

Strengthening  
the Left  
to Unify the PLO

**DEMOCRATIC**

**PALESTINE**

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**PFLP**

**DFLP**



*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.

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

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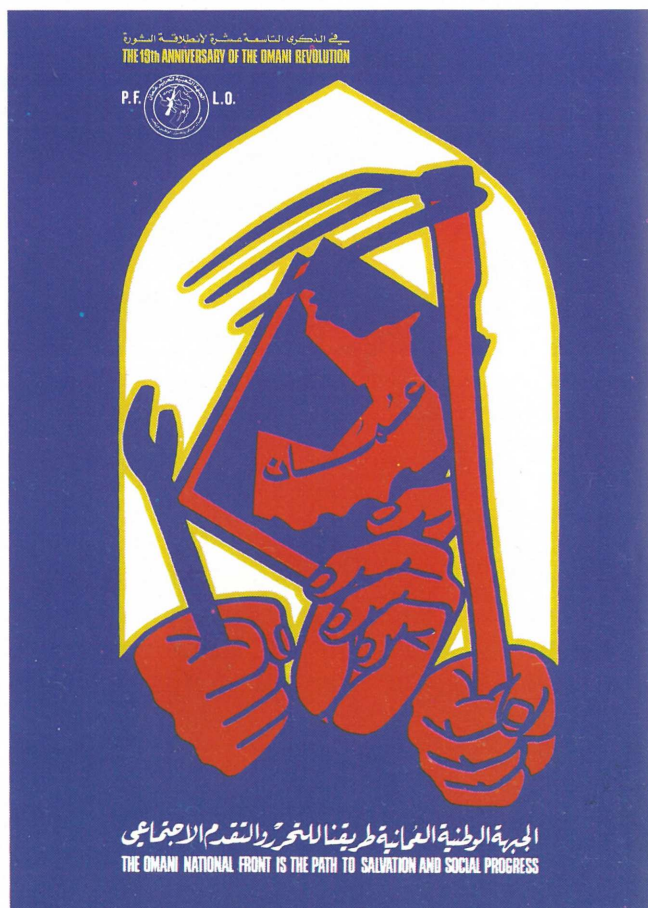
The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a Marxist-Leninist organization and an integral component of the Palestine Liberation Organization. A primary motive for establishing the PFLP was to inject a clear class perspective in the Palestinian national liberation struggle. Experience shows that the most oppressed classes - the

workers, peasants, sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the camp Palestinians - are those most in contradiction with imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. It is they who carve history with determination that can persevere in a protracted war against the enemy alliance.

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

The process of liberating Palestine relies on radical, national democratic change or development in one or more of the surrounding Arab countries. This will provide the PLO with a strong base for liberating Palestine. Thus the struggle for a democratic Palestine is linked to the creation of a united, democratic, and ultimately socialist, Arab society. This will provide the objective basis for eradicating the poverty, exploitation, oppression and the problem of minorities, from which the people of the area suffer.

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



This poster celebrates the 14th anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle<sup>1</sup> in Oman.

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## Table of Contents

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- 4 Editorial
- Palestine**
- 5 Aden Talks
- 8 Memoranda for Resolving the PLO's Crisis
- 11 Armed and Mass Struggle-Interview with Comrade Abu Ahmed Fuad
- 13 Mass Rally-Speech of Comrade George Habash
- 15 Speech of Comrade George Hawi
- 17 Zionist Justice-Election Tactics
- 19 Whitewashing Murder of Captured Commandos
- 20 Ain al Hilweh-Days of Terror
- 22 LCP-PFLP Joint Communique
- 27 PFLP Delegations to GDR, USSR, Cuba
- Lebanon**
- 28 The Karami Government
- 29 The Occupied South
- Arab World**
- 32 King Hassan Hosts Knesset Members
- 33 Egypt-Fraudulent Elections
- World**
- 35 Zionism's Global Role-The Israeli Role in US Global Strategy
- 39 Israeli Arms to the Contras in Nicaragua
- 40 Sri Lanka-New Ties to 'Israel'
- 41 Sixth AAPSO Congress
- 42 Death of Comrade Berlinguer
- Culture**
- 43 Story: Phone Call to Beirut
- 44 Texas: Solidarity with Arab Women
- 45 Palestinian Information-Tasks and Perspectives
- 47 Japan: 99 Posters from Palestine

## Letters

*A friend in the US wrote us as follows:*

Please add my name to your subscription list. I am very interested in receiving your Bulletin. As you already know, in the US media everything about the real situation in Palestine is completely distorted and unless one takes the step to find the truth, darkness and falsehoods are all we have to read. The web of deception is all pervasive. Not only can we not find the truth but if you begin to make the right connections and see that 'Israel' is in fact nothing but another settler state, then you are attacked as anti-Semitic. And what's really interesting, is that I was born of Jewish parents! Then, I get accused of «hating my Jewishness».

As a Jew, I see a large part of my solidarity work with the struggle of liberation for the Palestinian people as educating Americans that Zionism has nothing to do with being a Jew. Needless to say this is a difficult task as the propaganda is fierce and most people are ignorant and closed to looking at the truth.

Recently I have completed reading two books which I feel tell the story of where Zionism comes from and is right now. The first, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* by Lenni Brenner, tells the true historical development of Zionism, the inherent racism that permeates this 'Jewish' doctrine: How they have planned from the very beginning to suppress and exclude the Palestinians from their homeland. How they collaborated with fascist Italy, their contacts with Nazi Germany. To say that it is disgusting, is to minimize my feelings. The other is *The Fateful Triangle* by Noam Chomsky. This too gives some background to the present occupation, but more important, it details the ongoing collusion of US-Zionist strategy for the Mid-East. In closing: VICTORY TO THE PALESTINE PEOPLE!

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## Editor's Note

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Our cover celebrates the first anniversary of the Joint Leadership formed between the PFLP and DFLP on June 25, 1983. The Joint Leadership was formed as the first step towards total unification of the two fronts. It provides the nucleus for the strategic process of uniting all the Palestinian left and revolutionary democratic forces. Unifying and thus strengthening the Palestinian left should give great impetus to the overall national liberation struggle, accentuating its progressive, anti-imperialist nature and deepening the PLO's unity and commitment to the goals of the masses.

One indication of the success of the Joint Leadership experience is its role in the efforts to resolve the PLO's crisis, joining forces with the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestinian Liberation Front to this end. At the Aden meeting in late March, these four organizations clarified and unified their viewpoints on how to resolve the internal Palestinian conflict and specifically on how to face the issues which arose after Arafat's visit to Cairo. Since then, the four, now known as the Democratic Alliance, have become a force with real weight in the Palestinian arena. The Democratic Alliance has initiated a series of talks aimed at restoring the PLO's unity by combatting right-wing deviation and reaffirming the national, anti-imperialist line. Our editorial deals with these talks and should be read in conjunction with the June 28th statement by the Democratic Alliance and Fatah's Central Committee and the memoranda from the occupied territories and from nationalists in Jordan, stating their position on the Palestinian crisis and the importance of opposing deviation from the national line.

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# Editorial

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Efforts have escalated to resolve the crisis in the PLO, restoring its unity and active role. The recent series of inter-Palestinian talks were primarily initiated by the PFLP, DFLP, the Palestinian Communist Party and Palestinian Liberation Front. On the basis of their agreement in late March, the four organizations, now known as the Democratic Alliance, opened talks with Fatah's Central Committee, as well as with the National Alliance, which is composed of PFLP-General Command, Saiqa, Popular Struggle Front and the Fatah opposition. The aim was combatting right-wing deviation in a correct manner that will restore the PLO's unity and reinforce its anti-imperialist line. Meanwhile, efforts continue to reconcile Fatah's Central Committee and Syria, for this would greatly facilitate the PLO's reunification and return to the frontlines of the struggle.

## Agreement in Aden

On June 28th, a statement was issued by the Palestinian organizations that had been meeting in Aden for five days. This was the fourth round of the talks between the Fatah Central Committee and the Democratic Alliance, which started in April. These talks have aimed at the reunification of the PLO on a clear national, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist political platform and on the basis of the formation of a collective leadership, committed to safeguarding the political platform.

The statement announced that agreement had been reached among the five organizations on a political and organizational program that will serve as a basis for an overall Palestinian national dialogue. The statement suggests that this dialogue start immediately and that it be led by the PNC's Secretariat, the PLO Executive Committee and the leaders of all the Palestinian organizations. Comprehensive national agreement should enable the convening of the PNC.

The June 28th statement is of great importance. It announced to the Palestinian people and to Arab national and progressive international forces, the start of a solution to the crisis of the PLO. This, however, does not mean an automatic end to the crisis, for there are still many questions to be resolved. The most important of these is succeeding in reaching an agreement with the National Alliance, for these organizations have waged a persistent struggle against right-wing deviation.

## Damascus talks

Just as important as agreeing on a common platform with Fatah's Central Committee is joining forces with the National

Alliance, which shares the Democratic Alliance's general evaluation of the current political situation and opposition to right-wing deviation. Meetings between the National Alliance and the Democratic Alliance commenced in Damascus on June 19th, presided over by PNC President Khalid Fahoum and attended by a number of PLO Executive Committee members. A second round was held on June 26th, and these talks are scheduled to continue. Prospects for a positive outcome are enhanced by the fact that the National Alliance recognizes the necessity of reforming and unifying the PLO *within* the Democratic Alliance's proposed broad national front to fight deviation within the PLO, and the National Alliance's proposed national salvation front to the same end.

By restoring the nationalist basis for unity, the Aden agreement should encourage all parties to reach a common denominator for jointly rebuilding the PLO's unity. An agreement with the National Alliance should complement the Aden agreement by strengthening the cooperation between those forces who will fight any deviation from the national program through the formation of a broad national front in the PLO.

## Factors pushing for unity on the national line

Progress in the recent talks has been possible due to a set of objective and subjective factors. For one no serious Palestinian national force could overlook the positive alternative forwarded by the Democratic Alliance, which has won broad mass support for having shown consistent concern for Palestinian unity and advancing the popular struggle. Nor could anyone overlook the position of our people against deviation or abandonment of the PLO's adopted goals. In the occupied homeland and among Palestinians in Jordan, there is adamant opposition to any attempt to mandate King Hussein or anyone else to speak on their behalf. Many in the occupied territories, including people affiliated with Fatah, have joined in activities supporting the Democratic Alliance's initiative, based on sincere desire to find a solution to the crisis. There is also heightened awareness among all forces about the dangers of trying to resolve the conflict by other than democratic means, and about the futility of setting of an alternative to the PLO.

In a broader perspective, the assumptions upon which the right-wing based their post-Beirut policy have proven untenable. Relations with the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes were deliberate steps towards dealing with the imperialist solutions, based on the premise that the entire area had irretrievably fallen under US domination. Yet the nationalist victories in Lebanon shattered this premise and opened new horizons before

the Palestinian and Arab national struggle. PFLP Politbureau member Abdul Raheem Mallouh, who participated in the Aden talks, explains this point: «The entire US policy in the area is in a predicament, and so is Arafat's new policy... Mubarak did not grant Arafat any significant gains. The PLO Research Center was allowed to operate in Egypt after a long complicated process, but this in itself is not of great significance. Mubarak in fact referred Arafat to Jordan. However, it is also clear that the Jordanian regime is not in any way willing to cooperate with the PLO as a real partner; Jordan has its own special plans for joining the process aiming at a political solution, and is using the PLO to advance its own role. This fact has become clear to all.»

The strong stand against deviation taken by the Palestinian masses and resistance organizations, combined with the failure of the right to extract any gains, sharpened discussion within Fatah itself. Arafat and some of his followers continue to pursue their deviation, making disparaging remarks about the inter-Palestinian dialogue, which they fear will limit their room for maneuver. The majority in Fatah, however, want adherence to the national line and are aware of the importance of the PLO's unity. Also the sincere desire of the PLO's Arab and international allies to see a unified PLO, firmly positioned on an anti-imperialist line, had an important influence. In specific, all forces recognize the importance of having strategic relations with Syria.

## For a new balance of forces

At this stage the Palestinian left has both the opportunity and responsibility to effect a meaningful change in the balance of forces within the PLO. Post-Beirut experience has confirmed that it is the revolutionary democratic forces that are most concerned with national unity as a tool for advancing the liberation struggle. Meanwhile, the right has exhibited its readiness to sacrifice this unity and all our people's gains for the sake of illusions about the imperialist settlement. Accordingly, a persistent democratic struggle is required to end the bourgeoisie's domination of the PLO leadership and constitute a leadership which is genuinely committed to the goals of the Palestinian masses.

Thus, while expressing our optimism concerning the progress made in the inter-Palestinian dialogue and our hopes that this will facilitate an overall national consensus, we note that this does not negate the need for a broad national front within the PLO. Such a front has the mission of safeguarding the platform agreed upon, and fighting any deviating tendencies that persist. Such a broad front, representative of the masses' interests, is the long-term guarantee that the PLO will persist in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction in order to achieve our people's rights to return, self-determination and an independent state. ●

# PALESTINE

## *Aden talks*

# *Decisive Step towards Palestinian Unity*

In Aden on June 28th, the delegations representing the Central Committee of Fatah and the Democratic Alliance, which is composed of the PFLP, DFLP, PLF and PCP, succeeded in reaching an agreement on political and organizational matters. This agreement is an important step towards putting an end to the crisis in the PLO.

The political part of the agreement includes a clear position on the following matters: relations with the Egyptian regime, relations with Jordan and alliances on the Arab and international level. These points clearly chart the strategy of the PLO for the coming period. As far as relations with the Egyptian regime are concerned, the delega-

tions considered the visit of Yasir Arafat to Cairo a violation of the PLO program; its consequences should be stopped immediately and Arafat should be tried before the Palestinian National Council for such a violation. Of course the delegations agreed that the PLO should stick to its commitment to the Baghdad summit decision which calls for boycotting the Egyptian regime until it completely detaches itself from the Camp David accords. This in itself is a victory for the Democratic Alliance, because it clearly condemns the deviation committed by Arafat, and decides that the PLO must adhere to its original anti-imperialist line.

Concerning the relations with Jordan, the delegations agreed that these

should be conducted in accordance with the decisions of the PNC which clearly state that no mandate will be given to Jordan to represent the Palestinian people, that activities carried out by the PLO and Jordan should not infringe on the PLO's right to represent the Palestinian people.

As for the PLO's alliances, the delegations clearly stipulated that the PLO should have a deep and strong alliance with the Lebanese nationalist forces, with Syria and the Arab nationalist regimes, and with the Arab liberation movements. This in itself also clearly charts the strategy of the PLO on the Arab level. As for the international level, it calls for strengthening relations with ►

the socialist and democratic forces all over the world.

On the organizational level, the agreement includes new and important reformatory steps concerning the structure of the PLO, its departments and institutions, and concerning implementation of collective leadership. On the level of the Executive Committee, the delegations agreed that all organizations should be represented and that the **daily leadership of the PLO** should be executed by the chairman and several vice-presidents, forming a secretariat to lead the daily work of the PLO. This will be included in the internal regulations of the PLO, thus for the first time since 1964, making an important amendment which will make collective leadership not merely slogans, but a practical reality. As for the Central Council, the delegations agreed to amend the internal regulations so that the Central Council will be elected by the PNC, not chosen; it will have the authority to decide and to exercise control over the Executive Committee. The Central Council will have the right to freeze the membership of anyone in the Executive Committee who does not abide by the decisions of the PNC. There are many other items on the level of reforming the PLO's structure, which will create better national front relations. Of course the dialogue in Aden was tough, but the atmosphere was one of responsibility and concern for solving the problems of the PLO in order to protect the national cause of the Palestinian people. Therefore this step is important in preparing the ground for the overall unity of the PLO. It is a culmination of a series of dialogues which took place in Algiers and Eden in April and May.

## **The basis for the Algiers talks**

The Joint Leadership took clear stands against the use of violence to solve the internal PLO contradictions, and subsequently took a clear stand against Arafat's visit to Cairo, as this was a clear breach of the PNC program and a threat to the anti-imperialist line of the PLO. Immediately the Joint Leadership

started a series of meetings to draw up a plan for the reunification of the PLO on a clear anti-imperialist basis. Two other organizations joined: the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestinian Liberation Front.

The plan on which they agreed on March 27th, was termed the Aden agreement, a political initiative to reunify the PLO on a nationalist basis. Actually, it is a plan of struggle, through democratic dialogue, against the political line of the extreme right in the PLO, and against the adventurous line of the organizations which resorted to arms to solve the internal contradictions in the PLO. The Aden agreement provided the basis for the talks in Algiers.

## **The results of the first round**

The first round of talks in Algiers in April was an important one: It was the first meeting between the Democratic Alliance and the Central Committee of Fatah after months of conflict. The delegations exchanged points of view related to the developments in the Middle East since the PLO's departure from Beirut. Then points of difference were sorted out to be worked on in an effort to reach a joint platform.

The most important achievements of the first round of talks were:

1. It was agreed that the PNC will not be held until there is an overall national agreement between all Palestinian organizations.

2. The delegations drew up the basis for reconciliation between Syria and Fatah's Central Committee. These political points were carried to Damascus by Mohammad Sharif Mussaidiya, General Secretary of the Algerian National Liberation Front.

The second round of talks in May went a bit differently. The first round had been openly criticized by some leading figures of Fatah, as well as by some leading figures of the Fatah opposition in Damascus. Such stands showed that the dialogue initiated by the Joint Leadership would run into opposition from those who have no interest in

reunification of the PLO. Such criticism from both sides pushed the delegations to speak frankly. Thus, the talks focused on the points of differences.

The discussions were serious and the round resulted in positive advance. A member of the Joint Leadership's delegation reported: «We managed to reach an agreement on all political issues except two items: The political stand vis-a-vis the relationship with the Egyptian regime; and the joint Jordanian-Palesti-

## *Press Release*

After a series of Palestinian dialogue meetings held in Algiers and Aden, characterized by a high degree of openness, responsibility and concern for the unity of the PLO, its national line and its role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people...

The participant organizations declare to all our Palestinian and Arab people as well as to our international friends and allies that the discussions were quite successful in reaching an agreement. This agreement is a historic step towards the reunification of the PLO and the Palestinian revolution, and safeguarding its national path until victory.

nian statement which calls for joint political moves. These points are scheduled for discussion in the third round of talks in Aden.»

## **Reform is necessary**

Experience has proved beyond any doubt that organizational guarantees are needed to insure the commitment of the PLO Executive Committee to the program and decisions of the PNC.

According to the present structure and distribution of authority, the Chairman of the Executive Committee can take decisions on all matters in the inter-

val between meetings of the Executive Committee. Moreover, there is no vice chairman. The Central Council of the PLO has no authority to demand reports from the Executive Committee members or to take decisions on matters of importance.

The working paper on organizational matters presented by the Democratic Alliance included concrete suggestions on these matters. In addition, the working paper proposed concrete for-

the Democratic Alliance will be to continue the talks started in Damascus with the National Alliance which is composed of Saiqa, General Command, Popular Struggle Front and the opposition of Fatah. This dialogue will not be easier than the one with the Central Committee of Fatah. Probably it will be harder. But the agreement in Aden, which has restored the nationalist basis for unity of the PLO, should help all parties who due to their national responsibility are con-

strengthening the alliance between the forces who will fight any diversion.

After this, the next step will be the overall national dialogue. This dialogue will be in the context of a meeting attended by the general secretaries of all Palestinian organizations, members of the Executive Committee and the PNC Secretariat. This meeting is supposed to take place as soon as possible, because it is to discuss the political and organizational platform to be presented at the

The participating forces in these meetings were able to decide upon a political and organizational document that will improve the path of the PLO and its strategy. This document will serve as the basis for a comprehensive Palestinian national dialogue to strengthen and ensure the unity of the PLO and activate its legitimate bodies. The participating forces call for an immediate comprehensive dialogue to begin and consider the best framework for this upcoming meeting is to include the Secretariat of the Palestinian National Council, members of the PLO Executive Committee and the general secretaries of the organizations of the revolution.

The participants agreed on some definite points that would guarantee the convening of the upcoming session of the PNC and also on some necessary preparation prior to the PNC, which will

ensure the strengthening and consolidation of national unity.

With a sense of pride, the participating forces call on all our Palestinian and Arab masses and all national and friendly forces to embrace this agreement and rally around it, to protect and strengthen it, to make it able to contribute in overcoming the existing crisis of our revolution and consolidating the PLO, safeguarding the national line of the PLO on an anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist basis, and protecting the PLO's independent national decision-making.

All the participants extend their thanks to the comrades in the Yemeni Socialist Party headed by Comrade Ali Nasser Mohammad, the Secretary-General of the party's Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the Higher People's Council, and the Prime

Minister of the Republic of Democratic Yemen, for their sincere and brotherly efforts invested to ensure the success of this meeting. These efforts are true expressions of their strong concern for the Palestinian revolution and its victories.

The participants salute the Algerian National Liberation Front Party and Brother Shadli Bin Jeddé, President of the Democratic Popular Republic of Algeria, for his great role in overseeing this dialogue and its success. This is new evidence of the brotherhood and relations of solidarity between the Palestinian revolution and the revolution of one and a half million martyrs.

Fatah Central Committee, PFLP, DFLP, PCP, PLF

Aden, June 28, 1984

mulae for the reorganization of the Executive Committee, the Central Council and the PLO's departments and offices.

## Dialogue with the National Alliance

The agreement that was announced on the 28th of June in Aden was warmly received by the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories and outside. It opens a new stage in the history of the Palestinian struggle, as it prepares the ground for the unity of the PLO as a whole. The next struggle waged by

cerned about reaching a common denominator that will make it possible for all organizations to rebuild the unity of the PLO. The dialogue will aim to establish a wide national front inside the institutions of the PLO, as a coalition between anti-imperialist forces, in order to keep struggling against any possible diversion from the PLO's national program. Therefore the agreement with the National Alliance will complement the agreement which was made with the Central Committee of Fatah, because the latter deals with the reunification of the PLO, while the agreement to be signed with the National Alliance aims at

next session of the PNC. This meeting will also decide the exact date of the PNC. All the Palestinian and Arab masses, the Arab nationalist and liberation forces, are called upon to support the agreement signed in Aden, to support the overall national dialogue and to support the struggle of the PLO which in the future will be conducted more forcefully. This will definitely bring the PLO to a new level of struggle towards achieving the right to self-determination and an independent state.

# *Memorandum for Resolving the PLO's Crisis*

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The following is the first collective statement by a large group of significant national leaders and associations in the West Bank on the current crisis in the PLO:

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The criminal aggression against Lebanon has failed to achieve its declared and hidden aims. It failed to annihilate the PLO, to impose the May 17th agreement or to strike the Syrian regime. This failure resulted in a serious economic, political and military crisis in 'Israel'. It had negative repercussions on the USA, internally and internationally, causing a failure for its traditional policies that aim to dominate the area and stabilize its advanced base, 'Israel'. This should have meant the decisive failure of the Camp David policy and the Reagan plan, and a positive impetus for the Palestinian, Arab and international struggle, had it not been for the divisions in the Palestinian arena. If these divisions continue, they threaten the very existence of the PLO and the achievements of our people under its leadership on the Palestinian, Arab and international level, in defense of their rights... Concurrent with this were the regretful conflicts and developments vis-a-vis the Syrian regime.

Despite its negative repercussions, the departure of the Palestinian resistance forces from Beirut contained evidence of the failure of the Zionist-imperialist plan and evidence of the continuity of the national struggle and its gains. It was an interim in which to reconstitute the struggle against the enemy plans, and to deal with the negative aspects engendered by the complex conditions of the struggle prior to the war. These negative aspects concerned internal organizational matters and relations within the Palestinian national arena, relations with the Lebanese nationalist forces and Syria, allies which were also targeted by the invasion, and relations with the progressive forces internationally, which were also targeted indirectly, first and foremost the Soviet Union. The aggression on Lebanon coincided with the US invasion of Grenada and the installation of new nuclear missiles in Europe and similar actions which increased tension in the world.

The extensiveness of the negative aspects resulted in the departure of Palestinian legitimacy from Lebanon and Syria, which was a great loss for the PLO and the Palestinian national struggle. This occurred at a time when great victories were achieved in the battlefield. There was a change in the balance of forces in favor of the Palestinian and Arab struggle. This effected a deep change on the struggle in the whole area and internationally; imperialist dominance was no longer total; the targeted forces were able to confront the aggression and surge towards liberation on a solid basis which strongly challenges the imperialist-Zionist aims and their strategic allies.

This was achieved during difficult and complicated circumstances where the Palestinian division and the exit of Palestinian legitimacy from the battlefield had the following dangerous consequences:

1. The Palestinian factions were preoccupied with (internal) contradictions, resulting in the paralysis of their effectivity on the overall national level.

2. The enemy forces were able to manipulate the Palestinian cause...

3. Lebanon and Syria, the main confrontation arenas, lost the national and human contents and dimensions of the Palestinian struggle. This contributed to weakening these arenas and depriving the Palestinian struggle of its relations on the Arab and international levels. It helped the imperialists to isolate the nationalist and progressive forces, headed by nationalist Lebanon and Syria, in an attempt to revive the US-Zionist strategy and their agents in the area, and to isolate the Palestinian people and cause in order to liquidate them.

The PLO has always succeeded in overcoming difficulties, foiling conspiracies, advancing the Palestinian cause towards its aims and gaining international respect whereby our cause became a focus of international concern. At this time, the PLO, its bodies, forces and masses, bear a historical responsibility to remedy the situation and confront aggression, plots and deviation.

The 16th session of the Palestinian National Council, held in Algiers, adopted historical decisions that constitute the strategic basis for the Palestinian revolution. This disappointed those forces who were betting on the internal contradictions to lead to the liquidation of the PLO and the Palestinian cause. There were many reactions expressing the disappointment of these forces who drew hope from the divisions and began to auction off the PLO's independence without recognizing the PLO or allowing it to be present and work in their territories. To varying degrees, this is the case with the US and most European and Arab countries.

Thus we are faced with the following priorities for our work:

1. The urgent necessity of dealing with the divisions and restoring the PLO's unity, starting with reuniting Fatah; if it is not possible to start within Fatah, we deeply regret the negative repercussions this would incur.

2. Dealing with the negative aspects which affected the strategic relations between the PLO, Syria and the Lebanese

nationalist movement on the basis of strategic cooperation with the progressive Arab and international forces, first and foremost the Soviet Union.

The war in Lebanon clearly delineated our enemies and their aims, and showed who our friends, partners and allies are; it clarified the struggle on all levels.

The above priorities define the strategic basis for our struggle. We do not ignore or minimize the importance of Arab solidarity. Yet we refuse its previous contents and negative, capitulationist results. We refuse that resolutions adopted by majority vote be used as a cover for walking the path of surrender and aborting all the national gains. In Arab solidarity, there is no place for Camp David, the Reagan plan, or the capitulationist agreement of May 17th. There is a place for Arab solidarity which confronts our strategic imperialist-Zionist enemy in order to guarantee and further our national interests.

We do not ignore the international influence of the European countries and the effect of this on our cause. Yet we cannot but note the stands of the great majority of them which support the occupation at the expense of human and national rights, and international agreements, in accordance with the strategic US plans.

We must therefore take our point of departure in our own strategy to defend our national rights and relations, to achieve our aims and victory; we must unite our position against our enemies in order to make a new start for our revolution as is required to meet new challenges and historical responsibilities towards our people, the Arab nation and the world.

The resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC were subjected to distortions aimed at undermining the strategic impor-

tance and giving them a superficial, tactical interpretation, whereas these resolutions are the essential base that guarantees the unity of the PLO and its bodies and the Palestinian people, for they protect the unity of these forces within the conditions of each stage of struggle.

We call on the PLO leadership, bodies and forces and all nationalist personalities to realize the importance of the priorities listed above; these are urgent for facing aggression, plots and deviation.

It is important for all Arab countries to support and advance the cause in its full dimensions. Without this, the legitimacy, independence and unity of the PLO will remain a symbol with no practical contents, wherein differing opinions would contradict, depriving the PLO of its orientation and reason for being. Dealing with Arab regimes that are allied to the US, especially the Sadat and Mubarak regime of Egypt, can only be a move towards Camp David and the Reagan plan, heralding capitulation and the achievement of the goals of the US enemy on the Palestinian level and throughout the region. In the absence of a clear strategy and in light of the retreating Arab situation, this will be the case regardless of what justifications are given for these dealings, whether as deliberate or tactical moves.

Finally we call upon Syria and the Lebanese nationalist forces to assume their national responsibility for protecting the gains of the common struggle. We call on them to develop their strategic relations, which requires protecting the unity and independence of the PLO in order to strengthen the strategic base for fulfilling the national tasks and achieve Arab solidarity in confronting the challenges and negative aspects.

#### *Mayors*

Bassam Shakaa, Nablus  
Karim Khalaf, Ramallah  
Wahid Hamdallah, Anabta  
Hilmi Hanoun, Tulkarem  
Mahmoud Abdul Fattah, Arrabeh  
Ahmad Shawki Musa, Jineen  
Khaled Awad, Kubatyeh  
Khalil Kheir, Beit Sahour (deputy)  
George Hazboun (deputy, dismissed)

#### *Municipal Council members*

Yaser Arslan, Nablus  
Khaldoun Abdul Haq, Nablus  
Yusef Farhat, Ramallah  
Dr. Nicola Awad, Ramallah  
Ahmad Marouf, Al Bireh  
Dr. Faisal Oudeh, Ariha (Jerico)  
Ibrahim Balo, Ariha  
Atallah Rishmawi, Beit Sahour

#### *Nationalist personalities*

Mamoun Sayed  
Riad Solh  
Dr. Azmi Sheibi  
Taysir Arouri  
Dr. Ahmad Natshe  
Ali Yassin Mhazel  
Dr. Abdul Hafiz Ashab  
Jiryes Khoury

#### *Unions*

Adel Ghanem, General Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions in the West Bank  
Adnan Dagher, Permanent Secretary of Ramallah associations  
Ibrahim Dakkak, Engineers Union  
Dr. Salah Bastami, Doctors Union  
Ismail Taziz, Pharmacists Union  
Mursi Hujair, Lawyers Union  
Mohammad Naser Din, Dentists Union  
Saleh Abu Eida, Lawyers, Nablus branch  
Dr. Issam Edwan, Dentists, Nablus

#### *Women's associations*

Samiha Khalil, President of the Society for the Restoration of the Family  
Amal Khreishi, President of the Union of Working Women Committees  
Andrian Abu Eita, Arab Women's Union  
Working Women's Committee, Al Khalil (Hebron)

#### *Other associations*

Student Council, Bethlehem University  
Chief of the Senior Committee for Voluntary Work  
President of the Red Crescent, Al Khalil  
Member of the Higher Education Council

# *For Unity, Not Deviation*

## **Memorandum**

**From: Palestinian national personalities in Jordan**

**To: PNC President Khalid Fahoum**

Dear brother,

Because the people are the leader, tutor and hero who write our history of struggle with their blood...

Because you are the President of the PNC, the highest Palestinian popular body, the main duties of which are to materialize the revolutionary Palestinian will and aspirations for unity and liberation...

Because the misunderstandings and splits have reached a dangerous level because of the individualist methods of the leadership in all its actions, alliances and policies which are based on despair, corruption, destruction and compromise...

Because of these things, we address you with a firm, urgent call.

With great hope we have been following the endeavors made to restore unity. We greatly appreciate the attempts made by PFLP, DFLP, the Palestinian Liberation Front and the Palestinian Communist Party at Aden, Damascus and Algiers, which aim at ending the present crisis, restoring national unity and morale, and stressing the armed struggle and commitment to the PNC's decisions. Regretfully, these positive efforts were not met with sincere interest on the part of the individualist PLO leadership, but with maneuvers to buy time, continuation of the capitulationist path, individual supremacy, the splitting of popular organizations, bribery, etc.

The defeatist attitude of the individualist leadership of the PLO has resulted in the paralysis of the PLO associations. It has sharpened divisions among organizations inside and outside of Palestine, weakened the people's confidence and confused the masses. The continuation of the retreating posture will deprive us of the opportunity to benefit from the present state of retreat and defeat of the Zionists and imperialists; it will keep us from benefitting from the state of victory and advance of Syria, the nationalist Lebanese and the Palestinians, supported by the Soviet Union. In addition it encourages those who want to inherit the PLO's sole, legitimate representation of the Palestinian people; it increases the prominence of Palestinian figures known for their disloyalty. This is a situation never experienced before in the history of our struggle.

It is imperative for sincere strugglers to take immediate steps to reform, unite and reactivate our struggle on the basis of the following principles:

1. The unity and independence of the PLO and its associations on a progressive, nationalist, anti-imperialist, anti-

Zionist line. This should be based on maintaining the organizational program affirmed in the 14th and 16th sessions of the PNC and stressing that unity should coincide with democratic reform in all bodies and associations of the PLO.

2. The formation of a collective leadership committed to the PLO's decisions and national line, wherein all organizations, forces and national personalities are represented. Such a leadership is urgently required to suit the new stage of Palestinian revolutionary work. Democratic relations should replace individualism, dogmatism and dealings with Arab reaction.

3. A declared, strategic alliance with Syria, the Lebanese national movement, the Arab national regimes and the progressive forces internationally with the Soviet Union, the friend of our nation, in the forefront.

4. The formation of a broad national front within the PLO.

5. Reactivation of the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories based on the unity of the struggle inside and outside Palestine. Total termination of the previous bureaucracy in dealing with the Palestinian masses and national forces in the occupied territories.

6. Stressing the continuation and escalation of armed struggle against the Zionist enemy.

7. Rejecting all liquidationist solutions such as autonomy, Camp David, the Reagan Plan and any further imperialist projects which may be proposed.

Dear brother, you have heard the voice rejecting the policies of surrender; you have heard the insistence on continuing the struggle as voiced in the memorandum sent from the lands of confrontation and steadfastness, from Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Tulkarem, Al Khalil and Gaza, signed by national personalities and forces known for their sacrifices and history in our national struggle.

We hereby address you from Jordan, fulfilling our right and duty to support the efforts for unity and democratic reform. We declare our support to all steps for ending this crisis soon in order to retrieve the PLO from the present state of paralysis and enable our revolution to continue until achieving our people's aims. At this time, experience has proven that the deviationists insist on the same practices without waiting to see the results of the efforts at reconciliation and national unity negotiations. We cannot but greatly appreciate the positive efforts being made by PDR Yemen, Algeria and other Arab forces to restore the PLO's national unity.



*Palestinian fighters in Lebanon*

# *Armed and Mass Struggle*

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Interview with Comrade Abu Ahmed Fuad, member of the PFLP Politbureau, responsible for the military department.

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**What were the aims of the recent military operations in occupied Palestine? How do they correspond to the level of mass resistance?**

We in PFLP have a political, organizational and military strategy. Our military operations aim to implement our political and organizational strategy, in short, the liberation of Palestine. Since the 1967 war, we have been practicing political and military activities to achieve our political goals. Indeed, military operations are inseparable from the political and mass work. This is why we mobilize our masses to join the ranks of the military forces.

We are convinced that liberation will be achieved through protracted armed struggle, but we also assign high priority to other aspects of the struggle, as they complement each other. Our masses in occupied Palestine fight occupation by throwing stones and by all the humble means in their possession. This is obviously an expression of their resistance. For us and for all peoples who struggle for national liberation, armed struggle is the main method. Without it, we cannot liberate our occupied homeland from Zionism.

We put our main efforts into escalating the military and mass work inside occupied Palestine. Efforts from outside are helpful, but not the essential factor. The recent operations are simply implementations of this line. The April 2nd operation in Jerusalem, carried out by comrades of the DFLP, led to positive results on the mass level: It raised our people's morale. Also the PFLP's April 12th bus operation from Askelon to Rafah in the Gaza Strip was the implementation of our military line which is based on continuously striking the enemy forces. The accumulation of small strikes enables us from time to time to deal qualitative blows to the enemy.

This escalation of military operations emphasizes the positive, concrete alternative to the deviating line now being followed by Arafat. It serves to dispell the air of defeatism being

used by vacillating elements to justify their acceptance of the US imperialist solutions to the conflict. It serves warning to traitors who aspire to illusory gains through collaboration with the enemy forces. The escalation of our armed struggle will complicate the efforts to impose any settlement at the expense of the Palestinian people's rights. King Hussein of Jordan, for example, cannot speak on our behalf as long as there is a strong Palestinian voice making itself heard on the ground.

The aim of the recent operations was not to kill civilians, but to free our comrades in Zionist jails, some of whom have been imprisoned for over 15 years and exposed to all sorts of torture. Nobody is released from these jails without permanent disabilities. Some were martyred in the prisons due to torture or deliberate negligence.

When we tried to liberate our prisoners, the Zionist leaders ignored every consideration for human life. They forced their way into the bus, thereby killing or injuring a number of the passengers, and killing two of our comrades. Our other two comrades, who were captured, were killed a few hours later. This proves that our enemy uses Nazi methods. There are many other recent proofs of the enemy's crimes from Sabra-Shatila to the South of Lebanon, such as the recent murders in Ain al Hilweh.

**The bourgeois media often presents military operations as the reason for Zionist repression against the Palestinian people. What is your comment to this?**

The Zionists have continuously oppressed our people and committed all sorts of crimes against them. This is their strategy for crushing our revolution and people, as has been practiced since the creation of the Zionist entity through massacres and terrorism. Thus, the military operations are not the reason for the Zionists' repression, as this is their strategy.

### **What is the role of the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon?**

The Palestinian revolution is in Lebanon openly as well as underground. It is underground in occupied areas and openly present in the nationalist areas. Palestinian revolutionaries participate fully in the military operations in the South under the command of the Lebanese National Resistance Front. The Palestinian revolution is an effective force in the attacks against the occupiers, but there is a decision by all Palestinian organizations to operate in Lebanon under the leadership of the Lebanese nationalists. We feel it is our responsibility to fight the occupation, and we consider that our struggle is united with that of the Lebanese nationalist forces.

### **How do the Lebanese people respond to the Palestinian revolution today?**

Nationalist Lebanese do not at all differentiate between a nationalist Lebanese and a nationalist Palestinian. We are present in all the nationalist areas and have not faced problems or signs of rejection. Our masses in Lebanon have suffered a great deal from the Lebanese fascist forces and army after the Palestinian revolution left Beirut. Therefore, the liberation of West Beirut in February was a great victory for Lebanese and Palestinian nationalists. Our camps were liberated and repression ceased. The Lebanese nationalist forces provided security and support to the Palestinians in the camps, allowing them to live freely, sharing rights and duties with the Lebanese masses.

### **Do you see a possibility of Israeli withdrawal in Lebanon?**

The Zionist entity has had expansionist aims since its establishment. From the war of 1948 to that of 1982, the Zionist enemy has occupied piece after piece of Arab land in addition to Palestine. Therefore it is wrong to believe that the enemy will withdraw from any occupied area on the basis of negotiations, mediation or UN resolutions. The enemy will not withdraw unless defeated by struggle that affects a change in the balance of forces in favor of the Arab forces which confront occupation. It is also a mistake to believe that there are strategic differences between Labor and Likud. Any differences are tactical. All previous occupations, except the one in 1982, were enacted by the Labor Party. Historically, the Zionist enemy coveted the Litani River to alleviate its serious water shortage. Therefore, we expect that any withdrawal in South Lebanon will only be to the Litani River. However, the continuation of the Lebanese-Palestinian struggle and the effects of the Lebanese National Resistance Front's operations will sooner or later force the enemy out.

### **What are the possibilities of an Israeli attack on Syria at this time?**

Before the Israeli elections, we do not expect large-scale Israeli military attacks on Syria, leading to a war. We do expect the continuation of the enemy's attacks against the Palestinians by all means. Syria today has a military capacity which

enables it to hit the enemy hard and thus prevent it from achieving its goals.

### **How will the Karami cabinet affect the struggle in Lebanon?**

We do not believe that the formation of the Karami government will accomplish the goals of the Lebanese nationalist masses. The Lebanese situation is not resolvable by the formation of a cabinet, or its successes. There are contradictions between the nationalist and fascist forces that cannot be solved by solutions that do not deal with the heart of the problem. Radical change is required that will eliminate the fascist project. The maximum realistic expectation is that there will be a temporary truce. This, however, will explode since 'Israel' and its tools in Lebanon will make obstacles for any nationalist solutions. This is evident in the actions of the fascist Lebanese Forces and their opening an office in occupied Jerusalem. In practice, there is no way to reconcile the two opposing forces, one which is allied with 'Israel' and the other opposing.

### **How do you evaluate Nabih Berri's role in the cabinet?**

Nabih Berri of the Amal movement takes nationalist positions and pushes for continuation of the struggle against the Zionist enemy in order to liberate the South. However, he will face major obstacles in his efforts to meet the needs of the masses of the South, because the essential part of state power remains with President Amin Gemayel, who as a Phalangist is in total contradiction to the aspirations of the Lebanese people, especially in the South.

### **What is the role of the South Lebanon army headed by Lahad?**

Lahad's army is an extension of Saad Haddad's forces and part and parcel of the Zionist forces. All its support and arms come from 'Israel'. These forces implement Israeli policy in the South. We know for a fact that these forces are also supported by President Gemayel and the Lebanese Army's commander in chief. It has been confirmed that Lahad was an officer with the Lebanese Army working at Baabda (location of the Lebanese presidential palace and central army barracks) and that he was assigned officially by Gemayel and the Lebanese Army's commander for this task. He is officially still

*PSP fighters defending the mountains*



part of the army; he was not dismissed, nor were any measures taken against him.

The practice of Lahad's army in the South does not differ from that of the Israeli forces. The Israelis have turned some of their positions and checkpoints over to his forces. The Israelis have repeatedly declared their readiness to withdraw on the condition that 'security' duties can be taken over by Lahad's forces and various other local militias under Israeli command.

**Zionist and imperialist media are painting the picture that the Palestinian revolution is defeated, and that the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza would do better to accept what they can get by cooperating with 'Israel'. What is your comment to this?**

This is the aim of the Zionist and imperialist media, but the reality is exactly the opposite. True, the Palestinian revolution lost one of its positions, but it was able to rebuild its structures and force; it established strong alliances with the Lebanese nationalist forces and Syria; it has partially rid itself of the wrong political trend which Arafat has followed for years. It is a fact that a wrong political line can lead the revolution to defeat if the revolutionary forces do not rise up to correct the situation and chart the correct political line based on the political lessons

of Beirut, the correct strategy and tactics which lead the revolution to victory. This is what is taking place now in the Palestinian revolution, for all organizations have adopted the line of continuing the struggle against the enemy. There is only Arafat and a small part of Fatah adopting the capitulationist line. This line is rejected by the Palestinian fighters and masses. Therefore, it will be defeated.

In 1984, the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese nationalist forces and Syria defeated the NATO fleets in Lebanon. Does this mean we got weaker? The Lebanese-Palestinian resistance in the South of Lebanon inflicts daily losses on the enemy; there is an ongoing reaction inside the Zionist entity due to the losses inflicted by the heroic resistance; there are contradictions between the Zionist leaders and parties ignited and fueled by the continuation of our struggle. Does this mean that the Palestinian revolution was defeated?

Developments after 1982 have proven that the Palestinian revolution has learned from its previous mistakes and gotten rid of many of them. This has a positive impact on the struggle of our masses in occupied Palestine. The strengthening of the struggle in occupied Palestine is an indication of this. This will lead to increased mass, political and military work in occupied Palestine and in the Arab world generally. ●

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## *Mass Rally*

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In late May, a mass rally was held in Yarmouk Camp near Damascus to commemorate the four comrades who were martyred in the operation carried out by the PFLP in occupied Palestine on April 12th. The main speakers were Comrade George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP, and Comrade George Hawi, General Secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party. Both speeches are printed in summary.

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## *Comrade Habash*

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We meet today to honor the martyrs of the Askelon-Rafah operation: Comrades Jamal Qiblan, Subhi Abu Juma, Mohammad Barakha and Majdi Abu Juma, martyrs of Palestine, the Arab nation, and the movement for progress and peace in the world. We also honor martyr Abu Rabi', hero of the operation carried out by the DFLP in Jerusalem, and salute comrades Carlos and Fuad who participated in this operation.

The importance of such operations at this stage lies in the fact that they affirm the continuity of the armed struggle until the achievement of all the aims for which thousands of our people have been martyred. Such operations tell Arafat, Mubarak, Hussein, Hassan II and all other surrendering rulers that the only solution to the Arab-Zionist struggle is to uproot Zionism from our land. Such operations say that our masses have the power to achieve their aims...

Speaking thus is based on scientific analysis that a just

peace in the area can only be achieved by securing the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, which can never take place with the existence of the Zionist entity.

Everybody speaks of a just, lasting peace in the Middle East. It is natural that our aim is a just, lasting peace in Palestine and all the Arab area. It would be criminal to want to prolong the displacement and instability of the Palestinian and Arab people, to want to prolong instability for the Jews living in Palestine. Yet, what is the way to a just, lasting peace in Palestine?

The Zionist movement succeeded in misleading world opinion in 1948, when 'Israel' was created. It presented itself as a 'national liberation movement' for Jews, with the sole aim of establishing a state in Palestine where Jews would feel they had a homeland and live in peace with their Arab neighbors.

But what happened? The area given to 'Israel' by the partition plan, the international legal base for creating the state, was approximately 50% of Palestine. Prior to the 1967 war, 'Israel' had illegally appropriated 80% of Palestine through aggression. In the 1967 war, 'Israel' completed possession of Palestine and occupied other Arab territory.

Now 17 years have elapsed without Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, despite the fact that many Arab leaders have accepted the formula of return of the land in exchange for recognition and peace with 'Israel'. Daily King Hussein expresses his acceptance of this formula, which was affirmed by UN resolution 242.

This imposes responsible thinking about the true nature of the Zionist entity in order to determine the basis for a just, lasting peace in the area. We are confident that in the end the nature and aims of this entity will be exposed; it will be clear that a just, lasting peace in the area can only be achieved by uprooting Zionism from the Arab land. This was partially concluded by the UN General Assembly when it condemned Zionism as a reactionary racist movement. Is it possible that Zionism be defeated and at the same time 'Israel' remains? Is it possible for 'Israel' to exist without Zionism?

The time will come when we are able to tell the world that whoever wants a just, lasting peace should support us in uprooting this entity from the Arab area. We recall Brezhnev's declaration during the 1982 war in Lebanon, that should 'Israel' continue to be aggressive and to ignore the Palestinian people's rights, it will lose the legal basis of its existence, which was the partition plan which also grants the Palestinian people's right to an independent state.

## **Let's fight Arab reaction's attempts at coexistence with the Zionist entity**

With the blessings of King Hassan II's regime, a Jewish conference was held in Morocco, attended by an official Zionist delegation from 'Israel'. The Saudi and Kuwaiti regimes said that they were not aware of such matter. Now that they know, we await their response, but our waiting will remain fruitless. In Egypt, the official declarations are all supportive, calling for the recognition of 'Israel'. Accordingly we must concentrate more on fighting such attempts.

I say this in light of Arafat's recent course; he is running after a share in the settlement when it is clear that any settlement under the current balance of forces imposes recognition of the Zionist entity. He is not ashamed of this even though it threatens the very existence and national identity of the Palestinian people and the aims of the Arab nation... Certain sectors of the Palestinian and Arab bourgeoisie are prepared to deal with the imperialist-Zionist formula for 'peace'.

What are the nature and conditions of the imperialist-Zionist 'peace'?

First: Rejection of the Palestinian national existence (identity) and state. This is the Zionist formula with the excep-

tion of small groups in 'Israel' who speak of the possibility of recognizing the Palestinian people's rights. The major parties, who will remain in power for a long time, completely refuse this. There are no differences between the two major parties, Likud and Labor, and the results of the coming elections will not vary whether Shamir or Peres wins. Together these parties will have 90 votes out of 120 (in the Knesset) which shows that they will continue in power for a long time. We should not expect anything from either: The Likud wants to annex all the occupied Arab territories, while Labor is ready to give a small part of the West Bank to Jordan, due to fear of the demographic factor whereby with time the Palestinians would become the majority if all the territories are annexed.

Second: Normalization of relations which is greatly needed for marketing purposes...to open the Arab market for Israeli products.

Third: The imperialists and Zionists will not accept any peace unless the whole area falls under imperialist dominance. This was the reason for the 1967 war and the 1982 war in Lebanon. The Zionists gave the excuse of «Peace for Galilee», but the real objectives were much greater than protecting the settlements or expelling the Palestinian resistance... I won't mention all these objectives but among them was the Israeli desire to control the Litani River, for the water crisis in 'Israel' is very real.

Such 'peace' and normalization are accepted by sectors of the Palestinian and Arab bourgeoisie, who see their interests in such a solution, but all the Arab masses reject this. We all know how the Egyptian masses refused to deal with the Zionist entity despite the steps of Sadat and then Mubarak. One day these masses will impose their will.

## **The Lebanese nationalists' victories are a great historical lesson**

After the departure of the Palestinian resistance from Beirut, 'Israel' wanted to achieve the aims of its invasion. Yet, the Lebanese nationalist forces continued the struggle. 'Israel' and the fascists of Lebanon, both supported by imperialism, were confronted by the Lebanese nationalists, the progressive forces in the Palestinian revolution, Syria and the Soviet Union. This struggle resulted in a historical victory for the national alliance and the cancellation of the May 17th agreement.

Where was the official Palestinian role in this period? Where was Arafat? We all felt bitter that the role of the PLO as a vanguard force was not up to our people's expectations. It is a major problem for us that Arafat did not gather all the Palestinian forces to maintain their natural role in the Palestinian-nationalist Lebanese-Syrian alliance. Thus, it is a great problem for us that Arafat still heads the PLO. It is a problem for every nationalist Palestinian, Lebanese, Syria and the Arab liberation movement that the PLO's role is weakened at this critical stage of our struggle. How to remedy the situation? This will not be an easy matter, yet how?

## Burning tasks

First: Escalation of the armed struggle in Palestine, as well as our duty of participating with the Lebanese National Resistance Front... Arafat wants to tell the US and the Israeli Labor Party, if it succeeds in the elections: Let's work out a solution. Thus, he did not dare to display clear support to the recent operations in Jerusalem and Askelon. Let's face this deviating trend with all our powers. The effect of such operations in Palestine is now known. Let all the Palestinian organizations impose their existence on this level, for this is the way to confront the path Arafat is trying to impose.

Second: Formation of a broad national front to defeat deviation. The armed struggle must be backed by the proper political structures. As an immediate treatment for the prevailing crisis in the PLO, all Palestinian national efforts should be gathered in a wide national front which will confront and prevent the deviation, and fill the gap resulting from this deviation. I call upon all Palestinian organizations to take responsible steps to gather all efforts in such a front, to safeguard the PLO's unity on a national basis, to escalate the armed struggle, and fill the vacancy in the national Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian alliance. There is no room for sectarian attitudes that paralyze this process. No one should expect self-gain at this stage; most important is the battle against the path of surrender.

Third: Waging a patient struggle to restore the unity of the PLO... Some may want to finalize matters quickly, yet it is not possible to take hasty steps and still safeguard the PLO's unity. The PLO represents a great gain to our people through which national efforts have been directed for 20 years. This resulted

in international recognition of our cause. The PLO now represents the Palestinian national identity and the unity of the Palestinian people's struggle. Though headed by the bourgeoisie, it is the poor and working masses who have given the PLO its great value through their sacrifices. It would be a great mistake if we allowed the surrendering sectors of the Palestinian bourgeoisie to claim representation of the PLO and succeed in securing recognition on the international level. We should prevent this through two stages: first by preventing Arafat from speaking in the name of Palestinian legitimacy, or in the name of all PLO Executive Committee members, PNC members, or Central Committee members; second by assembling the institutions of the PLO after doing away with deviating practices.

Comrades, through the armed struggle and its escalation, through the national front to face the deviating method, we hope that the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, will regain its position as an active force responsible for the achievement of our people's national aims. When the PLO regains its unity, power and anti-imperialist line, our comrades in the Lebanese national movement and in Syria will agree on the PLO's outstanding role which helped to blaze the trail of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The Palestinian cause is a just cause of a people dismissed from their homeland. Yet the US grants all support to 'Israel' to the extent that it does not condemn, even formally, the settlement-building in the occupied territories. Despite all this, the Arab reactionaries continue their alliance and subordination to the US. This affirms that the Palestinian cause is the real exposure of Arab reaction's treacherous nature.

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# Comrade Hawi

Today's celebration is to praise the heroic action of the PFLP fighters on the road between Tel Aviv and Gaza, which followed the DFLP's Jerusalem operation. These represent the continuity of a political line and revolutionary logic which the Palestinian left has made a material fact through the Joint Leadership of the PFLP and DFLP. How magnificent this action of expropriating a bus from the Zionist usurper and driving it on the road of struggle. This is the road of armed struggle leading to the national rights of the Palestinian people. This is not the road travelled in surrendering ships via the Egyptian regime to hand over the Palestinian right of independent representation to the King of Jordan and others, in hopes of securing fictive rights which the Palestinian people will never gain through such roads. Two different approaches to the struggle for national rights of the Palestinian people are now confronting each other on the Palestinian and Arab level.

The Palestinian left has proved itself as being more concerned about the Palestinian people's national interests and about the political, moral and military achievements of the Palestinian revolution. It is the more capable of leading the

struggle for securing these rights. The left has also proved itself as being the more concerned about unity and the principles adopted by the PNC. It has also proved its vigilance through its political stands and all the initiatives to end the acute crisis which was caused by the policy of the Palestinian right.

## The Lebanese-Palestinian alliance

There is a unity of blood and destiny between the Lebanese and the Palestinian people. This was embodied in the Lebanese National Resistance Front where the determination of the Lebanese and the heroes of Ain al Hilweh met and worked against the Israeli occupation.

After the US-supported Israeli aggression on Lebanon in 1982, some thought that Lebanese-Palestinian unity would only be maintained through political maneuvers, exaggerating the unfavorable balance of forces to justify dealing with the results of the invasion. There were many attempts in the name of realism and flexibility to have this unity function according to

a logic whereby the Palestinian revolution would abandon its basic revolutionary principles, and the Lebanese would deal with a regime which is the result of the Israeli occupation and US intervention.

Then there was a historical victory and the May 17th treaty was cancelled. One year earlier, no one had expected this to happen so quickly. This victory was achieved with the help of two major factors: One, the firm Syrian stand against this treaty and support to the Lebanese nationalist forces; two, the heroic participation of the revolutionary Palestinian organizations who fought side by side with the heroes of the Lebanese National Resistance Front against occupation.

## **Support to the democratic alliance**

We affirm our support to the approach which aims at restoring the PLO to its vanguard position in the struggle of the Arab liberation movement. This approach is basically represented by the positions of the PFLP, and affirmed in the common stands of the PFLP-DFLP Joint Leadership and the four-party democratic alliance (including also the PLF and the PCP).

At the same time, we highly evaluate the stands of the other Palestinian organizations which faced the deviating methods inside and outside Fatah; we note their concern for the Palestinian people's rights. I am referring to the four-party bloc of PFLP-General Command, Saiqa, the Popular Struggle Front and Fatah- the Uprising.

We view positively talks with all the forces that have a representative weight, that can lead to a joint stand capable of resolving the crisis of the Palestinian revolution. Here I mean Fatah's Central Committee.

We hope for the success of the present negotiations on the basis that was agreed upon by the Joint Leadership in the Aden meetings.

In the framework of the Arab national liberation movement, we see it as a central duty to support the Palestinian revolution's resolving its crisis. Without this, we will not be able to consolidate the victory in Lebanon or spread its results on the Arab level, so that we can strengthen the position of the forces that participated in achieving this victory, mainly Syria and the other nationalist regimes.

## **Lebanon**

It is not true that there is no room or no need for the fighters of the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon. Lebanon is the place for every revolutionary Arab struggler, especially the Palestinians. We in the Lebanese Communist Party are far removed from a weak provincial outlook. Concerning the victory in Lebanon, we do not call this the victory of Lebanon. This victory was the result of the common struggle of the Lebanese masses, their progressive forces, the Palestinian masses, their true revolutionary forces, and progressive Syrian Arab support. It

represents a victory for the entire Arab liberation movement. Moreover, this victory would never have been achieved without the firm stand of the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union.

## **Correct principles for Palestinian-Lebanese relations**

First: The victory achieved in Lebanon is a Palestinian victory. It provided a major part of Lebanon as an area for the Palestinian people's struggle for their national rights. This must be supported by actions which guarantee liberating all parts of Lebanon and channeling all its human, material and geographic potentials into the common national struggle against Israeli aggression.

Second: The Palestinians in Lebanon, like the nationalist Lebanese, should be organized and carry arms to defend the Lebanese land and fight the Zionist occupation. This should be according to a plan agreed upon; it should be under Lebanese nationalist leadership, taking into consideration the nature of the struggle in Lebanon.

Third: The right of the Palestinian people and revolution to use Lebanese territory, like their right to use any other Arab territory, to support the uprisings and armed struggle in Palestine. This must be discussed in order to arrive at the methods for best developing the Palestinian revolution and its alliances in Lebanon and the other Arab countries.

Comrade Hawi called for avoiding parades (meaningless displays of armed force) and taking as an example the Askalon and Jerusalem operations which do not require big offices or heavily armed vehicles. In this connection, he noted the experience of the Lebanese National Resistance Front. He concluded that whatever helps developing the Palestinian revolution's struggle in Palestine is permissible in Lebanon; anything that hinders this should be prohibited in Lebanon through a revolutionary Palestinian leadership decision.

## **A military blow to the fascists is a must**

We have no illusions about the possibility of achieving a solution, even a temporary one, for the Lebanese crisis within the present balance of forces. Yet this does not mean that we withhold support from the efforts to find a solution.

If the enemy forces are not confronted by the needed decisiveness, they will block a solution. The settlement must proceed from two principles: First, continued pressure at every opportunity and by all means, to oblige the political authorities to accept a political solution which guarantees the fundamentals for bringing the country to a democratic dialogue; second, preparations on the part of the nationalist and progressive forces to wage a military operation to deprive the fascist forces of the positions that allow them to continue their sabotage. Such a military blow is inevitable in order to impose the retreat of the fascist forces and make room for a real solution. ●

# Zionist 'Justice' - Election Tactics

**Why the terrorist establishment cracked down on its own death squads...**

In July 1980, the attempted assassination of mayors Ibrahim Tawil, Bassam Shakaa and Karim Khalaf resulted in serious disabilities for the latter two. Since then Palestinian residents, especially in the West Bank, have been accosted by wave after wave of terrorist attacks officially attributed to eccentrics. The few perpetrators brought to trial were ones who could be discounted as fringe elements or deranged, while terror escalated under the pseudonym of TNT, a supposedly unknown group.

It is well-known why the crimes against our people remained unresolved. Quite simply, their aim of inducing a mass exodus of Palestinians is Israeli state policy. Only recently, Prime Minister Shamir spoke of «a land of Israeli free of foreigners». The criminals were just doing their job of clearing the land as good Zionist settlers have always done in one way or another. Accordingly, settler terrorism enjoyed support in the highest echelons, with arms, logistics and protection coming from the IDF, intelligence officers and government officials. Recently, this official encouragement was made explicit by Science and Development Minister Yuval Neeman. Speaking on Israeli radio, May 9th, he said of the 1980 attack on the mayors: «in total, it had a positive effect...paralyzed the main instigators...»

Official involvement has been amply confirmed by the details released in connection with the arrests that began late in April and resulted in the indictment of 27 Israelis associated with the assassination attempt on the mayors, the July 1983 murder of students at Al Khalil (Hebron) University, planting bombs in mosques and buses, etc. The indicted are residents of settlements in the 1967 occupied territories. Unlike the Israelis arrested earlier, they are not mainly affiliated to Kahane's KACH movement which openly advocates «All Arabs out!» and which 'respectable' Zionists call fanatics. No, those newly arrested are the type of Gush Emunim, the Likud's favored settler movement. They include decorated war «heros», at least two senior army officers, a retired police officer, a mayor in the so-called civil administration of the West Bank, a former deputy military governor for a region of the West Bank and a senior air force officer. Shin Bet investigations revealed a sophisticated organizational network. The arms caches «suddenly discovered» were stocked with weapons of IDF issue, from the one at Lifta, near Jerusalem, to that at Kiryat Arba which consisted of weapons given to the settlers for a regional defense program and then reported missing.

It has also been officially confirmed that the authorities have known the identity of these terrorists for at least a year and that many have been under surveillance (but of course not prevented from their anti-Palestinian terror). Israeli police offi-

ers have confirmed that in some cases the intelligence had ordered a halt to investigations. Why then did the Israeli authorities finally crack down on their partners in terrorism?

## **«The Jewish underground» - a political football in the Zionist elections**

We can automatically discount that the arrests of Zionist terrorists was a concession to Palestinian grievances. Generally, the Israeli authorities have not even bothered to interview the targets of terror attacks to gather clues. Instead we can trace the reasons for the crackdown to the needs of the Zionist state in its current crisis, and most immediately to the Likud's slipping hold on state power. The Shamir government desperately needs to show it is in control in order to cover its total failure to alleviate the economic crisis or reduce Israeli casualties in Lebanon. Under pressure from the opposition, the Likud needs a diversionary maneuver to blunt criticism and increase the chances of its reelection. In the process, Shamir and Arens are taking the opportunity to consolidate their hegemony over the state and the right-wing bloc. Three events which preceded the recent arrests indicate that to a great extent they are a political football in the upcoming Israeli elections:

1. In late January, previously undisclosed facts about the invasion of Lebanon were published in 'Israel', highlighting misuse of power on the part of then Defense Minister Sharon and Chief of Staff Eitan. Subsequently, a group of senior army officers demanded an official inquiry into Sharon's performance in the war, contending that forty Israelis were killed in battles for which Sharon had not sought government approval. This was a new reminder that despite Sharon's great contribution to Zionism's aggressive enterprises, he has become a liability to the Likud's credibility and has disturbed the unity and morale of the most sacred Israeli institution: the army.

2. On February 7th, the Karp report was published. Drawn up by Israeli legal experts headed by Deputy Attorney General Karp, it castigated law enforcement in the occupied territories. Covering the period from May 1981 until May 1982, the report has been finished since that time, but publication was delayed because it documented the failure of Israeli police to seriously deal with anti-Palestinian terrorism.

Karp herself is Labor-affiliated, and this report's publication gave a real push to the opposition. The Labor Party lacks foolproof solutions for the economic crisis, which is inherent in the Zionist state's structure, and to the problems encountered in occupying South Lebanon. (It advocates withdrawal only when 'security' is guaranteed, which is essentially the same policy established by Defense Minister Arens. Whether advocated by Labor or Likud, this means continuing occupation and

consequent Israeli casualties.) On the other hand, the Labor Party has always been careful to hide its own terrorist credentials under a cloak of social democracy and state authority. Thus, it eagerly seized on the question of the «Jewish underground» as ammunition against the Likud.

3. On February 9th, Sharon publicly announced his intention to be Herut's candidate for prime minister. Thus, he flagrantly disregarded the need for Likud's unity behind Shamir at a time when the government's popularity was dropping sharply and the spectre of early elections was already in the air. Actually, Sharon's announcement was a signal that he wanted to regain the defense portfolio, as also indicated by his vocal criticism of Arens' policy in Lebanon. When it came to a vote in Herut's Central Committee, Sharon drew 41% as opposed to Shamir's 56%, showing that he is a force to be reckoned with.

The Arens-Sharon rivalry over whose policy is more effective, could be one reason why investigations began of veterans of Unit 101, the notorious terror squad formed by Sharon in the IDF during the fifties. Shamir and Arens eyed a chance to serve warning to Sharon and his militant followers, while at the same time whitewashing their own terrorist records. It is noteworthy that Arens was the only minister to express full support to the Karp report, which covers a period when Sharon was responsible for the 1967 occupied territories.

## The big terrorists go free

Most important, however, was giving the Likud as a whole a whitewash before the July 23rd elections. With the crackdown on a small part of Zionism's terror squads, the Likud is competing with Labor for respectability in the eyes of the world and, more important, in the eyes of those Israelis that cannot face the fact that Zionism equals terrorism. In this context, we note that the Reagan administration made a statement on the May indictments, a matter which would normally be considered an internal Israeli affair not calling for overseas response. The US affirmed that «the government of Israel and Shamir is already on record as being opposed to terrorism».

With the above we do not intend to reduce the recent crackdown to a scenario preplanned for the election campaign; nor will the question of Zionist terrorism disappear after July 23rd. At the heart of the matter lie much bigger questions. Inasmuch as the foregoing consolidation of the right in Israeli politics is the logical consequence of the development of the Israeli state, the crisis for the Likud's rule is symptomatic of Zionism's overall crisis.

In an attempt to hold on to state power, the Likud was forced to take measures which may put strains on the rightist alliance and cause friction with its own constituency. A poll published in the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* in February, showed that fully 19% of Israelis support terror against Arabs. Likud risks antagonizing the militant settler movement which provides the vanguard for its pet project: annexation of the 1967 occupied territories.

## Added US contribution to terror and settlements

Among those indicted for anti-Arab terror are recently immigrated US citizens. This directs attention to the fact that «The US has become Israel's principal supplier of immigrants», according to *Newsweek* magazine, June 4th. As of now only about 10% of the settlers in the West Bank came from the US, but their numbers have doubled in the past three years, pointing to a significant trend. The increase in US citizens immigrating to the Zionist state is due to the fact that the Jewish Agency's immigration program has been reinforced by Gush Emunim's direct recruitment to settlements in the name of 'Eretz Israel'. Like the Likud generally, these settlers rely on religious pretexts for their colonization and regard the West Bank as the heart of 'Greater Israel', to which non-Jews have no rights. Unlike the Americans who have immigrated to within the pre-67 borders of the Zionist state, the drop-out rate of these new settlers is very low. They are becoming a significant component of the settler population and thus constitute a new form of US aid to Zionist expansionism. It is striking that most of them retain their US citizenship.

## Fascism above and under ground

The other bigger issue is related to what 'left' Zionists have long been warning: the danger of fascism in 'Israel' and/or a military takeover. Of course, fascist practices have always been used against Palestinians, and the Israeli state is already highly militarized. What is new is growing public awareness that the Zionist right is prepared to violate Israeli law which is supposedly designed to protect Jews, and even to harm Jews as well as Palestinians. The February 1983 killing of Emil Gruenzweig and the injury of ten other Peace Now demonstrators shocked many Israelis. Those who view 'Israel' as an alternative to fascism's persecution of Jews in Europe, feel uncomfortable with statements like those of Gush Emunim leader Levinger: «The Jewish national renaissance is more important than democracy. The fate of the land of Israel and a free and whole Jewish life in it are not subject to majority vote.»

The tendency to narrow Israeli pseudodemocracy, even for Jews, is nowadays often expressed even in the Knesset. On May 30th, Knesset member Cohen Avidov challenged the right of Mothers against Silence to demonstrate against the war in Lebanon. A few days earlier, he had declared at a Gush Emunim rally: «We have to tear out the eyes and guts of the Arabs».

The growing fascist tendencies in the Zionist state will not be halted by the arrest of the so-called underground. On the contrary, the crackdown on one branch of Zionist terror is a prelude to incorporating their tasks into the state's prerogatives, i.e. more institutionalized repression against Palestinians in particular, but also to be used against 'troublesome' Israelis.

Already the settlers have been delegated greater powers, such as the permission granted to them to detain stonethrowers beginning in December. (This gave a 'legal' cover for settlers' pursuing stonethrowers on December 8th, to fire into a Nablus bakery, killing an eleven year old girl and wounding her sister. For this, one settler received three months in jail, another a suspended sentence.) In late January, Arens and Interior Minister Burg proposed harsher penalties for Palestinian stonethrowers who can now be sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. It was decided to move two more regiments of border guards into the 1967 territories. Blowing up the homes of Palestinians suspected of anything from throwing stones to fullblown military operations has again become commonplace. One can imagine many new 'law and order' measures, presented as combatting the so-called Jewish underground, but actually used against Palestinians.

There is a clue to this in a recent statement of Rabbi Kahane, who has been periodically detained for his connections with the underground. For once he qualified his usual support to TNT operations: «We are in favor of these acts. Definitely. However, not in the way they are being done. They have no backing. They will be arrested and will serve ten years. The Arabs should be hit everywhere under the auspices of the authorities. It's a pity that first Begin and now Shamir do not understand this...» But perhaps Shamir and Arens understand very well; this is why they are willing to sacrifice a few of their own in order to consolidate the terrorist state.

It is also obvious that the sacrifice entailed in bringing a few Zionists to 'justice' is quite relative especially when compared to how Zionist 'justice' is meted out to Palestinians. Though 27 Zionists are indicated for murder, membership in a terrorist organization, etc., we have not heard of confessions extracted under torture. Nor will we. Their houses, i.e. settlements, will obviously not be destroyed, nor will their families be harassed. There are many loopholes making 'justice' as comfortable as possible for Zionists. They are charged under civil law, whereas Palestinians are almost always tried in military courts where sentences are much stiffer. Moreover, the cry has already been raised that publicity of their cases will rule out a fair trial. Will this be the excuse for acquittals and suspended sentences? The main purpose of Zionist 'justice', shining up Likud's tarnished image, would still be accomplished as was the case with the inquiry into the Sabra-Shatila massacres.

In conclusion, we want to emphasize that the end of this process will be no less beneficial for the Labor Alignment if it wins the elections. Equally, the whitewash will be used to cover state repression. Only reactionary propaganda can claim that the Jordanian option will relieve the Palestinians from terror. On the contrary, harsh repression will be needed in any attempt to implement this option against the demands of our people for self-determination and an independent state. Democracy in Palestine will never come through Zionist 'justice', but only through determined anti-Zionist struggle.

## Whitewashing Murder

Yet another whitewash is being enacted, this time over the cold-blooded murder of the two PFLP freedom fighters captured in the Gaza Strip on April 13th. Persistent press reports, and the existence of photos showing an uninjured commando being led away in handcuffs, forced the Zionist Minister of War to allow an inquiry into the aftermath of the Askelon-Rafah bus operation. The inquiry process was then used to gloss over the fact that for six weeks the photos and all reporting on the operation and its aftermath were censored from the Israeli press. The full contents of the inquiry commission's report is also being kept secret, but it did establish the main unavoidable fact: Our two comrades died from blows to the head from a dull instrument, administered while they were being interrogated some fifty met-

ers from the bus after it had been stormed by the Zionist forces. It is being said that three Israelis, members of Shin Bet, the border police and the army, are likely to be charged with manslaughter, i.e., unintentional murder (sic).

So again the big terrorists got away. Arens and Chief of Staff Moshe Levy were on the scene from the time the bus was brought to a halt. They personally conducted the negotiations with the commandos and ordered the storming of the bus. Now they are using the inquiry report to disclaim all responsibility. Touring the US, Arens audaciously claimed that he and Levy were not on the scene when the fatal beatings occurred. His contention was immediately challenged by the Israeli newspaper *Hadashot*, whose photographer Alex Liebeck took a film sequence where the

picture of the uninjured commando is immediately preceded by a picture of Arens at the scene.

In any case, responsibility for the crime cannot be isolated to a few individuals, for it is the result of the deep racism inherent in the Zionist society. *Hadashot* published a poll wherein 84% of the Israelis questioned agreed to the killing of the two captives. It is also noteworthy that the Labor Party did not deem fit to criticize the Defense Minister for this matter at a time when it is otherwise busy gathering ammunition for its election campaign against the Likud.

The liberal pro-Zionist establishment in the US quickly fell into line with the whitewash. A *New York Times* editorial stated: «Israel has done what decency requires... Both actions (referring also to the arrest of Zionist terrorists) help Israel demonstrate that it can still hear the claims of Arabs for equal justice.» This is far from the message received by the Palestinians. Many of our people living under occupation

expressed no surprise at the Zionist whitewash, noting the many cases of Palestinians having been murdered by the Zionists under different pretexts. ●

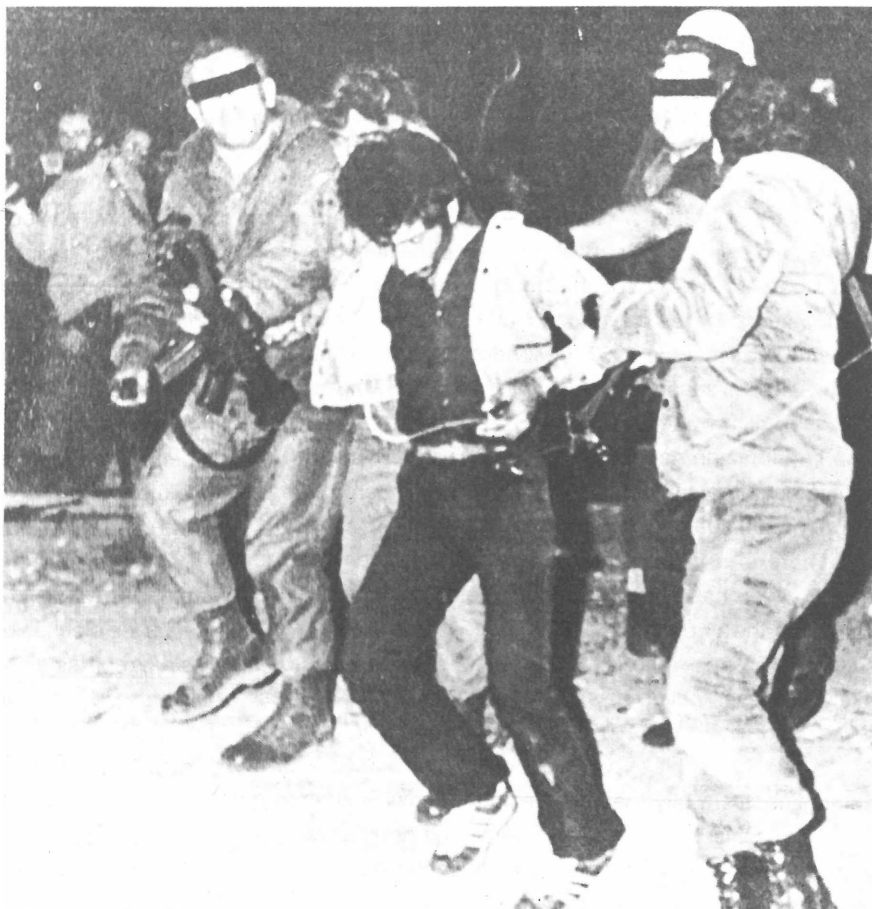
«Hadashot» photos showing PFLP commandos alive after the operation:



Frame 30A: Arens on the scene



Frame 31A: Majid Abu Juma whisked away



Subhi Abu Juma taken from the bus

## Ain al Hilweh

### Days of Terror

In mid-May, the Zionists mounted their largest single 'security' operation in South Lebanon, and one of their most brutal, since the summer of 1982. For four days, the Palestinian refugee camp Ain al Hilweh, near Saida, was under attack. Three camp residents were killed and many others injured or arrested.

Having surrounded the camp with tanks and armored personnel carriers on May 15th, several hundred Israeli troops stormed in at midnight, firing flares overhead to light their way and increase the atmosphere of terror. For five hours, they ransacked homes, sometimes forcing their way in by dynamiting off the door. Without warning, twenty homes were totally blown up, some with their occupants inside. Two people were shot in the raid; one died

instantly and another, a woman, died a few days later. Over twenty people were injured by the explosions, including an old man whose arm was amputated. Another 150 persons were arrested.

An Israeli military spokesman claimed the raid was to prevent «terrorist» attacks and that they had confiscated arms and other «terrorist materials». True, the Zionists are terrified of the daily attacks on their forces in the South. Yet Ain al Hilweh residents said

that there were no weapons in the camp. This was confirmed by the statement of Bernard Mills, assistant director of the UNRWA in South Lebanon, who said there was no evidence of the Israelis having taken arms away. One can surmise that some of the unspecified «terrorist material» was political literature or nationalist emblems. Moreover, valuables were seized from residents' homes. The Zionists then covered their pillage with the catch-all phrase «terrorist material».

Mills also noted that the name given by the Israelis as the leader of the «terrorist» ring they were trying to break belonged to a 12 year old boy. The invaders arrived with a prepared list of people to be detained, i.e., arrests were not based on actual finding of arms. One resident told how the Israelis came to his home asking for his son who was in Beirut. Instead, they arrested a younger son, aged 14. The sum of all evidence is that this was a terror raid designed to cow the people of Ain al Hilweh.

## The resurgence of a tormented camp

The Zionists have their own special grudge against Ain al Hilweh. In June 1982, its defenders held out for two weeks against the vicious Zionist onslaught. Prior to the battle of Beirut, Ain al Hilweh provided the foremost example of the human steadfastness that turned the Zionists' hightech invasion into a nightmare for the invaders. The camp was almost totally destroyed in the war itself and then subjected to a harsh pacification program whose methods ranged from bulldozing the remaining houses, and deprivation of daily needs, to letting loose fascist death squads to harass and murder Palestinians in the whole Saida area. The backbone of the Zionists' policy was depriving the camp of its leadership and breadwinners, first through the carnage of the war and then by massive deten-

tions. In this vacuum, the Zionists established the so-called National Guard, arming a group of collaborators to spy on and control the camp population. Thus, the Zionists had hoped to avoid daily confrontation with the people.

This spring the failure of the pacification program was brought home to the occupiers. The return of 1,400 detainees, bringing with them the struggle experience of Ansar, raised the morale and strengthened the social structure in the camp. In the overall atmosphere of the nationalist victories and Lebanese National Resistance Front's escalating operations, people began to challenge the collaborators of the National Guard; anti-occupation demonstrations became more militant. What caused the Israelis to storm Ain al Hilweh at this particular time was most likely the mass demonstration against the creation of the Zionist state, which was held on May 14th, and the concurrent attack on a National Guard post.

## The masses fight back

The people of Ain al Hilweh responded militantly to the raid. When the Israelis withdrew around dawn, camp residents poured into the streets protesting this atrocity and boldly declaring their support to the PLO. Barriers were built at the entrances to the camp, and the residents declared a three day general strike; schools and shops closed down.

This popular protest continued the next day, and the Israelis again stormed the camp, accompanied by their stooges of the South Lebanon Army. The invaders fired indiscriminately, injuring two camp residents and killing a third, a woman who, with two sons in Ansar, had gone out to see where her younger sons were. More people converged in the streets, forming a procession carrying her body to Saida for burial. At the entrance of the camp, National Guard thugs opened fire, injuring three persons and forcing the procession back into the camp.

At the same time, the Israeli troops reinforced their patrols in the whole area and stopped traffic, as Saida and nearby villages went on solidarity strikes. In Baddawi camp in the north of Lebanon, 1500 women began a sit-in protest, as did Palestinian women in Damascus, Syria.

Tension continued in Ain al Hilweh for two more days with the Israelis intermittently sniping at residents. Yet on May 19th, patriots daringly shot and wounded a National Guard traitor. The National Guard went amok, shooting in all directions. No casualties were reported however. The next day, relative calm was restored for the first time since the initial raid, and one could observe a small victory won by the people's defiance: The National Guard was no longer manning checkpoints at the camp entrances. Nor were Israeli patrols in sight. At the very least, the Israelis must now rethink their tactics for silencing the people of Ain al Hilweh. So far, neither collaborators nor outright brutality has succeeded.

*Dynamited houses in Ain al Hilweh*



# Revitalizing the Arab National Liberation Movement

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE AND THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

During the months of April and May, 1984, a series of meetings were held between the PFLP and LCP leaderships. The delegations were headed by Comrade George Habash, Secretary General of the PFLP and Comrade George Hawi, Secretary General of the LCP Central Committee. During these meetings, both delegations discussed the current situation in the Lebanese, Palestinian and Arab arenas in the context of the existing international situation. They also discussed the tasks facing revolutionary forces in these areas in confronting the fierce imperialist-Zionist attacks and how to escalate the struggle in each Arab country in order to achieve revolutionary goals in the Arab world.

*The joint communique issued as a result of these discussions began with an assessment of the current situation: Lebanon was pinpointed as the main arena of confrontation between the Arab National Liberation Movement and the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plans. The enemy plan is to make Lebanon the bridge to a new chapter in the Camp David accords, and the right-wing trend represented by Arafat's visit to Cairo falls in line with this plan. On the other hand, the battles in Lebanon, in the mountains and West Beirut, and the ongoing anti-occupation resistance in the South and Beqaa Valley, are objective indications of the national and progressive forces' ability to counter the enemy plans. While the Lebanese national and progressive forces played the main role in these victories, the contribution of the revolutionary Palestinian forces, Syria and other Arab national and progressive forces was emphasized.*

*Continuing the struggle against the enemy plans will deepen the polarization in the area. More bourgeois forces will join the capitulationist trend, highlighting the class essence of the national struggle and the importance of working class leadership. The leading role of the working class corresponds to the interests of the broadest sectors of the masses. It is thus the only guarantee for uniting the national*

*and progressive forces in the consistent, long-term mobilization required to extract the Arab national liberation movement from its crisis and effect a new balance of forces in the region. On this basis, the Arab national liberation movement can defeat the enemy plans and achieve its goals of liberation, unity and progress. An essential component of this process is advancing the alliance with the international revolutionary movement, especially the Soviet Union.*

*On the basis of their assessment, the PFLP and LCP called on all national and progressive Arab forces to derive a comprehensive program for struggle on the national level, based on the accumulation of programs for each Arab country. The PFLP and LCP view the essential principles for such a program as follows:*

### ON THE LEBANESE LEVEL

The PFLP and the LCP call for maintaining the victories achieved by expelling the US occupation forces, abrogating the May 17th agreement and weakening the basis for Phalangist domination. These victories should be employed in strengthening the struggle against the Israeli occupation and expelling its forces from Lebanese land without any conditions.

The PFLP and the LCP call for supporting the Lebanese national resistance against the occupation with all forms of military, armed, mass and political resistance in order to enable the Lebanese people to expel the Zionist occupiers. Today this is a task of exceptional importance for all Arab and international national liberation forces.

Obviously, to protect the gains that have been achieved requires dedicated work to develop them further. To stand still at the present level would decrease the meaning of the victories achieved so far and would make it difficult to defend them when the counterattack is launched. One should not rest on these gains, but rather enrich them with a strong firm basis through serious democratic reforms. Encumbering these victories with sectarian compromises will only reestablish internal Lebanese relations on the basis of a new sharing of interests among sectarian leaders at the expense of the popular masses. If there is not effective unity of Lebanon, the country will remain subject to disunity and will continue to be an arena for furthering the Zionist plan which seeks to divide Lebanon into sectarian cantons which will consecrate and justify the Zionist entity and provide it with secured borders which it aims for. The partition of Lebanon will also provide the Zionist entity with the vital chance to impose its domination on Lebanon and to generalize the trend of splits as a means to impose its domination over the entire region.

Serious and radical reform that is mainly founded on the

basis of completely eliminating political sectarianism alone can bring Lebanon and Lebanese into one national unit affirming the Arab identity of Lebanon and opening the way for democratic development in the country. It is only this kind of reform that today can serve the interests of Lebanon and the interests of the broad popular masses in all religious communities and secure the revival of Lebanon and its role in the battle of victory against the Israeli occupation, US domination and Phalangist domination. In all cases the victory achieved so far should be a motive for national and progressive forces to solidify their position and to forward the course of the Lebanese national democratic revolution enabling it to attain its national tasks and increase its democratic gains and make it possible to achieve progressive gains for the benefit of the Lebanese popular masses. Although the unity of the Lebanese and progressive forces is more urgent than ever before, still there is no doubt that to regulate the national Lebanese-Palestinian relationship is also extremely important in light of the present situation and the victory achieved in Lebanon. This victory is not only considered a victory for the national and progressive Lebanese forces, but is also a victory for the Palestinian revolution and the fighters of the Palestinian people. We see that regulating national Lebanese-Palestinian relations can be accomplished on the following basis:

1. The victory in Lebanon is a Palestinian victory. An essential part of Lebanese land was granted to serve as a main arena for the Palestinian national struggle to regain Palestinian national rights. We must support this in all its aspects in order to regain all of Lebanon so that Palestinians can utilize all their human, material, geographic and moral resources in the national struggle against the Israeli aggression and against the mere existence of the Zionist entity. This demands that all Palestinian revolutionary forces offer all their means in coordination with a plan to be decided upon by the national and progressive Lebanese forces. A plan that will be discussed with Palestinian forces will also be coordinated with the national leadership of Syria in order to solidify the victory achieved so far and to protect the victory and move it forward to achieve its goals.

2. The second principle is that the Palestinians in Lebanon are required to organize themselves and carry arms just as are Lebanese nationalists in order to defend the areas which were liberated as a result of the uprisings which began with the mountain liberation war and then the uprising in Beirut and the southern suburbs on February 6th. Indeed it is both a right and a duty for Palestinian nationalists to carry arms like Lebanese nationalists both to defend these areas and to carry out joint tasks. National Palestinians will never be denied the right to carry weapons to defend themselves and their Lebanese brothers and neighbors.

This will and should be implemented according to an agreed upon plan under the auspices of the national Lebanese leadership that takes into consideration the nature of the struggle in Lebanon. This plan takes into consideration the exis-

tence of the Palestinian camps and the necessity of their safety and defense against the enemy. There are no borders in West Beirut between a Palestinian camp and a Lebanese nationalist area. In the past, imperialism, Zionism and local Arab reaction wanted to transform all the camps into prisons to repress us, to terrorize us and to destroy our steadfast will. But they did not succeed. Here we would like to affirm in this framework that this right to carry arms should be organized in practice according to firm rules of commitment and on a clear basis that affirms the discipline and necessity of using weapons for the correct purposes and not indiscriminately. The correct national line governs everything that relates to the right of self-defense, the right to protect the duties and role of the national forces and above all the right to defend the victory.

3. The third principle is the right of the Palestinian people and their revolution to use the Lebanese arena just the same as any other Arab arena as a base for solidifying their armed struggle inside occupied Arab land, for strengthening their uprising. This is a right that must take into consideration the commitment to developing the Palestinian revolution as well as the revolution's alliances in Lebanon and in the Arab region.

4. It is the right of the Palestinian revolution to use all the Arab region as a base for entering the occupied territories according to geographical, human, material and moral priorities. This right must be used to develop the revolution and to enable it to cross the borders into occupied lands and not to establish other organizations which would work in contradiction to the struggle inside. This right must not be used for easy solutions, but instead the revolution should follow the steps taken by the PFLP, DFLP and other organizations in carrying out operations like those in Jerusalem and Askelon which advance the work inside the occupied territories.

## ON THE PALESTINIAN LEVEL

1. Safeguarding the PLO and its unity is the result of continuous armed, political and popular struggle of the Palestinian people. The sacrifices made during the last 20 years have resulted in the expression of the Palestinian national identity which the Zionists and imperialists have been savagely trying to obliterate and eliminate with the aim of liquidating the national rights of the Palestinian people and their just cause. The expression of the Palestinian national identity through the PLO was one of the most important achievements of the Palestinian people and their contemporary struggle. Through the PLO the Palestinian people could crystallize their aims and affirm their national rights: the rights to return, self-determination and establishment of an independent national state on their own land led by the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The PLO was able to organize the struggle of the Palestinian people and maintain their identity and unity in support of the PLO wherever Palestinians live, whether inside or outside the occupied territories. Over the past 20 years, the continuous military and political struggle of the Palestinian people has

made the PLO a vanguard force in the Arab and international struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The PLO has gained increasing recognition by all progressive and freedom-loving forces in the world in addition to official Arab and international recognition. Such achievements make it only natural that national progressive Palestinian forces have as their main task the protection of this great resource, the PLO.

2. In the present political stage, the PLO is subject to great dangers and especially the danger posed by the capitulationist tendency of the deviationist right-wing which gradually began to appear after the departure of the Palestinian forces from Beirut. This tendency was clearly expressed through Arafat's visit to Cairo and his meeting with Husni Mubarak. Through this there have been serious attempts to push the PLO towards dealing with the US projects and to secure for the PLO a foothold within the process of imperialist plans for a settlement in the Arab area which is based on the Camp David agreement and the Reagan Plan. This policy of the capitulationist right-wing subjects the PLO to the threat of splits and disintegration and thereby creates serious dangers for the overall course of the Palestinian national struggle. There are the dangers of losses, dispersal and liquidation. The urgent task confronting all national progressive Palestinian forces in the present stage is to block and isolate these rightist capitulationist trends, to rid ourselves of its symbols and end it completely. This should be done in order to protect the PLO unity and safeguard its national line. This urgent task demands the mobilization of all Palestinian forces, groups, unions and national personalities opposing this deviationist capitulationist trend in a national front within the framework of the PLO. The main task of the front is to oppose and defeat the deviationist trend, to safeguard the unity of the PLO and restore its coherence on a national progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, anti-reactionary basis to provide for the Arab and international alliance on these bases.

3. The course of the PLO and the revolution over the past years, and especially after the departure from Beirut and the emergence of the present acute crisis, calls for a complete review and evaluation on the political, military, organizational and mass levels as well as on the level of practice. The objective of this process should be to achieve a comprehensive democratic reform within the PLO to guarantee the strengthening of its role in mobilizing the Palestinian people, the continuity and escalation of armed struggle in all its facets against the enemy and the deepening of the national Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian alliance which represents the basic force facing the imperialist projects in the Arab area.

Overall democratic reform within the PLO has become an urgent popular national demand basically aiming to define a sound national political line firmly committed to the successive PNC decisions, to achieve the principle of collective leadership in the PLO, and to reject all the practices of individualist behaviour and noncompliance with unanimous national decisions.

## ON THE ARAB LEVEL

1. The PFLP and the LCP call for supporting Syria's steadfastness against imperialist, Zionist and Arab reactionary pressure as well as Syria's steadfastness against any internal conspiracy which directly emanates from this external pressure. The alliance between Lebanese national progressive forces, the Palestinian revolution and Syria should be strengthened. This relationship has played the main role in achieving what has been accomplished so far and it will play the decisive role in events to come.

2. Both parties call for supporting the revolution in Democratic Yemen in facing all forms of imperialist reactionary pressure and all forms of internal conspiracies which would seek to destroy all the revolutionary achievements of the Yemeni people led by the Yemeni Socialist Party. The PFLP and LCP seek to facilitate all conditions for the success of this vanguard experience which affirms the role of the working class and its party in leading the historical revolutionary process which alone is capable of fulfilling the process of national liberation. This is the era of the total link between national liberation and social liberation and scientific socialism is the sole imperative historical path which leads national liberation movements to success.

3. Both parties call for supporting the Algerian Democratic Popular Republic against external imperialist pressure and internal conspiracies which would seek to destroy the revolution's socio-economic achievements and prevent further development of these achievements for the interests of the Algerian masses and the increased role for Algeria on the Arab, African and international levels.

4. Both parties call for supporting the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya against the intimidation organized by imperialists, Arab reactionaries and the internal reactionaries tied to them. The two parties support Libya's role on the Arab and African levels and its anti-imperialist stands.

5. Both sides call for supporting and strengthening national anti-imperialist Arab regimes which requires radicalizing the anti-imperialist trend and necessitates free mass active participation so that the masses and revolutionary progressive forces can take up their role in confronting reactionary-imperialist-Zionist forces. This requires the deepening of progressive achievements, development of mass participation and democratic freedoms so that all resources can be mobilized to defeat the imperialist plots and so that national regimes can participate in the national struggle that follows. Otherwise, it would be impossible to defend these regimes which would become an easy target to imperialist-Zionist-reactionary pressure and conspiracies and the state of retreat in the Arab national liberation would increase.

6. Both parties call for supporting the Egyptian national movement in its struggle for Egypt's emergence from the Camp David treaty and to bring Egypt back to its natural vanguard position within the front ranks of the Arab National Liber-

ation Movement to establish an Arab solidarity on an anti-imperialist anti-Zionist basis and against capitulationist liquidationist plans. This then will create a new balance of forces in favor of the Arab National Liberation Movement and the Arab national liberation alliance with the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union against the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance. The victory of the Lebanese people in cancelling the May 17th agreement is an example of how, through successful struggle Egypt could emerge from Camp David and achieve its goals.

7. Both parties call for an end to the destructive war in the Gulf initiated by the Iraqi regime. This war led to exhausting the basic resources of the people of the area leading them to destruction. The war provided for the increasingly dangerous imperialist interference and has encouraged reactionary tendencies of all the participants and especially inside Iran and Iraq. These tendencies work against the interests of the masses and the progressive national forces in both countries. Therefore, stopping this war is a necessity. It is also necessary to support the Iraqi progressive forces so that they can achieve a serious qualitative change in Iraq and solve the dilemma of creating conditions which would allow for the return of Iraq to the Arab National Liberation Movement against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The PFLP and the LCP support the struggle to stop the negative and dangerous trends in Iran which are steering the Iranian Revolution away from its aims and are leading the revolution down a dark path which is anti-democratic and against social progress inside Iran. The PFLP and LCP declare their solidarity with the progressive revolutionary forces in Iran who are fighting against all forms of aggression and tyranny they are subjected to.

8. Both parties call for supporting the popular masses and progressive forces struggling in Saudi Arabia and throughout the Gulf region against the ruling reactionaries who control the basic Arab oil resources. The domination of the ruling reactionaries over this wealth leads to squandering it against the interests of the Arab people.

9. Both parties call for supporting the struggle of the Sudanese people and their national progressive forces to overthrow the present crumbling regime and to build a progressive democratic Arab Sudan which can play its role in the struggle to return Egypt to the Arab National Liberation Movement and to support the struggle of the progressive national forces in Egypt as well as those in Somalia which seek the overthrow of the traitorous regime in Somalia.

10. Both parties call for supporting the struggle of the Arab people of Morocco and the Moroccan opposition against the ruling reactionaries. Both parties call for supporting the Saharan people and the Polisario Front.

11. Both parties call for supporting the struggle of the Jordanian national movement in confronting the reactionary regime and establishing a progressive national regime which would be a strong base for common struggle of the Palestinian and Jordanian people.

12. The PFLP and the LCP call for the creation of a state of activism in every Arab country to face internal imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiracies and to struggle for the achievement of the common aims of the Arab national liberation movement.

13. Both parties call for persistence in struggling for the achievement of the historical aims of the Arab nation including the national liberation from imperialism and reaction, liberating national wealth from imperialist control and robbery, achievement of Arab unity on an anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive basis and the movement towards social advancement and socialism.

## ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Both parties realize the extent of solid interrelation between the Lebanese, Palestinian and Arab struggles and the global struggle of the forces of peace, freedom and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, against Zionist-reactionary-imperialist aggression and war led by US imperialism. Both parties believe that the strengthening of the struggle against imperialist-Zionist-reactionary projects in the area necessitates the optimum participation of our people and our national progressive forces in this overall international struggle. Both parties affirm their commitment to the tasks of strengthening this struggle against the dangers of US imperialist aggression especially in the light of the fact that the present US administration is based on stirring up tension in international relations by escalating the arms race, establishing US military bases in different areas of the world, intensifying the use of direct military intervention, increasing aggression against national liberation movements and socialist countries, encouraging internal destabilization, and resorting to whatever would subject world peace to danger.

Both parties affirm their firm and principled stand with the Soviet Union and the socialist community in confronting the imperialist escalation of tension, for the sake of safeguarding world peace, the achievements of socialism, national liberation movements and the progressive struggles of peoples. Both parties affirm their support for all Soviet recommendations for preventing imperialism from waging a new nuclear war against humanity.

Both parties affirm their concern for the unity of all anti-imperialist revolutionary forces at present and affirm the need to strengthen, expand and develop the campaign against war and aggression which is actually an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, anti-reactionary campaign. Both parties highly evaluate the spread of this campaign in the capitalist countries of North America, Europe and elsewhere and salute the working class parties and the revolutionary and progressive forces in those countries.

Both parties express full solidarity with revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua against US intervention and all methods of CIA intimidation. Both parties support the revolution in El Salvador

and the Salvadoran people's struggle against US domination and internal repression.

Both parties express support for the struggle of the progressive and democratic forces in Chile and Uruguay against the dictatorship and the struggle of all Latin American people and their progressive forces.

Both parties extend their full support to the Vietnamese revolution and its goals of developing their progressive achievements and defending peace in that area of the world. Both parties support the peoples of Asia struggling for liberation and progress.

Both parties express solidarity with the struggle of the people of the Horn of Africa and the people of Africa who are struggling against racism and neo-colonialist and imperialist domination.

Both parties call for strengthening the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement on an anti-imperialist basis that safeguards its members' national independence and ends imperialist political, military and economic subordination of member countries. Both parties call for the strengthening of the Non-Aligned Movement's natural alliance with the working classes in capitalist countries and in the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union.

Both parties express their strong belief in the necessity of strengthening their own relations with all Arab national and progressive forces and with the free, progressive, peaceful and socialist forces in the world in the best interests of our common struggle which today represents the most honorable comprehensive struggle of mankind for safeguarding peace, peoples' security and freedom and preserving their national independence. This kind of relationship provides great support to the struggle of the Lebanese and Palestinian people as well as to all peoples of the Arab nation so that their legitimate firm national rights can be achieved. The strengthening of Arab-Soviet friendship is of great importance and is the main element with which our Arab people can struggle and face the imperialist attack on the area and achieve their noble aims.

The PFLP and LCP, while satisfied with the strengthening of their mutual relations and their comradely alliance of struggle, with the common revolutionary sacrifices that have been made by the Lebanese and Palestinian people along with the



*Protesting Israeli occupation in Kanaa, South Lebanon.*

PFLP and LCP revolutionaries; hereby affirm their determination to continuously strengthen the allied struggle and further coordinate their joint confrontation in southern Lebanon in fighting the Israeli aggressor until it is forced to completely withdraw from Lebanese land. Both parties strongly oppose all forms of US hegemony over Lebanon and reviving reactionary domination on the Lebanese and Palestinian level. They pledge to engage in a joint struggle for the just rights of the Palestinian people, a united struggle to return the PLO to its vanguard role in the Arab National Liberation Movement.

Both parties affirm their determination to strengthen their alliance and cooperation with Arab, progressive and revolutionary forces and the Arab National Liberation Movement until this alliance and cooperation results in the strengthening of the revolutionary forces and in more cooperation among all segments of the Arab National Liberation Movement.

Both parties stress the importance of finding the needed organizational and coordinating forms for improving their united work on a continuing basis which will enable them to achieve their common aims.

**POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE  
LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY**

June 9, 1984.

## ***PFLP Delegations to Soviet Union***

In the first week of May, Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa, deputy General Secretary of the PFLP, headed a delegation to the USSR. Comrade Salah Salah, Politbureau member and head of PFLP's political relations department, and Comrade Taysir Quba of the PFLP Central

Committee were among the delegation.

The PFLP delegation held a series of meetings with the Soviet comrades from the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

In the discussions with the solidarity committee, the following Soviet comrades participated: Comrade Kodriatsiv, Vice-President of the committee and member of the Soviet Presidium; Comrade Drogen, Secretary of the committee; Comrade Matuzav, member of the foreign relations department of the Central Committee of the CPSU; Comrade Vladimirov of the Arab section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Comrade Biscov, head of the Arab section of the

committee; and Comrade Anwar, head of the Committee's Palestine section.

During the discussions, the Soviet comrades noted the important role being played by the PFLP in safeguarding the PLO's unity and nationalist line. They reaffirmed their support to the PLO, and at the same time expressed sorrow at the internal difficulties that the PLO is currently facing. They stressed the necessity of the Palestinian people adhering to the unity of the PLO, based on an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, national political line.

Concerning the international situation, the Soviet comrades confirmed that the goal of the Soviet Union is to prevent a nuclear war. They explained that the USSR is currently trying to bring peace to many areas of the world where tension now prevails, including the Middle East.

Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa thanked the Soviet comrades for their principled and firm support for the Palestinian and Arab peoples. He added that international support is an essential support in the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab masses against Zionist occupation and imperialist aggression and their joint plans for the area.

Comrade Abu Ali explained in detail the dangers which the PLO is currently facing. He clarified the internal struggle which is going on in the PLO between two lines: the rightist line which has no confidence in the future of the Palestinian people's struggle; and the nationalist line which is determined to continue the struggle until the goals of the Palestinian people are achieved. He added that the nationalist line has proven to be correct in view of the recent victories in Lebanon. Comrade Abu Ali also explained the steps that are being taken to preserve the unity of the PLO. He reaffirmed the PFLP's position that differences within the PLO should be overcome through democratic dialogue and not by resorting to arms.

In the discussions with the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet participants included Comrade Elianovisky, Vice-Chairman of the international

department for Asia and Africa; Comrade Drogen and Comrade Matuzov. Comrade Elianovisky expressed appreciation of the role that the PFLP is playing in the Palestinian arena. He stressed the importance of combatting the conspiracies currently faced by the PLO. He recognized the importance of the Aden initiative as a positive step

towards solving the crisis in the PLO.

Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa reiterated the PFLP position on these questions. He thanked the Soviet comrades for their hospitality and for their support to the Palestinian people. He declared that the viewpoints of the two parties are in agreement, as confirmed by the discussions.

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## *GDR*

Comrade George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP, headed a delegation to the German Democratic Republic in early May. Comrade Basam Abu Sharif, member of the Politbureau and head of the information department of the PFLP, also participated in the dialogue with the German comrades.

A series of meetings was held with the Central Committee of the Unified Socialist Workers Party, the GDR Solidarity Committee and several officials,

among them Comrade Fredan Tran, head of the foreign relations department of the United Socialist Workers Party.

During the discussions, the two parties reaffirmed their position of confronting the US-Zionist aggressive policies in the Middle East and globally. In particular, they confirmed their position on continuing the struggle to guarantee achievement of the rights of the Palestinian people: the right of return, self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian state.

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## *Cuba*

From June 2nd to 9th, a PFLP delegation visited Cuba on an invitation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. The delegation was composed of Deputy General Secretary Abu Ali Mustafa, Politbureau member Salah Salah, head of the Political Relations Department, and Comrade Hussein Abdel Azziz.

The PFLP delegation met with Comrade Montane, candidate member of the Politbureau of the Communist Party, and head of its Foreign Relations Department, together with other members of the department. The delegation also met with comrades of the Cuban Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Party School, the Center for Africa and Middle East Studies, the Latin America Center and the People's Assembly. The delegation visited Santiago de Cuba. Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa spoke at a mass rally organized by the Arab students in Havana, and held a press conference.

In the meeting with Comrade Montane, Comrade Abu Ali spoke about the current international situation and the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary attacks against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. He discussed in detail the positive results of the recent victories in Lebanon. He pointed to the dangerous results of Arafat's visit to Cairo. He explained the role of the Palestinian left in the efforts to reunite the PLO on a progressive anti-imperialist political line in accordance with the Aden initiative of the Democratic Alliance.

In response, Comrade Montane evaluated very positively the role of the PFLP in the PLO. He affirmed the Cuban position supporting the Palestinian people and their struggle to achieve their national rights, namely the right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

## Karami's government marks official defeat of the enemy project to turn Lebanon into a US-Zionist protectorate through the presidency of Amin Gemeyel.

It remains uncertain whether the government formed in early May can provide any solutions to the Lebanese crisis. Yet the composition of the cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Rasheed Karami, sets a significant precedent. For once we see a Lebanese government which is not merely the product of backstage wrangling to find seemingly neutral figures acceptable to the various traditionalist factions. Rather, the leadership of the two opposing sides, progressive nationalist and fascist, are sitting face-to-face in the cabinet. The contradictions which constantly erupt in the battlefield are now directly raised at the highest official level. This government cannot adopt a *laissez faire* policy on important national issues, as has been common practice. Nor can President Amin Gemayel unilaterally exercise power on behalf of the Phalangist Party.

The composition of Karami's cabinet does not directly challenge the rules of political confessionalism. Yet it makes a big dent in the purpose of this system which, through divide and rule, aims to: (1) preserve real power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie; and (2) keep Lebanon from taking its part in the Arab national battle against Zionism and imperialism. Now for the first time a cabinet includes ministers who represent the gains of the nationalist forces in the battlefield. Moslem traditionalists known for collusion with the fascist Lebanese Front are absent. Instead we find Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Berri, leaders of the nationalist forces who defeated the fascists and their army in the mountains and West Beirut, and forced the US Marines to withdraw. Berri's presence in particular sets a precedent in class and political terms. Representing the Shiite community and the Amal movement, he speaks for Leba-

non's poor and dispossessed who have always lacked representation in official bodies. He represents the southern patriots whose heroic resistance to the Zionist occupation catalyzed the reversal of the enemy plans for Lebanon.

Most important, Jumblatt and Berri's presence in the cabinet is not a formality, but a necessity dictated by the balance of power that resulted from the nationalist victories in the battlefield. Formation of the cabinet hinged on fulfilling Jumblatt and Berri's demands that they not be used as figureheads with insignificant portfolios. Rather Berri demanded the creation of ministries for South Lebanon and for reconstruction of war damaged areas, issues which are closely linked to the masses' political and social needs and aspirations. The creation of these portfolios and their being assigned to Berri gave added weight to Karami's statements that liberating the South is a top priority.

### Two years after-Zionist invasion aims reversed

These same considerations make Karami's government anathema to the Zionists. Abrogation of the May 17th treaty, a step that was forced upon President Gemayel, is now followed up by a cabinet which bestows official legitimacy on the Lebanese National Resistance Front's anti-occupation struggle. Two years after the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, the formation of this cabinet is the final proof that this military venture has totally backfired in the faces of its planners. The Israelis have lost the last shred of official Lebanese cover for their occupation and designs on Lebanon. Karami has determined that the Israeli liaison office in Dbayah be closed, while Lebanon has severed diplomatic rela-

tions with El Salvador and Costa Rica for having moved their embassies to Jerusalem; relations were restored with Libya, all in line with Lebanon's Arab alignment. The capture of three Israelis in North Lebanon by the Lebanese Army in late April, and their being turned over to the Syrian forces, was an early warning that Zionist agents are no longer free to roam the country. 'Israel' invaded Lebanon to transform the fascist minority into the rulers of Lebanon, but today this minority cannot employ state power to help their Zionist benefactors.

Having failed to redraw the political map in Lebanon, the Israelis are back to square one, as is the Reagan administration's policy in Lebanon, and the Phalangists' dreams of hegemony. The Israelis have resorted to scare tactics, aggression and pressure. The day Berri and Jumblatt joined the cabinet, Israeli gunboats prowled in the sea off North Lebanon's coast, dropping mines. The day the cabinet decided on its first meeting, Israeli warplanes were staging mock raids over occupied Saida. In late May, they bombed the Beqaa Valley twice in five days. Then, aided by their fascist cohorts, the Israelis began punishing the Lebanese economy and people by blocking the delivery of fuel to the electric plant in Jiyeh, just north of the occupation lines. This plant generates almost half of Lebanon's total electric power and supplies West Beirut and parts of the mountains. From early June, rationing was imposed. Then the situation was drastically worsened when Israeli bulldozers rammed into the Zahrani-Jiyeh fuel pipeline, causing heavy damage.

### US: No-confidence

Confronted with the anti-American sentiment generated by Reagan's policy

in Lebanon, the US cast a vote of no-confidence in Karami by deciding to move the bulk of its embassy work and staff to fascist-controlled East Beirut. Having failed in this round to incorporate Lebanon into its regional strategy, US imperialism may be seeking new means for the next phase. One should note National Security Adviser McFarlane's mid-May statement about the advantages of covert actions as a means between war and doing nothing. McFarlane was addressing the issue of Central America, attempting to justify the CIA's mining of Nicaragua's harbor. However, his remarks could be applicable to Lebanon where a combination of US military intervention and diplomatic pressure failed to fulfill US aims. Perhaps the CIA's links with the Phalangists will be upgraded; there could be new covert action to infiltrate the ranks of the patriotic forces in order to spread false divisions and confusions. In any case, a base remains in Lebanon for US operations connected to the 200 Marines who train the Lebanese Army and protect the embassy. It is known that a group of these are stationed in the Phalangist controlled mountains east of Beirut, near Beit Meri. When US warships were pounding the Shouf mountains, they served as spotters. Recently when the US Marine Corps headquarters unit in Lebanon was disbanded, US officials refused to comment on continuing reports that these Marines have been seen with the Lebanese Forces in the mountains. We can surmise that they are present still.

### **Fascist sabotage**

The godfathers of the fascist forces, Pierre Gemayel and Camille Chamoun, found it prudent to join the cabinet of national unity in order to preserve their remaining privileges. Their tactic is to block reform, especially on vital issues like the army. The nationalist ministers are pushing for collective leadership as an alternative to the one man Maronite command, which has kept Lebanon's military power under fascist control. The

fascist forces will at all costs block the army's becoming united and functional if its command structure rules out their control. They see no use for the army unless it can be deployed to repress the nationalist forces and masses.

The fascist godfathers have assigned their proteges, the Lebanese Forces, the task of sabotaging the experiment represented by Karami's cabinet. For one, the Lebanese Forces opened an office in occupied Jerusalem to insure high-level relations with the Israelis in the absence of the May 17th accord. This so-called Lebanese Christian Agency and its staff, headed by Pierre Yazbeck, enjoy most of the privileges accorded to embassies. Actually, it is an embassy for the East Beirut-Kaserwan fiefdom with which the fas-

cists, having again failed to control all Lebanon, must content themselves.

Moreover, by keeping the frontlines hot, the Lebanese Forces preclude a lasting ceasefire that would allow the cabinet to embark on its basic tasks, such as restructuring the army. This was especially apparent in the violent escalation of fighting in the second week of June as the parliament was meeting to give its vote of confidence to the Karami cabinet. On June 11th alone, 84 people were killed and 200 wounded in the heaviest fighting in four months. Significantly, most of the casualties were in West Beirut. Karami's government did receive the vote of confidence, but while it represents a new phase ushered in as a political truce, it does not mark the final chapter in the Lebanese civil war. ●

## *The Occupied South*

**Starting in April, Shamir and other Zionist officials were heard bragging about the improvement of their 'security' in South Lebanon. Supposedly, there were fewer Israeli casualties and better relations with the southerners. Some western correspondents studiously echoed these claims. However, a survey of events in South Lebanon gives quite a different picture of the level of armed resistance and the mood of the masses. This talk of a costfree occupation is a deliberate lie aimed at upping Likud's declining popularity before the Israeli elections.**

One can ask: If relations with the population are better, why did the occupation troops find it necessary to besiege six Lebanese villages in the week of April 26-May 2nd alone? Why on April 28th, did they ransack the home of a respected Saida physician, Nazih Bizri, a former minister and presently the only member of the Lebanese parliament living in the South? Why did they launch a frontal attack on Ain al Hilweh camp in mid-May?

Claims of lower casualties were based on the fact that from March 19th until May 11th, the Zionists admitted no deaths among their troops. They simply denied that the April 13th explosion at

Deir Kanoun even took place, although the blast was heard in Saida and there were reports that six to fifteen Israeli soldiers were killed. Then on May 11th, an Israeli officer was killed and another wounded in a grenade attack in Nabatiyeh. Enraged at being forced to break their wall of silence, the Zionists blew up the house from which the grenade was thrown as if they could isolate the Lebanese National Resistance Front to a single dwelling and then destroy it!

We see a direct connection between the Israelis' no-death toll and their blockading of villages. Actually the whole South has been blockaded. Throughout April, telephone and telex



June 3 march in Beirut: «Down with America, guardian of Israel.»

lines to Beirut remained severed to keep news of resistance from getting out. On the local level, an area is cordoned off after an operation, and the Israelis report no casualties. They thus also suppress news of displays of mass rage and of their own brutality. A good example was Nmairiyeh, southeast of Saida, which the Zionists surrounded and placed under curfew on April 16, after one of their patrols was ambushed. No Israeli casualties were reported. Rather paratroopers stormed the village, made house-to-house searches, damaging homes and crops, and prevented the IRC from entering. Maarakeh, near Sour (Tyre), was besieged three times in seventeen days, once for house searches and twice to disrupt the gatherings of the people who shouted anti-occupation slogans, burned tires and threw stones at the troops. Also Bisariyeh, south of Saida, was sealed off after the villagers had confronted the Israeli soldiers in the streets on April 28th. Five Lebanese civilians were wounded by the occupiers, many homes were damaged and the electric supply station shot out of order. The same day, Nabatiyeh residents staged a general strike to protest the Israelis' having shot dead two people in their indiscriminate reaction to a hand grenade attack.

Ansar, where inmates now number close to 500, has again become a battlefield with two escapes reported in mid-May.

The pattern of confrontation between the people and the occupiers was repeated throughout May and into June. While terrorizing Ain al Hilweh, the Zionists were also threatening the people of Ansariyeh; an 11 year old Lebanese boy was wounded when Israeli soldiers fired at houses to warn against the distribution of leaflets and posters commemorating martyrs of the anti-occupation resistance.

When an Israeli soldier was wounded by a grenade attack in Saida on May 20th, the occupiers opened fire, killing a Lebanese civilian and wounding 11 others. On May 22nd, the Zionists raided Bazouriyeh, east of Sour, arresting eight villagers. When the people set up road blocks, an armored personnel carrier entered the village with soldiers shooting in all directions, wounding one man, while ten more villagers were arrested. The following week, the orchards around this village were destroyed.

### «Israel is choking us»

Another sign that relations between the occupiers and the occupied are anything but good is the new restrictions placed on travel to and from the South. As of late April, even those walking across the occupation lines were required to have a special permit. When the road is open, traffic continues to be stalled for days on end at the single crossing linking the South to the mountains, Beirut and the north, with continuing disastrous economic effects on the Lebanese. As stated by a truck driver who, on April 10th, had been waiting a full week to enter the South to pick up a load of fruit: «Israel is choking us». On June 1st, Israeli radio announced the instatement of strict searches for any-

June 3: Beirut march.



one entering the South from the Beqaa Valley.

Such measures are choking the Lebanese economy, but not the anti-occupation resistance. Military operations continue to average more than one daily. During April they escalated in the Nabatiyeh area in particular and were initiated in areas under UNIFIL supervision, where residents have grown tired of the lack of protection this affords. As noted in our last issue, attacks on Israeli troops in southern Beqaa continue to rise. May 27th witnessed a major attack on a Zionist patrol near Kamed al Loz. The Zionists admitted three soldiers killed and two seriously injured, but local sources estimated that losses were higher. The area has been blocked off since, but this did not prevent an Israeli convoy from hitting a mine on June 3rd. Students, however, were prevented from entering Kamed al Loz to attend school, and food was scarce due to the blockade. On June 8th, the Zionist forces encircled and raided Kamed al Loz, ransacking homes.

Another notable military operation occurred in Shabriha, near Sour, on May 30th, when Lebanese patriots engaged an Israeli patrol for fifteen minutes and burned an armored vehicle with soldiers inside.

## Lahad Rejected

The Zionists' only claim to good relations with the southerners rests on the so-called South Lebanon Army, headed by Antoine Lahad. Yet the April 22nd strike throughout the South, protesting this army's assuming security duties, showed how little representative it is. This army's effectiveness is also dubious. It numbers about 1,500, as opposed to the 6,000 envisioned by the Israelis. Its manpower is 85% Christian in stark contrast to the overwhelmingly Shiite population of the South, i.e., it remains to be the left-overs of Saad Haddad's gang beefed up by the Phalangists. Moreover, the loyalty of some of its members is questionable. Recently, a 19 year old told a reporter that he had joined because the men in



*Sour: tires burned in the Days of Rage*

this village were given the choice of enlisting or being expelled from their home. He confided that he supports the anti-occupation resistance by turning a blind eye while on duty. These facts give credence to reports that the Israelis will assign 400 of their own men to lead Lahad's forces if they should withdraw. As it is, the South Lebanon Army's presence and operations are totally linked to Israeli posts and command. This is acknowledged by Lahad himself. Lebanese police tried to intervene when the South Lebanese Army occupied the Lebanese Army's radio station in Jezzine and expelled its staff on June 5th. The South Lebanese Army referred them to the Israeli liaison office in Dbayah as being solely responsible for this matter.

## Days of rage

Popular resistance reached a high-point from June 4th on, as the second anniversary of the Zionist invasion was commemorated throughout nationalist areas and especially in the occupied South. West Beirut went on strike, and

thousands of Lebanese marched in one of the largest demonstrations ever seen in the city.

The Israeli army prepared for the Days of Rage by cutting off the South from the rest of the country and refusing permits to Lebanese wishing to enter. Patrols were increased, but the occupiers were unable to prevent strikes and demonstrations from being held throughout the South despite encircling and raiding villages.

Military operations escalated dramatically. From June 5th to 8th, there were 12 attacks on the occupiers in the Nabatiyeh region alone. In these same days, it was reported that two Israeli soldiers based in this area had deserted. Each day of this week of rage was marked by a minimum of three operations, covering all sectors of the South and western Beqaa Valley. The pace of resistance did not slack off, for on June 13th, four Israeli soldiers were wounded by an explosive charge east of Sour. In the foregoing 24 hours four attacks had occurred around Nabatiyeh, causing Israeli casualties and killing four collaborators of the local pro-Israeli militias. ●

## Morocco

### *King Hassan Hosts Knesset Members*

Moroccan King Hassan sponsored a conference for Moroccan Jews on May 13-14 in which Zionist delegations from Europe, Canada, the US and 'Israel' participated. Forty Israelis arrived in Morocco including 11 Knesset members from the ruling Likud coalition, the Labor Alignment, and the Tami party. Israeli journalists and university professors also attended. Some members of the Israeli delegation were not Moroccan Jews.

What lies behind King Hassan's sponsorship of the conference has dangerous implications. Ostensibly, the conference was held to commemorate the Jewish philosopher Moses Ben Maimonid. But statements made at the conference by Likud and Labor Knesset members and the character of the coverage given by the Israeli press indicate the over-riding political nature of the conference. The meeting coincided with the Israeli election campaign and is connected to the inclination of Arab reaction to pursue a capitulationist settlement of the Arabic-Israeli conflict at the expense of the Palestinian people. King Hassan's motivations in this have been very clear from the beginning. He has a long history of treacherous political stands and practices towards the national cause of the Arab people and in particular towards the people of Palestine.

At first sight, one might think Moroccan sponsorship of a Jewish conference with Israeli participation is normal and a step towards stemming Jewish-Arab hostility. Morocco itself has an indigenous Jewish community and sponsoring the conference might be seen as an attempt to organize the internal affairs of Moroccan Jews. Had this been the purpose of the conference, the whole undertaking would have been legitimate. But participation of the official Israeli delegation raises serious questions not the least of which is the histori-

cal problem of Zionists casting a shadow over the national loyalty of Moroccan Jews. Israeli participation in the conference made it appear that Moroccan Jews have more loyalty to 'Israel' than to their own country.

Although meetings between King Hassan and Zionist leaders are not new, this is the first time that he has officially and publicly received an Israeli delegation. In 1970, King Hassan met with Nahum Goldman, president of the World Jewish Congress. In 1969, he met with the current Israeli President, Chaim Hertzog, who was then an army general sent on a secret mission to Morocco. In 1976, former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was indulged with a special Moroccan flight from Paris to meet with King Hassan.

#### **King Hassan, the godfather of Camp David**

King Hassan played an important role in the Camp David capitulation. In May 1977, Sadat met with King Hassan in Rabat after King Hassan had first conferred with Shimon Peres who was expected to win the upcoming Israeli elections. Peres lost the elections and instead Begin became prime minister. But Begin also did not hesitate in using King Hassan as an intermediary with Sadat. Upon coming to power, Begin sent information to Sadat through Has-

san alleging a Libyan conspiracy against Egypt. Sadat dispatched the head of the Egyptian military intelligence to Rabat to meet with the head of the Mossad. The result was Egyptian military attacks against Libya.

King Hassan received former Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan in September 1977 to prepare for Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem and the eventual signing of the Camp David capitulation. In Morocco, Dayan held direct negotiations with Sadat's special envoy, Hassan al-Tihami.

As a leader of Arab reaction and an agent of the CIA, King Hassan seeks to implement the policies of US imperialism and Zionism in the Arab region. Besides betraying Palestinian national rights, the Moroccan regime is involved in reactionary attacks against the Polisario National Front in the Western Sahara. There have been joint US-Moroccan military maneuvers on Moroccan soil. Hassan has attempted to join the forces of Zionism and Arab reaction under US hegemony. He advocates a policy of intermarriage between what he calls the Zionist «super-mind» and Arab money. Despite the aggressive and racist nature of Zionism, King Hassan would like to see the establishment of normal relations with 'Israel' at the expense of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. King Hassan's brand of mediation and indeed the Camp David accords themselves led to a new form of domination over the Egyptian people. Much the same results can be expected if this kind of 'mediation' succeeds in dragging some Palestinian elements into the swamp of negotiations with 'Israel'.

Behind the Moroccan Jewish conference is a larger aim. It is part of the preparations by Arab reaction to pursue the path of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict in line with US plans in the region. With elections this year in both Israel and the US, 1984 has been designated as a period for shuffling the cards and

preparing to deal a new poker hand in an atmosphere of dialogue with the Zionist enemy.

King Hassan is not pursuing his capitulationist path alone. He is operating under the cover of Arab reaction provided by the Egyptian regime in particular. The Egyptian regime warmly received the convening of the Moroccan Jewish conference. Egyptian Foreign Minister Butros Ghali considered it a new justification for the correctness of the Camp David accords. The reservations of the majority of the Arab regimes about condemning the conference and their complete silence is evidence of their approval.

Only Arab nationalist governments have taken a stand against King Hassan's current maneuvering. Democratic

Yemen issued a statement condemning the conference and the Israeli participation in it. The Yemeni statement emphasized that Moroccan sponsorship of the conference fell within the framework of the conspiracies against the Arab people and is in line with the policy of Camp David. Syria reacted very strongly against this Moroccan violation of Arab Summit resolutions and recalled its ambassador from Morocco. Syria demanded that Arab countries impose sanctions against the Moroccan regime. Syria withdrew its representative from the Jerusalem Committee of the Islamic Conference Organization, which is chaired by King Hassan.

The fact that there has not been an official statement issued by the PLO or even a top PLO official to condemn the

conference, has created more confusion. This was exploited by Arab reaction and King Hassan himself to portray the PLO as being complicit, thus hoping to drag the PLO further down the path of Camp David.

The PFLP believes that it is the duty of the PLO to take a strong position against such moves. The PLO should lead an Arab campaign to resist and contain King Hassan's moves. At a minimum, the PLO should seek to remove King Hassan from the chairmanship of the Jerusalem Committee. The question of Jerusalem is not limited to the issue of freedom of worship as King Hassan views it, but is above all the question of liberating Jerusalem and all occupied territories to ensure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. ●

## Egypt

### MUBARAK TRIES TO GIVE REGIME NATIONALIST FACADE WITH FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS

In May 1984, Egyptian President Mubarak attempted to provide his regime with a nationalist facade by sponsoring fraudulent parliamentary elections. The outcome was not surprising: the ruling National Democratic Party gained 391 of the 448 parliamentary seats, more than the NDP previously held. All opposition parties lost the seats they formally held. The recently legalized Wafd Party won the remaining 57. The results were so skewed in favor of the regime that Mubarak later felt embarrassed enough to appoint a member of the opposition Socialist Labor Party as speaker of the parliament. The Egyptian left organized in the National Progressive Unionist Party has refused to participate in the new sham parliament.

To understand the objectives of these elections it is important to view them in the context of the crisis that led to the assassination of Anwar Sadat. After his death, it became apparent that the Egyptian ruling class was unable to rule with the same old methods. Continuation of Sadat's methods would have led to a mass uprising due to the aggravated political and economic crisis. This in turn led the Mubarak regime to contrive a new fake democratic consensus which would tart up the government of Camp David and the economic «open door» to imperialism with a nationalist facade.

Prior to the elections, legislation

was formulated so as to secure a sizeable parliamentary majority for the ruling NDP. The new electoral legislation stipulated that only those parties which received at least 8% of the vote on a country-wide basis would be entitled to sit in the People's Assembly. Through this law, the ruling party was able to prevent representation of three opposition parties: the Socialist Labor Party, the National Progressive Unionist Party and the Liberal Party. All the votes obtained by these opposition parties were added to the votes gained by the NDP. The number of seats allotted to the NDP rose from 337 to 391.

For the first time, elections occurred

in Egypt under conditions that allowed for relative freedom of expression. But the electoral laws predetermined the results, and the state repressive apparatus and the exceptional laws of the Sadat era remained intact to ensure that there would be no surprise victories for the opposition.

To make «democratization» appear more credible, even the disbanded Wafd Party was allowed to reconstitute itself. The old Wafd traditionally represented productive sectors of the Egyptian bourgeoisie which never benefitted from the creation of the unproductive *infitah* bourgeoisie of the Sadat era. This reemergence of the Wafd was accom-

panied by its alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood which represents reactionary segments of the population. Thus the elections gave birth to a two-party system which maintained the ruling party in the majority and allowed the Wafd limited representation as the «legal opposition».

From the beginning, Mubarak proclaimed his commitment to the principles of honor, honesty and decency in the electoral process. The reality of the campaign and voting process represented something quite foreign to decency and honesty.

## Violence and coercion

The election process this year was accompanied by many violent events. In the city of Luxor, members of the ruling party killed Mrs. Nimat Hussein, the Socialist Labor Party candidate. In Deir Shbein, the wife of the National Progressive Unionist Party candidate, Ahmed Barakat, was seriously wounded by supporters of the ruling party who thus prevented NPUP representatives from entering the voting centers to observe the voting process. In the eastern province of the Nile, the body of Hussein Murad of the Wafd Party was found; he had been kidnapped on May 27th by supporters of the ruling party.

In the city of Giza, supporters of the ruling party prevented the representatives of the Wafd Party from entering three election centers and terrorized the voters. This led to the injury of three Wafd members, who were taken to hospitals.

These incidents took place when police authorities had received strict instructions, reportedly from Mubarak, to stay neutral. This shows how the ruling authorities benefited from the state apparatus. The role of the police was limited to protecting the election polls, and they had orders not to counter the violence of the supporters of the ruling party against the opposition parties. Lutfi al Khouli, a candidate of the National Progressive Unionist Party, stated on election day, «When we say free elec-

tions, we must put the word *free* in parenthesis».

Similarly, the state-controlled media was used by the ruling party. On election day, the government «national» papers urged the voters to vote for the ruling party. Musa Sabri of *Al Akhbar* directly asked people not to vote for the National Progressive Unionist Party and the Wafd, calling the first «communist» and the second «extremist, that attempts to bring us back to the old days».

A high rate of abstentionism was a feature of this year's elections. According to the numbers announced by the Ministry of Interior, only 43 percent of those eligible actually voted. This means that more than half of those eligible to vote stayed away. Proceeding from this point, no one can be fooled about the legitimacy of these elections of the assembly which is supposed to represent the people.

In several areas, thousands of people were not allowed to vote. According to *Al Ahali*, the organ of the NPUP, «tens of thousands of voters were kept from voting in several places when they did not find their names on the election lists. Upon the persistence of some people in searching for their names with different committees, it was discovered that the election lists given to the committees were different from the announced ones.» In Sabra el Khanina, a workers' district, Lutfi al Khouli announced that 70,000 names on the election list were those of dead people. This is 23 percent of those registered in that district.

From the results announced by the Ministry of Interior, it was clear that in the capital and other big cities, 25% of the eligible voters voted, while in the rural areas, 61% voted. This calls into question the practice of ruling party members who supervised the elections committees in those areas, because it is well known that illiteracy, political apathy, disease and poverty are more widespread in rural areas than in the cities of Egypt. It is unthinkable that a higher percent of the rural population votes.

The authorities can claim that they allowed a reasonable portion of the opposition to sit in the People's Assembly and that they allowed freedom of expression prior to and during the election process, insinuating that this is real democracy. But the practices of the ruling party clearly show the fallacy of these claims. A great feeling of disenchantment was spread among all opposition parties due to the results and practices by the National Democratic Party. The Wafd Party claims that the ruling authorities prevented them from winning more seats in the Council. Fouad Serrajeddin, leader of the Wafd, called the elections «the funeral of democracy». He added, «What is called the democratic experience in Egypt has failed and will have bad effects on the people.»

*Al Ahali*, the NPUP paper, described this process as the ruling party telling the people that democratic change is an illusion and our rulers speak in the language of violence. It went on to say in its editorial; «Some people thought our rulers became aware of the lessons of September, 1981, when Sadat was killed, but it seems that they learned only to change their tactics.»

Therefore, there is no real change in Egypt. The elections proved that the same ruling class will remain in power. The representatives of the Egyptian working people are deprived of representation in the People's Assembly which means the continuation of Camp David and the open door policy initiated by Sadat and continued by President Mubarak. This also means the continuation of instability and the economic crisis that entails high prices and a low standard of living for the Egyptian masses.

In spite of the left forces' losses in these elections, they were able to use their election campaign to spread their program among a broader section of the population. This is a necessary step to mobilize the people of Egypt on a national program and prepare them for the next national and class battles in the coming stage. ●

# Zionism's Global Role

## THE ISRAELI ROLE IN UNITED STATES GLOBAL STRATEGY

by Steve Goldfield, Ph. D.

The Israeli economy is a militarized economy, more so by far than any other in the world. It relies on the export of arms and military services for more of its exports than any other country in the world.

U.S. military and economic aid have enabled the Israelis to build up this military economy and U.S. interests determine who gets these arms. U.S. aid also shields the Israeli population, including the working class, from the consequences of militarization: unemployment, inflation over 130 percent, and loss of purchasing power.

Israeli military exports are an important component of U.S. strategy in Asia, Africa and Latin America, going to the regimes which the United States wishes to support but feels politically constrained to arm because of world or American public opinion. The Israelis are a key element in U.S. strategy to circumvent Congressional and public opinion in the United States.

Israel's international role, not sympathy for victims of the Holocaust or simply its regional role, explains why it receives more U.S. aid than any other country. Important as the Israeli role in its own region is for U.S. interests, this Israeli international activity is equal in importance and explains why the Israelis are permitted by the United States government to do almost anything they want in their own region without risking loss of U.S. support.

Consider any third-world area that has been a trouble spot in the past ten years and you will discover Israeli officers and weapons implicated in the conflict, supporting American interests and helping in what they call «the defense of the West». The symbols of this involvement are familiar: the Uzi submachine gun and the Galil assault rifle, and Israeli officers named Uzi and Galil and Golan. They can be found in Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Namibia, Taiwan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Chile, and Bolivia to name a few.

In South Africa, for example, Israel is actively involved in defending what Washington sees as a «strategic outpost» with the complicity and encouragement of the United States. In this case, Israel's help is particularly important because although the United States is committed to the survival of the South African regime, Washington feels that the overt support it can give to South Africa is severely limited by world public opinion.

Throughout the third-world, Israel has suc-

ceeded where other Western powers have failed in using force to blunt the edge of native radicalism. And they do it with what Washington sees as aplomb, enthusiasm, and grace. The Reagan administration cannot send military advisers to Zaire, Guatemala, South Africa, or Haiti. Nor would many of America's European allies willingly aid repressive regimes like, say the Chilean junta. What others regard as «dirty work», Israelis regard as defensible duty and even in some cases, an exalted calling.<sup>1</sup>

This somewhat agitational but scrupulously accurate statement appeared in the pages of the *New York Times*, in January of 1983. Its author, Benjamin Beit Hallahmi, teaches psychology at the University of Haifa. Beit Hallahmi went on to point out that «there is virtually no Israeli opposition to this global adventurism...no 'human rights lobby'».

While western media have recently focused some attention on massive Israeli arms shipments to dictatorships in Central America, little analysis of the full Israeli role as a junior partner of the United States has appeared. Here we present a review of the Israeli economy and armaments industry, a summary of Israeli global military activities, and an assessment of the contribution of U.S. aid to Israeli industrial potential, and then weigh the overall significance of Israeli service to the United States government.

### Israeli Arms Production

The two largest Israeli military producers, Israel Aircraft Industries and Israeli Military Industries (also known as Ta'as), are both owned by the government and are the two largest Israeli industrial firms and the largest exporters.<sup>2</sup> In fact, according to the British *Financial Times* of December 18, 1981, 300,000 workers, or 25 percent of the Israeli labor force, work in military-related jobs.<sup>3</sup> Although this figure includes the army, which numbers about 165,000<sup>4</sup>, it is still a staggering proportion of an economy devoted to war. Of Israeli industrial workers, about 14 percent produce weapons.<sup>5</sup>

The military sector is the single largest part of Israeli economic life. In the seventies according to *Ha'aretz*, it absorbed nearly 37 percent of the budget and 16 percent of the total economic resources, four and five times the rates of military expenditures in NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries.<sup>6</sup> Military expenditures account for almost 30 percent of the gross annual product; the 1981 military budget amounted to \$7.34 billion.<sup>7</sup>

IAI, founded by David Ben Gurion in 1953<sup>8</sup>, manufactures the Kfir C-2 fighter plane, the Arava short-take-off-and-landing transport plane (well suited to counterinsurgency)<sup>9</sup>, the Hawk and Gabriel missiles (in its MBT division which also makes bomb release systems and perimeter security systems), and the Westwind jet sold as an executive business aircraft but which converts to a fighter plane; seven per month are being sold to private buyers in the United States.<sup>10</sup> The Shafrir missile is a copy of the AIM 90/G and AIM 9 L missiles manufactured by Raytheon<sup>11</sup> in the U.S. and including U.S. made components.<sup>12</sup> IAI's Bedek aviation division does overhaul, maintenance, and training, operates nine international airlines, and trains local personnel for many national airlines.<sup>13</sup>

The new Israeli fighter, the Lavie<sup>14</sup> (which the Israelis want U.S. aid to produce)<sup>15</sup>, was to have Pratt & Whitney 1120 jet engines<sup>16</sup>; to date the United States has not released the technology the Israelis need to produce all its parts.<sup>17</sup> However, the latest plans are for the Israelis to produce the engines under license<sup>18</sup>, a step which some Israeli economists believe could distort and bankrupt the economy still further.<sup>19</sup> The Lavie is designed to carry Israeli nuclear warheads.<sup>20</sup>

The delta-wing Kfir fighter plane, incidentally, is an upgraded French Mirage, using an American produced General Electric J79-17 engine, based on blueprints stolen by the Mossad, the Israeli overseas intelligence service, after General de Gaulle stopped sales to the Israelis in 1967. A few years later the Mossad illegally spirited war boats out of France.<sup>21</sup>

IMI makes the Merkava tank, the Uzi submachine gun, and the Galil assault rifle, itself a refinement of the Soviet-designed Kalashnikov or AK-47<sup>22</sup>. IMI also profits from Uzi sales via a Belgian licensee and from the Galil via a Dutch firm.<sup>23</sup> IMI estimates that one hundred countries have purchased one million Uzis since 1953.<sup>24</sup> The Merkava is based on the British Chieftain with an engine from the American Teledyne Company. The Carter administration allowed Israel to use \$107 million in U.S. military aid to develop it and to cancel an order for 175 M-60 tanks, both unprecedented.<sup>25</sup>

The largest private arms company, Sultam, which specializes in military electronics, is owned primarily by Koor, which is owned by the Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation.<sup>26</sup> The Histadrut has substantial investments throughout the Israeli economy including in armaments. With 20 to 25 percent of Israeli workers employed by its companies, the Histadrut is the second largest employer after the government itself, which employs just under 40 percent of the workers.<sup>27</sup>

Sultam general manager Yakov Lior told the *Jerusalem Post* (April 27, 1979), «Sultam exports its products to forty countries. Among Sultam's products are complete systems of cannons and mortars, together with optical instruments, auxiliary instruments, and various sorts of munitions including night sabotage materials, lighting devices, grenades, and smoke bombs.»<sup>28</sup> One of Sultam's hottest items is its 155-millimeter howitzer.<sup>29</sup> Shlomo Zevdelovitch, one of Sultam's founders, was described as «one of the biggest arms manufactur-

ers and traders in the world. Among his other deals, he served as middle man in the gigantic sales of Israeli arms to various countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and other regions.»<sup>30</sup>

Together, IAI, IMI, Koor (Sultam and Tadiran), Elron, and Rafael produce more than 90 percent of Israeli arms exports.<sup>31</sup>

In May 1983, *Koteret Rashit* reported that the firms involved in arms sales «have been joined by several veterans of Israeli Military Intelligence who specialize in electronic surveillance. Among their customers: countries in South America. High officials of the Lebanese Phalangists have also expressed interest in the products of this firm».<sup>32</sup>

## Foreign Investment in Israeli Arms Production

Foreign investment is also heavy in Israeli arms firms; U.S. companies play the largest role with such names as American Electronics Laboratories, Aeronautics Corporation of America, Gerber Scientific, Control Data Corporation, Motorola, General Telephone & Electronics, Rockefeller Brothers and Associates, Intel Corporation, TRW, Teledyne, and Rand Information Systems, to name only a few, heavily involved.<sup>33</sup>

In 1977, the *Economist* reported that the Israeli government turned to South Africa for capital to develop «the next generation of Israeli warships». In return the South Africans were to receive the first four or five new boats.<sup>34</sup> Tadiran, the third largest Israeli arms exporter and a subsidiary of the Histadrut's Koor and General Telephone & Electronics (Tadiran is 44.64 percent owned by each and 10.72 percent owned by its employees)<sup>35</sup>, and South Africa's Consolidated Power, have formed a large electronics combine specializing in military electronics and computers.<sup>36</sup> In 1970, Tadiran negotiated a licensing agreement with C.F.Fuchs, Ltd. for the production of highly sophisticated electronic equipment it developed.<sup>37</sup> The Israeli and South African subsidiaries of Motorola operate several joint ventures.<sup>38</sup> Iskor, which manufactures half of Israeli steel, is 51 percent owned by Koor, i.e. by Histadrut, and 49 percent owned by the South African government-owned steel corporation, Iscor.<sup>39</sup> Koor also has a South African subsidiary, Iskor Steel Services Company. These are only a few examples of joint Israeli and South African arms production and economic collaboration. More than 250 South African firms belong to the very active South Africa-Israel Chamber of Economic Relations.<sup>40</sup>

The Israeli government offers considerable inducements to new investors: 70 percent of initial capital (30 percent grant and 40 percent at 8 percent interest; with Israeli inflation over 130 percent in 1982, this is virtually interest-free)<sup>41</sup> and up to half of research and development costs. The would-be investor also gets subsidies for training and plant and premises rental costs, low or waived customs duties, and a flat corporate tax of 33 percent suspended for the first five years.<sup>42</sup>

The U.S. Department of Commerce reported that in 1976 Israeli workers «produced less than half as much as U.S. workers» but were paid, including benefits, «less than one third» as

much, making Israeli wage cost per unit of output «lower than in most industrial countries».<sup>43</sup> Rafael Benvenisti, director of the Israel Investment authority, estimates that Israeli engineering graduates earn 40 percent of U.S. salaries. Leon Rieberman, president and chief executive officer of AEL Industries Inc., noted «it is costing us 30 percent of what it would cost us to do the same type of research in the U.S.»<sup>44</sup>

*The Wall Street Journal* reported in 1981 that «Israelis complain that in criticizing Israel's hawkish military policies, the U.S. overlooks the fact that Israel has served as a kind of 'combat laboratory' for U.S. weapons development.<sup>45</sup> *Defense Attache* called Israeli weapons «combat proven».<sup>46</sup> At IAI, an official notes that 'we have people here all the time from U.S. companies and the U.S. military studying our experience.' » An IAI official added, «An engineer here knows that what he produces, he or his son will fight with».<sup>47</sup>

Moshe Arens, the new Israeli defense minister, was an aeronautical engineer for the Curtiss-Wright Corp. before he emigrated in 1957.<sup>48</sup> By 1959, he opposed Ben Gurion and Eshkol because they were not moving quickly enough, in his judgement, to develop Israeli nuclear weapons. In 1960, with a former commander-in-chief of the Israeli Air Force, he founded Elron. He participated in the development of the Arava transport and received the «Israeli Prize for Security» in 1971 for reasons which remain secret to date. He is also a director of Israel Aircraft Industries, a strong backer of the Lavie (formerly called the Aryeh)<sup>49</sup>, and helped negotiate the U.S.-Israeli accord on strategic cooperation.<sup>50</sup> Arens cites three advantages of the Israeli defense industry that he says the U.S. will never match, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, «the experience of workers who are nearly all members of Israel's military reserves; lower costs, because of salary levels that are about half those in the U.S.; and speed in development of weapons systems».<sup>51</sup>

## U.S. Arms Purchases from Israel

In fact, conditions are so profitable that the U.S. government itself has extended many contracts to Israeli arms manufacturers, provoking complaints from their U.S. counterparts. The General Accounting Office responded that the Buy American Act permits «preference for suppliers of domestic end-products but does not require that bidders offering foreign end-products be rejected».<sup>52</sup> In any case, Israeli arms manufacturers are exempted both from Buy American restrictions and from import duties.<sup>53</sup> U.S. Defense Department purchases from Israeli firms for aviation and computer goods went up from 26.5 percent of Israel's exports to the U.S. in 1978 to 37 percent in 1980.<sup>54</sup>

An interesting illustration of this trend is the McDonnell Douglas F-15. In 1977, the Israelis were refused coproduction rights. But by 1979 over \$20 million worth of F-15 parts were Israeli made. Certain F-15 parts, such as gun access panel doors, are now manufactured only by Israeli companies as subcontractors for McDonnell Douglas. One of the largest pri-

vate Israeli firms, Cyclone Aviation Products, thus produced parts for F-15's delivered to the Saudis over apparently vociferous Israeli opposition.<sup>55</sup> The Israelis were well-compensated after this «defeat».<sup>56</sup> In another case, Tadiran signed a \$93 million contract to supply electronics equipment directly to the Department of Defense.<sup>57</sup>

According to the *Financial Times*, Professor Ezra Sadan, director-general of the Israeli Treasury, reported to his government on March 22, 1981, «that during talks in Washington [the week before] he found a very receptive ear to the suggestion that Israel could provide the U.S. with some of the equipment needed for reinforcing the U.S. army». The story continued, «One area where the Israelis are most hopeful is in providing the equipment and knowledge it has developed in desert warfare to the U.S. rapid deployment force, which will be expected to fight in desert conditions in the Middle East».<sup>58</sup>

In April 1983, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard N. Perle recommended the U.S. Army purchase weapons from an Israeli company. One year before he had been paid \$50,000 as a consulting fee by the same company.<sup>59</sup>

## Arms Production and the Israeli Economy

Israeli arms exports and total exports are classified figures, but estimates from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute indicate as much as 40 percent of total Israeli exports consist of military supplies and services.<sup>60</sup> an estimated \$2 billion in sales in 1982 according to a 1981 projection by Deputy Minister of Defense Mordechai Tzipori.<sup>61</sup> Ya'acov Meridor told Israel Bond officials in Jerusalem, «We consider that, on the road to our economic independence, we can increase in the next four years the weaponry exports by an additional \$2 billion».<sup>62</sup> Military exports, according to a 1982 article in *Ha'aretz*, accounted for 60 percent of Israeli steel, electrical, and electronics exports over the previous five years. Although the slowdown in the world economy has hurt Israeli arms sales somewhat, in 1983 some Israeli economists advocated *reducing* arms as a percent of total exports to 25 percent.<sup>63</sup> In fact, industrial exports, not including diamonds, are expected to grow from 30 percent of exports a decade ago to two-thirds, according to Avraham Ashieri, director-general of the Industry and Trade Ministry.<sup>64</sup>

In 1975, Israeli military exports were about \$150 million, approximately 15 percent of total exports and double the previous year.<sup>65</sup> As recently as 1977, Israeli arms exports totaled only \$285 million. By 1980 Israeli firms collectively, with \$1.25 billion in world arms sales,<sup>66</sup> were the single largest arms exporter to sub-Saharan Africa and to Central America. In 1982, the CIA ranked Israeli arms exports at fifth in the world,<sup>67</sup> after the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Britain. The Israelis had apparently passed West Germany and Italy, ranked ahead of them in a 1981 *New York Times* report.<sup>68</sup>

Begin's special assistant for economic coordination, Ya'acov Meridor, confidently predicted in 1981 that over the following four years Israel would increase «weaponry exports

by an additional \$2 billion».<sup>69</sup> Compare this rapid growth with the 24.5 percent *decline* in diamond exports in 1981; the diamond labor force shrank by one-third in 1980.<sup>70</sup> In the same period chemical and plastics exports declined 4.9 percent and textiles 17 percent.<sup>71</sup> But electronics, machinery, and metal products, i.e. weapons, grew by 25.7 percent.<sup>72</sup> Until recently Israeli arms exports were doubling every other year.<sup>73</sup>

Until 1971 Israeli arms production was mainly ammunition for small arms and parts for repair of foreign-produced equipment. Supposedly, the original reason for the rapid shift into broad-based production was to reduce Israeli reliance on foreign suppliers.<sup>74</sup> However, in 1976 the Israeli Defense Ministry had to cut back purchases of domestic weapons because of a requirement that the \$1.6 billion in American military assistance that year be spent in the United States. The Israelis shifted to export production though \$1.5 billion was later released to be spent for Israeli-produced weapons.<sup>75</sup>

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# Israel Picks Up the Slack Arming the Contras in Nicaragua

In July 1983 the *New York Times* reported the Reagan administration was preparing an alternative supply line to the contras in case the U.S. Congress cut off American support. That supply line was to be Israel. Congressional reaction to the mining of Nicaraguan harbors by the CIA has resulted in a cutoff of U.S. funds for the contras. The transcript which follows demonstrates that the Israeli arms pipeline is in full operation.

*NBC News Nightly Broadcast*

*Anchorman: Tom Brokaw*

*Reporter: Fred Francis on assignment in  
Honduras/Nicaragua*

*Date of Report: April 23, 1984, 5:30 p.m.*

**TB:** Tom Brokaw

**FF:** Fred Francis

**EB:** Enrique Bermudez, Commander of the Rebel Forces

**TB:** We have learned that those American-backed rebels fighting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are getting lots of weapons from one of America's closest allies—Israel. As Francis reports, however, it's a dangerous business all the way around.

**FF:** Soviet machine guns are used by the American-backed rebels in the war for Nicaragua. NBC News has learned that the state of Israel, at Washington's urging, has armed a quarter of the rebel army.

[Background of gunfire]

The rebels want Soviet weapons because they can capture ammunition from the Soviet-supplied Nicaraguan enemy.

**EB:** We received some weapons from the, the, that Israeli government took from PLO in Lebanon.

**FF:** Israel's Ariel Sharon, after two trips to Honduras, offered the spoils of the 1982 Lebanese invasion to the so-called covert war.

[Scene of clandestine airbase built by CIA]

The rebels store the weapons and ammunition here at this clandestine airfield. We are not permitted to tell you where we are, but it is from this field that the 47-year-old cargo plane, supplied by Washington, flies its air-drop mission deep into Nicaragua.

Crates of guns inventoried by the CIA. The agency must

approve every air drop into Nicaragua. Every one. Rebels complain that they don't get enough to arm all of their volunteers, so they can only harass, not topple, the regime in Managua.

Administration officials admit that they keep the rebels on a tight leash. As a result, for instance, this is the only cargo plane they are allowed to have.

CIA agents control this American-built airstrip and several administration sources say those agents get their orders from a special planning group at the White House. That's who controls this supply line to Nicaragua's rebels.

It is a dangerous supply route. The C-47 is very slow. Two others have gone down.

Four men and a door gunner protect it with automatic weapons. The drop zone is 110 miles from Managua. Commander Bermudez says 64 peasants are waiting for guns.

The rebel camp is sighted. The plane groans in a tight circle below a thousand feet. The men await a signal.

[Scene of the air drop from the plane]

The 64 volunteers stand fast in an L formation for orders to uncrate 64 rifles, 22,000 bullets, and a medical kit. Again, this is 110 miles from Managua.

[Scene of main rebel war room]

Bermudez offers a frustrated laugh at the White House policy which won't allow him to win.

**FF:** It's not working is it?

**EB:** It is not working. There is a conflict between an open war and with covert support.

**FF:** The rebels covert support could soon end. Many congressmen now believe that the president's policy is confusing and immoral. So 13,000 rebels could be abandoned, forced to turn again to Israel and others to save themselves from becoming refugees of a war lost in a divided Washington.

Fred Francis, NBC News, Honduras

November 29th Committee for Palestine  
P.O. Box 27462 · San Francisco, CA 94127 · (415) 861-1552



Tamils protest in London

## Sri Lanka

### NEW TIES WITH 'ISRAEL' NEW MASSACRES AGAINST TAMILS

In May, it was announced that 'Israel' and Sri Lanka were restoring diplomatic relations, and that 'Israel' would open an office in the US embassy in Colombo. The Sri Lanka government stated

that it wants Israeli help in combatting Tamil «terrorism». Such cooperation has been going on secretly with Israeli advisers present in Sri Lanka for the past year.

This shows the bankruptcy of the Sri Lanka government's own attempts to quell the Tamil liberation struggle by massacring civilians. The latest round of massacres began on March 28th, when

the Sri Lanka Air Force opened fire on civilians in the town of Chunnagam, killing twelve, including a pregnant woman and four year old child. In the next three weeks, there were attacks on Tamils in five other towns. In all, 237 were killed and 1000 injured.

The increased Israeli role only heightens the danger to the Tamil people. This was concretely proven on June 9th and 10th, when a demonstration was organized in Kattankudy against the stationing of Mossad and Israeli anti-terrorist units in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan army, together with Israeli units, opened fire, killing over 30 Tamil people and injuring many others.

Not surprisingly, increased Sri Lanka-Israeli military cooperation coincides with US imperialism's interest in the island as a back-up for its base on Diego Garcia. The preferred site is Trincomalee harbor, in the heart of the area where most of the Tamil people live. For this reason, the Sri Lanka government has stepped up its campaign to replace the Tamil population with Sinhalese colonies, known for loyalty to the government. US Defense Secretary Weinberger was in Sri Lanka last October to discuss plans for Trincomalee, and agreement was reached concerning oil storage facilities.

*We thank the comrades of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam for sending us the material for this box.*

Tamil victims of the March 28th massacre



# Sixth AAPSO Congress

Twelve years after the fifth congress in Cairo, the sixth congress of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) was held in Algiers, May 27th-30th. Holding the congress in Algiers was in itself significant. This was the result of the important and active role that Algeria plays in the struggle against imperialism, giving real support to the struggle of the people of Asia and Africa. Holding the congress in Algeria in turn gave special political importance not only to the congress, but also to the AAPSO and the solidarity movement as a whole. The Algerian government and party extended every possible form of hospitality and all the facilities at their disposal to make the congress successful.

The congress exhibited that solidarity within AAPSO is a truly strong and broad movement. This was seen in:

1. The large number of delegations that participated, which reflected the growth of AAPSO's membership. This point becomes more important when we know that most of the delegations were composed of representatives of various social sectors in their countries, showing that a broad spectrum of social sectors are involved in the solidarity movement. Included in many of the delegations were personalities, writers, artists, trade unionists, women, academicians, etc. This was true not only of the delegations from Asia and Africa, but also of those from other parts of the world, especially Europe.

2. The high level of delegations to the congress, many of which were headed by top leaders. For example, the Soviet delegation was headed by a candidate Politbureau member; the Afgani delegation was headed by a Politbureau member who is Minister of Culture, the ANC delegation was headed by Comrade Alfred Nzo. In addition there were guests of honour from different national liberation movements.

The Aden conference of 1980 took a decision in principle to grant associate membership to active solidarity committees outside Asia and Africa. This was AAPSO's response to the fact that the Afro-Asian struggle is growing and is totally connected to the worldwide struggle against imperialism, which encom-



passes more political and social forces. The sixth congress adopted the 1980 decision to amend the constitution to this effect.

The work of the congress, the reports presented by the Permanent Secretariat and the interventions of the participants exhibited the positive efforts made by the leading bodies of AAPSO, in particular the Permanent Secretariat, to improve the role of the AAPSO, and to enrich the scope and content of the solidarity movement. The congress hailed the work done by the Permanent Secretariat in leading the AAPSO successfully during the past years.

The work of the AAPSO congress expressed the deep, sincere intentions of all delegates to escalate the activities

of the solidarity movement. Regardless of some differences of opinion on this subject or that, the congress with very good spirit succeeded in adopting good resolutions on all subjects, as well as a plan of action for the coming period and amendments to its constitution. The resolutions expressed support to the struggling peoples in Asia and Africa and in the world in general. It was emphasized that their struggle is part and parcel of the worldwide struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism, and for freedom, self-determination, peace, democracy and social progress.

The congress adopted three resolutions specifically supporting the struggle of the peoples in the Middle East. Camp

David and all similar plans and proposals were specifically condemned. Support was expressed for the Lebanese resistance against Israeli occupation. Finally the congress reaffirmed its support for the Palestinian people's struggle against Zionism and imperialism in order to achieve their inalienable national rights, especially the right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The congress amended the AAPSO constitution to facilitate the incorporation into the movement of new forces engaged in anti-imperialist struggle, while at the same time preserving the nature of the organization as an Afro-Asian organization. ●

## Death of Comrade Berlinguer

On June 11th, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy, Enrico Berlinguer, passed away after suffering from a brain hemorrhage.

Born in 1922 to a noble family on Sardinia, Berlinguer joined the Communist Party in 1943, after reading Karl Marx in his uncle's library and developing close relations with communist workers. After only two years, he became a member of the Central Committee. He became responsible for the communist youth organization and on this basis president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. In 1966, he was elected deputy General Secretary of the party and in 1972, he became the General Secretary.

Under his leadership, the Communist Party of Italy received the highest percentage of votes in its history, 34,5% in the 1975-76 election making it the second biggest party in Italy after the Christian Democrats who received 38%.

Berlinguer was famous for two main issues: First was the idea of «the historic compromise» which meant sharing governmental power with mainly the Christian Democrats; this project however never materialized. Second was the trend of Eurocommunism, advocated by the Italian Communist Party along with the French and Spanish Communist Parties in the mid-seventies. Both the

«historic compromise» and Eurocommunism created a state of polemics and dispute among communist and democratic forces in Europe and all over the world. Since then, Eurocommunism has lost its force as a movement with the change in the international orientation of the French Communist Party away from Eurocommunism and the replacement of Carillo as General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party.

In spite of the loss of Comrade Berlinguer, we are confident that the Italian Communist Party will continue its march towards peace, democracy and social progress, based on its long traditions of national and international struggle. ●

### CONDOLENCES

**The General Secretary of the PFLP, Dr. George Habash, sent the following telegram of condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy:**

We received the news of Comrade Enrico Berlinguer's death with great sorrow. His death is a loss not only for the working class and progressive forces in

Italy, but to all forces of liberation, peace and progress in the world. The PFLP marches on the same path as pursued by Comrade Berlinguer when he struggled against fascism, Nazi occupation and oppression.

On behalf of the Politbureau, Central Committee and all members and fighters of the PFLP, I offer you our condolences. Meanwhile I hope that our comradely relations will be strengthened in order to intensify the common struggle against the common enemy, imperialism and its agents.

## Phone Call to Beirut

*This story was written by a Yugoslavian friend, Vesna Al Masharifa, who was in the Palestinian refugee camps in Syria at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, 1982.*

West Beirut was besieged. These were very critical days for Palestinian history. The Israeli army was continuously shelling. The number of casualties was increasing rapidly.

Every family had a few men fighting in Lebanon. It was difficult, almost impossible, to be in touch with them. People were desperate and helpless, for they had had no news about their relatives since the beginning of the war. Searching for consolation, they paid visits to other families, sharing their fears and grief. It happened that uncertain information reached some families that their sons had perished in Lebanon. They were despondent and trying to find out the truth. Usually, they came to military headquarters in the camps to check if their sons were registered on the list of martyrs.

That morning the office was very crowded with people who had come to inquire about their relatives and friends. People were standing in a line in front of Comrade Khaled's table. The comrade had the list of martyrs in front of him. It was very quiet in the room. One could only hear the voice of somebody saying in a quivering voice the name of the relative inquired about, and again silence, while he or she waited intensely for the answer. Comrade Khaled was passing over the paper with visible uneasiness.

«No, he is not listed,» he said with relief. «Please people, listen to me. Why don't you go to your homes? You know that if anything happens to your relatives, you will definitely receive a cable, even on the same day we do. It's our duty to inform you. You know that.» He tried to persuade them.

Then that silent room became a beehive. At the same time everybody tried to explain their reasons and to speak about the uncertainty with which they had lived from the time the war commenced.

«Okay, okay,» Khaled gave up. «We will continue. It was just a suggestion. If you don't agree, we won't discuss it anymore.»

People were satisfied that he had changed his mind. Again they formed a line and went on as before.

The first dash was over. The office was vacant. Khaled wiped the sweat from his forehead. Then, at the door appeared

a middle-aged woman with a child about five years old. She wore the traditional Palestinian dress. It was a very beautiful, long, black dress with embroidered violet flowers which covered the chest, sleeves and bottom edge. A white cotton scarf, which almost touched the floor, concealed her hair. The dress was fastened at the waist by a Palestinian kuffiyeh. Her figure was erect and robust, her movements vigorous. She held the child's hand firmly.

«Comrade, I received a letter from my husband. He's in Beirut,» she said with discomfort when they reached Khaled's table.

«Yes?» Khaled gave her a questioning look. She resumed: «He loves our son very much. In the last letter, he joked that he will phone him to check if he is still being a good boy... You know, this is our first son, after five daughters.»

«So, may he be hale and hearty,» smiled Khaled and then turned towards the child, asking him squarely: «Do you want to be a fighter like your father?»

The child was watching him with distrust, unsure whether to hide himself behind his mother, or to accept the conversation. Then he made up his mind to do the second: «Yes, of course, I dream about that,» he answered finally.

«Bravo, bravo... Then, since you are so brave, tell me what is your name?» Khaled asked in a mollifying voice.

«Yusef,» the child replied more freely.

«Ahlan wa sahan, Yusef,» Khaled welcomed him.

Yusef nestled close to his mother with childlike coyness. For a moment no one spoke. Then his mother broke the silence, relieved, for Khaled was so kind and friendly.

«You know, comrade, I would ask you to let him speak on the telephone. He took his father's joke seriously. For two days he has been crying and asking to talk to him. I don't know what to do, so I brought him here,» she finally ended, saying what had been tormenting her. Khaled accepted the game.

«So you want to talk to your father?» he asked the child.

«Oh yes, I do,» answered Yusef brightly.

«Then I will call him now, and you will speak. But don't forget that you can't hear him. Okay?» Khaled gave a short explanation.

«Yes,» the boy agreed, thrilled. Khaled dialed zeros and then began shouting, «Beirut! Beirut? Is that Beirut? Come, Yusef, come quickly. Here it is!»

The child took the receiver and started crying. «Papa, do you hear me? I know that you do! How are you? We miss you.

When will you return home? Can you bring your rifle for me? And if you can, a huge plane and chocolates.»

«Come along, the line might be cut,» Khaled whispered to him.

Yusef was confused for a moment and started fingering the receiver which seemed very big in his small hand.

«Speak, speak!» his mother encouraged him.

«I...I have to ring off now. Bye, bye now, I love you,» he finished sadly.

«There, you talked,» his mother tried to support him, containing her emotions. Then she thanked Khaled, hiding her tears, and took the child's hand, leading him toward the door. Yusef was still puzzled, but was smiling broadly, saying good-bye to Khaled. When he reached the door, he turned towards him, asking, «Can I come tomorrow?»

«Oh yes, do... If you know how to come alone,» Khaled accepted.

«Of course I know. My house is near the office,» Yusef answered happily.

«Then, ahlan wa sahlán... But you cannot stay long. This is an office. And if I am busy, you have to go home. Okay?» He conveyed to him the rules of the game.

«Yes, sure,» the child agreed. Then his mother thanked Khaled again and they left.

Yusef visited Khaled every morning afterwards. He would speak for a while on the telephone and then spend some time with Khaled in talk, play and joy. They became very good friends.

One morning Khaled was preparing for the usual visits of people. He tidied his table and placed the list of martyrs in front of himself. His eyes were glancing instinctively over the names. Suddenly he got pale, fastening his glance on one

name. At that moment Yusef entered running. Immediately he sat on Khaled's knee, playing with the things on his table. «I want to talk to my father,» he said as usual.

Drops of sweat came to Khaled's forehead. He couldn't speak, but just passed the receiver to the child silently.

«Papa, it's me,» Yusef started to shout. «How are you?... I have good news.» Then he lowered his voice to a confidential tone: «Yesterday, we boys from the camp decided to go to Beirut. You know we are not children anymore. We play war every day, and we have a plan to kill all the Israeli soldiers. Today we will plan how to reach there without informing our mothers. I will tell you details tomorrow... Bye, bye, I love you.» He hung up with visible proudness and importance. «Today I talked longer than usual,» he said to Khaled apologetically.

«It doesn't matter, never mind, don't worry, it's okay,» replied Khaled, rather confused. He took the boy's hand, leading him towards the door. «Look, today I'm very busy.»

«Oh, never mind, I'll come tomorrow,» the child cut him off.

Khaled had lost his lead with this interruption, but continued heavily, «You know, it's okay, but the telephone won't work... It happens, it's normal...»

«Oh, you mean the lines to Beirut will be cut?» the child prompted him.

«Yes, yes, exactly... That's right...» Khaled accepted immediately. Then with tears in his eyes, he hugged the boy, passing his hand over his silky hair, and said almost in a whisper: «Your mother will tell you everything. I mean... when we get the line to Beirut, we will let her know... Okay?... Now run along home.»

«Yes, yes, I'll tell her. Bye, Uncle Khaled,» the child was satisfied with this promise and happily ran out of the room. ●

## Texas

### Solidarity with Arab Women

On the occasion of International Women's Day, the Palestine-Arab Women Committee in Austin, Texas, participated in a week of activities from the 5th to the 10th of March. This week was sponsored by many different local organizations and women's groups, and included the Palestine and Arab Women's Day.

A lecture on «Change and Revolution» was given by a professor in Middle Eastern Studies, Elizabeth Feinea. Three films produced by Elizabeth

Feinea were shown: «A Veiled Revolution» about the situation of Moslem Women in the Middle East; «Women under Siege» dealing with the situation of Palestinian women; and «The Price of Change» dealing with Egyptian women. The day was very successful and about 150 people attended. ●

**We thank our friends for sending us materials from solidarity events in different parts of the world.**

TUESDAY MARCH 6th

FILMS ON	BROWN BAG
ARAB	LUNCH
WOMEN	TX-UNION
A.C. Aud.	Eastwood Room
7p.m	NOON

A VEILED REVOLUTION  
(Elizabeth Feinea)

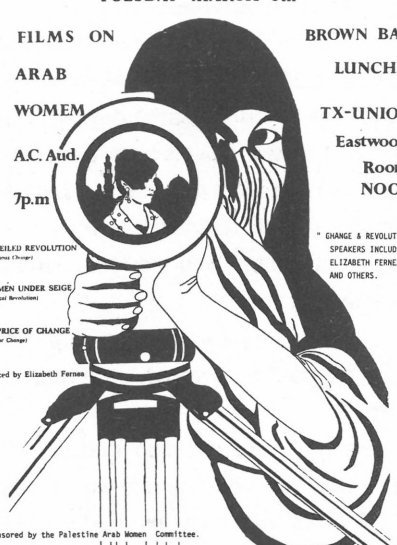
WOMEN UNDER SIEGE  
(Portrait Pictures)

THE PRICE OF CHANGE  
(Cinema Change)

Produced by Elizabeth Feinea

\* CHANGE A REVOLUTION  
SPEAKERS INCLUDE  
ELIZABETH FEINEA  
AND OTHERS.

Sponsored by the Palestine Arab Women Committee.



# ***Palestinian Information***

## ***Tasks and Perspectives***

*Below we print the first part of an essay on Palestinian information work, written by Bassam Abu Sharif*

The information activities of national liberation movements are closely linked with their goal and political strategy. The goal of these movements is to mobilize the masses in the fight against imperialism and, simultaneously, to wage a direct struggle against the imperialist enemy, particularly against his information activities.

With regard to the Palestinian national liberation movement, its information activities are marked by certain special features, in addition to general ones.

These special features of Palestinian information stem from the specific nature of the Palestinian cause, the situation of the Palestinian masses and the situation of the Palestinian revolution. Palestinians are scattered throughout a number of Arab countries and in emigration. This hinders the process of information unification and concentration. Most Palestinians live outside their fatherland and have no territory from which they can run their information institutions. Those who are at home cannot speak out freely and are under military occupation.

In view of these conditions the Palestinian masses not only do not have their own state and state institutions but, moreover, live in many countries under the rule of different political regimes.

Therefore Palestinian information, like various other aspects of Palestinian activities, cannot be free and spontaneous, except to the degree that it is permitted by one or another regime, and insofar as this freedom does not violate the overall balance of forces. But that is not all. Some political regimes deny the Palestinian revolution the right to unite and mobilize the Arab Palestinian masses through their own information programs; instead they advance their own stances towards Palestinians.

There are very many examples of this - in radio, newspapers, publications, etc.

This makes Palestinian information activities more complicated than that of other national liberation movements.

Furthermore it must be said that Palestinian information operations are more different and complicated because the enemy camp of the Palestinian masses is very diverse. This means that Palestinian information activities must fight simultaneously on more than one front and are compelled to counter enemies who have mastered information practices and their art, both at home and abroad.

The Zionists have committed extensive robbery of Palestinian culture and its civilization legacy. This also gives Palestinian information activities a cultural dimension, because we must include and expose such robbery and return the contributions of real civilization development to its true creators.

But it is not easy to fight on several fronts and the enemy

knows how to use these difficulties, such as our limited facilities and the fact that we are scattered. These difficulties were a great challenge to the Palestinian national liberation movement when it began its activities on this front after the June war. If we were to compare the situation in information immediately after the June war in 1967 with its state in June 1981, it would show that very great progress has been achieved. It would also be evident what more is needed in this sphere to fill in the gaps so that desirable progress is obtained on the qualitative information level.

### **1) Information Activities Within the Palestinian Home :**

Information activities must not only show the world the truth about the Palestinian cause, it is also necessary that these efforts are based on a clear information strategy directed to our own ranks; this means on the national level. This is what I call «information activities within the Palestinian home».

The main task of information in this field is to retain the Palestinian identity of all generations so that they continually cling to Palestine on the basis of knowing the real facts about the country, the people, and their cultural legacy, besides having political knowledge. This task, which lies on the shoulders of information workers, has not been formulated very precisely as yet nor has it yet been given the necessary and desirable attention.

Endeavours expended for this task are an investment for the future; they are the prerequisite for success in the fight for liberation and in the fight against hostile disinformation.

Information activities «in the Palestinian home», altogether, represent building the foundations on which the knowledge of our young generations will grow. And it is on the basis of such knowledge that the Palestinian citizen will continue to cling to his country, his land, and his homeland, because his homeland is his right, as facts show. This truthful knowledge gives him strength to fight for the liberation of his homeland from the claws of the usurpers.

And beyond and above all this, such knowledge will be the sharpest weapon in protecting the national heritage and his weapon against the enemy, which is trying to steal and destroy the culture of our people.

It is on the basis of this that we educate a citizen to be committed in the fight for his homeland and that we would mould national cadres.

Activity in this field must begin by providing truthful information about Palestine before it was seized, and by reinforcing this knowledge in the minds of people.

This has not happened as yet, unfortunately, not only among ordinary citizens but not even among certain cadres

who are directly engaged in the revolution, and not even among certain cadres working in the information field.

Faith in the future of Palestine rests, in part, also on a knowledge of the facts in our cause.

At the time of the Balfour Declaration, in 1917, there were only 56,000 Jews living in Palestine and they did not represent more than ten percent of the population of Palestine.

How many of us know this?

And how many of us know that the Arabs at that time owned 97.5 percent of the land, while the Jews owned only 2.5 percent and that by 1947 the latter's ownership of the land had risen to only 6 percent?

I deliberately mention these figures to help every citizen and every cadre realize the whole truth, to help them counter the enemy's lies and arm them with strength and an invincible conviction as to the justice of their cause.

### *The Cultural Legacy as a Weapon*

A good knowledge of the cultural legacy, including its various components, is also an essential step. That is why the crystallization of these themes in simplified forms, so that citizens and cadres can easily master them, is among the basic tasks of information on the domestic, national scene. These include a number of areas :

#### *National Dress :*

A knowledge of the basic forms of our national dress whose development is linked with that of Palestinian society, its means of production and relations. In this way one can go back to the roots of Palestinian society.

#### *National Dance :*

A knowledge of the rudiments of the national dance (dabka) and a good mastery of it is also very significant, because through it one emphasizes the right of Palestinians to their country.

There are many other outstanding areas, like archaeological digs and historical finds, documenting the rights of Palestinians. A good knowledge of all these fields arms the Palestinian with an important weapon in the fight against attempts by the enemy to deny him his birthright and to alienate us from our heritage.

The Zionist enemy today uses venal claims and resorts to obvious robbery of Palestinian history and heritage. Palestinian dress is sold in West European states allegedly as «Israeli» dress, and Palestinian food is sold in Europe as «Israeli». One of the tasks of information is to fight against these lies.

What I am saying here is not a manifestation of local fanaticism or chauvinism; national culture and its development are an indivisible part of the confrontation with imperialism

which is trying to destroy and wipe out this culture.

Information activities in this regard are an inseparable part of national and patriotic efforts to revive a national legacy and to develop it.

## **2) National Mobilization**

The second basic task of Palestinian information is that of national mobilization. Workers of communication media are spokesmen of the political leadership, reflect its attitude and encourage the masses to rally round it. One should understand the word, attitude, in several ways: as we advance from the strategic level to the level of stages and then to tactics.

### *a) Strategic :*

On the strategic level the aim of information is to uphold the preparedness of the Palestinian masses to fight for liberation and to maintain the firm conviction of the masses that their struggle will lead to final victory. This, naturally, is based on a just cause on the one hand, and on the other on the logical inevitability of victory of oppressed nations against imperialism if they conduct a long and tireless struggle. Such an awareness must be cultivated on the basis of the experience of our own people using the experience of the liberation movements of other nations in the past fifty years.

### *b) Phased :*

It is absolutely clear that this process of strategic mobilization is based on the political and military strategy of the revolution and its planned phases.

As a rule, in such an instance the role of information workers becomes more difficult. Strategic mobilization is certainly easier since, during it, we do not come up against difficulties hidden in the concrete mechanism which the revolution outlined with the aim of liberating the homeland. «Establishment of an independent state on any part of the territory of the homeland that will be liberated, without any conditions» - such is the phased aim of the revolution. Among the tasks placed on the shoulders of information workers is to move with the national mobilization in this direction with all means they have at their disposal.

### *c) Tactical :*

Combined with this phased task are the everyday tasks which information workers have to cope with so that the news reaches a citizen daily, so that it strengthens his will to struggle and makes him aware of the dangers threatening the revolution and of the disinformation put out by the enemy.

Fulfilling this task means providing political bread every-day for the masses and combining this daily information with the phased aim of the revolution and its strategic goals. ●

# Japan

## 99 Posters from Palestine

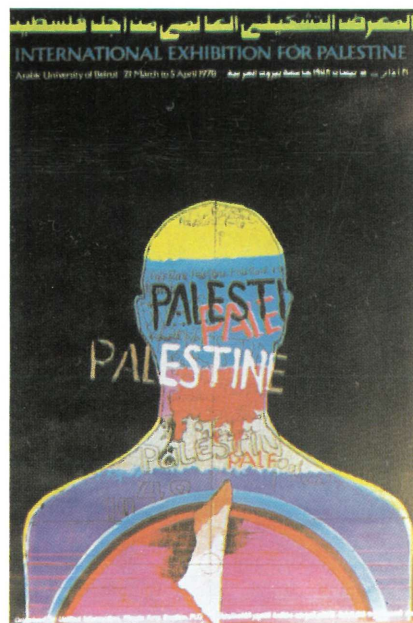


In commemoration of the usurpation of Palestine, a Palestinian poster exhibition was opened in Tokyo on May 15th. The exhibition, which will be in Tokyo for a month, shows posters from the different stages of the Palestinian revolution from 1965 to 1984, and includes Palestinian products such as embroidery, clothes, shell ornaments, copper and handicraft made of olive wood. Palestinian flags and scarfs served as a background for the objects on exhibition.

The exhibition was organized by the PLO office in Japan in cooperation with the Palestinian-Japanese Friendship

Society, many prominent Japanese painters and artists, as well as many Arab and foreign diplomats, and representatives of Japanese political parties, popular organizations and the responsible for the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

The exhibition was opened by the PLO representative in Japan, Bakr Abdel Mounem; a 7-year-old Palestinian, Maher Mohammad Khamis; member of the Japanese parliament, Mrs. Yoshiko Yamasuchi; the general secretary of the Palestinian-Japanese Friendship Society; the Ethiopian ambassador to Japan, Mr. At Labacho;



and Mr. Sumita, chairman of the Japanese Society for Plastic Art.

The opening session of the exhibition was a Japanese demonstration of solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Japanese friends were continuously present, wearing Palestinian scarfs, the symbol of the Palestinian freedom fighters.

The exhibition was well covered in the media and received a warm welcome in Japanese public opinion. However, the exhibition led to anger and resentment in the Israeli embassy. ●

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*Proletarians*

*Come*

*To Sabra-Shatila*

*Ask for the shoemaker,*

*«Abu Raya is alive, his wife, the boy,*

*Palestine the daughter is alive.»*

*Day after day*

*Under the feeble electric lamp*

*Within your mouth a handful of nails,*

*Spitting*

*Fixing them in the leather shoe.*

*You shod the Palestinian fighters*

*You shod the children*

*You shod us with history, our common history*

*That imperialism-Zionism hid from our knowledge.*

*Our mouths full of nails*

*Nails of consciousness*

*We will shoot*

*To imperialism, Zionism, racism.*

*For life*

*We go forward*

*With our will*

*Our science, history!*

*- A modest friend of the Palestinian people*



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