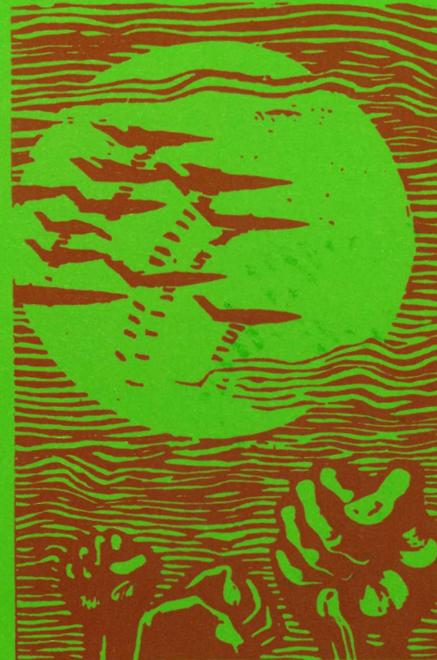
past year's mass movement also reveal its potential for challenging apartheid: Militant mass action has so polarized the situation that few Blacks remain willing to cooperate with the regime. Almost all the local councils created by the regime in Black townships are out of function due to the resignation of the councillors. Leaders who advocate peaceful change are running short of arguments in the face of the regime's terrorism and Botha's refusal to speak even with Black leaders who are involved in civil disobedience alone. Workers' strikes have increased the past year; for the first time political strikes have been launched by major Black unions.

The mass upsurge was the basis for the ANC issuing its «Call to the Nation» in May, focusing on concrete means for consolidating the people's power in struggle: making it impossible for the regime's agents to enter Black townships; forming popular committees to replace the puppet administrations; expanding covert structures and armed struggle; and preparing for an extended general strike and possibly an armed uprising. While the ANC sees the struggle as a protracted liberation war, it views insurrection as a means of making 1985 a real turning point in the battle to defeat the apartheid regime.

Ensuing events confirm this possibility. Even the state of emergency has so far failed to quell the mass upsurge. Funerals as political manifestations continue despite the ban imposed on such gatherings on August 1st. Protests and clashes with the police are ongoing despite widely imposed curfews.

### Palestine and Southern Africa - same enemy, same struggle

The mass advance in South Africa provides an example for all people struggling against injustice. The Palestinian revolution feels a special affinity with the struggling masses in South Africa, for the enemies we face are much the same. Despite differences in the modalities of implementation, both 'Israel' and South Africa are colonial settler states, built on the dispossession of the native population and institutionalized racism. Both exercise state terrorism - shooting down demonstrators in the streets, arresting and torturing those who fight for their rights. This official repression is supplemented by settler violence, similar to Latin American death



squads. In early August a prominent Black woman lawyer was assassinated at her home. She was to defend 16 United Democratic Front activists facing treason charges. The statement issued by the «unknown assassins» reminds of the threats of ultraright Zionists to rid the land of 'Israel' of Arabs. In South Africa, the assassins' slogan was: «Those who ►

cannot be imprisoned will have to die.» Another recent attack was the burning of the home of Willie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, the famous ANC leader who has now served 23 years of a life sentence. His release is a main demand of the anti-apartheid movement. Mrs. Mandela accused the security police of having a role in the arson, like in Palestine where fanatical settlers rely on the infrastructure of the Israeli army and police forces

‘Israel’ continues to occupy the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights, contrary to UN resolutions, paralleling South Africa’s refusal to withdraw from Namibia. Both racist states refuse to recognize the true representatives of the people, whether the PLO of Palestine, the ANC of South Africa or SWAPO of Namibia. Instead, the racist regimes seek military solutions: The Israeli invasion and bombardment of Lebanon is paralleled by South Africa’s

frequent incursions into neighboring states; both work to destabilize their neighbors in order to isolate the anti-imperialist forces. Most important, both racist regimes are ultimately kept in power and encouraged in their aggression by the overt and covert support of their imperialist benefactors, chiefly the US. Despite the growth of the anti-apartheid movement, Reagan has vowed to veto any legislation imposing sanctions on Pretoria.

*Freedom for Nelson Mandela is a basic mass demand*

