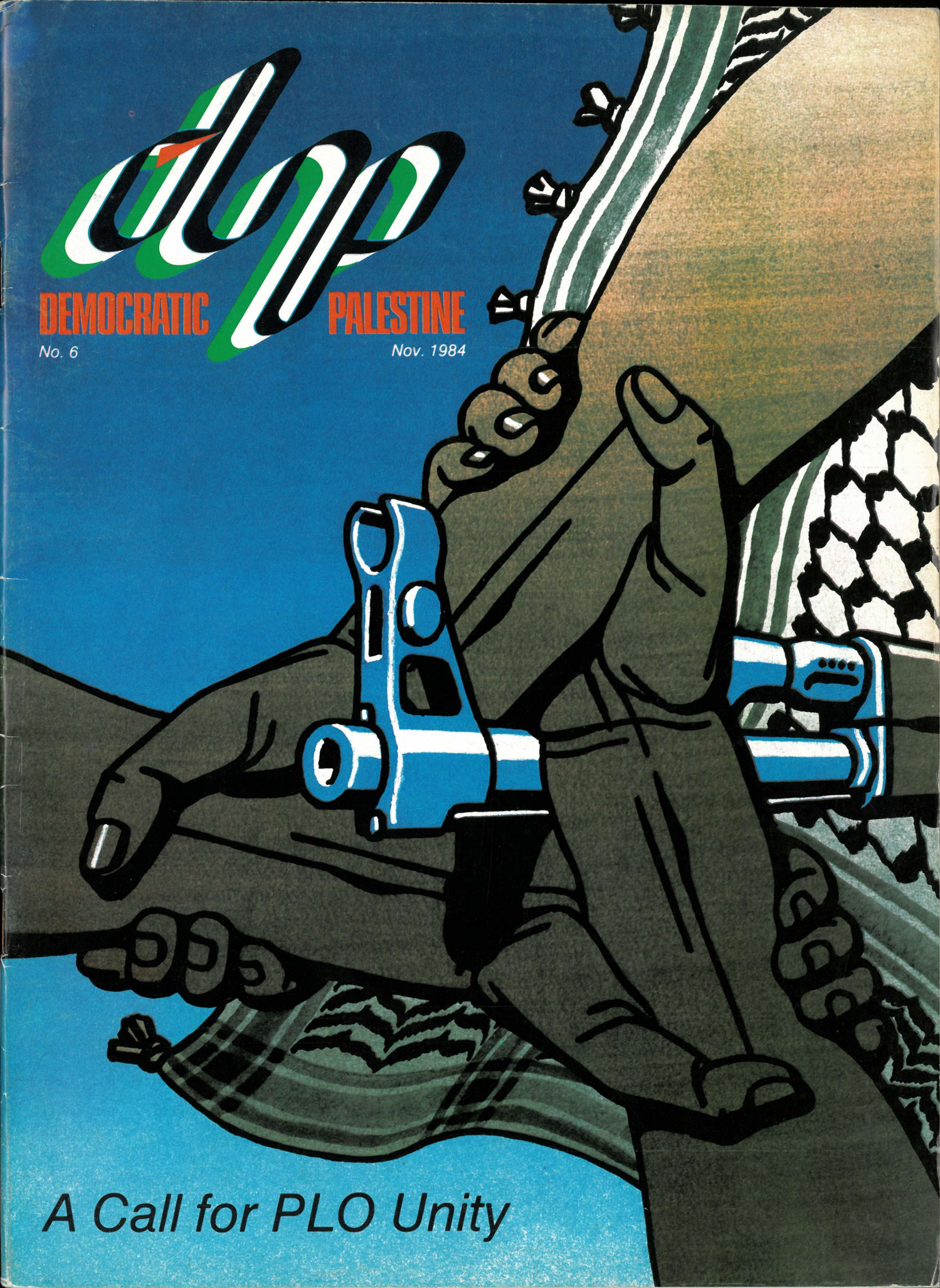


DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE

No. 6

Nov. 1984



A Call for PLO Unity



Democratic Palestine is an English language magazine published by the PFLP. It replaces the *PFLP Bulletin*, which was published monthly from March 1979 until the 1982 Zionist invasion of Lebanon (issues no. 25-62) and bimonthly through November 1983 (no. 63-69).

By changing the name we wish to signal our intent to engage a broader section of progressive forces around the world in dialogue and relations of mutual solidarity that will strengthen the struggle for a democratic Palestine in the context of the global struggle against imperialism and its allies.

Democratic Palestine is published 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 a forum and instrument for building relations of mutual solidarity between the Palestinian revolution and progressive organizations, parties, national liberation movements and countries around the world.

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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.

By the time this issue was pushed to the printing wheels the 67th anniversary of the great October Revolution was marked. The engineer of that great Revolution, V.I. Lenin will always remain as the teacher and guide of the poor in their battle to liberate themselves and the world from exploitation, colonialism, neo colonialism and all other reactionary and racist movements.



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Editor's Note

Suhmur, A New Israeli Record of Slaughter

On Thursday September 20th, more than one hundred Israeli soldiers stormed the Western-Bekaa village of 'Suhmur'. They forcefully gathered the residents of the village in the village square, and opened fire indiscriminately killing 17 innocent villagers and injuring 22 others.

Thus, 'Israel' added one more barbaric slaughter to its long record of massacres committed against the Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. The last famous one was the bloody massacre of Sabra and Shatila which took place in September 1982, not to mention that of Ein El-Hilwa camp in the South.

Indeed the massacre of Suhmur marks the nervous attitude of the Israelis vis a vis the escalation of armed resistance against them in South Lebanon. Since the beginning of this year, the Lebanese National Resistance Movement has been escalating its courageous military and political actions against the Israeli occupation forces. One day before the massacre, a group of commandos attacked an Israeli military camp, south of Karoun Lake. It was reported that 15 of the enemy soldiers were killed during this attack.

The next day the Israelis sent into the neighboring Shiite village of Suhmur, more than one hundred Israeli soldiers covering their faces with red Kufiyas in order to blame the Druze for the massacre. However, they could not hide their blood stained hands for their history speaks loud of their barbaric massacres and terrorism. The Israeli enemy hopes that such retaliatory policy can stop the peoples' resistance to occupation. However, the history of both the Palestinian and Lebanese people have proved contrary to this. Their strong will and courage can only increase their resistance against the fierce enemy.

Democratic Palestine urges all peace loving peoples of the world to raise their protest against the fascist and systematic Israeli racism and terror.

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Editorial

Too many observers who are interested in the Palestinian affairs and too many friends of the Palestine Liberation Organization, did not comprehend the postponement of the 17th session of the Palestinian National Council (PNC). For both observers and friends realize that convening the PNC is a very important step to stop the paralysis of the PLO and to revive the activity and political status of the PLO in the Middle East.

This is quite true but the situation is so complicated that one cannot simplify the question by drawing a simple formula. In order to comprehend the complexities of the situation one should understand the background of the present crisis of the PLO and the democratic option to solve these problems.

Who postponed the PNC session and why?

The Yemeni President Ali Naser Mohammed paid a two days visit to Damascus (Sept. 16-18) to discuss with President Hafiz Assad the crisis of the PLO and the possibility of reconciliation between Fatah Central Committee and both the National Alliance (Saïqa, PFLP General Command, Popular Struggle Front, Fatah Opposition) and Syria. The National Alliance (NA) raised a precondition to participation: Resignation of Yasir Arafat, while the Democratic Alliance (DA) was of the opinion that this issue should be dealt with in the PNC.

President Ali Naser's talks did not produce any concrete results on that level - and he had to confer with the Algerian President Shadli Bin Jedeed on the issue since both were partners in the Aden-Algiers agreement.

The two presidents met in Algiers on September 20th, together with leaders representing Fatah Central Committee, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Palestinian Liberation Front and Palestinian Communist Party, to discuss the results of all efforts to reconcile the PLO Syrian relations. It was agreed upon during the meeting to postpone the PNC to give a chance for further efforts to pave the way for its upcoming session.

The efforts will be put by both Algeria and Democratic Yemen to convince the NA to join the comprehensive national dialogue.

The NA, so far, refuses to attend the PNC and demands Arafat's resignation as a precondition for its participation.

On the other hand the DA which has been playing an important role to unify the PLO and bridge the relations between Syria and the PLO, decided to accept this proposal to postpone the PNC and to allow more time for the efforts of Algeria, Democratic Yemen and Syria to bring the organization together in a comprehensive national dialogue.

The DA follows a policy that aims at unifying the PLO in the following lines:

First: A clear national political line that opposes the Camp David agreements and the Reagan plans in any form or shape. A political line that calls for alliance between the PLO, Syria and the Lebanese nationalist forces.

Second: Organizational reforms within the PLO allowing for the participation of all Palestinian organizations in the PLO institutions, and adherence to the principle of collective leadership and decisions.

Therefore, the DA cannot attend a PNC that does not include all organizations on one hand and antagonistic towards Syria on the other hand. Also, we oppose any calls for attending a PNC «whether it includes all organizations or not» since this will lead to further splits in the PLO.

The Palestinian struggle is in real danger now. The Jordanian regime's resumption of diplomatic relations with Egypt and the official visit of Mubarak to Amman indicate that a new alliance is being formed. The visit also indicates that Egypt, Jordan and the rightist circles in the PLO are carrying on negotiations based on the Reagan proposal. Such a step is a danger and a threat to the PLO and to the Palestinian struggle. The only way to confront such a step is to unite the PLO on the basis of the Algiers-Aden agreement and to reestablish the Syrian-PLO alliance. This is why the PLO is putting all its efforts now to pave the road for achieving the comprehensive national dialogue that will lead to the 17th session of the PNC.

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We are now trying to have *Democratic Palestine* pay a reasonable part of its production expenses. Please help us in this effort by sending the subscription fee of US\$24 for 12 issues, by check or money order, to Democratic Palestine, Box 12144, Damascus, Syria.

We apologize for the trouble we have caused some of you by changing our mode of payment. After the fact, we learned that our account in the Bank of Cyprus could not receive checks for *Democratic Palestine*. Also a few readers have sent money to the Bank of Syria, but we have no account there and cannot retrieve the money. Please do not send to any bank, but enclose your check or money order with the subscription blank in an envelope to the above address.

We do want to thank those who have managed to pay their subscription despite all these practical difficulties. However there are many readers who have not ever confirmed their address with us. If we do not hear from you by September 15, your name will be removed from our mailing list.

Palestinians in Beirut Today

Almost two years after the departure of the PLO's forces, a comrade of the staff of «Al-Hadaf», the PFLP's Arabic weekly, took the opportunity to visit Beirut. A main focus of his reporting was the situation in the Palestinian refugee camps. He interviewed a variety of people in Sabra and Shatila. He also spoke with members of popular committees, the bodies that administered the camps when the PLO was still present, and which are now being reestablished under new, more complicated conditions. In addition he interviewed some Lebanese national leaders who addressed the question of the future of the Palestinian-Lebanese relations.

It is now two years since the Sabra-Shatila massacre, the crime that unequivocally proved the genocidal aims of the entire 1982 Zionist invasion of Lebanon. Interviewed in Radio Israel, an IDF major has said of the war: «We were not concerned with capturing Palestinians as much as we were with eliminating and destroying them. There were frank orders for this, or why else all the destruction in the cities, villages and camps where the Palestinians reside?» This genocidal thinking dictated the partial destruction of three Lebanese cities: Sour, Saida and Beirut. It meant destruction of 35% of the dwellings in Burj al Shemali, 50% in Al Bas and 70% in Rashadiya, all camps near Sour in South Lebanon. Ain al Hilweh camp near Saida was totally destroyed while the camps in the Beirut area were rendered uninhabitable by bombing. Over 100,000 Palestinians were uprooted.

The Zionists' genocidal aims also meant that clear orders were given to the fascist militias to enter Sabra and Shatila after the fighters had left, and «mop up the terrorists». The Israelis' claim of «2000 remaining terrorists», which was echoed by Reagan and his associates, was exposed not only by all information and logic but by the martyrs found in Sabra and Shatila on September 18, 1982: old men, women clutching their children, babies...

The people of Sabra and Shatila were just as «terrorist» as the Salvadorean trade union activists murdered by death squads, or the Guatemalan peasants massacred by the dictator's army. To the Zionists, as to Reagan's America, the Latin

American dictatorships or the South African racists, «terrorists» are those who seek to recover their human and national rights. US imperialism's responsibility for the Sabra-Shatila massacre lies not merely in the early withdrawal of its multinational forces contingent, leaving the way clear for the Israeli invasion of West Beirut. More basically, it lies in the ultramilitaristic climate and strategy launched by the Reagan Administration on a global scale. It is this which unites and encourages fascist tendencies and state terrorism against the people of the three continents.

Two years after the Sabra-Shatila massacre, we find that the most meaningful tribute we can pay to the martyrs is to open our pages to the voices of those remaining in these heroic camps. The following interviews give a sampling of the problems faced by the camp population. Though the nationalist victory in West Beirut this past winter greatly improved the security situation of Palestinians, serious social problems remain. The interviews below define a very clear task for the PLO which must be taken especially seriously by the revolutionary democratic forces. The right-wing leadership of the PLO has not given serious consideration to the problems of the Palestinians remaining in Beirut, and the intestine fighting of the last year has only served to further distract the revolution from its obligations to the masses. Thus, as efforts to reunite the PLO on a nationalist basis advance, this must lead to serious attention being devoted to this matter.

People of Sabra and Shatila Speak Out

«The Palestinian has lost everything».

Khalil Atiyah is 19 years old; he is a construction worker and lives in Sabra refugee camp. He commented: «The social conditions in the camps are very bad, and this has affected the way of thinking and social ties even within each family». Concerning the state of education in the camps, Khalil said, «It has been set back ten years. Schools are scarce and one usually has to pay for his education. This is in addition to helping his family, since most students are sons of martyrs and have family obligations.» As for his work, Khalil noted that its continuing depended on the security situation in the camps. At any rate, jobs are scarce and not dependable. He added that after the

departure of the Palestinian resistance from Beirut, the Lebanese authorities ordered the army to impose a tight encirclement of camps. This restricted the movement of Palestinians; if anyone moved from one place to another, he was subjected to all types of insults and humiliation, such as being asked: «What are you doing in this country?» The Palestinian felt that he had lost everything. There were restrictions on his movement, work, freedom, even his life, until the February uprising (which freed West Beirut of the reactionary army's control). The uprising ended many of the problems in the camps related to employment and education. Khalil also pointed out the importance of granting the Palestinians com-

plete civil rights, particularly the right to work and move about freely, since there are many companies, organizations and workshops which do not employ Palestinians.

We asked his mother, Um Khalil, about her social conditions: «Our living conditions are terrible. When we go to get medical treatment, they don't give us any. Sometimes they ask for a paper from another official; when we bring it, they say that they aren't able to treat us.» Um Khalil adds that Gaza hospital is no longer free: «A visit would cost 100 Lebanese pounds. If my husband makes 1000 pounds monthly and we have eight children, how can we go to the hospital?»

«The Palestinian should be treated like any Lebanese citizen.»

Adeeb Ibrahim is a worker and lives in Shatila refugee camp. He emphasized the harassment to which Palestinians in Beirut are subjected from different movements, groups and the Lebanese authorities: «This is a very important matter that our leadership must discuss with those concerned, so that our youth will not be subjected to beatings or detainment inside the camps...We cannot go visit our relatives in the Beqaa Valley without being harassed. I am a Palestinian residing in Lebanon. I have a right to go to the north, south, east or west of the country. I have legal residence and should be treated like any Lebanese citizen.»

«God only knows where our next place of refuge will be.»

Lemyaa Ahmed is 20 years old and works at a factory Samed (the PLO's economic institution). She lives in the sports stadium on the edge of Shatila camp, which was heavily bombed in the 1982 Israeli invasion and where over 30 families now live in the worst conditions. Lemyaa said, «Before the 1975-76 civil war, we lived in Tel al Zaatar refugee camp (which was destroyed by the Phalangists). We left there for Damour and then to Beirut. During the invasion we came to where we now are. Only God knows where our next place of refuge will be.»

«We must organize committees to help the needy.»

Zaineb Khalil is 18 years old. She discussed the importance of devoting attention to social problems by organizing committees concerned with the most needy: those who are on the verge of starvation or who lack ability to care for themselves. She also mentioned the need to give attention to schools and to building social and cultural clubs. Describing the situation, she said: «There is no work, no security; our salaries have been cut and the PLO does not seem to be concerned. The number of missing and detained Palestinians is in the hundreds if not thousands. There is daily harassment from the authorities and different groups.»

«No work, no security, no guarantees, no freedom.»

Anxiety was plain to see on the face of a high school student who refused to give his name; he spoke about the almost total lack of social life at home or at school: «There is no security, no guarantees.» He then asked sarcastically about the guarantees agreed upon between the Lebanese government and the PLO.

Um Shehadeh is 70 years old. She lives with her daughter and has no one to support her. The different episodes of the tragedies of the Palestinian people are written all over her face. She said, «We left Nabatiyeh after the war to go to Shehim, then to Beirut. We lived in a building inhabited by

refugees. Our entire life has been torturous. This is the fate of the Palestinian people.»

«I can still envision what happened during the massacres.»

The story of Um Atiyeh, 65 years old, does not differ much from that of Um Shehadeh. Um Atiyah told how she left Tel al Zaatar in 1976 without any compensation. She went to Damour, then to Shatila after the invasion. She witnessed the Sabra and Shatila massacres. «I can still see the children, women and girls before my eyes.» After the massacres, Um Atiyah searched for a home, but found only a single room where she and her family lived for a long time. She finally left it because she could not pay the rent. Today she too lives in the sports stadium near Shatila. At the end of her talk she said bitterly: «I am an old woman but I still hold the PLO responsible for forgetting its people.»

«Killing a Palestinian became easier than killing a bird.»

Sabah Ahmed works as a seamstress in her home. She said, «Palestinian workers have great difficulty in finding a job especially as the Lebanese authorities forbid any Palestinian to work without a work permit. It is usually quite difficult to get this permit, since it costs a lot, too much for the average worker to pay.» Concerning the security situation after the departure of the Palestinian resistance, she said bitterly: «It became easier to kill a Palestinian than to kill a bird.»

Mahmoud Ali, an accountant, answered our questions by saying: «There is no security; any problem can result in the death of Palestinian youth. This in turn is due to the absence of anyone being willing to protect the Palestinians. Since the departure of the resistance, we have been humiliated. When the resistance was present, we knew where we stood and who would protect us from the Lebanese authorities, the Zionist enemy or the fascist parties.» Concerning the social conditions in the refugee camps, he said, «Our people are destitute...there are no jobs and we are constantly harassed. This has led some Palestinians to leave the area.» He added that if the revolution's structures were present, they would have provided some employment. As for UNRWA, he mentioned that there is a great deal of carelessness. The financial aid formerly granted to Palestinian refugees has been cut.

«Where is the PLO?»

We then discussed the PLO's responsibility for defending the camps, securing a livelihood for the people and guaranteeing their political and civil rights, with these same people. Everybody agreed that the PLO is absent and has relinquished its most basic obligations to its people in Beirut.

Khalil Atiyah said that the PLO should contact the Lebanese government to secure acceptable living conditions for the Palestinians in Lebanon, including freedom of movement and study. He demanded that special committees be established to seek out those families in most need. He also called for reforming popular committees to carrying out the various functions needed in the camps.

«An alternative to Tel al Zaatar must be found.»

Adeeb Ibrahim said that if the leadership of the revolution could only see how the people of Tel al Zaatar are living, they would not delay in finding a new place for them. «We wonder how the leadership can think about everything except aid to the Palestinian masses still holding out in Lebanon. Aren't the catastrophes we have faced enough to convince them of the need for this aid? People here are dying of hunger and nobody cares...Yet despite what has happened, we maintain our



Am I forgotten?

nationalist spirit, because our goal is the liberation of Palestine and the destruction of the Zionist entity.»

Um Shehadeh echoed much of what Khalil and Adeeb had said; she added; «Where is the revolution? It has not done anything despite the people's need.» Sabah Ahmed added: «It is too bad that the PLO still suffers from the effects of divisions in its ranks. This has repercussions in the camps. The PLO

bears much of the responsibility...it must correct its mistakes and positions, particularly concerning its relations with the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes.»

Mahmoud Ali mentioned that it was unfortunate that the PLO had gotten people in the habit of expecting financial help, distancing them from the revolutionary spirit. «Now the people are in great need of aid and the PLO is not present.»

Welcoming the Aden agreement, we demand its implementation»

We asked the same people their opinion of the Aden agreement between the Democratic Alliance and Fatah's Central Committee, laying the basis for reunification of the PLO on a nationalist line, to face the challenge of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction:

Khalil Atiyeh: «The Aden agreement with its political and organizational points is good. We, the Palestinian people, are very much interested in reuniting the PLO, especially after the bloody period it has passed through. Experience has shown us that what is important is application, not what is written on paper.»

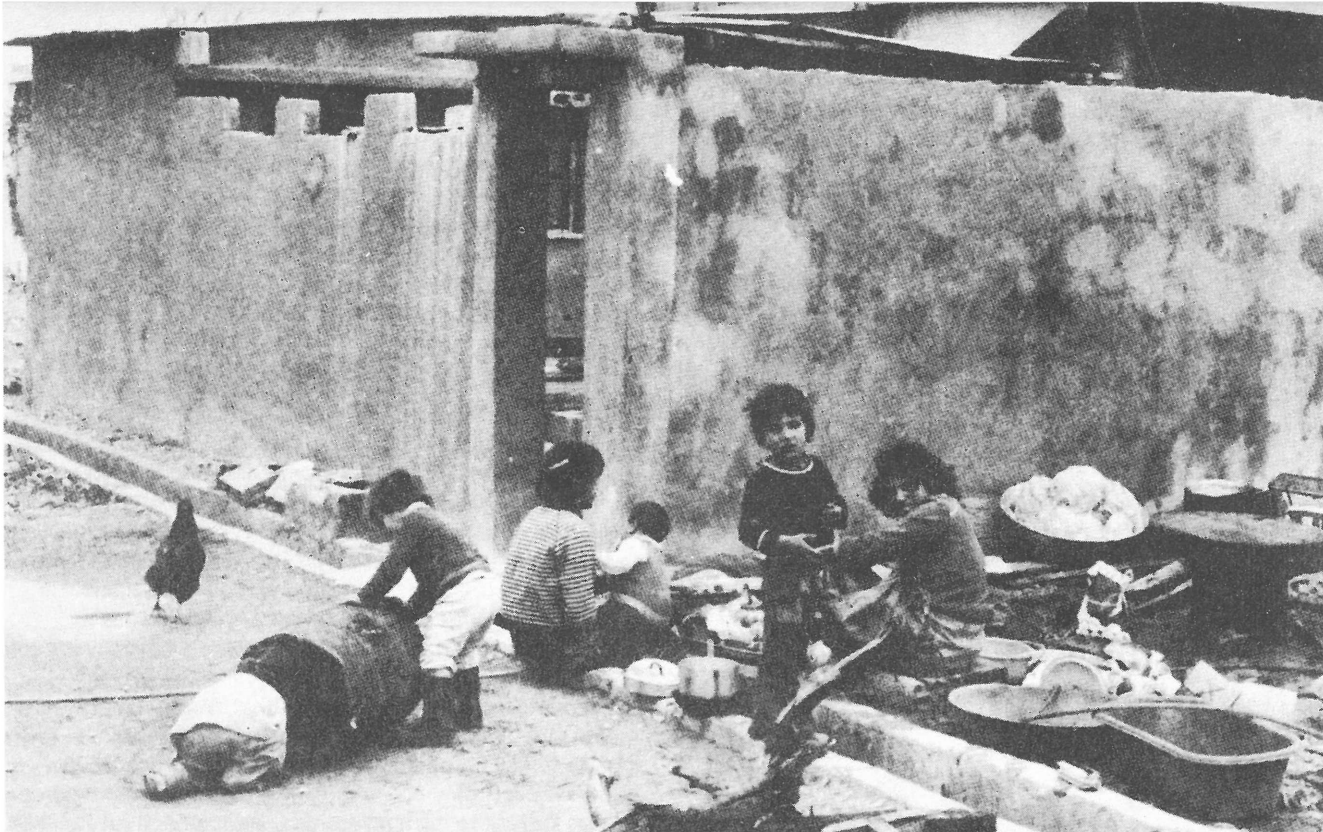
Adeeb Ibrahim: «We are with the Aden-Algiers agreement...Our support should not hide the numerous shortcomings of the PLO, particularly concerning its responsibility for our people in Lebanon. I emphasize that the most important thing is that the revolution returns united rather than scattered in Yemen, Algeria and Tunisia. We cannot fight from Tunisia or Yemen. Syria is closer to Palestine. Whoever wants to struggle to liberate Palestine must ally with the Syrians.»

MA: «We are with the agreement and we want to unite the PLO. Our people will follow any national political and organizational plan that is in the interests of the people and the homeland.»

Sabah Ahmed: «In reality any agreement based on solid national goals is acceptable to the people. What is needed now is to defeat the line of the rightist leadership and its political opportunism, while at the same time maintaining the PLO's unity.»

Mahmoud Ali: «I am for the agreement. Yet immediately after the agreement condemned Arafat, he went to Jordan. I am afraid that Arafat will allow King Hussein to represent the Palestinian people. If he does this, he will be representing only himself.»





Will they survive the coming winter?

An Open Dialogue with Popular Committees' Members

Abu Kassem, a member of the Popular Committee of the Shatila camp, spoke about the conditions of the camp and the problems facing the population. He said: «We were left in a very difficult situation. Living conditions have deteriorated, while restricting laws have increased. For example, 6 months ago, a number of people submitted applications to obtain ID cards. You know how important the ID cards are for being allowed to move around even inside the camp and for being allowed to work. But until now we are unable to get them. It is possible to get them in two hours only, if one has 70 Lebanese pounds. No exaggeration; people don't have this amount of money, because of unemployment. Now there are new rules concerning employment such as obtaining a permission to work, and the question is, who will grant us this permission? Lately piles of trash has been scattered throughout the camp. This forced a large number of our children to do the clean-up work. However, they were imprisoned, because they don't have a permission to work. The following day an armed group arrived in the camp and announced through loudspeakers: «Palestinians are not allowed to work».

What did the Palestinian organizations do concerning all this? Nothing. They have to pay more attention to their own people. Everyday we expect a massacre. I'd like to say, there are women who fought closely with the revolution. Now they have no food for their children. Frankly, they work as prostitutes. Does this satisfy Abu Ammar in Tunis or any other leader in Damascus? Finally I'd like to say, if the PLO will not pay attention to these problems, let them leave us alone, and we will act on our own.»

Abu Saleh, another member of the committee viewed the present tasks of the Popular Committee in the following way: «Presently the role of the Committee is limited to trying to solve

problems far away from anything concerning financial needs. Due to the lack of financial and moral support, our committee differs from the previous ones which were supported by all PLO organizations. We made several attempts to contact the PLO in order to solve this problem, but no results. The PLO Executive Committee does not convene, and no one else is authorized to take such decisions. Therefore all we do now is to negotiate with some forces to solve problems that occur in the camp. Moreover, the Committee tries to help in solving problems related to electricity and water. However we can only appeal to individuals for these matters. I hold all organizations, with no exception, responsible for this state we have reached. None of them are working seriously to alter the existing situation facing our masses in the camp. There are water and electricity shortages, and the Palestinian hospitals are already

Who is responsible for the Palestinian camps in Lebanon?



charging people for treatment. What did the organizations do to help? I frankly say nothing! We don't have financial means to solve them. We are seeking a solution through the PLO. So far, the PLO is not paying any attention, and the gap between our masses and the PLO is widening. We don't need speeches from the Bekaa Valley or the North. We need action. We need the revolution to resolve our problems. Honestly, our children are hungry, poverty is mounting, and employment is not available. I hold the PLO and the Department for Social Affairs responsible. It must work to find a solution for our needs. Otherwise our lives will become decadent, and people will be forced to resort to stealing. Is that what they want?

«People were left without a leader. We took the initiative and formed the Popular Committee.» This is what brother Darwish, another member of the Committee said. He also added: «In spite of the mistakes of our leadership in the PLO and all the tragedies we have suffered, our people remained steadfast, and are still proud of our leadership. We were left alone in the camps. There is no leadership, and no Popular Committees to guide the work. This existing Popular Committee was formed by our initiative. It operates with limitations and without any support. After the legitimate leadership left Lebanon, people were left without a leadership and began to work alone and spontaneously. I'd like to say that this Popular Committee has no contacts with the Palestinian leadership now, despite all our attempts. We fully understand there are difficulties facing the revolution which are negatively reflected on our political and economic conditions. We hope now that things will be corrected. The Aden agreement leaves a place for this hope. Through this we hope that the PLO will be reunited and will have one united political decision. We demand our leadership to achieve the national unity, since our strength stems from our unity. We also demand a quick solution to our problems in

Lebanon, or else we remain split. Improving our living conditions will help us remain steadfast against the enemy. The PLO in Lebanon is not playing its role. It is unable to do anything. More than that, the PLO responsables do not come to the camps to check the conditions of people here. I'd like to emphasize that we are facing a severe crisis, people are slowly losing confidence in the PLO. We hope this crisis will not be aggravated.»

In regards to the contacts with the Lebanese national forces brother Darwish commented: «Our contacts with the Lebanese national forces are diverse. The Popular Committee contacts the Amal Movement, the progressive socialists, nationalist persons and religious leaders. Our contacts are limited to requests of aid, security and protection for our people. Relations with all parties are positive. Their leadership is good. Their militias still conduct some undesired practices which in fact almost caused a disaster in Shatila Camp. However, the Popular Committee and some nationalists quickly moved to contain the problem.»

Finally brother Darwish expressed his views regarding the Aden agreement as follows: «We support the Aden agreement on the condition that it will be implemented. The Aden agreement is good, and what was agreed upon is beautiful. But we demand practical implementation. The unity of the PLO must manifest itself by its response to the dire needs of our masses. The agreement must be implemented in order to benefit us. Decisions and agreements that were not implemented are many. The unity of the PLO is our hope. It is the result of the sacrifices of the past 18 years and it should be preserved. We support what was agreed upon in Aden on the condition that it is implemented. If decisions are not implemented, they are unworthy.»

The Lebanese Nationalists' View of the Palestinian - Lebanese Relations



KARIM MRUWA; a Polit Bureau member of the Lebanese Communist Party (LCP), spoke about reformulating the Lebanese-Palestinian relations on a new basis. He said: «We, the Lebanese Communist Party, took the first initiative to specify these relations in a joint statement between the LCP and PFLP. We were accused of calling for the return of the Palestinian resistance to Lebanon openly as before. However, we emphasized that our aim was to rectify the Lebanese-Palestinian relations. This differs from calling for the return of the Palestinian resistance to Lebanon as was previously. We believe that our position regarding this matter was clearly defined in the LCP-PFLP joint statement and in our last Central Committee's report. We believe that the basis we defined for rectifying the joint relations will contribute to the advancement of the Lebanese-Palestinian national interests. Further, such basis will prevent the repetition of previous mistakes that hindered our work in the past and can threaten our national interests in the future. Here I would like to point out that the basis of the relation deals with the right of the Palestinians to struggle for their right from all Arab territories. This point we emphasized in the joint statement under two conditions: first, that the return of the Palestinian resistance would have to abandon all unnecessary open forms of operation such as offi-

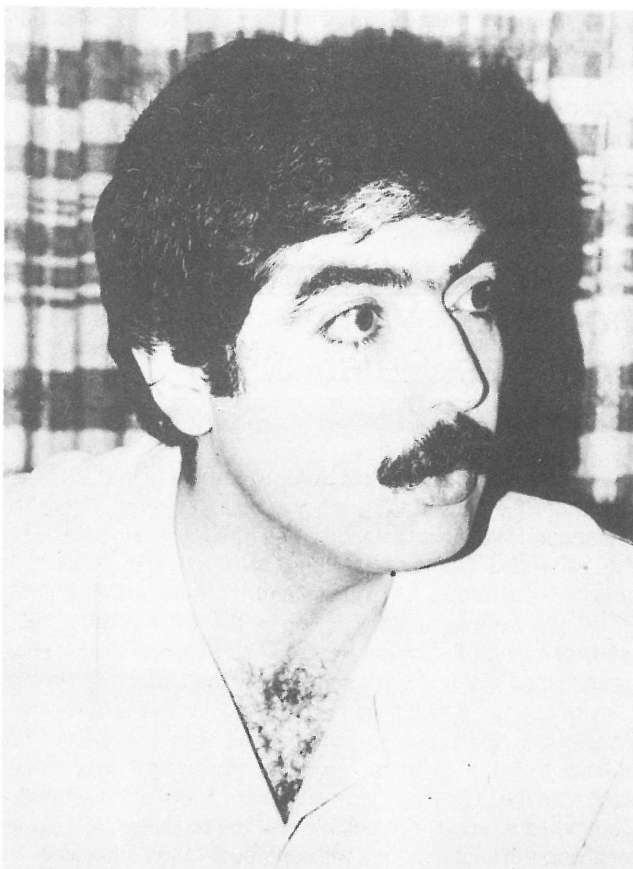
cial agreements which specify one office here and another faction there. Second, the right of the Palestinians to operate from any Arab country must be in harmony with the local national movement's political line. The Palestinians and the national forces of each Arab country must work together to eliminate any contradictions. Any defect in these two main conditions will hinder the advancement of the relation and further damage it.

In this context, I believe that the current discussion on the Cairo agreement is only taking place in the parliament. We, as Lebanese nationalist forces, are not participating in it because whether the Cairo agreement is preserved or cancelled will not change our views of the Lebanese-Palestinian relations.

We believe that the Cairo agreement is just a formality. Though among those opposing the agreement, there are some who aim at destroying the existing Lebanese-Palestinian relations, not all have this intention. Indeed, all opposition stems from different motives: some believe that the conditions that brought about the agreement have changed radically and are no longer applicable to the existing situation. Others believe that it is just a formality and it is not a question of agreement or not. This is our position since the national struggle is not determined by agreements. In our view the question is not abrogating or not abrogating the Cairo agreement as long as the

essence of the subject is determined by specific political points with a national and militant content.

In response to reopening the PLO office in Beirut, comrade Mruwa stated: «We believe that this is a right and should happen soon which I expect.» Comrade Mruwa also addressed the question of sectarian problems and repressive practices that arose after liberating West Beirut especially in the Palestinian camps. He said: «We should study the background of these problems. They definitely stem from the political tendencies declared in different times which impacted the situation. Other reasons were related to the enemy penetration of both Lebanese and Palestinian national forces. This created obstacles in establishing sound relations between the two national forces. This is not a new phenomenon but always existed to create conflicts between the nationalists. Another reason is contributed to the PLO existing split, which extends itself to the camps. Such conflicts also draw into Lebanese elements as well. In my evaluation, all these reasons were behind the problems that should be put in the proper framework. It is not in our interest to enlarge such problems. Concerted efforts were made by all to eradicate them in order not to be repeated and work to develop correct relations among brothers.



Brother Hasan Hashim, the President of the Executive Body of the Amal Movement, also addressed the question of the Lebanese-Palestinian relations from his movement's point of view. He stated: «It is incorrect to discuss the new basis for the relations between the Lebanese national forces and the Palestinian resistance as if they have ended. These relations still exist and do not need new basis. The Palestinian cause

does not only concern Palestinians, rather it concerns every Arab and muslim.» He continued, saying: «If some in previous periods had abandoned the Palestinian cause, this concerns them as individuals only. We all must work to preserve the good brotherly relations that existed between the national Lebanese and Palestinian forces. We, in Amal Movement, say that we have a great responsibility towards the Palestinians in Lebanon. However, we do this taking in consideration the particularities of the Palestinian and Lebanese situations. Today the Palestinian presence in Lebanon is not military, but rather it is civil, it is the right of the Palestinians to live in Lebanon like all Lebanese citizens.»

In regards to the discriminatory Lebanese laws towards the Palestinians brother Hashim stated: «Some practices exist which are adopted by the Lebanese authorities who discriminate against the Palestinians due to political differences. Recently I dealt with matters such as passports for Palestinians. This shows that the Lebanese authorities in particular those close to the Phalangist Party hold great antagonism towards the Palestinians. They hope that through such practices they can force the Palestinians to emigrate or give in to the Phalangist policies. We, in Amal Movement, are for terminating all laws and conditions that discriminate between Palestinians and Lebanese in Lebanon. We believe that the Palestinian presence in Lebanon is temporary which will end when the Palestinian objectives are achieved.» Regarding the sectarian practices in the camps, brother Hashim said: «I would like to clearly point out that these problems are not more than individual ones that normally can occur within the one-family or the one organization. I say that so we or others do not have illusions....We immediately responded to the problems and solved them. We in Amal have arrested some individuals who are responsible for such problems. Investigation is in process and we will take necessary measures against everyone responsible for this, be it a Palestinian or Lebanese.»

Brother Hashim also stated that: «To open a PLO office in Beirut is a right, an agreement still holds between the PLO and the Lebanese state.»



Another Lebanese leader interviewed is the nationalist parliament member Najah Wakim who had this to say: «The Palestinian cause is much older in years than the Palestinian people, the Palestinian people are greater in number than the Palestinian resistance and the Palestinian resistance is greater than any single organization. The issue of Palestine is not looked upon through the actions of an individual or any single organization. The issue here is greater than mere violations. Unfortunately, some people consider some non-nationalist positions as just violations. The Palestinian people must not be subjected to restriction. We must seek a permanent coordinating relation between the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national forces, based on one joint nationalist responsibility.»

Concerning the Palestinian revolution operating in Lebanon, he said: «We are one revolution this principle should not be put for discussion. The Palestinian movement should be rather free to do so. On the other hand, Palestinian national forces must refuse the tribal relations with any Palestinian figure. For instance Abu Ammar is bribing people to achieve his own goals and create sectarian conflicts in Lebanon. The Palestinian people must be organized. The true revolutionary organizations should not be prevented from their work but rather encouraged to move closer to the areas where Palestinian masses are found. This ought to be achieved through the coordination and dialogue with the Lebanese national forces. The true revolutionary forces in the Palestinian revolution should struggle against any wrong practices and reject any tribal practices. No one is allowed to impose tutelage on others. No one should impose security on the camps. When we have a good Lebanese state the crimes will be fought in the camp as well as all neighbourhoods of Beirut. This is a police task, the political task is the responsibility of the Palestinian revolution.»

On the question of the PLO office in Beirut, Wakim answered: «What steps did the PLO take to reopen its office? This is its right, but what had it done for it?» To what extent does this right concern it? To what extent is it really concerned about the Palestinian people in Lebanon? When the Palestinian people were subjected to the most humiliating treatment and had no jobs, what did the PLO do? Many were full time workers in the PLO. What did the PLO do for them? As conflicts intensified in the Palestinian revolution, who paid attention to the Palestinian people? I support the presence of the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon to fight. However, I would like to ask, who really remained in the PLO office in Beirut? The defeatists, the person in charge of the office fled whenever a problem arose, instead of defending the people and their rights.

If the decision to open the PLO office was mine, I would be willing to open my house for the PLO. However if the decision was with Amin Gemayel, then Abu Ammar and Abu Iyad are closer friends to him and should work to resolve it.» ●

Occupied Palestine

The Day of Um al-Fahm

Wednesday the 29th of August marked another historical day of resistance by our Palestinian masses under occupation. This was the day Meir Kahane, head of the racist extremist Kach movement decided to march into the Arab town of Um al-Fahm. Kahane and about 200 of his supporters, some of whom were armed tried to force their way in to attack the 23,000 residents of this town.

Um al-Fahm, which Kahane calls the «viper nest», is the initial target of the newly elected Knesset member, who plans to expel all Arabs from Palestine through terrorist activities. Soon after his election which gave him a parliamentary immunity for his terrorism and fascism,

Kahane renewed his plans to set up an «emigration office» in Um al-Fahm to «persuade» the residents to leave their village.

Al Fajr weekly reported in its issues of August 10, and 31 that over 10,000 Palestinians along with thousands of progressive Jews gathered in the town to prevent Kahane from entering. The protesters marched through the town which observed a general strike and gathered in the football stadium to hear solidarity speeches in support of the Arab-Jewish coexistence and against racism.

The Mayor of the town, Hashem Mahamid spoke in both Hebrew and Arabic, thanked the participants and

affirmed that Kahane would not drive the people of Um al-Fahm out of their homes. He later told *Al-Fajr*: «We name this historical day 'the Day of Um al-Fahm' in which our people achieved a great victory. This day will be commemorated by both Palestinian people and Jewish anti-fascist forces.»

Several speakers pointed out that Kahane was a symptom of a deeper Israeli social problem. Gush Emunim's Moshe Levinger, Tehiya's Geula Kohen and Yuval Ne'eman, former army chiefs of staff Rafael Eitan, Likud MK Ariel Sharon, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and former PM Menachem Begin were all castigated for their part in creating a situation where Kahane could receive ►



People and burning barricades guarded Um al-Fahm entrances

25,000 votes for an explicitly fascist policy.

The angry demonstrators raised slogans affirming their determination to fight Kahane, such as: «By length and breadth, our unity will shake the earth», «Go Kahane, Um al-Fahm is fire», «Kahane, you barbarian, go to your country America».

The demonstrators and the police clashed several times. Police threw tear gas grenades on the crowd of angry residents and stone throwers. The residents determined not to allow Kahane to enter the town alive, formed chains of people and burning barricades to guard the entrances of Um al-Fahm using their best available weapon, stones. Obviously, Kahane and his supporters were defeated and their fiercely aggressive move ended when he was taken away by the police for his «protection».

The successful resistance of the Palestinian people and their progressive Jewish supporters forced the Israeli Minister of Interior, Yosef Burg, to retreat from his earlier decision which called for the facilitation of Kahane's entrance into the village as his right arising from being a Knesset member. The people forced Burg to withdraw this decision and later call for Kahane's removal from the scene for his «safety».

The Israeli authorities later detained at least 45 residents of Um al-Fahm and surrounding villages. Many of these individuals were arrested when they went to the police headquarters in response to court summons. They were charged with stone throwing and participation in the event. Many progressive Jewish organizations and individuals also joined the Palestinians in voicing their complaints against such illegal pro-

cedures of arbitrary interrogation. Also, many pointed out that this event was another opportunity for the Israeli repressive forces to arrest political activists in general. Participants also noted the clear collaboration between the police and Kahane against Um al-Fahm residents and the anti-racist Jews who participated in the successful confrontation.

After the defeat he faced in Um al-Fahm, fascist Kahane went on to spread his venom to mixed cities of Jews and Arabs. He visited Acre, Nahariya and Ma'alot after he had been to Haifa. He is trying not just to expel all Arabs but also to destroy the concept of the possibility of Jewish-Arab coexistence. However,

in Acre he was met by Jewish-Arab demonstrators that denounced his fascist and racist practices. *Al Ittihad* of August 28th quoted Kahane's speech in Acre where he said: «After the next elections, Ariel (Sharon), Rafael Eitan and I will guarantee order in the state. When I am the Minister of Security then I will load all the Arabs on trucks and send them off to Saudi Arabia directly.»

This is the fascist Kahane and the above incidents are only the prelude to his racist and fascist threats and practices. We must be clear that this phenomena of Kahanism is part of the Zionist attitude towards the Palestinian Arabs. It is quite clear that the attitude of the government, is also Kahanism. This is the core of the problem, Kahane is not just an individual but rather a trend born from within and part of the racist expansionist Zionist ideology and practice.

The significant resistance of Um al-Fahm will not stop fascist Kahane from proceeding to other Arab villages and towns. However, the victory of this town increased and strengthened the spirit of resistance of our Palestinian masses in confronting his future aggressive fascist and racist activities.

Um al-Fahm added one more day to the history of the successful resistance of our masses under occupation and affirmed their determination to fight the Zionist racist and fascist practices.

Progressive Jewish demonstrators: «Kahane, go home, you have an American passport!»



Sabra - Shatila Military Operation

On the 18th of September the PFLP announced its responsibility for the military operation carried out on the highway leading to Keriat Arba near Hebron.

A military spokesman for the PFLP issued the following statement in Damascus: «The commando group, named 'Abu Mansour', ambushed a bus carrying Israeli soldiers at 19.00 o'clock on September 17th near Al Khader which is close to the Duhaysha camp. The group opened machine gun fire, when the bus reached Al Khader. The group also used handgrenades. The clash with the Israeli soldiers lasted for half an hour. The Abu Mansour group safely withdrew to their bases. The estimated casualties of the enemy are fifteen soldiers killed and injured.»

Col. Abu Ahmed Fouad, the military leader of the PFLP forces said on the

18th of September that the PFLP will escalate its operations in occupied Palestine, and will confront fascist and racist Israeli measures by revolutionary violence. He added that the operations will concentrate on the Israeli settlements in occupied Palestine. Also he stressed the importance of the cooperation between the PFLP forces and the Lebanese nationalist forces, and the importance of the Lebanese nationalist forces' escalating the military resistance to the Israeli occupation forces in South Lebanon.

Abu Ahmed Fouad, who is also a member of the PFLP Polit Bureau ended by saying: «Coordination and cooperation between the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese forces should increase in order to confront the possible Israeli military adventure in the region.»

Zionism by the present Israeli Minister of War, Moshe Arens. He first put his training into practice in 1947, when he threw rotten tomatoes at the British Prime Minister during the UN session on the future of Palestine.

Kahane soon left the Betar movement as a result of disagreements with its leaders. He joined another Zionist group, the Sons of Akefa. In the late fifties he went to 'Israel' and remained for a year after failing his bar (law) examination in the US. Kahane failed to adjust to life in 'Israel' and returned to the US.

Kahane and the CIA

In the early sixties Kahane met with one of his childhood friends, Joseph Shorbah (Horbah) who was also a member of Betar and a lecturer at the US Air Force Academy in Alabama. Shorbah was known for his contacts to the intelligence circles and had close relations with CIA figures. At the time of growing protest against the Vietnam war, the FBI and the CIA were quite worried about student unrest. In fact, the CIA set up a series of cover groups to counteract the anti-war movement. One of these organizations was a special consultant institute established by Joseph Shorbah and his partner Michael King. But who is Michael King? It was Rabbi Meir Kahane. While working in this «institute», Kahane not only adopted another name but claimed membership in a Christian church.

In this period, Shorbah and Kahane organized the Fourth of July Movement, named after the American independence day, to rally students supporting the US aggression in Vietnam. Kahane's main task was to penetrate Jewish student organizations opposing the war. In an interview with the US magazine *Playboy*, Kahane spoke of his experience with the CIA: «In the early sixties my friend Shorbah and I established a research institute and worked a great deal for the US administration, both the State and Defense Departments. In 1963, a US government agency asked us to conduct research on some extremist organizations, especially among right wing ones. I was asked to check on the John Birch Society.» During the short time Kahane worked in the ultraright John Birch Society, he further developed his knowledge of fascist ideology.

Kahane ended his relations with the CIA at the time when US President Richard Nixon decided to break the

A Portrait of a Zionist Fascist

Normally we would not devote much space to the details of one person's life, for in the last analysis this is not what determines the course of events. Yet in this case we make an exception to present a portrait of Meir Kahane, for his career points to some important facts about the nature of the Zionist ultraright. Kahane's life shows that, contrary to his claims, his main commitment is not to the Jewish religion or cultural values. Rather he is first and foremost a racist and a fascist, committed to serving a variety of ultraright causes.

When we deal with the fascist terror groups that have become so prevalent in the Zionist state, we immediately flash back to the long history of Zionist terror. In fact, the Zionist state was founded on fascist practices: collective expulsion and punishment, massacres, destruction and torture. The Israeli fascists of today are only a continuation of Zionism's history in Palestine. The election of Meir Kahane, founder of the rabidly racist KACH movement, to the Knesset shows that fascist tendencies are on the rise in 'Israel'.

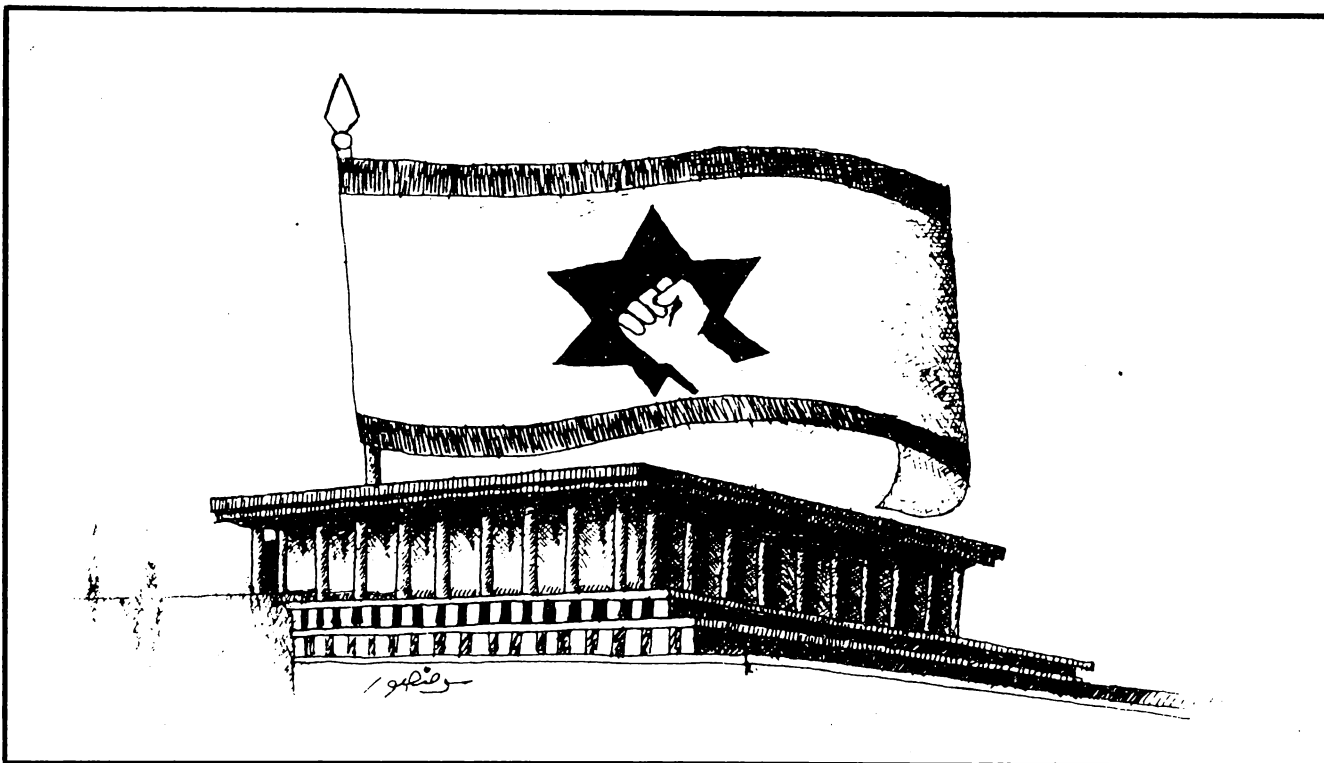
Kahane has become a focus of the Israeli and international media.

He is most often portrayed as a madman or an enigma, while in fact he is a fascist and former CIA agent who marketed

himself through US power centers to appeal to followers as a leader of Zionist politics. Meir Kahane advocates and tries to enforce an ideology and policies similar to Nazism. We dare to call him Hitler with an American-Israeli passport.

Zionist upbringing

Kahane's family was originally from Safad in Palestine, but they emigrated at the beginning of the century and crossed to the US. Meir Martin Kahane was born on August 1, 1932, in Brooklyn, New York. His father, Charles Kahane, was a rabbi who taught his son militant Zionism. Meir became a member of Betar, the Zionist youth movement associated with Jabotinsky's revisionist trend. Here he was trained in militant



stalemate in US-Soviet relations. He then associated with the Mafia, establishing contacts to the famous criminal Joe Colombo who headed a Mafia front organization: Organization for Italian American Rights. Colombo was later shot to death in a Mafia dispute. Kahane was standing beside him but was not hurt. The media, however, picked up on the relationship and this caused some friction between Kahane and the US authorities.

The KACH movement's finances are kept secret. Kahane solicits the bulk of his funds in the US, but the sources are not published. One cannot rule out that he still receives CIA funds for his activities.

Terror - from New York to Palestine

In 1968, Kahane took advantage of the increased militarism generated in the Zionist community by the 1967 war and occupation, to establish the Jewish Defense League, the fascist style organization based in New York. Aside from threat letters to leftists championing the Palestinian cause, the JDL is most noted for its bomb attacks on the Soviet mission. The rationale for such attacks is to protest restrictions on the emigration of Soviet Jews, but such actions also fall neatly in line with recurring anti-communist campaigns launched by the US itself.

In the same period Kahane wrote a book entitled *Never Again*, the Zionist version of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Here he formulated the theory justifying the need for violence to enforce Zionist aims. According to Kahane, Jews everywhere in the world are facing another extermination attempt, this time by joint US-Soviet collaboration (*sic*). In the face of this supposed threat, he claimed that the existing Jewish organizations had become corrupt and betrayed their people. On the other hand, he presented himself as the saviour, a descendent of the Maccabees and other heroes from past Jewish history.

In 1969, Kahane again went to 'Israel' and became one of the founders of the extremist newspaper, *Jewish Press*, which is still in operation. More important, only days after his arrival he initiated a new movement in Jerusalem called *Doof*, which in Hebrew means *repressing the traitors* (a reference to fellow Jews including Zionists who are «too soft» according to Kahane's standards). One of the movement's main slogans was «A clenched fist from within David's shield», the same used by the Jewish Defense League. This movement is KACH's origin.

On his second immigration to 'Israel', Kahane was accompanied by a small number of followers from the USA. He received much attention and was considered a nationalist figure among right-wing circles. He chose the univer-

sity grounds as his first battlefield on which to attack Palestinian Arabs and Jewish leftists. The Israeli government overlooked his terrorist activities until he was caught in the act of shipping weapons to the JDL in September 1972. Yet he has never been tried for this incident.

In the late seventies, Kahane initiated a series of activities attesting to his adoption of the Nazi slogan: «The fist and the gun». In February 1979, Kahane organized 30 of his followers to violently disrupt a meeting on Jewish-Arab Brotherhood, held in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. After this, Uri Avneri, editor of *Haolam Hazeh*, who was attending the meeting, shouted «Hail, Hitler». Six months later Kahane carried out a revenge operation against the magazine's office. He arrived carrying the bloody head of a camel as a punishment for the editorial board's positions against terrorism.

In May 1980, Kahane and his deputy, responsible for operations in the US were arrested and detained for six months. One of the main reasons for their imprisonment was the large amount of weapons possessed by KACH and stored throughout 'Israel'. Since the two were the main contacts to the US from whence KACH draws its funds, some thought the organization would be greatly weakened. However, the opposite has proved to be the case. With the steady shift to the right in the

Zionist society, Kahane and KACH have gained more and more prominence. Their arms supplies have hardly diminished since it is known they are deeply involved in the terrorist underground responsible for so many attacks on Palestinians.

When Kahane was released from jail, he capitalized on the impending withdrawal from the Sinai to promote his ideas and movement. His followers gathered in a hotel in the Sinai dubbed «The Suicide Hotel» and participated in the mock battle between the Israeli authorities and the settlers who refused to withdraw. The situation gave Kahane a golden opportunity to speak about the softness of the authorities and promote the idea of need for a more radical, i.e. fascist leadership.

One more terrorist among Israeli officialdom

All this time Kahane had also been trying to gain a place within the official institutions of 'Israel'. For this purpose, his movement was transformed into a political party, called KACH, in order to run for the Knesset and use it as an additional platform for his ideas. Kahane ran for the Knesset three times before he

was able to attain a seat. In 1973, he received only 1,281 votes; in 1977, he received 4,396 and in 1981 he gained 5,128 votes. This year his support skyrocketed to over the 25,000 minimum votes required for a Knesset seat. Kahane's victory at the polls is one indication of the rise of overt fascism in the Zionist entity.

The similarities between Kahane and Hitler are not a mere coincidence. Kahane calls for the implementation of racist laws against Arabs similar to the laws enacted against Jews in Nazi Germany. He openly advocates the expulsion of all Arabs from 'Israel' and the 1967 occupied territories. Leaflets are distributed with contents that mirror the racist demagoguery espoused by Hitler in the twenties and thirties: «Go out you Arabs», «The Israeli people are alive» and «Death to the traitors»; these are not much different than Hitler's: «Go out you Jews», «Rise up Germany» and «The government is treacherous».

A leading member of KACH, who considers Kahane too «moderate», expressed his views on how KACH should be organized as follows: «The movement should organize a group of individuals operating in a way like the

Black Shirts functioned in Mussolini's army.» (In August 1921, Mussolini founded fascist fighter units in the party and provided the members with black military outfits.) Kahane took the advice on the shirts, only modifying the colors to black and yellow, the color which the Nazis made the Jews wear.

Further, this leading member of KACH elaborated on the function of the group, stating that: «It should be able to destroy the state's institutions in order to enact a coup d'etat. The KACH movement should have a group that works openly and a clandestine group that uses violent means to expel the Arabs from Israel and the occupied territories immediately.»

This way of working is characteristic of fascist and neofascist groups: A political organization that attempts to strengthen its positions within the state structure and laws, and at the same time a secret organization aiming at reaching their goals by means of terror, violence and crimes.

For several years now, the Zionist state has been experiencing a constantly aggravated political, social and economic crisis. Just as fascism arose in Germany in the context of the economic crisis of the twenties, the crisis in 'Israel' has provided a climate for the growth of fascist trends and organizations, like KACH, Gush Emunim and Tehiya. It is typical for fascist forces to try to show the masses that the prevailing social and economic problems are not related to the state structure and economy, but are rather caused by «the enemy within» - a social or ethnic group that can be made out as a scapegoat. The Jews in Germany were blamed for the problems of the German people. In 'Israel' the Palestinian Arabs are singled out as the cause of the Zionist state's problems. With this line of thinking, Kahane and other racists call for mass expulsion of the Arabs - the final solution, as Hitler envisioned for the Jews. To this end, ultraright Zionists call for a «strong leader» to reorganize the whole social structure, in this case presupposing the murder and expulsion of the unwanted population. This is the essence of racism and fascism. The concept of a pure Jewish state upon which 'Israel' was founded provides fertile ground for such fascist tendencies to flourish.

Note: Most of the facts about Kahane presented in this article were printed in «Haolam Hazeh», and then published in Arabic by Dar El Jaleel Publishing and Press Agency in Amman, Jordan. ●

Kahane's followers in their uniforms



Will there be Security?

In early July the line dividing fascist-controlled East Beirut from nationalist West Beirut was ostensibly erased. The Lebanese government implemented the first phase of its security plan, deploying army units on both sides. This had its positive consequences: The airport reopened, and residents of West Beirut have since been spared the murderous bombardments from the fascist side. There were also drawbacks: West Beirut was once again laid open to the fascists' favorite 'peacetime' device - the car bomb. A serious explosion occurred on August 19th, in a busy street of Basta, a working class neighborhood not far from the former dividing line; three were killed and 25 wounded. Most basically the causes of the conflict and the grievances of the people remained untouched: Political reform is still being delayed; most poignantly thousands of missing persons remain unaccounted for, and their relatives continue to demonstrate for their return.

Efforts to extend the security plan to other areas has further dramatized the problems of national reconciliation with fascist forces. The security plan adopted by the Lebanese cabinet on August 8th, calls for wiping out the confrontation lines that exist in the Shouf mountains where the nationalist forces, here chiefly the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), face the Phalangists and army units. The plan calls for deployment of the Lebanese Army on the Beirut-Damascus highway and on the coastal highway north and southwards from Beirut. Obviously, the Zionist occupiers are also opposed to the new plan. Deploying the Lebanese Army on the coastal road southwards would create a whole new situation. The frequent Israeli incursions over the occupation lines would no longer be ushered in by the fascists.

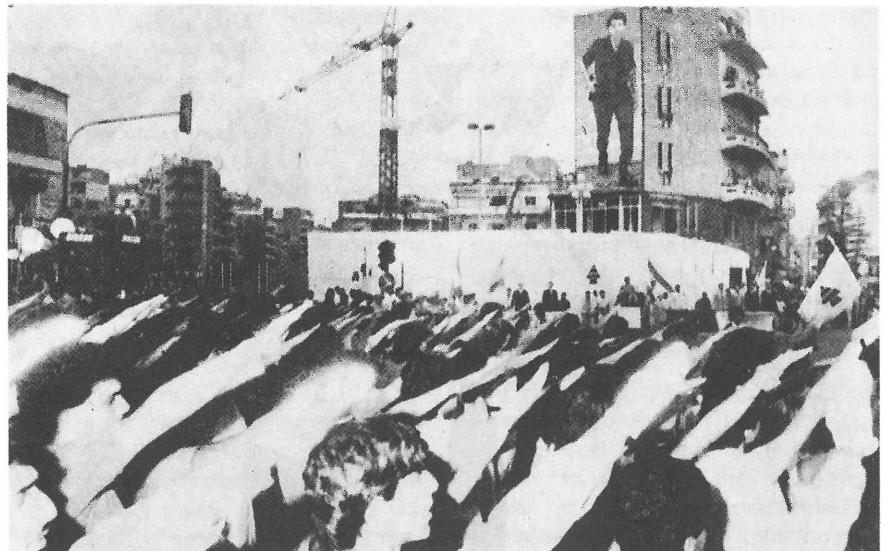
Even drawing up the security plan proved difficult. The original plan called for army deployment in the Shouf, where the nationalist fighters had displaced the fascist forces in last year's September mountain battle. It left aside the Phalangist-controlled strips of the coastal highway. The two nationalist ministers Berri and Jumblatt objected strenuously, and renewed fighting between the PSP and the Phalangists in the hills south of

Beirut forced revision of the plan. Since August 8th when the cabinet adopted a new version of the security plan for the army to take over the fascist-controlled stretches as well, events have converged to expose the fascists' determination to block the plan's implementation. In mid-August fighting in the hills south of Beirut escalated radically. A top aide of Syrian President Assad then visited Lebanon to confer with Amin Gemayel and Prime Minister Karami on ending this battle in the interests of implementing the overall security plan. At this very time, there 'happened to be' a new outburst of fighting in Tripoli. As heavy battles raged in Tripoli, a helicopter crashed in North Lebanon; all the passengers were killed, including Lebanese Army Chief of Staff, Major General Nadim Hakim. It was first reported that the helicopter crashed into a mountain in the prevailing fog. However, eyewitnesses said that the helicopter had exploded in mid-air before falling into the mountain. This is one of the many indications that the fog did not cause the crash but served as a cover for a special operation mounted by the fascists. Hakim was not among the many pro-fascist army officers. He was a Druze who resigned his post in September 1983 when the army was set against his people in the mountains. He

had reassumed his post in the context of the attempt to rebuild the army under the Karami government and served in the six-man military council designed to end the army commander's monopoly on power. At this time in particular, the Phalangists have obvious motives for such an act: They wish to weaken nationalist controls on the army or to foil the new security plan altogether. Walid Jumblatt was clearly convinced of fascist involvement through official channels, for he refused the presence of Amin Gemayel and his condolence flowers at Hakim's funeral.

The most recent visit of Amin Gemayel to President Assad of Syria aimed at strengthening Syria's role in implementing the security plan especially in the mountain area. Syria stands firm on its support to help Lebanon regain its security and stability. However, the Syrian efforts are obstructed by the fascists, Phalangists and the isolationist Lebanese forces. Obviously these forces will not accept any plan that does not guarantee them full control of Lebanon. Yet, the Phalangists and isolationist forces have not openly rejected the security plan but rather have been selective in their compliance. They have ridiculed the idea of the army deployment on the coastal highway. They refuse to give up their lucrative

On the second anniversary of Bashir Gemayel's election as Lebanon's President, the Phalangist Party held a ceremony featuring the recruitment of 1000 new members. While we seriously doubt this tremendous swelling of the party, this picture from the ceremony bears witness to the fascists' ongoing aggressive mobilization.



checkpoint at Barbara, 37 km. north of Beirut, where they levy taxes on all lorries entering from the nationalist-controlled North. South from Beirut, they are unwilling to give up their direct link with the Israeli occupation forces. They also refuse to accept the fact that the plan goes hand in hand with the nationalists' demands of political and social reforms.

The Phalangists and Isolationist forces' real position vis a vis the plan is one of maneuvering. They are trying to manipulate it in such a way that can obtain for them the maximum amount of concessions from the nationalists while

they themselves offer none. Also, Amin Gemayel himself is not far from this maneuvering position especially after the death of his father, the head of the Phalangist Party. He certainly hopes to be the replacement of his father some years ahead. This ambition requires him to prove his good intentions and that he pursues the phalange class interests diligently. This means that Amin Gemayel would have to prove that he is not a man of concessions.

The Lebanese nationalist forces are confronting such maneuvers with a firm stand from within the government as

well as outside channels. A series of exclusive ministerial meetings are now in progress. The discussions will be mainly around the nationalists' demands of achieving the political and social reforms along with the implementation of the security plan. A compromise may be reached at these meetings. But it is quite doubtful that a real and lasting solution can be reached at this time. Hence, we do not exclude the possibility of new rounds of fighting which may even be on a large scale.

...And the Rivers Don't Run Free

In a recent interview, «Al Fajr» correspondent asked an Israeli youth working at a kibbutz on the West Bank, where the Arabs were supposed to be. The youth, who claimed not to have anything against the Arabs, pointed to the barren desert outside the kibbutz and said, more bitterly true than probably intended: «Look, there is plenty of room for all of us». The Zionist policy has been to either expel the Arab population to the desert, or by diverting most of the water to their settlements and putting draconian restrictions on Arab use of water, turning Arab land into desert. Access to and control of water has figured as a primary strategic factor from the beginning of the Zionist project, through wars and occupations, to the latest Israeli attempt to divert water from rivers in occupied South Lebanon.

Recently Minister of State for South Lebanon, Nabih Berri stated that 'Israel' has «carved out» chunks of Lebanese territory near the Israeli border, including parts of the Wazzani river. The Lebanese government has asked the United Nations Forces in South Lebanon to investigate a report stating that 'Israel' has fenced out a Lebanese creek flowing into 'Israel'. Timur Goksel, a spokesman for the UN Forces in South Lebanon, has confirmed that Prime Minister Rashid Karami's government has made this request. Goksel, however, said that UN observers have not yet been able to check the report because 'Israel' has refused to allow them to enter the area in question. On Monday, July 13th, the Beirut newspaper *Al Safir* said the Israelis recently moved their border forward «3 to 5 kilometers» and fenced off parts of the Wazzani creek. The newspaper added that the Israelis had prevented residents of Tal Nahhas village from returning to their homes in the reportedly fenced off area. Already in 1980 UN observers reported that the Israelis erected a fence one kilometer north of the border, an area which included two rivers. That area was near the village of Wazzani which lies on the Lebanese side of the borders facing Syrian Golan Heights. 'Israel' occupied the Golan Heights in 1967 and later annexed it. The small Wazzani creek flows into the Hasbani river which rises in Lebanon and flows south into the Golan and eventually to the Jordan River of which 'Israel' occupied the West Bank also in 1967. The new fence, reported *Al Safir*, would appear to be an extension of the 1980 fence.

Through the last two years Israeli spokesmen have constantly denied that 'Israel' attaches any importance to the water resources in Lebanon, Syria or elsewhere. Comments from 'Israel' and its proxy in South Lebanon, the Lahad army, on the question of the Wazzani river have been contradictory.

According to Reuters an officer in the Lahad army stated that the fence in question had been dismantled at the request of Antoine Lahad who believed it violated Lebanese sovereignty. An Israeli spokesman in Tel Aviv however said that the fence was part of a road repair project. Without explaining whether they were describing this interesting new Israeli method of repairing roads, Reuters explained that a line of holes indicated that the Israelis had intended to extend the fence at least two kilometers further northwards towards another spring that feeds into another river.

It does not seem as if the Israelis have stopped their 'engineering'. On August 14th, the Israeli daily *Haaretz* revealed a plan prepared by the Israeli authorities to pump the Hasbani river waters to Israeli territories. Israeli engineers have worked out a plan to obtain Hasbani river waters from the point where the river passes in occupied Syrian Golan Heights. Hasbani waters, the paper added, will be used to generate electricity as the water of the Lebanese river comes down from the Syrian Golan Heights to Lake Tiberias. On Wednesday, August the 22nd, Secretary General of the Arab League, Al Chadli Qlibi, said that new reports from South Lebanon stress «Israel's» covetousness of South Lebanon's water resources particularly those of the Litani river.

How the Israelis got «their» water

Even excluding their usurpation of Palestine and its water, the Israelis mainly got «their» water by gunpower, pressure, intimidation, occupation and theft. Already in 1919 they realized that the area around the Mount Hermon, the closeby headwaters of the Jordan river and the Litani were where 'Israel' could and should obtain water. For a long time they studied how to exploit a dam on the Hasbani river and the pos-

sibilities of diverting the headwaters of the Jordan southwards to 'Israel'.

After the 1967 June war, the Israelis immediately placed much of the Mount Hermon basin and the entire West Bank under their control. This enabled 'Israel' to divert most of these fresh waters to irrigation in 'Israel' and to their settlements in the Jordan Valley, leaving mostly the saline drain waters to be discharged from Lake Tiberias into the river's natural channel. They conquered the Yarkow and the Crocodile - the sources of up to 40% of the water used in 'Israel'. The Golan's own water resources are not significant, but the commanding position of the Golan over the Mount Hermon basin and the Jordan headwaters secured 'Israel' 400 million cubic meters of water for use elsewhere. This amount roughly coincides with the increase in Israeli water consumption since the mid 60s.

In the 1967 war 'Israel' captured the Banias in Syria and set the stage tactically and geographically for its later push into Lebanon to seize the Litani river, finally carried out in June 1982. By the end of its temporary incursion of 1978 into South Lebanon, 'Israel' controlled all the Jordan headwaters including the Wazzani, and had placed Major Haddad's militia men in charge of the other aquifers, springs and rivulets which either feed into 'Israel' or can be made to do so.

This vast amount of stolen water matches some of the ambitious aspirations of the Zionist movement in 1919. In fact, the two blue lines of the Israeli flag symbolize the Nile and the Euphrates, the Zionist state claims that this area definitely belongs to «Eretz Israel».

The constant Israeli water shortage

The constant Israeli water shortage cannot be understood without relating this to the nature of the Israeli state. The settlement policy, another word for expansionism, drives it continuously to seek more water and more resources generally.

Geographically speaking, occupied Palestine represents a point of transition between the relatively moist climate of Lebanon and the arid conditions of the Negev and the Sinai deserts. The country's water resources are not manifold and 85% are concentrated north of Tel Aviv. However, at the time 'Israel' was established in 1948, water usage stood at 350 million cubic meters, just over 20% of estimated capacity. At the moment 'Israel' is using 95% of its potential capacity, the potential in this case including the stolen waters from the above mentioned areas. 'Israel' uses about 5 times as much water as its neighbouring countries.

The Israeli colonization plan for the Golan envisages a population of 50,000 by 1985 consuming 46 million cubic meters of water yearly - a 300% increase over the total consumption which had supported a Syrian population twice that size in 1967 (93% of the 100,000 Syrians in the Golan were expelled to Syria in 1967).

According to Israeli authorities domestic consumption needs will rise between 500 and 700 million cubic meters per year over the next decade. Since present resources are fully exploited and technological alternatives are too expensive to contemplate on a large scale in this time span, the Israelis will either have to steal water from beyond its present borders, or shift a third of the amount of water now used in the agricultural sector to domestic and municipal consumption. Considering the effects of the deep Israeli economic crisis and the nucleus of Israeli policy being settlements and kibbutzim, there is no way they can consider such a shift. So where is all the water going to come from?

The Litani

When confronted with accusations of attempting to steal waters from the Litani, Israeli leaders as Ariel Sharon have tried to show lack of interest, referring to the river as «barely a trickle». Yet if 'Israel' starts to divert Litani water, Lebanese water engineers estimate they could take about 100 million cubic meter a year (from the 700 million cubic meters the «trickle» produces). This would meet current Israeli water needs. This could be done by diverting Litani water through a tunnel bored from the Israeli side, passing almost directly under the Lebanese village Kfar Kela and emerging deep in the Litani gorge below Deir Mimas, just before the river bends westwards. To secure this diversion, 'Israel' would have to stay in Lebanon, and hold at least the entire Beka'a valley south of the Damascus road to protect Lake Karaoun from attacks and preempt Lebanese use of the water.

Too far-fetched? Zionist history is full of examples proving that Zionist rulers did not consider the idea 'far-fetched' at all. For instance Moshe Sharret, former Israeli Prime Minister, noted in his diary in 1955 «According to him (Moshe Dayan) the only thing that is necessary is to find an officer, even just a major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money,

Children splash in a main water source in Al Ouja village, occupied Palestine



Women collect water from the spring at Ain Arik village, occupied Palestine. Palestinian health professionals charge the military government with not securing running water to the villages or most of the West Bank towns, and instead making it immediately available to the new Jewish settlements constructed in the midst of Arab areas.



The disease ridden style of sewage disposal found in most West Bank and Gaza Strip refugee camps/SF photo

to make him agree to declare himself the saviour of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, will occupy the necessary territory and will create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southwards will be totally annexed by Israel» (from «Israel's Sacred Terrorism» by Livia Rokach). The creation of the Haddad - now the Lahad - militia was the first step in the realization of that idea, the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the fulfillment, though 'Israel' did not succeed in creating its allied Christian regime in Lebanon. 1983 was flooded with eyewitness reports stating Israeli attempts to make use of the Litani waters. As usual, UNIFIL forces were prevented from confirming or denying the reports, as Saad Haddad had denied them passage to the area, because 'Israel' had declared the Khaldali area a «military zone» and blocked all civilian access to it.

Any connection to the recent Israeli fencing of the Wazzani/Hasbani rivers? It would be possible to divert the Hasbani river and so also the Wazzani into the Litani, and with a bit of work divert the Litani river waters into 'Israel'. And as Reuters stated, the Israelis had made engineering work which seemed to aim directly to «another river». If the Israelis lack any scruples about international laws, this could easily be done. So far Israeli politics have not been marked by any scruples in this respect.

'Israel' has jumped quickly and boldly from one Arab river to the next implementing their «water sharing policy» as they call it as quickly as possible.

Consequences of Israeli «water sharing»

It is impossible to cover all the consequences of Israeli so-called water sharing even in a fairly large book, the subject is apt for a doctorate thesis. Even when using the West Bank as an example, we are far from covering the topic, we are just giving a few examples. Israeli policy is designed to ensure water for the Israeli settlements. «The Arabs in Judea and Samaria will not get more water than they have today», Moshe Dayan remarked in the course of negotiations with the US over Israeli «autonomy» proposals. Water Commissioner Ben-Meir has insisted that even joint administration of the West Bank water under «autonomy» is not enough. 'Israel', he maintains, must retain sole control over water sources and even have a say in any Arab immigration to the West Bank. Virtually no deep drilling is permitted to the Palestinians there, and the deep drilling of the Israeli authorities dries up the wells of the Palestinians. Since the occupation 12 Palestinian irrigation wells have run dry, while many others, especially in the Jordan Valley, are plagued by a declining water table and increased salinity. Since the occupation began, not a single Palestinian village has received permission to drill a well for irrigation. Irrigation wells have been metered and stiff fines imposed on Palestinians who exceed posted limits. Settlements are of course not restricted. Early in the occupation the Israeli army destroyed some 140 Palestinian water pumps in the Zor strip along the Jordan River. When the American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) program offered to replace dirty canals with pipes in one area in order to double the efficiency of water use, permission was refused. In the Jordan Valley the Israeli water plan calls for an eventual total of 36 wells which will extract half of the available ground water in the eastern drainage for the 23 settlements. This at a time where the several thousand Palestinian inhabitants are threatened by ever dwindling water supplies.

Statistics don't bleed, but people do. Lack of running water in the Palestinian villages is a major reason for the high infant mortality of the Palestinian population in the West Bank (29.1% of 1000 live births). The lack of running water forces the population to cut water for washing the children and cleaning the food. The Palestinians depend largely on spring water, and local scientists have yielded results showing serious contamination in the sources of natural water. Palestinian health professionals charge the military government with not securing running water to most of the Palestinian villages and towns, while making it available for the new Jewish settlements constructed in the midst of Arab areas. Many Palestinians, faced with the situation of lacking even drinking water, can see Jewish settlers a few miles away happily swimming in modern swimming pools.

It is not a question of seeing the writing on the wall, the warning is engraved in the lived reality on the West Bank, Gaza and Golan, and the Israelis do not at all seem to want to treat the population of South Lebanon any better than they have treated the Palestinians and Syrians. There can be little doubt that the only way of securing Lebanese waters is to throw the Israelis out. Hence the armed struggle and resistance must continue in order that the people and their resources can be freed from Zionist exploitation and occupation.

Additional sources:

Joe Storke, «Water and Israel's Occupation Strategy», *MERIP Report*, July-August 1983.

John Cooley, «The Hydraulic Imperative», *Al Fajr*, August 5, 1983.

Jordan

The Labor Force Dilemma

The recent international conference on population held in New Mexico hosted many celebrities, among them Queen Nour of Jordan.

The Queen expressed her great sorrow and deep concern, because of the poor living conditions that prevail in the «third world». She called on all conferees to provide their people with better living conditions. The Queen went on to ask with great pain: «Is it the fate of the workers to keep on moving forever, searching for employment and better living conditions? How long are they going to keep running after unfixed wages?»

The Queen obviously «forgot» to mention that her concerns were exactly what the Jordanian workers are facing. In fact, in the Arab world Jordan rates second after Egypt in terms of workers' emigration.

The following study examines «the fate» of the Jordanian workers, highlighting that the severe situation is caused by the deliberate policy of the Jordanian regime which Queen Nour represents!

The most recent official statistics indicate that the population of Jordan is 2,964,662.¹ According to the Unified Arab Economic Report of 1983, Jordan's total labor force numbered 1,476,000 in 1982. Among them the male and female workers, numbered 430,000 or 30% of the total labor force.² On the other hand, there were 74,588 public employees.³

Such a labor force demands that the government provides work opportunities, which in turn would enable the building of a national economy. The productivity of such a work force could deci-

sively affect the socio-economic conditions in Jordan and play a major role in confronting the Zionist enemy and its expansionist plans which extend beyond the Jordan River (which separates the occupied West Bank of Palestine from Jordan). However we see that the Jordanian regime gears its economy contrary to this nationalist line. The government does not work to strengthen the role of the productive sectors in the gross national product (total value of commodities produced and services provided in the country). Instead it continuously and noticeably retards the productive sector. Instead of depending on the domestic work force and benefiting from the degree of stability attained in the seventies, the regime has used all possible methods and pressure to force workers to emigrate. The regime has collaborated with the employers and claimed that it was impossible to implement social security and health plans, or to improve wages and working conditions. This has resulted in a clear trend: emigration of the work force, especially to the Gulf states.

The underlying cause of this policy is indeed political. The Jordanian regime obviously encourages emigration in order to lessen internal social and political pressures.

This policy remains in force despite Jordan's objective need for this labor force. There have been great opportunities after the economic upswing that



followed the increase in oil prices in 1973, the increased aid from oil-producing countries and the relocation to Jordan of the regional headquarters of many companies and industrial complexes after the civil war in Lebanon. An additional factor is the Iran-Iraq war which has increased Iraq's demand for Jordanian products.

Normally these new factors would have opened great work opportunities but, on the contrary, the emigration of workers has increased while the immigration of expatriate workers to Jordan has risen. A study published by the Royal Scientific Society regarding the Jordanian labor force indicated that in 1983, the number of Jordanians working outside the country totaled approximately 305,000, according to the Ministry of Labor. Most of these are working in the Gulf states. In the same year, there were 125,000 non-Jordanians working in Jordan, of which 89.6% were Egyptians.⁴ The number of expatriate workers has continued to rise. For example, non-

Jordanians now constitute half of the 4,500 workers in Jordan's ports.⁵

The two sides of this issue - the emigration of Jordanian workers and the immigration of non-Jordanian workers - clearly reveal that this situation is the result of a planned policy in accordance with the regime's political, security and economic considerations. The Jordanian regime aims at forcing the largest number of the country's workers to emigrate in order to achieve a number of results, chiefly:

1. To disperse the working class and its vanguard forces in order to weaken its ability to confront the regime's corrupt policies on the social, economic and political levels. Related to this, to make it impossible for the working class to organize and prepare to struggle for the social, economic, political and union rights which have been violated regularly.

2. To remove the largest possible number of citizens from Jordan which is potentially a main arena for confronting

the Zionist enemy. This should reduce the mass pressure on the regime to adopt a nationalist position opposing the US imperialist and Israeli policies, for this would definitely be contrary to the regime's class structure and interests.

3. To gain additional income for the country through remittances (the money which those working abroad send back to their families). This money is channeled into service projects that strengthen the existing corrupt structure. Also the regime benefits from this money when it is deposited in banks, for it can then be invested in new projects that serve the regime's interests.

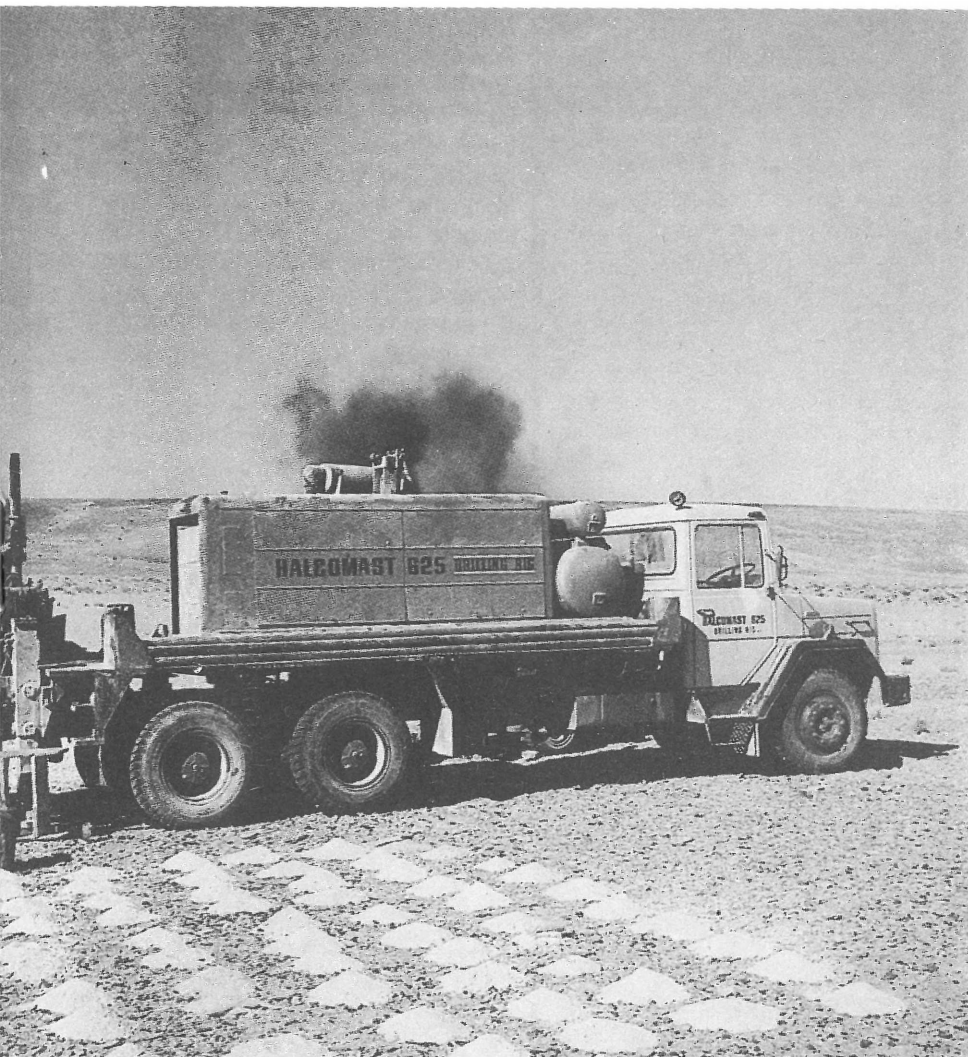
4. To assist other reactionary regimes with their labor crisis: Jordan exports labor to countries where there is a shortage, like the Gulf states, and imports labor from countries, such as Egypt, where there is a surplus.

Workers - an import-export commodity for the regime

For more than a decade, the number of Jordanian workers emigrating has been on the rise, as has the number of expatriate workers entering Jordan. The number of Jordanians working abroad jumped from 250,300 in 1980, to 305,000 in 1983. Parallel to this was the doubling of expatriate workers in Jordan, from 61,300 in 1982, to 130,000 in 1983. This figure obviously points to the dire need for workers in Jordan. This then raises the question of why and to whose benefit does the Jordanian regime force native workers and qualified personnel to emigrate, substituting expatriate labor.

Jordanian officials claim that Jordan benefits from labor emigration due to the remittances sent back to the country. They fail to admit that this money is not utilized for production or development projects. This is not the only fact that exposes the falsity of the claims made by Jordanian officials concerning the 'benefits' of labor emigration. A quick glance at statistics shows the real extent of this trend: 50% of those working in production are expatriates, as are 60% of construction workers. Non-Jordanians constitute 52% of the total population of the Irbid province which is Jordan's agricultural center; from this figure one can infer that a large majority of the agricultural labor force is imported.

The Jordanian Labor Ministry has tried to justify this trend by attributing it to three main factors that have been pressuring the labor market since 1974:



1. Jordan's policy of adopting development plans, which led to increased need for labor.

2. The inability of institutes to adopt vocational training programs at a fast enough pace to fill this need.

3. The foreign contractors from more developed countries that are in charge of Jordanian projects prefer to hire cheap expatriate labor.

Though we are not dealing with the Jordanian economy as a whole, we can at least point out that the first reason given is patently false:

The development plans referred to have not led to any real growth for the country. Rather for over a year now, the regime has been adopting austerity measures. Also the present plan for the period of 1980-85 is threatened with failure according to some economic observers.

The second and third reasons given are only the results of the government's economic policy which entails dependence on the capitalist countries in

implementing any projects, and neglecting the development of indigenous capabilities. The other side of this is the regime's failure to establish viable relations with the socialist countries. Of course, this policy is in line with the Jordanian comprador which works hand in hand with foreign capitalist companies to plunder the country's resources.

Deflecting class and national struggle

The Jordanian General Workers Union has demanded that the government put limits on the import of labor. This led the government to decide quotas whereby Jordanians should be 25% of construction workers and 50% of workers in production. This however was never implemented. Moreover, such quotas obviously do not resolve the essence of the problem. Rather this decision was intended to passify the Jordanian workers in order to avoid exposure of the regime's real intention in hir-

ing expatriate labors at the expense of Jordanians. Still, discontent persists among the Jordanian working class which faces the competition of cheap imported labor. This has led to a drop in wages, which of course pushes more Jordanian workers to emigrate. Further, it led to a real unemployment problem that has hit not only laborers but also professionals. Recent statistics released by the Union of Jordanian Engineers indicate that the number of unemployed engineers has reached 4,200, which is almost half the union's total membership. The union's study also noted that 17,512 persons are now studying to be engineers, in addition to those engineers now doing their military service. By government count, there are 420 foreign engineers in Jordan.

In conclusion, we emphasize that the aim of the Jordanian regime's policies is to disperse and weaken the working class in order to prevent it from playing its role in enacting revolutionary change. The regime moreover hopes that any discontent among native workers can be deflected against expatriate workers rather than focusing on the regime itself. Thus a dual responsibility is thrust on the vanguards of the working class to direct their struggle against the cause of these policies and not be diverted into secondary contradictions from which the regime can profit. The struggle must continue to end the policies of the regime for importing cheap substitute labor. At a minimum, the regime is required to guarantee the right of Jordanian workers and professionals to work within their own country. As is apparent from this study, the regime's policy on importing and exporting labor is a product of its overall political and economic policy. Consequently, the workers' struggle for their right to a job cannot be separated from the overall popular struggle for democratic rights and social change in Jordan. ●

Note: The statistics in this study include the Palestinian refugee population in Jordan who hold Jordanian passports. Obviously a large part of Jordan's labor force which is affected by the regime's policies for exporting labor is Palestinian.

Footnotes:

¹ *Al Rai* (Jordanian daily), May 17, 1984.

² Paper presented by Dr. Mansour Al Attum at the Symposium for Population and Development.

³ *Al Rai*, April 5, 1984.

⁴ *Al Rai*, May 29, 1984.

⁵ *Al Rai*, April 22, 1984.

Jordan Releases Some of the Political Prisoners

The Committees for the Defense of Democratic Freedom in Jordan issued a communique on September 19, 1984, stating that the Jordanian authorities have released a number of political prisoners. Among them are some cadres of both the Palestinian Resistance and the Jordanian National Movements.

The release came as a result of the long struggle of all nationalists, democratic forces and individuals in Jordan. Efforts of mass organizations and trade unions played an important role in the campaign for the release of these political prisoners. In addition the Defense Committees were quite active in initiating and following up the work for the defense of these prisoners.

In spite of the positive step of the release of some of the political prisoners, yet the Defense Committees voice their concern regarding the tens of other remaining prisoners who are daily subjected to repressive measures.

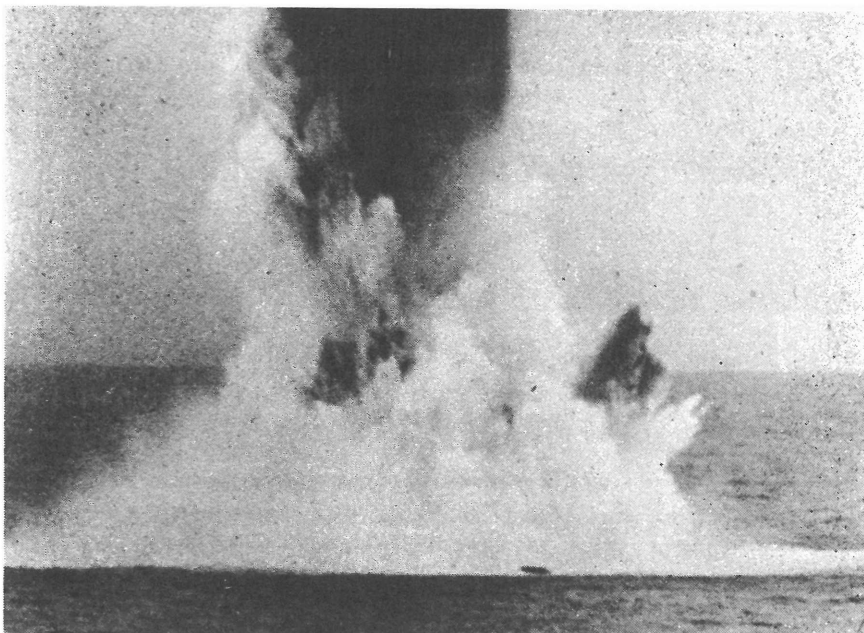
Earlier, the prisoners from the occupied West Bank had requested their release so that they could return there before their Israeli-issued permits expired which would mean de facto expulsion. These prisoners, who were earlier promised deportation to the occupied lands by the Jordanian

authorities, were forced to declare a hunger strike since September 13th after the authorities retreated their position.

The communique also mentioned that the Jordanian authorities have moved 13 prisoners from the Mahatta Central Prison and dispersed them to four prisons. This is an attempt to disunite them and lessen their resistance and political influence.

The Committees for the Defense of Democratic Freedom in Jordan, extend their full support for the demands of all the political prisoners and call on the Jordanian authorities to release the remaining tens of prisoners detained for unjust reasons. The Committees also demand the government to end all measures that aim at dispersing and disuniting political prisoners. The Committees call for the release of the tens of thousands of Jordanian citizens whose passports have been confiscated and are denied employment and basic democratic rights due to their political belief and ideology.

Finally, the Defense Committees extend their appreciations and thanks to all the democratic forces, organizations and individuals for their support and hard efforts. Also the Committees call them to continue their work in solidarity with the Jordanian people and their democratic freedoms, and to demand the release of all the political prisoners.



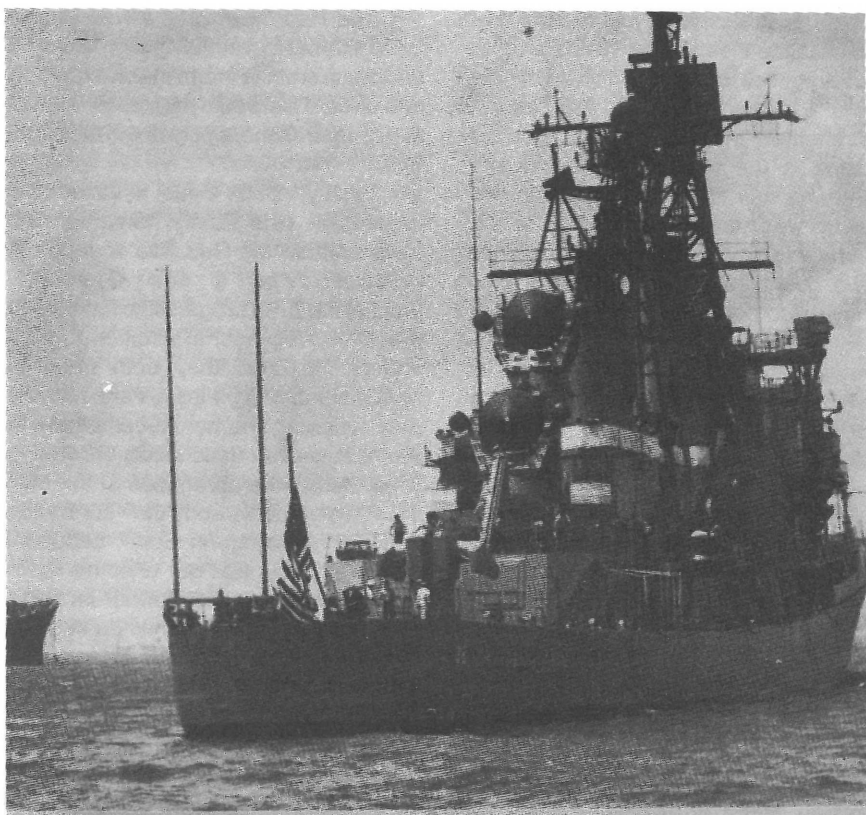
The Red Sea Scenario

Any discussion of the recent Red Sea drama cannot be isolated from the US imperialist strategy and plans for the Arab region. It should be viewed in context of the US's global strategy, the same that installs new nuclear missiles

in Europe, invades Grenada, and conducts genocidal activities against all liberation movements throughout the world.

The vital strategic, economic and military importance of the Red Sea is the

US exhibits its military power in the Red Sea



real issue behind this scenario. In fact, its importance makes it one of the main priorities in the region for the US administration and «Israel».

The Red Sea is of a geopolitical importance. It is located at the cross point of three major continents, Africa, Asia and Europe. It is the main water passage between the East and the West. It connects together the Arab Gulf and the Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea through Bab el Mandeb strait in the south and the Suez canal in the north. Furthermore, it is located in the midst of the largest oil fields and the main oil exporting countries in the Arab Gulf.

The Red Sea incident came at a time in which US imperialism assisted by its NATO allies and «Israel» were quite intimidated by the defeats they suffered at the hands of the Lebanese nationalist forces. Furthermore, the US has recently been unable to move forward with its plans for the area even in the Gulf. On the other hand, the Arab reaction felt the threats of this defeat. In fact, shortly after the expulsion of the US marines and the multinational forces from Lebanon, President Mubarak of Egypt expressed his fear openly to the *Washington Post*. He first warned the US that such an event, if not remedied soon, will cost it the loss of its friends' confidence. Then Mubarak called on the Arab reaction to fill the gap as much as possible. Obviously, the Camp David regime affirmed that the existence and security of the Arab reaction depends on US military presence in the area.

Also, Numeiri of Sudan started the scenario of the air raid on Um-Durman for the same fears. This false alarm gave Egypt the chance to call for US assistance. Shortly, the Awacs came in under the pretext of protecting the Egyptian and Sudanese air space against any Libyan attacks. Washington, of course, welcomed the opportunity to return to the area to assist the reactionary regimes and increase its military presence, as it did recently in the Gulf area when Iraq escalated its attacks on oil tankers.

The Red Sea scenario started in early August when a series of explosions took place causing damage in a total of 17 vessels. This gave Egypt one more chance to call on its Western allies for help in sweeping the Red Sea of any undetonated mines. Immediately, the Egyptian President pointed his finger at Iran and Libya as the two countries

Democratic Yemen Celebrates

October 14th of this year marked the 21st anniversary of the Yemeni revolution. On this occasion President Ali Nasser Mohammad, the Secretary General of the Yemeni Socialist Party together with Comrade George Habash, the Secretary General of the PFLP, inaugurated a hospital and a new popular residential quarters in Aden. Both projects carry the name of the late martyr Wadi Haddad.



responsible for planting the explosives.

Soon, the NATO forces that were expelled from Lebanon were present in the Red Sea (US, Britain, France, Italy). It is no pure coincidence that these four countries that deployed their forces in the Red Sea are the same ones that were in Lebanon as the «international peace keeping force». It is rather a planned cover for US military presence in the area, especially in such times. Normally the US does not need any excuses or permission to increase its military presence in Egypt. But this time it needed to cover up its recent moves in the Red Sea since it aimed at shifting Egypt's role from one of «protecting» the Suez Canal and «securing» free international navigation to one of an open US military base. Hence allowing US imperialism to reach any Arab country in a short time.

The Red Sea incident is a serious event since US imperialist interests in the area are growing and military intervention is their means to achieve them. Here we must recall the 1956 Zionist-French-British joint attack on the Egyptian Suez Canal which aimed at increasing imperialist domination in the area at that time. The 1956 attack took place after President Nasser nationalized the Canal. The aggression was under the pretext of «protecting» the Canal and «securing» it as free international waters. However, a major difference between the two incidents is that Egypt then, had a nationalist, anti-imperialist government that courageously confronted the fierce attack. This is contrary to Mubarak's present regime that advocates the open door policy by collaborating with US imperialism in invading Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries.

An Egyptian engineer who is the head of the opposition Egyptian Socialist Party, Mr. Ibrahim Shukri, stated in the *Middle East Newspaper*,

August 15, 1984, that «'Israel' and the US are indeed part of the Red Sea incident. He mentioned that 'Israel' is planning to dig an alternative canal to Suez (between Elat in the Gulf of Aqaba in the Red Sea and Ashkelon at the Mediterranean Sea).

In the same time the US is planning a project of installing an oil pipe line through Africa. Mr. Shukri warned that, «the entire region is witnessing dangerous events and organized terrorist activities that will decrease the income of the Suez Canal».

The above statement affirms that the US-Israeli explosive steps in the Red Sea are in harmony with the US strategic goals of full domination of the region.

On the level of the Arab reactionary regimes, this incident was to allow them to escalate their attacks on the progressive regimes, mainly Democratic Yemen and Ethiopia. The US also tried to strengthen the «strategic consensus» plans in the area. This was clear in Sudan's call for a security conference which was mainly to centralize the reactionary regimes' activities against these two countries. This conference would have also been the right opportunity to install the President of the Camp David regime as the head of the Arab states. Mubarak enthusiastically prepared the opening statement for the conference and was quite ready to assume the role of leadership. Of course this would have been an important step in paving the way for the return of the Camp David regime to the upcoming Arab summit. Hence extending the Camp David capitulationist agreement to include other Arab countries.

The NATO presence was a way of exhibiting the US military power in restoring «order» and «security» in the region. This is significant since Saudi Arabia failed to convince other Gulf

states in the Murphy plans of deploying US forces in the Gulf and the Arab Peninsula. The US administration needed to reestablish confidence in the hearts of the Arab reaction as its local agents.

Furthermore, this scenario was to show the ability of the US in forcing its conditions on the reactionary Arab regimes. It aimed at convincing the oil producing countries to reroute their oil tankers from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean and to accept the Israeli proposal of using its ports on the Mediterranean. Hence allowing «Israel» to overcome its internal economic and political crisis and to draw the Arab reaction closer to recognizing the Zionist settler state.

The Red Sea hysteria was also to pose a threat to free navigation of the oil tankers in order to alarm the oil exporting countries. This would then allow the US to increase its monopoly of the oil industry.

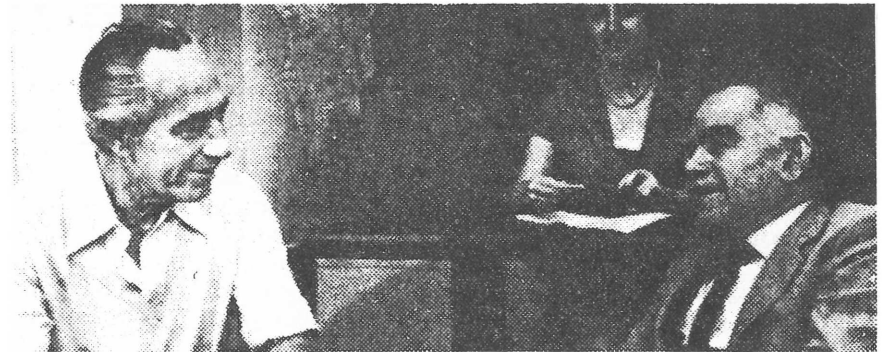
Finally, it is clear that the US imperialists and Zionist expansionists have created the Red Sea scenario in preparation for a new aggression against the Arab progressive forces and nationalist regimes. In addition to their mutual interests, they both need to regain some of their losses and recover their defeats. The heroic comeback of the Lebanese nationalists liberating West Beirut, the abrogation of the May 17th agreement and the continuing national resistance in South Lebanon, all are victories that our enemies try to topple. Their efforts to further increase their political and economic domination of the region will continue to escalate. This falls within the US cold war policy and the escalation of the arms race which can only increase world tension and threatens world peace and progress.

The Prospects of the Israeli 'National Unity Government'

The Israeli elections have been in the international focus for a period of time. The political observers have been closely following the developments of the elections. However the outcome was not decisively in favour of either the Likud or the Labour parties. This led to the formation of the «national unity government» which has numerous questions around it. The dominant theme is not what the new government can, or is going to do, but rather what it will not be able to do.

Before the results of the elections to the 11th session of the Knesset became known, Peres and his Labour Party were opposed to the idea of a «national unity government». Their opposition was not in principle based on essential contradictions or «historical differences» with the Likud. But rather stemmed from the Labour Party's evaluation of such a government's inability to overcome the internal Israeli crisis. Hence, Peres labelled such a government as one of «national paralysis». Now that the Labour Party leadership have come to favour such government lest they should again have to go to the polls without any guarantees of better results, Peres began to call it a «non-agreement» government. So, one is inclined to put the following question to Peres; can a government of «non-agreement» accomplish what - in his opinion - «the national paralysis government» could not? What has changed and in whose favour? How will this affect the government's political course for the period it is expected to hold?

In his confidence-vote address at the Knesset, Shimon Peres did not address the main problems, which his government was supposed to deal with. He was rather general and unclear in terms of these problems, whereas the speeches of the Likud leaders gave the impression that the «nonagreement government» was practically Likud both in essence and perspective. Peres pointed out that Labour and Likud had agreed on three main issues, namely tackling the economic situation, ending



Shamir and his new spokesman !

Israel's involvement in Lebanon, and making efforts to carry on with the «peace process in the Middle East». Meanwhile, General Ariel Sharon in his speech attacked the Labour Party and demanded further concessions concerning settlements in the occupied territories. In his speech, Shamir declared «The land of Israel shall never be the object of any bargaining or tolerate any foreign sovereignty».

Apart from the two major parties, Labour and Likud, six other small parties shared the government: four are further to the right than Labour and hence closer to the Likud, and two are closer to the Labour. On the other hand, observers have noted that although the parties represented in Peres's government account for 96 seats in the Knesset, only 89 voted for it. This shows how vulnerable Peres's premiership is going to be. Especially if we take into account that he failed to enlist the unanimous support of his own party. In fact, the Labour's Central Committee was divided in this respect, with 394 members voting for and 66 against the government.

Furthermore, it seems that the concessions made by Peres to bring this government about were much more than what had been declared. In addition to the fact that Labour and the Likud agreed to alternate the premiership and equally share the portfolios, Peres retreated from giving the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the Mafdal as he had promised. Instead, both Joseph Bourg of the Mafdal and Rabbi Yitzhak

Biretz from the Spherdi Torah Guardians (SHOS) were nominated ministers without portfolios. More serious still is that Peres and Shamir (as reported by some news agencies) endorsed a plan providing for establishing 27 new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the next four years. Five of which are to be constructed during the next year, that is during Peres's term.

Commenting on Peres heading the new Israeli government, the French «Le Monde» remarked, «It is the first time that a Labour Party member holds the leadership position without being unanimously backed by the party. If Peres succeeds in his job, then he would have given his party an unprecedented shift to the right. If he fails, he will further aggravate the confusion and identity crisis prevailing in the Labour Party». But what job can Peres do as a head of the Israeli government? The answer comes from «Al-Hamishmar», organ of the Mapam, which has pulled out from the Mirach, commenting on Peres's government by saying: «It is a big size caricature displaying a two-headed race-horse mounted by the 25 strong national unity government, some of whom feverishly spurring the horse to go forward and the others trying hard to drag it backwards».

Proceeding to speak of Peres's «job», *Al Hamishmar* says: «The job Shimon Peres will have to do during his term in office will not exactly be that of a prime minister, but rather that of a master of ceremonies or a head of a discussion group. He will have to guide discus-

sions and seriously seek mid-way compromises acceptable to all and reflecting the views of all parties of the coalition without reflecting any real position.»

There is, indeed, some truth in what *Al Hamishmar* says, but it lacks accuracy. «The full coach», boarded by the unity government, will move from where it stands to wherever Likud and its right-wing allies want it to, because time will work in their favour. The independent *Ha Aretz* wrote, «The major winner of the national unity government is Likud. For in a normal state, Likud would be in the opposition. But now we see Likud leaders sharing the government with Labour. Also Labour will be responsible for the outcome of the new economic measures. It hopes to remedy the economy which is in ruins as a result of Likud's disastrous economic measures over the last seven years».

Likud's strength and Labour's weakness in the new government were exhibited on two more occasions: the first when Peres had to accept giving the important Ministry of Industry and Trade to General Ariel Sharon. This showed Sharon to be a stronger figure in his party than Moshe Arens, now minister without portfolio. Sharon's new position has special significance owing to its close connection with settlement. Sharon is well known to have played a major role in «agricultural settlement», when he was the Minister of Agriculture. Now his job will, no doubt, be to promote «industrial and commercial settlement», which will affect the entire economical situation.

The second occasion was when Likud succeeded in barring Jad Yakobi, of Labour, from the Ministry of Finance and having it given to Yitzhak Moda, a liberal and an ally to Likud.

Ha Aretz says Likud will strive to patch up the shattered economy. If it succeeds, its position will be strengthened. If it fails, then Labour will be blamed. Furthermore, Labour will have to put up with all complaints against any austerity measures that Moda manages to have the government approve, no matter whether they turn a success or a failure.

In his speech at the Knesset confidence session, Shamir summed up Likud's policy saying that «the land of Israel should never be the object of any bargaining», and that any settlement with Jordan should be approved only by a plebiscite and that whatever they would do «will strengthen our power to ensure our line».

Peres may sound clever when, playing with words, he calls his present government one of «nonagreement», but this will never make it more competent than if he calls it a government of national paralysis, as he actually did before the elections. Furthermore, the Likud is now powerful enough to kill the government at any moment if it so wishes. One can, therefore, say with confidence that the present government will be unable to provide any real solution even for the issues Peres said he had agreed upon with Likud, i.e. those of the economy, Lebanon and «the Middle East peace process».

Of all this however, we are concerned with what the existence in office of such a government with no option in prospect other than the line dictated by Likud, with seven generals, all of whom at one time or another, were involved in wars against the Arab countries; a state of near paralysis where power of the extremist terrorists is escalating, such a government is capable of one, and only one thing: launching or threatening a war. The «friendly» US will make use of the Israeli government's weakness to extort further Arab concessions for the benefit of both Zionism and US

imperialism. Also, the US will try to persuade its friends in the region that although a strong Israeli government is certainly dangerous, a weak one is indeed more dangerous. Therefore, the US calls on all the Arab reaction to cooperate with Peres under the pretext of his «good intentions» and «willingness» to facilitate the «ME peace settlement». This Arab position, as US would claim, is needed to confront Likud's pressure on Peres and lessen the threats of dissolving the existing government.

At no time have we had any illusions about Labour or any other Zionist party. At no time have we believed that a Zionist assuming power in the Zionist entity could be preoccupied with the question of peace in the region. We have always believed, and still do, that all Zionists are «hawks», war criminals, and incapable of understanding any language other than that of guns and combat. And today recalling the Israeli «national unity government» that was formed on the eve of the 5th of June war of 1967, we declare that the present Peres-Shamir «national unity government» is worse than that one and capable only of more aggression and crimes.

Resistance to I.P.O. Tour in Australia

Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra (I.P.O.) had a tour in Australia arranged by the A.B.C. (Australian Broadcasting Commission). From July 17th to July the 21st they had a series of concerts in Melbourne, while on July the 22nd they played in Hobart of Tasmania. These tours were resisted by the Palestine Solidarity Committee (P.S.C.), the General Union of Palestinian Workers (G.U.P.W.) and the Australian-Palestinian Democratic Organization through several types of action.

In Melbourne these groups had issued a press release condemning the visit and explaining what was behind it, drawing a parallel with South African sporting policy, and issuing facts about the Israeli aggression at the same time talking about Palestinian rights, and hence demanding people to oppose the visit and the A.B.C. to cease its anti-Palestinian bias.

In Hobart, Tasmania, the P.S.C. of Hobart took two separate types of action. The first was an unauthorized demonstration outside the A.B.C.'s Odeau theatre building, the venue for

the concert. Several P.S.C. members occupied the area on the foot path outside the theatre and held up two large banners, one saying «Israel is Occupied Palestine», and the other one saying «Smash Zionism-Free Palestine», while other P.S.C. members handed out leaflets against the visit explaining the Palestinian cause to people entering the theatre and other people passing by.

The second part of the protest was a more direct and fierce challenge to the orchestra, where P.S.C. members entered the theatre and briefly disrupted the concert by shouting out that the I.P.O. represents a fascist settler state, and that «Israel» has committed massacres in Palestine and Lebanon and are responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacres. Therefore, as an orchestra representing a country, they should explain these actions. At the same time leaflets explaining the reasons for the disruption were distributed. A Palestinian flag was raised. Police then flooded the theatre and forced all the P.S.C. members out, who on their way shouted: «PLO not I.P.O.».

Vietnam

From the Poison of Imperialism to the Healing of Revolution

The Vietnamese have every reason to celebrate their national day, September 2nd, the day in 1945 when Vietnam was proclaimed an independent republic after the victorious August revolution. Since the liberation of the South in 1975, Vietnam has accomplished great successes which make us all optimistic as to the future of this coun-

try: gross national production has increased by 47.7%, agricultural production by 56.1% and exports by a phenomenal 309.4%.

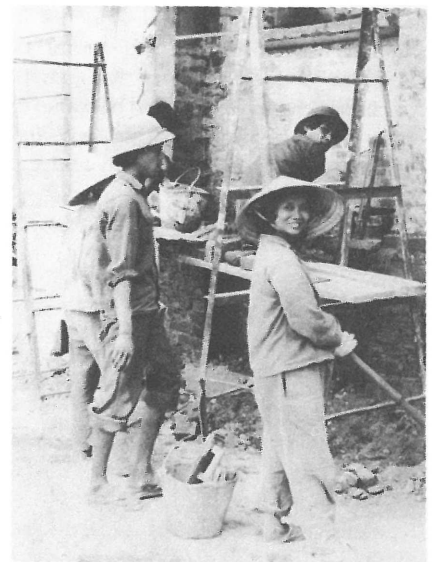
The dimensions of this victory must be seen in relation to the state in which the US left Vietnam. US troops had tried to bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age, dumped tonnes of toxic gases and sabotage defoliants such as 44,300 cubic meters of Agent Orange on the country and its population, and branded the people with napalm. Poisons with long time effects on people, vegetation, animals and soil. So poisonous that Vietnam still suffers because of this.

The final victory over US imperialism united the masses in 1975, and was also a victory for all progressive, nationalist and socialist people all over the world. It added to the revolutionary experience and theoretical thought. Even the language was enriched by terms as «US's Vietnam syndrome». All of this was marked by the surprising and yet scientifically sound conclusion: a small, brave and determined people was able to defeat the seemingly almighty power of an empire.

But the destructive power of imperialism continued its aggression against Vietnam. Through embargoes and blockades the US aimed to prevent the reconstruction of Vietnam. They used Asian countries relying on US support to launch military attacks on Vietnam, and with the help of Asian regimes, they forged new imperialist chains. Us



Hong Gai in 1973 in the northern region, being severely destroyed by US air raids



Construction in the streets of Hanoi



bases mushroomed over the Pacific and on the mainland as in Thailand and South Korea.

The Reagan administration meant a new stage in the imperialist aggression also for Vietnam. The US overtly declared that it would «bleed Vietnam white». In the course of a trip to Beijing in June 81, John Holdrige, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific, said «so we will seek, if we can, to increase the political, economical and, yes, military pressures on Vietnam, working with others in ways which would bring about, we hope, some change in Hanoi's attitude towards the situation.»

The Palestinian people is quite aware that the enemies of Vietnam are also their enemies. Not only because of the imperialist policy of massacres in Vietnam as in Beirut, the threat of genocide and all out war, the use of reactionary proxies, etc., but because of every detail of imperialist strategy and tactics from Nixon to Reagan and the period before that.

Also the Palestinians know very well that they cannot achieve victory isolated, but like Vietnam will have to rely on the alliance with the socialist coun-



In the streets of Hanoi the bicycle is still the prevailing means of transport

tries, the national liberation movements, the democratic and progressive forces all over the world. The famous Vietnamese poet, Xuan Dieu, said: «A poet cannot remain impassive even when misfortune threatens somebody else's home, when evil and violence work their dark deeds.» Indeed the revolutionary poet is just this, because he conveys the experience of the revolutionary masses, in occupied Palestine as in liberated Vietnam.

So we are happy today to be able to congratulate a smiling, new Vietnam. They proved that a healthy society can be built on the soil poisoned by imperialism, the healing medicine being the revolution, the power in the hands of the proletariat. ●

We thank the German photographer Monika Hamel for providing «Democratic Palestine» with original photographs which she took during her latest trip the took during her latest trip to Vietnam.

Three generations



Tokyo Commemorates Sabra - Shatila Massacre

A special exhibition showing items remaining from the victims of the Sabra Shatila massacre in September 1982 was held in Tokyo at the Yamate church. The exhibition was organized by several Japanese organizations. More than 100 items collected from these two camps or through the families of the martyrs, photos taken by photo-journalist Mr. Hirokawa, as well as paintings by Palestinian and Japanese artists dedicated to the martyrs, were exhibited.

The opening ceremony was held on September 14th with the presence of 12 ambassadors and participation of many representatives from Japanese supporting and solidarity organizations as well as Japanese press. Mr. Nuku'i, chief editor of the socialist newspaper, the organ of the Japanese Socialist Party, stressed the importance of the exhibition in his speech. He mentioned his visit to Sabra and Shatila in 1980, and congratulated the organizers on the success of the exhibition. Mr. Monsouri, Director of the Arab League Office in Tokyo, spoke as one of the sponsors of the exhibition, saying that the items exhibited are only a part of the material and photos from a huge massacre. Mr. Baker Abdel Munem, PLO representative to Japan, also spoke, thanking the Japanese friends for their efforts in organizing the exhibition. He said that «the Sabra-Shatila massacre was one of the massacres the Palestinian people had to face, and the PLO is forced to face political massacre and conspiracies. Nevertheless, the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO will continue the struggle until victory.»

Mr. Hirokawa spoke at the end on behalf of the organizing committee. He mentioned the first moments of entering Sabra and Shatila on the morning of September 18th, 1982. He said, «All I could do was to push the button of the camera to take pictures of the killed, massacred people. But after that I felt it was my responsibility to make records of the documents about the people killed in the massacre. So I decided to visit Beirut again and to collect material remaining from the massacre. Any single item or personal belonging to tell about the life, dreams and aspirations of these Palestinians.»

An opening concert was given at the exhibition hall dedicated to the



This year's commemoration in Sabra and Shatila

Palestinian martyrs by Japanese musicians. Miss Akiko Mizuno sang songs she had composed based on a letter from a Palestinian woman survivor of the Beirut massacre, titled «Please remember what happened on that day». Mr. Takeshi Okada also sang songs, he had composed, one of them based on the poem «She».

Works by Palestinian artists were exhibited in one corner, especially the works of Vladimir Tamari, a Palestinian artist living in Tokyo, and the following films were shown: «Why?», «The Palestinian people do have rights», «Palestine - years of victory 1976-1983».

All these materials were later moved to the atomic bomb stricken city of Hiroshima for an exhibition on September 20th to 30th.

Abu Sharif Greets Rally

Comrade Bassam Abu Sharif, member of the Joint Leadership of the PFLP/DFLP extended the following greeting to the rally held in Tokyo on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Sabra Shatila massacre:

On the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Sabra Shatila massacre I wish to express my deep appreciation of your solidarity with the Palestinian national liberation movement and your continued efforts of support.

The new Israeli cabinet of Perez, strongly backed by US imperialism, has the same character as the prior fanatic government of Begin which conducted the massacres in Sabra and Shatila in 1982. Today the true meaning of the so-called «peace settlement policy» is carried out in occupied Palestine and South Lebanon, where Israeli military forces daily exploit, oppress and kill people, because of their rejection of the Israeli occupation.

However after the Beirut war in 1982, the radical united forces of Palestinian, Lebanese nationalists and Syria proved themselves to be the vanguard force in the area by the victory of the liberation of Beirut. They were capable of driving the US-marines out of Lebanon, cancelling the May 17th agreement between the Lebanese fascists, 'Israel' and USA, and now by continuously

escalating the struggle against the Israeli occupation army in Lebanon.

Under the severe pressure of imperialism headed by the US in our area, the question of peace or all out war is at stake in the Middle East, while the PLO is facing a dangerous internal crisis. However, the history of our struggle and the determination of our people, who suffered and sacrificed so much for their just cause, assure us of our ability to come out of this crisis and strengthen the PLO unity. The Aden-Algiers agreement provides the basis for reunification of the PLO which is a step forward towards the escalation of armed struggle and political mass-work against the enemy.

We, the Palestinian fighters, will strengthen our work, and strengthen our ties of solidarity with people all over the world who struggle to free their countries from our common enemy: imperialism headed by US.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM HEADED BY THE US

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE JAPANESE AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES

LONG LIVE THE JAPANESE PEOPLE'S ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

This is the concluding part of the study written by Steve Goldfield entitled «The Israeli Role in the United States Global Strategy». We began the first part of this study in «Democratic Palestine» no.4.

Costa Rica

Costa Rica has not had an army since 1948. With Israeli assistance the country is now getting one. Israelis are training antiguerrilla units of the Costa Rican National Guard in Costa Rica²³⁸ while one hundred Costa Ricans are being trained in Israel.²³⁹

On February 14, 1983, Jack Anderson reported a multi-million dollar U.S.-Israeli «land development» project to buy up «land along the Nicaragua-Costa Rica border, clearing roads through the wilderness and moving in thousands of settlers...The U.S. Agency for International Development will ask Congress for \$10 million to finance the settlement for the first year. Israel will provide the technical expertise presumably based on its experience with settlements in the West Bank area». Anderson went on, «The Costa Rican border settlement, combined with the military buildup in Honduras, would create a giant strategic pincers physically isolating Nicaragua by land». ²⁴⁰ Dial Torgerson of the *Los Angeles Times* reported a much more ambitious (\$240 million) proposal in the border area in a story filed just before he was killed.²⁴¹

Israeli military and economic relations with Costa Rica began in February 1982, when President Luis Alberto Monge was elected. Monge stated he preferred «the assistance of Israel in matters of security to that of others». In November 1982, *Ha'aretz* reported Israel would build another of its electronic fences this time on the border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Israel and Costa Rica also have extensive and growing economic ties. Ignacio Klich wrote in *Le Monde Diplomatique* in February of 1983, «Madame Olsen (the Costa Rican ambassador in Israel) has revealed that Mr. Monge had been introduced, during his visit to the U.S., to the American Jewish Committee and officials of B'nai B'rith, who promised him support in its current negotiations with 170 American Banks about the rescheduling of its debt».²⁴² Costa Rica has been the first Latin American country to break ranks and send its ambassador back to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv.²⁴³ As a token of gratitude for this gesture, U.S. Zionists contributed half a million dollars to lay train tracks for a route paralleling and competing with the Panama Canal.²⁴⁴

Mexico

In 1975 Mexico bought five Arava short-take-off-and-landing transports. A small group of Mexican pilots and mechanics went to Israel for training²⁴⁵ Mexico has a \$20 million assembly plant for the Arava transport aircraft at Merida, where IAI provides technical assistance and hold 10 percent control.²⁴⁶

Mexico also provides Israel with about 40 percent of its oil imports²⁴⁷ and guarantees increased shipments in an emergency.²⁴⁸ The United States, incidentally, also guarantees Israeli oil supplies by agreement.²⁴⁹

U.S. Aid to Israel

Israel is by far the largest recipient of U.S. military and economic aid, even without counting the conveniently «forgotten» loans which range between half and one billion dollars each year²⁵⁰ (\$750 million out of \$1.7 billion in fiscal year 1983).²⁵¹ According to a General Accounting Office (GAO) study released August 24, 1982, from 1974 to 1982 Israel received \$22.5 billion in U.S. aid, \$2.7 billion in 1982.²⁵² If an additional \$700 million requested for 1984 is approved, the fiscal year 1984 total will be \$3.2 billion and the «total transfer of U.S. resources to Israel» from official tax-deductible sources will reach \$5 billion.²⁵³ In the first year of their Lebanese invasion, the Israelis spent about \$2.5 billion. (The official figure is \$1.2 billion.)²⁵⁴

Currently, the United States is increasing aid to replace ammunition and tanks used up in Lebanon. This was revealed in a censored report from the General Accounting Office on U.S. aid to Israel.²⁵⁵ The CIA, in the uncensored version, estimated that the U.S. would be paying for half the Israeli defense budget. The United States paid 37 percent of the Israeli defense budget in the fiscal year 1982.²⁵⁶ The report gives U.S. aid to Israel, from 1948 to 1983, as \$25 billion and as \$29 billion through 1984.²⁵⁷ Even these figures, which are low because they ignore a variety of forms of indirect aid, are much higher than those normally referred to by the U.S. government. For instance, the U.S. handed over as an outright gift \$172 million in excess construction material used to rebuild Israeli air bases

Global Role

moved back from the Sinai.²⁵⁸ Furthermore, Israel normally only pays 50 to 60 percent of the price of U.S. weapons it purchases.²⁵⁹ And Israel is not required to set aside enough aid to pay for its long-term purchases as are other U.S. military aid recipients. Israel operates on a cash-flow basis which forces additional U.S. aid in later years.²⁶⁰

More than half this aid is military,²⁶¹ though the distinction between military and economic aid is artificial since economic aid generally displaces local money which is then free to divert for military use. During the period 1976-1980, total U.S. aid, including grants and credits, was \$2.19 billion more than the total cost of Israel's direct military imports.²⁶² Between 1950 and 1981, Israel received more than half, \$13.5 billion out of a total of \$24.85 billion, of United States Foreign Military Sales assistance. Israel also received debt-repayment concessions totaling \$4.95 billion, half the world total.²⁶³ FMS loans and grants, by law, must be used to purchase supplies from U.S. arms producers; however, Israel received \$3.35 billion in exemptions from this provision out of a total of 3.4 billion.²⁶⁴ In 1981 Israel officially received \$2.2 billion in aid. Not included in this total was \$3.3 billion to pay for military withdrawal from the Sinai and the construction of much more substantial replacement air bases.²⁶⁵

Thus, the United States has set Israel up in arms business.²⁶⁶ In 1977 the U.S. permitted \$107 million in U.S. military aid to be used to produce the Israeli heavy tank, the Chariot (Merkava).²⁶⁷ Huge transfusions of cash, weapons, key American parts in Israeli weapons such as airplane engines, and the recent authorization of U.S. FMS aid to other countries to purchase Israeli-produced arms, an exception no other arms supplier enjoys, are all parts of U.S. aid.

Foreign aid, 75 to 80 percent from the United States, accounts for one half of Israel's gross national product. Israel must raise \$9 billion to \$11 billion in new funds in 1983 to cover its deficit and refinance debts.²⁶⁸ Thomas R. Stauffer adds that «commercial credit is available [to Israel] only by virtue of U.S. cash aid which permits pro-forma servicing of the debt. Without U.S. aid, these funds would quickly dry up».²⁶⁹ Israel has an

outstanding \$8 billion debt to the United States, but few expect this to be paid in anything but future aid. In fact, in 1983 the Reagan administration requested \$785 million in economic aid for Israel, but California Senator Alan Cranston, a presidential hopeful, moved to raise this to \$910 million, just enough to cover principal and interest payments on the Israeli debt.²⁷⁰ Israel's total foreign debt is \$20 billion to \$26 billion.²⁷¹ Israel's population, however, is shielded from crisis. Unemployment has remained at 5 percent since 1979, and real per-capita consumption continues to increase.²⁷²

But the giveaway which most directly affects Israel's arms sales, and allows bankrupt countries such as Honduras, El Salvador and Zaire to purchase Israeli arms, is a little-known clause in the secret November 1981 Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation between the United States and Israel.²⁷³ Dean Fischer, of the U.S. State Department, explained that Article III, Section 2D of that agreement paves the way for «the possible use by third countries of American Foreign Military Sales credits to purchase Israeli defense items and service».²⁷⁴ U.S. domestic arms producers ought to be mounting strenuous protests. No other foreign country enjoys such a privilege.²⁷⁵

This agreement was temporarily suspended after the annexation of the Golan Heights but recent evidence indicates it has been back in force since the summer of 1982, perhaps a tacit admission by the United States government of its basic support for the invasion of Lebanon. In May 1982, the *Boston Globe* reported talks to revive the Memorandum of Understanding had begun. Later Department of Defense officials revealed that Israel and the United States had agreed «to implement economic elements contained in their suspended strategic cooperation agreement without formally reviving the accord». The agreement was to be completely reinstated in June 1982.²⁷⁶ One year later *Al Hamishmar* cited a story in the Italian *Manifesto* revealing that «Israeli combat pilots and military instructors are already in Honduras and everything is paid for by the U.S.A.».²⁷⁷

Israel's Role in U.S. International Strategy

Are the Israelis just good businessmen who found a market and filled it? Certainly they are making good profits from arms. Are the Israelis exemplary and principled warriors against the spread of communism as they, and their South African allies, like to portray themselves?²⁷⁸ It is true that they see themselves in this way. But there is much more involved, and we do not have to rely on speculation.

Ya'akov Meridor is a minister without portfolio, an economic adviser, in Begin's cabinet. Meridor made a proposal, called the Meridor Memorandum, which is part of the

«mutually understood» provisions of the Israeli-U.S. strategic agreement of 1981. Meridor summed up his ideas in *Ha'aretz* (August 1981): «We shall say to the Americans: Don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean area, or in other areas in which we can sell weapons directly and where you can't operate in the open. Give us the opportunity to do this and trust us with sales of ammunition and military hardware. Let Israel act as your agent.»²⁷⁹



Shortly after the agreement was signed, *Al-Hamishmar* (December 29, 1981) commented: «Israeli officials claim that one of the advantages Israel will gain from the new strategic accord with the United States will be a greater role in the Third World. The leaders of pro-Western regimes in the Third World, especially those of countries that have unpopular, authoritarian regimes and a negative image in Washington, would like to make use of Israel's «American connection», according to the same source. They seem to hope that Israel will be able to help them through her influence and efforts in Washington to obtain direct U.S. political, military and economic aid and perhaps also an increase in indirect military assistance.»²⁸⁰

The United States has full knowledge of Israeli arms sales and has never objected, with a single exception, even to arms sales to Argentina (so long as they did not travel via New York) or Iran (once the hostages were released) or other violations of U.S. law which are supposed to terminate U.S. aid.²⁸¹ The single exception was a Carter administration objection to sales of advanced Kfir fighter planes with U.S. produced engines to Ecuador which introduced a new level of military technology to the region.²⁸² In December 1979, while presenting his letter of accreditation to Israeli President Yitzhak Navon, Ecuadorian Ambassador Wilson Vela Hervas announced Ecuador was ready to increase oil exports to Israel. Later the same month, Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman insisted the ban be lifted.²⁸³ Under extreme pressure, Carter caved in and allowed the sale. The Reagan administration has raised no such barriers.

In fact, the Reagan administration feels a certain envy toward the Israelis. *Time* magazine quotes an American expert based in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa: «Israel operates without the restrictions imposed on us in this part of the world. It doesn't have to explore the abuse of human rights. It

has arms to sell, and the governments in this region need them». An Israeli weapons dealer puts it more bluntly: «Just about anyone who shows any interest in buying arms from us can have them».²⁸⁴

An irony of history finds Israel working on both the left and right of the U.S. This article focuses on Israel's help to rightist regimes, too distasteful to the people of the United States for sufficient military assistance from the U.S. government. In Africa, especially prior to 1973, when distrust of the European colonial heritage made it difficult for the United States to penetrate young African regimes, Israel was welcomed and was not recognized itself as an outpost of European colonialism. It was no accident that Israel had the plans for Entebbe airport; Israelis built it. Idi Amin, Mobutu, and a long list of prominent Africans went to Israel for training.

Lest anyone rely on a Labor government to end Israel's arms sales to dictators, note that it was the previous Labor government which initiated Israel's role as an arms supplier.²⁸⁵ In fact, Israeli collaboration with right-wing and fascist forces is always justified by Zionist arguments, holding the creation and preservation of the Zionist state above all principles, political or moral. Zionism, since its inception, has correctly identified imperialism British, French or U.S. as its strategic ally.

Even today, Labor and other so-called left Zionist Israeli parties play a role for the United States in penetrating the international left, labor, and cooperative movements, especially in Latin America, and particularly in Mexico, a huge subject beyond the scope of this article. Israeli newspaper ads seek Spanish speaking Israelis for work abroad. Consider that Israeli parties have direct relations with parties in the Socialist International, that the Histadrut works actively in Latin America, and that the Israelis use their supposedly socialist kibbutzim as a basis to work with Latin American cooperatives.

Summary

Israel in the Context of the Movement against Intervention in Central America

Across the United States, a huge movement is growing to oppose U.S. intervention, in any form, in the popular uprisings of Central America. Recent Gallup polls show massive opposition to U.S. military aid to the regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. It is conceivable that this movement could succeed in diminishing or even cutting off U.S. military aid. But it is clear that the Reagan administration is prepared to follow its predecessors in using Israel, in the words of Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture in Nicaragua, «as an intermediary to channel arms».²⁸⁶

The Reagan administration obviously has no interest in violations of the Monroe Doctrine, the 19th century U.S. declaration of hegemony over Central and South America and the Caribbean, when a close ally violates it to help preserve U.S. hegemony. Let no one delude themselves: Israel operates in the western hemisphere, in Asia, and in Africa with close U.S.

supervision and approval. The U.S. government is using Israel to circumvent U.S. popular support and congressional opinion. The *New York Times* reported: «American officials said that the Reagan administration, concerned about Congressional limitation of involvement in Central America, had encouraged the Israeli activities as a means of supplementing American security assistance to friendly governments. In addition, the officials said, *the administration wanted to establish new lines of support to Nicaraguan rebels in case Congress approved legislation that would cut off covert support for the insurgents.* (emphasis added)²⁸⁷

Israel's importance to the United States thus cannot be measured only by its invaluable role in repressing the Palestinian people and blocking revolutionary developments throughout the Arab countries. And because Israel performs its assigned tasks internationally, the United States allows the

Israelis more leeway in its region than would otherwise be permitted. And U.S. aid shields the Israeli population from suffering the economic consequences.²⁸⁸

Inescapably, work to stop U.S. aid to dictatorships in Central America will have little effect if Israeli arms sales are not cut off. The American people have only one lever to use against Israel: cutting off U.S. aid. Consider that the Israelis actually oppose full-scale resumption of U.S. shipments of arms to Central America since this directly competes with Israeli sales. If its goal is to actually deny weapons to Rios Montt and his counterparts in Honduras and El Salvador and not merely to

wipe the blood from the hands of the U.S., Israel will have to become a prime target of the Central American solidarity movement.

The Israeli role, to use a Vietnam-era expression, is escalating dangerously fast. Israel plays a key role in the regionalization of the Central American conflict. The Israeli arms industry is capable of supplying all the needs of the Central American regimes and would be glad to do so. With no sign of significant Israeli opposition,²⁸⁹ Israel will only be stopped when a broad opposition movement is built in the United States and U.S. aid to Israel is cut off.

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259. Stauffer, p.7.
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266. Goodgame, «Israeli Arms Merchants...».
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268. Stauffer, p.2.
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271. Joe Stork, «Israeli Economy Struggles for Appearance of Solvency», *MERIP Reports*, May 1983, pp.21-22.
272. GAO, p.30; *Israleft*.
273. GAO, p.43.
274. Klich, «Israeli Arms...».
275. GAO, p.3.
276. Denton.
277. *Al Hamishmar*, May 29, 1983.
278. Breytenback.
279. Hooglund, p.17; *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1981 and *Financial Times*, August 18, 1981 in Howard, p.22.
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New US-Israeli Aggressive Steps Call for Anti-Imperialist Unity

Comrade Bassam Abu Sharif, member of the Joint Leadership of the PFLP and DFLP, announced today that «confirmed information has been received that the US administration has agreed to provide 'Israel' with highly sophisticated technical devices to confront Soviet arms in the Middle East. The decision was taken mid-September, and the shipment of these devices will be concluded before the end of this year. This brings the situation in the Middle East to an explosive and dangerous

level.» Comrade Abu Sharif added that the US government and the Israelis are planning for further aggression against the PLO, Syria and the Lebanese nationalist forces.

He also emphasized that the Algiers-Aden agreement between Fatah's Central Committee and the Democratic Alliance is a suitable base for the reconstruction of the PLO, and that the PFLP and the rest of the organizations, that have signed the agreement, are fully committed to it. In the

coming few days, efforts to remove obstacles confronting this reconstruction of the alliance will increase. These efforts will be geared to bringing the overall national dialogue to fruitful ends in preparation for convening the National Council. Comrade Abu Sharif ended by accusing the National Alliance of being irresponsible, if they maintain their present attitude towards the unity of the PLO and the overall national dialogue.

Palestinian Information Tasks and Perspectives

This is the conclusion of the essay by Bassam Abu Sharif which we began publishing in «Democratic Palestine» no.4. The entire essay has been published as a booklet by the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ).

There was an atmosphere of despair in the Arab region following the defeat of the Arab regimes in 1967. It was caused by a great disappointment among the masses resulting from the collapse of their hope that they would attain victory over the Zionist enemy on the basis of programs and actions of the patriotic, bourgeois regimes. Suddenly, during several hours, the dreams of a nation collapsed, which for so long had depended on the military forces of these regimes, imagining that they would implement their aspirations. Any patriotic mobilization or information activity in this situation was extremely difficult: It was necessary to bring about a quick change in this atmosphere.

On a worldwide scene the imperialist-Zionist information machinery spread its poison and hatred, flaunting the Arab defeat. On the one hand it exaggerated, telling public opinion that the Arabs were stronger and were the aggressor. At the same time it exaggerated the genius and «heroism of the Israelis», who despite their small number and their limited possibilities were able to strike a powerful blow against the Arab giant.

And Zionism dug out of the depths of memory of all the Jews in the world the story they had learned in religious schools about David and Goliath. And they claimed that the prophecy had been fulfilled and that little David with a slingshot had defeated Goliath armed from head to foot.

Such were the real conditions for the information activities which, following the defeat of 1967, some Palestinian groups began to conduct on the world scene. But even more difficult were activities in the Arab field. Face to face with hundreds of thousands refugees who streamed across the River Jordan seeking protection for the second time since 1948, face to face with the overwhelming defeat of the Arab military machine, and in the general despair prevailing in the Arab region, patriotic mobilization activity had a most difficult task and could not expect results in the foreseeable future.

There were doubts as to whether the efforts of those pioneers who tried to spread the spirit of revival and resistance among the masses could ever change the course of events.

Despite the lack of organization and disunity in this field, the strength of the Palestinian cause was felt in spreading the

spirit of revival, using means that combined and carried on parallel mobilization work. For every enemy bullet that hit its target, the pioneers came up with hundreds of words for mobilization. And for every fighter who fell, the funeral was accompanied by hundreds of promises pledging to persist. Hope flared from the first sparks inspired by an objective view of the situation of the defeated regimes and the feeling of the masses that the fatal battle was still ahead.

This approach was correct. Palestinian information workers started from the true reality and on the basis of this they advanced with healthy ideas and with authentic reality to a national and worldwide level.

1967 - 1970

Between 1967 and 1970 Palestinian information activities set as their goal to imbue the Palestinian masses with a spirit of patriotism and to mobilize Arab public opinion in support of the Palestinian revolution and the armed struggle as the path to the liberation of Palestine. On a worldwide scale they set as their goal to strengthen awareness of the fact that there exists a Palestinian people and a Palestinian national liberation movement, that there exist the firm inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people to their own homeland - Palestine.

On a worldwide scale, in the early months after the defeat, diverse efforts were expanded in order to explain the tragedy which had befallen the Arab people of Palestine. By word and picture attention was directed now to the new camps of Palestinian refugees. Among those who mounted such efforts were the Associations of Friends of Jerusalem, UNESCO's film section, and the Jordanian Ministry of Information, apart from the individual activities of certain Palestinian personalities.

However, starting in 1968, activity gradually was taken over by components of the resistance movement who in the meantime had begun military action against the Zionist enemy, and for the first time the character of Palestinian information activities changed. They became a fighter for the revolution in order to transmit its ideas. This contributed to reinforcing an awareness that there exists a Palestinian people and a Palestinian movement fighting for certain rights.

Thanks to the heroic struggle of Palestinian fighters,

Palestinian information workers were able to intensify this awareness on a worldwide scale - despite falsification of reality about the Palestinian struggle and the irrefutable historical facts relating to Palestine by the imperialist and Zionist communication media.

The special operations undertaken by the Palestinian revolution abroad had the greatest influence on the fact that the name Palestine reached almost every home in the world, inspite of its being accompanied by propagandist falsification. It was a necessary and inevitable step which facilitated our next moves.

The revolutionary forces in this stage relied on weak, scattered information institutions which did not have either the necessary knowledge or experience. But thanks to the efforts expended in this field by enthusiastic pioneers, basing themselves on the heroic struggle of our people, great successes were achieved in this work.

It should be said in connection that committees of friends in capitalist countries also played their role.

On the national and Arab scale, the Palestinian revolution attained even more marked successes. During a mere few months it was able to lift a whole homeland from the darkness of defeat into the light of hope in victory. With every shot fired at the enemy, tens and hundreds of sons of our Arab people left for the front, shaking off them the powder of defeat. Thanks to heroic struggle, the revolution was able to achieve much that earlier had been banned in a number of Arab countries.

The revolutionary forces in the Arab countries made use of many information enterprises and institutions in which they had great influence, although they themselves did not own these institutions. At this time the revolution had the chance to broadcast its own programs from Arab radio stations (Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Algiers). It also had its own press organs (Fatah, al-Hadaf, al-Hurriya) and other instruments such as communiques and posters.

1970 - 1980

After the foundations were built for our information system on a national and international scale, the Palestinian revolution found itself engaged in an endless war launched against it by imperialism, Zionism and Reaction for the purpose of liquidating it - in Jordan in 1970, in Lebanon starting in 1973 and in 1975 until the present day.

Imperialism, Zionism and Reaction concentrated their forces to liquidate the Palestinian revolution, which in a relatively short time had proven able to win a firm position internationally, in the Arab world and on a national scale, and in the Arab Homeland it raised high the banner of struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

We can say that all the battles against the Palestinian revolution launched by the various components of the enemy camp failed and that the enemy was unable to carry out his intentions. We can say that despite some blows that hit the revolution and inspite of the cruelty of some battles, the overall

results were a strengthening of the position of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and reinforced the rights of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination on the soil of their own homeland.

There is no doubt that the most recent war waged by Israel against the Palestinian revolution had the greatest influence in this field, because the revolution was able to reply to the force of Zionist attacks. Despite all the losses which the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian population suffered, the final result was a big political victory for the PLO. This is sure to be followed by new Zionist-imperialist attacks in order to exhaust and weaken the revolution. The growth of the political and military strength of the PLO represents a threat to the interests of imperialism and the Zionists, as well as Arab reactionaries, who are trying to remove all obstacles standing in the way of concluding a broad pact covering the Zionist enemy and led by the USA.

On a worldwide scale the Palestinian cause has exceeded the limits and aims of the first stage. In the first stage, Palestinian information activities succeeded in enscribing in different world media the name of Palestine as the cause of a people. Then they began to have an impact so that an awareness of the justice of the Palestinian cause and the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination attained a level from which there is no going back.

Today, not even in the enemy camp can there be any doubt or argument as to whether the Arab Palestinian people exist or do not exist. In 1968, 1969 and 1970 a number of Zionists were still claiming that there was no such thing as a Palestinian people. But after years of struggle the question of the existence of a Palestinian people and their rights are no longer the subject of discussion.

Palestinian information in this stage used more advanced means than the communication media it had in the earlier stage. Through educated and experienced cadres it was able to break through the barriers that imperialism and Zionism had erected in world information.

Besides using the media that the revolution itself had (posters, publications, magazines in various languages), these cadres and institutions also utilized bourgeois communication media, especially their liberal-peripheral components, in order to bring to public opinion information about the positions of the revolution.

In this stage the Palestinian revolution developed communication media which it owns. This process proceeded together with the development of the revolution and the intensification of its ideological and cultural content.

In this period, too, for instance, interest began to be shown in cinematography as one of the means of information and culture. A kind of competition even developed among the individual components of the revolution in promoting this art. Cardinal attention was focused on the documentary film, Palestinian information workers in this field attained many successes



at world festivals and were able to spread the truth through this medium, which until then had not been utilized.

The Palestinian revolution began to be interested also in other cultural fields. Political and folk songs developed on a high level and far more attention was paid to the cultural legacy. We have only to mention the folk dance which the revolution used as a cultural information medium on an Arab and world scale.

This development came about thanks to the attention paid by the revolutionary forces to communication media. The development of various sectors of information and the opening of new ones contributed substantially to a fairly crystallized picture of the Palestinian revolution among world public opinion and to strengthening awareness regarding the legality of Palestinian rights to self-determination.

As for the national scene, Palestinian information helped to crystallize two basic problems. These were, in particular, strengthening the democratic character of the Palestinian revolution. The period we are speaking about saw the highest level of political competition among the individual elements of the revolution. Had not «established norms» been set up, there would have been the threat of a split in the Palestinian ranks. After the October war (1973), projects were submitted for a settlement to which two approaches developed on the Palestinian scene: One said that a settlement is necessary, while the second assessed the balance of forces differently and felt that any settlement under the existing conditions would inevitably serve the interests of the enemy.

The various Palestinian information media had the task of standing up against the intrigues and plans of the enemy to foment quarrels and a struggle in this regard. These media demonstrated that they were able to uphold the required degree of responsibility in expressing themselves.

The political information battle of that time reinforced the democratic content and democratic awareness in the ranks of the Palestinian revolution.

In second place was the question of the ability to develop the means for a national mobilization in an atmosphere of reactionary pressure from within and imperialist-Zionist pressure from without, of improving the quality of mass activities and the revolutionary forces and information for these masses. These, in most cases, were joint Lebanese-Palestinian activities.

In this period the revolution proved able to build new information institutions such as a news agency and an independent radio, which thus increased and expanded its opportunities of reaching the masses.

What to say about the future?

The first stage of development reinforced the name of Palestine on a world scale and raised the spirit of patriotism to a national level. The second stage definitively raised to an irreversible level on a worldwide scale the question of Palestine as the cause of a people and their just rights. It proved on the national and Arab scale that the PLO is the only legal representative of the Arab people of Palestine. In the future the

obligations placed on Palestinian information workers will be even more demanding. The tasks can be summarized as follows:

- 1) A clear crystallization of the aims of the Palestinian revolution to a phased level means the crystallization of the phased aim of the PLO which is the establishment of an independent state on the soil of Palestine without any conditions.
- 2) To counter information intrigues and liquidationist plans, plans to disorient Arab and Palestinian public opinion, to spread a spirit of despair and hopelessness among the ranks of the people and to stir up irresponsible groups against the revolution.

After the Camp David agreement made full use of the possibilities given by the Egyptian front, the endeavours of the liquidators inevitably came up against the core of the Middle East problem, namely, the Palestinian cause. It is necessary to work out plans able to thwart these intrigues.

The efforts of the enemy camp are concentrated on imposing a project for autonomy according to the stipulations of the Camp David accords, which Begin and Sadat each interpreted differently. One wanted autonomy only for residents but not the territory; the other wanted autonomy for the residents and the territory.

These are, simultaneously, a demonstration by the USA and Israel to prevent the PLO from continuing the struggle for the right of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination, and to besiege the PLO by a worldwide blockade.

Contradictions on a worldwide scale, the growth of the camp supporting the revolution, and the increased strength of the democratic forces offer a chance to define more clearly the phased aims of our revolution, and also enable us to concentrate support on the most important.

The task, in brief, is to formulate the ideas of the revolution, on the right to self-determination and on establishing a state, into a clear political project which will be circulated through information media on all levels.

Our task in the forthcoming period will be to explain to all how we understand the right to self-determination and what are the goals at this stage.

This new, third stage of our struggle means improving the management and direction of information activities. We are also very careful to see to it that the support of the world democratic forces is concentrated on the main idea, which is the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. From information workers we demand that they orient Palestinian efforts in this direction, so as to unite the Palestinian forces to achieve this clearly stated goal.

Various Palestinian information institutions must realize more urgently their responsibility towards this task and go further in mutual coordination.

On the national scale, the enemy spares no efforts to use all means to divert the Palestinian public opinion from its course and to weaken its attitude. Concerning such endeavours requires expending maximum information efforts,

so that the masses realize what danger threatens them.

It calls for a progressive form of coordination and cooperation between media of the individual components of the resistance.

If such tasks face us on worldwide and national levels, then how does the overall structure of the communication media measure up to it?

Institutions and Their Unification

The successes attained by Palestinian information workers could have been even greater if Palestinian information institutions had been united.

The unity of such institutions would ensure an ability to concentrate and a suitable deployment of forces. It would ensure also the development of personnel, raising their qualifications and professional abilities. Information institutions must plan the training of cadres and their improved qualifications on a Palestinian-wide level and for the individual organizations: Fatah - the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine - El-Sa'iqa - the Arab Liberation Front - the Front for Popular Struggle - the General Command - and the Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Each of these organizations has its own information apparatus whose size varies, just as does its area of impact.

This fragmentation of the apparatus has resulted, naturally, in a fragmentation of resources, abilities, energies and personnel. We might give some graphic examples. We know that the question of our national unity is very complicated and this is not the right place to deal with it. But when we guarantee every organization the right to express its own ideas and political views, there is no reason to set up fragmented information institutions.

We shall not mention here newspapers and magazines because they are instruments for expressing the political and ideological positions of each individual organization (this, of course, does not mean that we do not have criticisms of these instruments).

Below we shall deal with general information areas about which, in my opinion, there should not be any arguments as to the importance of unifying efforts expended on them.

Reviving the Palestinian Folk Cultural Heritage

Can there be any difference of opinion on the need to revive the Palestinian folk cultural legacy? And can there be any argument that the shortest and healthiest path to this goal would be the unification of forces into a single entity? Why not form such a unified whole that we could call the Institute of Palestinian Folk Cultural Heritage?

Folk Art

Can there be any quarrel on the need to develop Palestinian folk art, song and dance? And can there be any differences on the need to create a unified institution concentrating

all the talents and ability able to do something in this field, instead of the fragmentation and squandering going on in many places? Instead of corrupted cadres we could create a central ensemble of Palestinian folk dances containing the best talents.

In this way we will ensure a better presentation of our art. We can guarantee the continuity of work through a training institute that belongs to the ensemble and looks after the education and development of its artistic personnel.

Cinematography

Despite the fact that in this field until now we have had quasi-individual efforts, important successes were achieved in short documentary films. Otherwise, Palestinian film art is growing only slowly, despite the fact that the armed struggle our youth is waging and the battles it is fighting offer great opportunities for creative talents and abilities. There is no doubt that the fragmentation of talents and the non-existence of a unified institution in charge of artists and that would set out the policy of training personnel is responsible for the fact that this art is advancing so slowly.

It should also be said that quite a few documentary films have been made. Some are extremely good and have won prizes and recognition at world festivals, while others merely repeat what has already been said in earlier productions. On the whole, however, the documentary film on the Palestinian scene has now reached the phase of quantitative saturation, and if the qualitative level does not rise this will have a negative effect on the role it is to play.

In this stage it is necessary to take a more far-reaching, important step - to begin production of feature films.

The Palestinian revolution, Palestinian history, battles and heroism offer many opportunities to creative directors and writers to join together in the production of feature films which can substantially contribute to national mobilization and to clarifying the cause of our people to the world public.

This is one of the most significant information sectors of strategic importance. A large part of the disorientation of world public opinion can be laid at the door of feature films produced by big world firms financed by Zionists for the purpose of distorting the facts and falsifying the picture of the Arabs as a whole and the Palestinian fighters in particular. There is no doubt that the creation of an institution able to mobilize the artistic potential and with the resources to produce feature films, so that they are able commercially to compete with disinformation films, would have a great effect in the fight against falsification and in spreading healthy ideas.

The question arises: what prevents the creation of such an institution?

The truth is that there is no objective obstacle. Therefore the task of setting up a unified film enterprise is a basic duty that Palestinian information workers must cope with. Such an establishment would guarantee the production of mature documentaries and feature films and through an associated

institute would ensure the training of the necessary artistic personnel and the development of existing talents.

Radio and Television Programs

To speak about information activities and not to mention the TV screen would be a mistake. The television screen is a wide avenue through which information enters every household, and thus reaches broad public opinion at home, in the Arab world, and in the world at large. The same applies to radio.

The time has come when it is necessary for the Palestinian revolution to establish a general enterprise for recording radio and television programs. Such an institution would also adapt outstanding literary, theatre and artistic works for television, and radio documents, bringing them to households in Arab countries and worldwide.

The establishment of such an institution, it should be repeated, would require the concentration of Palestinian talents able to create values. Such unified Palestinian enterprises should not be hindered by subjective factors preventing the foundation of these individual institutions in certain areas.

Naturally there are other examples of fundamental areas of information work where it would be necessary to unite our efforts and set up unified institutions guaranteeing high quality production and the training and growth of personnel (such as theatre, the graphic arts).

The forthcoming, third phase of development of our information demands of our information workers intensified efforts so that they advance to the desired qualitative level. They can, in doing so, draw on the many successes achieved in the information field in the previous phases.

PFLP Attends L'Humanite Festival

In response to an invitation by the French Communist Party, a delegation from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by Polit Bureau member, comrade Bassam Abu Sharif, participated in the L'Humanite festival of this year in Paris.

The festival which took place 8-10th September was a large international gathering in which tens of delegations participated in solidarity with the peoples' struggle for liberation, progress and peace.

Attending all the varied activities of the festival, the PFLP met with comrade Gremetz, member of the Polit Bureau of the French Communist Party. Comrade Gremetz explained the policies of the party covering all fields. He stressed his party's solidarity with the PLO and its present struggle for unity on a nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist line. Also the delegation attended a meeting with comrade Gilbert Julis, member of the French Communist Party's Executive Committee, and Head of the International Department of the French Trade union, the CGT. Comrade Julis addressed issues relating to the Palestinian and French people and expressions of solidarity were exchanged. Moreover, the delegation attended many meetings with other friendly delegations that attended the festivities.

One of the highlights of the festival was comrade George Marche's press conference in which he explained the party's position, having pulled out of the coalition with the French Socialist Party.

The festival showed the French Communist Party's deep roots among the French masses and the party's ability to overcome the problems caused by its previous alliance with the French Socialist Party.

The main mass event of the festivities was a rally which was attended by thousands of workers and poor people. This again expressed the ties between the French Communist Party and the French people.



Solidarity Movements Urged to Help Palestinian Artists



Suleiman Mansour

The International Committee for Sabra and Shatila (ICSS) has recently produced a series of 18 postcards showing works of different Palestinian artists. The artists who have contributed to this series live and produce under different circumstances, a fact reflected in their works.

Zuhdi Hamoude El-Adawi is a prisoner in the Zionist prison Askelon. In DP 3 we carried an article about the recent hunger strike in the Askelon prison. The demands of the prisoners described the horrible conditions the Palestinian prisoners were exposed to. El Adawi paints all his pictures on handkerchieves which are later smuggled out of the prison. Kamal Moghani and Suleiman Mansour live in occupied Palestine. In DP 5 we carried an article about the works and conditions of working for Suleiman Mansour. These conditions are in no way better than the conditions for the other Palestinian artists living in occupied Palestine. It is the Zionist cultural policy to strangle and crush Palestinian art and culture; freedom of expression is not only non-existent, but also are artists persecuted and even imprisoned for producing art. Other painters as Emad Abdul Wahab were exiled first from Palestine, later from Lebanon. In other cases the paintings carry no artist's signature, a security measure needed for some artists underground or in exile. The artists in prison, under occupation, in exile or underground produce art reflecting this situation, also the only 'choice' of existence of the Palestinian people. The paintings are marked by this fact, but even from the Askelon prison the paintings are also marked by hope and determination. The flowers and trees continue to grow in the camp and occupied Palestine, as the struggle of liberation continues in prison, under occupation and in exile.

The ICSS, which printed the postcards, is a PLO committee, concentrating their work on spreading Palestinian art and culture. A spokesman from the committee told *Democratic*

Zuhdi Hamoude El-Adawi - Ashkelon Zionist Prison



Palestine: «The ICSS is a small committee founded after the Sabra Shatila massacre. We believed it was necessary to strengthen and broaden the spreading of Palestinian art and culture. Because of this, we have special relations with Palestinian cultural organizations such as the Writers' and Journalists' Union and the Artists' Union. For the production of this series, we have also cooperated with the Palestinian Prisoners' Association. On the other hand, we are trying to develop close contacts with the solidarity movements abroad. We have progressed slowly but steadily in this work, and of course we hope that this process will continue. Prior to this initiative we have printed posters and sent them to solidarity committees as well as distributed them here. But, as you can imagine, this is a heavy financial burden. In this case it was hard for us to set a price for the postcards. On the one hand, the PLO has to have other priorities due to the extremely hard life conditions for the Palestinians under occupation and in exile. On the other hand, we know, that our supporters all over the world are not rich. However, we came to the conclusion that people abroad who support the Palestinian liberation movement, will be able to pay a little more than the Palestinians, as the price to be paid for the cards will cover the expenses. And should we receive more than needed for this, the money will be used to support those who due to the consequences of imprisonment or mas-

Mohammed S. El Rakou'e - Ashkelon Zionist Prison



sacres suffer the most.» Asked where the ICSS stands in relation to the different political groupings in the PLO, the spokesman said: «Though some of the people in our committee are members of different PLO-organizations, the ICSS is not politically tied to any of them. But we sincerely hope for the success of the Aden agreement, as this definitely will strengthen our work even on the very basic and fundamental level. The situation of Palestinians in exile in different countries, under occupation or in prison creates in itself difficult conditions for the distribution of art and culture. We are trying to help distributing Palestinian culture and art, which is the uncensored voice of the Palestinian people. This task is difficult, and therefore we must work hard. Due to our experience, we are sure that the solidarity movements will not only understand, but contribute with their efforts. We feel sure, also, that they know how appreciated their work is among the Palestinian masses. Solidarity is dialectical - 2 ways - the unified struggle against massacres, exploitation and war is necessary. Palestinian postcards is a small contribution, but the sea consists of drops of water, and liberation is the result of thousands of people's small contributions.»

The ICSS and the Committee for Political Prisoners in Palestine are selling the postcards for:

a card \$0.20 US.

a set \$3.60 US. (One set-18 different cards)

Orders can be made to: ICSS, P.O.Box 12144, Damascus, Syria.

Payment and donations can be sent to:

Account No. 51080-1990-9, The Arab Bank Ras-Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon.

Kamel Moghani

